CULTURE CONTACTS AND THE MAKING OF CULTURES

Papers in Homage to
Itamar Even-Zohar

Edited by
Rakefet Sela-Sheffy and Gideon Toury

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Repertoire Formation: Invention and Change

TO THE MEMORY OF ROBERT PAINE

Robert Patrick Barten Paine (1926-2010), a world renowned anthropologist, a dear friend and a contributor to this volume, died on July 8, 2010, in St. John's, Newfoundland, at the age of eighty-four. Robert was a cultural anthropologist of the rare kind that the really passionate, humane anthropologists are made of. An English born, he explored and lived most of his life in remote territories, an adventurer, a sharp observer of human cultures, and a great lover of Nature. Robert was a leading figure in research on the Saami people of Northern Scandinavia, where he arrived as a young scholar, and where he lived and raised a family. Graduated in Oxford, he came to Memorial University in St. John's Newfoundland in 1965 to be head of the Sociology and Anthropology department, where he developed his international academic career and built his personal life. At Memorial he became the director of the then founded Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER), which he developed as a vibrant center of scholarship and publication that gained much international reputation. At that time his scientific work expanded in different and remote fields of study. He did research on the local Newfoundlander socio-political fabric, while at the same time he developed lifelong interest in the political-cultural problems of Israeli society, which led him to do field work and maintain lifelong contact with Israeli academia. His enormous contribution to the study of cultures has been recognized through his fellowship of the Royal Society, membership of the Order of Canada, and the award of honorary doctorates from the Universities of Edinburgh, Tromsø in Norway, and Memorial Newfoundland, as well as his enduring network of friends, students and colleagues in many countries, including Israel.

Moving between these three academic as well as personal-life centers of gravity, Robert never stop working and was astonishingly scientifically creative till the last day of his life. It is this exceptionally wide span of intellectual interest, experience and knowledge of cultures, as well as deep perception and understanding of human nature, that brought Itamar Even-Zohar and him so close together. Itamar met Robert in 1997 at Memorial University in St. John's, where he was a visiting scholar; and it is in many ways thanks to his growing personal friend-

ship with Robert and their shared intellectual enthusiasm and temperament that he kept coming back to Newfoundland and developed his scholarly interest in the local socio-cultural problems.

Robert was a brilliant, charming personality, and an enthusiastic bird watcher and hiker. He died last summer from a stroke, during a daily walk with his dog on one of his beloved Newfoundland cliffs. No more characteristic, wishful way for him to find his death can be imagined. His sharp enquiring mind and charismatic warm presence will be enormously missed. We deeply mourn the loss of this wonderful man and beloved friend, and will cherish his memory forever.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy

To speak of "Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures" is in fact to speak about the fundamental processes through which cultures are formed and maintained. There is a seeming contradiction between these two agendas of inquiry: while "the making of cultures" evokes the investigation of concentrated efforts invested in the creation of discrete social entities through marked cultural boundaries, "culture contacts" calls for the search of the fluidity of such entities and the constant complex transfer and exchange between them. But of course, it is the interplay between the two forces that underlie cultural dynamics in whatever social setting,, from (what seem to be) the most rigidly closed and "uncontaminated" ones to those that seem extremely heterogeneous and unsettled.

It is the understanding of this multifaceted culture dynamics as the machinery that makes social worlds going which has been the driving force of Itamar Even-Zohar's life-long scholarly project, to which he has been dedicating his intellectual work for over forty years, in theory as well as a long series of case studies. Encompassing knowledge of so many different cultures, their languages, histories and everyday practices, from medieval Scandinavian and Russian speaking territories, through modern national Hebrew, Italian or Iberian cultures, to recent developments in contemporary Iceland and Newfoundland, Even-Zohar has collected enormously diverse evidence, all of which underlie his wide theoretical view of such processes of socio-cultural formation, change, consolidation or disintegration.

It is in the spirit of this large-scope project on cultural dynamics, which Itamar Even-Zohar shares with so many friends and colleagues all over the world, that this present book is formed. It brings together articles by several of his colleagues, friends and disciples, most of them based on papers presented at the international workshop in honor of Itamar Even-Zohar's forty years of scholarship, which was held at Tel Aviv University in January 2008. They all deal with aspects of cultural dynamics within and between social groups, in antiquity or the modern era, in a wide range of different national, ethnic and institutional

settings, reflecting these two major aspects in Itamar Even-Zohar's scholarly work.

Owing to his peculiar academic trajectory, Even-Zohar's interest in questions of culture contacts emerged not so much from current theories of diffusion and globalization, which proceed from political and economic perspectives on Western cultural Imperialism, but rather from a semiotic analysis of texts. This standpoint may seem rather strange because from where he stands today, his initially structural, text-oriented approach (e.g, Even-Zohar 1979) seems a remote overture to his much expanded socio-semiotic view of culture, which centers on questions of culture change, entrepreneurship, sustainability or collapse, imbued with conceptualization of culture institutions and markets (1997). However, his profound philological, historical and anthropological background – shared with the contributors to this volume – is precisely what allows him and his colleagues to seriously examine culture *repertoires.* In the scholarly environment he created, culture repertoires are taken not just as side-effects, or "reflections," of political and economic processes, but as concrete forces that constrain and shape such processes, constituting the channels through which social life is actually generated and transformed.

Today, we witness a growing awareness of the culture factor in the social sciences. Scientists in major fields, from biology, economics and psychology to environment or business management, agree that they all deal with culture learning, that is, with negotiation, evaluation, transmission and adaptation of models for the organization of life. This emerging integral view of culture has thus become the vital context for Even-Zohar's conceptualization of culture repertoires, which serves many of us as a major analytical tool.

Already in the early 1970s, when cultural studies was still quite an alien perspective to the Israeli and many other academic spheres in the humanities, Itamar Even-Zohar drafted his seed hypotheses on culture heterogeneity, later to become his worldwide known theory of cultural *Polysystems*. It was in fact through his interest in literary *translation* – as a young doctor (1971) and a translator from "exotic" languages – that he started conceptualizing the role of cross-cultural transfer in the formation and transformation of local societies. Thinking of translation as a complex of intercultural activities, he introduced the idea of *cultural*

models – inspired by anthropological as well as cognitive conceptualization – as a basic concept in understanding *literary* (and later *cultural*) repertoires, their formation, transmission and change. Rather than confine himself to obvious cases of inter-personal or inter-textual "influences," he used translation analysis to reveal the all-pervasive, often unnoticed yet inescapable mechanism of *modeling* and *remodeling* that is always at play, let lone when culture goods are transferred from one social setting to another. Through such analysis of models he laid bare in detail the tension between "domestication" (or "indigenization") and "foreignization" tendencies in inter-culture importation, and thus laid the basis for the study of norms in translation studies (Toury 1977).

Translation analysis was thus a catalyst for Itamar Even-Zohar for studying intersystemic relations, first with reference to language and literature, before gradually moving into studying relations between cultures. In 1976 he presented his still largely quoted paper, "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem" (first published 1978) at the international conference held at the Catholic University of Leuven, then one of the pioneering centers of translation studies next to Tel Aviv; there he first formulated his view of parameters of transfer between source and target systems – which eventually led to his hypotheses on the nature and procedures of intersystemic relations (1978b; later to be rewritten and re-published a number of times, under the title of "Laws of Cultural Interference" [2005/2010]). In this early paper Even-Zohar brought to the fore the question of the status and function allocated to translated products – and *translating activities* – within a target culture. This, in his proposed view, originated in the tension between majority and minority repertoires and the hierarchical relations between groups struggling for access to and control of resources. He thus introduced to Translation Studies the conceptualization of *center-periphery relations* between target and source cultures as a major prism of dealing with translation history and practice.

Embracing the center-periphery conceptualization, however, his complex perspective allows for going beyond the recently regnant view of culture transfer as one-directional process imposed by political super-powers on pre-modern indigenous societies, through dominating mass media. Thinking in terms of polysystemic relations, Even-Zohar relates questions of culture transfer not only to contexts of conflict and

suppression or depravation of societies, but also to *groups' survival or revitalization* (2010). His view highlights at least two important aspects in conceiving of the nexus between "contacts" and "transfer": First, it is not self-evident. There may be situations of (coercive) contacts between social groups without significant culture diffusion and borrowing between the parties; while, on the other hand, there may be cases of intensive flow of culture models from one social setting to another without an unmediated contact between them. Second, Even-Zohar points to the fact that the nature and pace of culture transfer are largely dependent on the internal social conditions *within the target culture*, which may either encourage or disallow adaptation and diffusion of imported goods and practices (a view which is increasingly accepted in researching culture diffusion; see e.g., Kaufman & Patterson 2005). Much in line with this polysystemic view, the works assembled in this book thus problemitize our understanding of inter-group contacts and culture exchange between center and periphery in more than one way. Altogether they render a complex picture of such relations as resulting from creative social energies actively initiated on peripheral social settings in connection to struggles over symbolic resources that create social change.

This theoretical tool has proven to be in particular potent for studying processes of *culture making* – that is, of moments of groups' self-(re)invention and the formation of new, independent collective identities. Focusing on such historical points of momentous social change has served as a kind of a laboratory for examining procedures of "indigenization" of borrowed repertoires – a process which Even-Zohar termed, borrowing the Prague School term for interlingual relations, "interference." He has traced such "concealed" inter-cultural transfers in even what is retrospectively being naturalized and recognized as most profoundly innate "native" features of a given culture. Moreover, he showed how even what is taken to be a unique unprecedented invention within a newly constructed culture makes necessary use of traditional outdated repertoires.

One paradigmatic case in point was for Even-Zohar the emergence of modern, national Hebrew culture during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A native of Palestine, and a Hebrew speaker as a mother tongue already in the early 1940s, this culture was for him a

natural arena of investigation. Yet, equipped with a broad perspective based on his close acquaintance with major and minor European cultures, his view deconstructed – and broke through – the canonical mythologies that constituted the doxa of academic research of his home culture at the time. Having introduced his polysystemic perspective to the study of Hebrew literary history, he soon led the way for other scholars around the world to embark on similar studies of rising and re-organizing national literatures in the context of emerging national cultures (e.g., that of modern Turkey; see Tahir-Gürçağlar 2008).

Soon enough, however, Even-Zohar expanded his view to apply to all kinds of culture production – beyond canonized literary texts – including non-canonized production and everyday life. In his pioneering study, "The Emergence of a Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine 1882-1948" (1990 [1982]), he opened the way to investigating the formation of a native Hebrew culture through an analysis of everyday practices, such as paralinguistic behavior or eating and dressing habits. This influential and much cited study has remained until today unmatched for its theoretical insightfulness. Through this study Even-Zohar has shown for the first time the complex interplay between the various existing repertoires which were available to the Hebrew "culture builders" (cf. Frykman & Löfgren 1987) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – i.e., highbrow literary and theatrical Russian, popular Yiddish, mythological Arabic rituals, as well as the clash between Ashkenazi and Sephardi pronunciations of Hebrew – all of which, combined and intertwined, served the basis for the crystallization of a "native" Hebrew repertoire of daily practices. These cultural models are still traceable, if largely unnoticed, in Hebrew everyday culture even today. Tracing them and the relations between them helps unearth the complexity of the social forces that generated this culture under the given historical conditions, far beyond the simplified narrative of an overpowering "Zionist" culture program, as it were, which narrative dominates today views about this culture formation.

These early studies of culture-making through inter-culture transfer also allowed for revealing the *different types of contacts* between the groups involved, and the uneven, hierarchical relations between them – a theoretical perspective that was still quite uncommon in literary studies during the 1970s and 1980s. Even-Zohar showed, for instance, the

overwhelming effect of culture transfer which may persist in a peripheral target culture even without a continuous direct borrowing from what serves it as a central source culture. Along this line, through a detailed analysis of the Hebrew poetess Leah Goldberg's translation of Baudelaire during the 1940s (1975) he provided for the first time a systematic account on how the activity of a leading revolutionary elite circle (such as that of Hebrew literary Modernism) was still completely permeated with dominant – if outdated – Russian literary models, even when deliberately turning to other canonical sources. These outdated Russian models, introduced through translation, he contended, became so deeply naturalized in the local setting to the point of becoming the language of Hebrew literary production for generations onwards. (Cf. his analysis of void pragmatic connectives in Hebrew; 1982, 1982a.) This exploration of intricate, hidden contacts and culture transfer inspired many other works on different cultural settings, notably that of his student and colleague, the late Rina Drory, in her analysis of the triple "invisible contact" between Jewish, Muslim and Christian cultures in times of transition in medieval Spain (Drory 1988, 2000).

However, such "silent" culture infiltration and transmutation have attracted Even-Zohar's interest especially as part of *deliberate efforts towards culture making*. Since the 1990s, his research has gradually shifted to focusing on questions of *culture planning* with reference to newly emerging socio-political entities. Already in his abovementioned early studies on the emergence of native Hebrew culture in Palestine he addressed the interplay between these two forces, namely, the massive planning energy by the elite of Hebrew-revivalist culture entrepreneurs, who deliberately promoted borrowings of formal styles and institutional structures in the name of a well-formulated ideology, on the one hand, and the no less powerful, if much less clearly defined, spontaneous trends of culture transfer that undelay these process in reality, on the other. Much of his insights on the complexity of the Hebrew case have led him later on to studying comparable processes in other societies. Since 1993, he has been carrying out research in situ in Spanish Galicia, Catalonia, Iceland, Québec, and Newfoundland, studying models of groups' self-management, or the lack thereof, as strategies of coping with socio-economic crises, which often go hand in hand with these groups' struggles to create their own *culture resources* and wealth

(2010). The making of cultures has thus become an integral and indispensable aspect of Even-Zohar's multifaceted conceptualization of heterogeneity, intercultural contacts, translation and transfer.

It is in the framework of this rich theoretical view that each and every one of the contributors to this volume has been inspired by Itamar Even-Zohar's work and thoughts; and it is in the spirit of these delightful and fruitful academic and personal encounters with Itamar that we all cherish and wish to pay tribute to him and his work. Naturally, many other aspects of his wide scope of work are beyond the focus of this book and are not discussed here, as many of his colleagues worldwide are not participating in this volume. It would have been necessary to create a whole library, if one wanted to encompass in full the various and different fields to which Itamar Even-Zohar has contributed. However, we believe that the topic of the present volume might be the most representative of his major influential work.

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Cutting across extremely distant social and geographical arenas, from antiquity to modern times, the studies assembled in this volume are divided into two thematic sections. In the first section, **Identities in Contacts: Conflicts and Negotiations of Collective Entities**, Manfred Bietak, Robert Paine, Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, Wadda Rios-Font, Israel Gershoni, Gisèle Sapiro, Nitsa Ben-Ari, and Jón-Karl Helgason discuss different strategies of identity making and capitalizing on culture resources in situations of intergroup conflicts that often create accelerated processes of group distinction. For all the historical differences, these studies show how such processes oscillate between exclusive and inclusive tendencies – either at the level of everyday social creativity (Davis 1994) or as well-planned political agendas. Moreover, they reveal that these processes – even in cases where social *distinction* tendencies prevail – are inevitably shaped by intercultural contacts, competition and exchange, in the context of which a separatist (ethnic or national) identity is either claimed and sanctioned as a scarce resource (Harrison 1999), or being rejected and obscured.

Manfred Bietak has long propounded the view of ancient Egypt which challenges its classical image as socially and culturally homogeneous and intact, revealing the profoundly unstable and fluid nature of

the socio-cultural scene in Egypt, in particular that of the Delta area, throughout ancient times. In his present contribution, Bietak raises the hardly ever asked intriguing question: What had happened to the Hyksos people and culture after their military defeat in 1530 BCE. Using and reinterpreting ample and subtle archeological evidence, Bietak contends that although the Hyksos' capital, Avaris, was deserted, the Hyksos people and their everyday culture overwhelmingly remained and integrated in Egypt, so as to create an important part of its socio-cultural fabric.

Robert Paine† (1926-2010), a world authority on Saami society of Northern Scandinavia, offers a new perspective, based on his more than sixty years of anthropological research, on the Saami multiple and changing sense of identity as an ethnic minority – or a *nation* – in modern Norway. In his present contribution, Paine analyzes the current phase of Saami complex identity negotiation. He describes the ambivalence between rejecting and re-claiming components of Saami indigenous cultural baggage by people of clear and unclear Saami descent, who cope with their double national and ethnic identity as both Saamis and Norwegians, in the face of changing cultural policies in Norway today.

Similar questions relating to the situation-dependent symbolic value of "ethnic options" (Waters 1990) are discussed by **Rakefet Sela-Sheffy** in her study of culture retention tendencies by immigrants, in the context of the formation of Hebrew modern society in British-ruled Palestine (1918-1948). Sela-Sheffy examines the alleged estrangement of the German Jewish immigrants by that emerging society, arguing that it was to great extent an empowering (rather than forced) distinction on the part of this marginal-yet-high-status group of newcomers. It was, in her view, the competition between two elite immigration groups – a veteran (East-European) and a newly arrived (German) – that induced the latter to claim monopoly on a European-like bourgeois repertoire, which was recognized as an identity resource by both parties. Her analysis focuses on the German immigrants' capitalizing on the ethos of professionalism that was functional in forming local elites, in particular in the legal field.

Focusing on intellectual discourses, **Wadda Rios-Font** deals with identity construction from the perspective of center--periphery rela-

tions, in the context of formerly Spanish colonies in Latin America. In her present contribution she addresses the ostensibly puzzling situation in nineteenth century Puerto-Rico where a rising nationalist sentiment was channeled through *assimilationism* rather than revolutionary independent movement. Rios-Font analyzes the background and motivation of the *non-separatist* cultural agenda of the Puerto Rican intellectual leader and politician, Ramón Power y Giralt, given the status of Puerto Rico as an "unimportant" periphery from the viewpoint of the Spanish metropolis. She describes the peculiar cultural circumstances underlying his endorsement of assimilation in the Spanish Intellegentsia's liberal project. This cultural dynamics is compared here with today's Puerto-Rican nationalism in the context of its relations with its current United States metropolis.

A different view on the role of intellectuals in constructing national identities is offered by **Israel Gershoni,** who introduces a piece of his encompassing historical project on the socio-cultural formation of modern Egypt, based on his systemic reconceptualization of the intellectuals' *revolutionary* role in this process. In light of Even-Zohar's ideas about change and initiatives in culture, Gershoni proposes interpretation and alternative conceptualization for the opposition between "spontaneous" and "planned" change, with reference to the impact of the movement initiated by Hasan al-Banna in Egypt (1906-1949). Focusing on this intellectual's early writings and activities, he analyzes al-Banna's role as both an idea-maker ("planner") and a pragmatic "doer", responsible for a multifaceted repertoire of a counter-culture. In Gershoni's view, rather than a spontaneous, unstructured process, the diffusion of al-Banna's counter-culture during these formative years resulted from deliberate acts led by a sophisticated and charismatic political activist, who considered organization, administration, and mobilization as no less important factors of cultural change than *ideology*.

Gisèle Sapiro presents her research into identity (re)formation in a crucial, yet still under-studied moment in the history of French national identity in the wake of World War II – a study based on her innovative M.A. thesis, written under the supervision of Itamar Even-Zohar ("L'«image de soi» de la France à la Libération", 1990). Elaborating on Even-Zohar's theory of repertoire and his hypotheses of culture plan-

ning, Sapiro discusses the dynamics of a collective memory and its functionality in forming social-representations in times of drastic re-shuffling of a political space – that of France right after the termination of the German occupation and the Vichy regime, which had destroyed existing social structures. Using as sources political-cultural weeklies published in the first year after the liberation, she investigates the complex intellectual struggles over (re)constructing the French collective self-image. She thus traces the diverse efforts to reconstitute "the French soul", first and foremost through evoking canonical categories like "the passion for freedom" and "the enlightening role of France in the world".

A glance at identity formation processes from the perspective of the history of the Hebrew literary field is offered by **Nitsa Ben-Ari**. Re-mapping the Hebrew publishing industry between 1940 and 1970, Ben-Ari decodes the identity of many of the agents of popular literature, with a view to reveal the role of the two distinct production systems of mainstream and popular literature in the intricate fight for hegemony in Israeli society during these years. Her analysis suggests that while these polarities of taste may have augured "normalization", they also point to a growing disintegration of the "Zionist" envisioned New Hebrew Culture.

A view on the creation and preservation of cultural *legacies* – rather than cultural change – is introduced by **Jón Karl Helgason,** who analyses canonizing procedures as part of institutional efforts of creating national cultures in modern Europe. Helgason traces the ways cultural nationalism have challenged the royal dynasty and the church by employing procedures of beatification borrowed from the religious sphere in the making of modern national "cultural heroes." Embracing Even-Zohar's systemic perspective he examines such procedures as renaming and dedication, iconization, pilgrimage and creating liturgies, through which modern "cultural saints" are produced both as relics ("good") and rituals ("tools").

In the second section of the book, "**Repertoire Formation: Inventions and Change**," Orly Goldwasser, Gabriel M. Rosenbaum, Gideon Toury, Panchanan Mohanty, Thomas Harrington, Nam-Fung Chang, Yaacov Shavit, and Saliha Paker discuss cases of repertoire formation, focusing mainly on historical moments of *change* where cultural inno-

vations often seem to be most visible and effective (Swidler 1986). Ranging across varied social settings and field of cultural production relating mainly (but not exclusively) to language uses, these studies bring new, sometimes groundbreaking, evidence as to how marginal options emerge and are socially diffused and naturalized – sometimes unnoticed – so as to gradually become widely recognized hegemonic cultural practices.

Egyptologist **Orly Goldwasser** addresses the most intricate controversy over the invention of the alphabet, proposing her pioneering hypothesis that it was invented on a remote periphery of ancient Middle Eastern world by mining workers, centuries before its adoption in Phoenicia and Canaan as their official script. An earlier version of this groundbreaking article has won the "Best of BAR" award for 2009–2010. Evidence from the inscriptions found in the mining place of what is today Serabit el-Khadem region in Sinai are reexamined and reinterpreted here in light of systemic thinking. This approach, according to Goldwasser, allows us to move away from the rigid view that only people of the highly educated ruling classes could have made such a revolutionary invention. Drawing on comparisons with hieroglyphic as well as early alphabetic scripts, Goldwasser elaborates on questions of the fate of inventions from the fringes and on processes of domestication in established cultures.

Gabriel M. Rosenbaum analyzes the changing status of a vernacular language in the socio-cultural setting of contemporary Egypt. Based on his years-long on-site observation of the usages of Egyptian Arabic, Rosenbaum analyzes the recently accelerating change of the traditional diglossic relationship between this local lowbrow language (*ʿammiyya*) and the standard, official pan-Arabic highbrow language (*fuṣḥā*) – a revolutionary, so far unprecedented development in the entire Arabic-speaking world. With the most up-to-date evidence from the Egyptian cultural scene he describes the process through which this basically spoken dialect of a centuries-long inferior status rises, spreads and changes functions, so as to become the written language of a growing number of practices and groups in Egypt today, including in the realm of literary writing – thereby challenging the ruling status of the *fuṣḥā*.

A case of cultural *translation* and naturalization in the construction of modern Hebrew culture during late nineteenth century is introduced

by **Gideon Toury**, who examines here the invention of the four seasons in the modern Hebrew calendar, which until that time consisted traditionally of only two (winter and summer). The invention of the four seasons – borrowed from the European system – promoted by competing social agents, has long become an accomplished fact in modern Hebrew culture and nowadays Israeli life. This is in spite of its incompatibility with the natural climate conditions, where only two clearly polar seasons (dry and hot vs. wet and cold) are actually effective. The precedence of privileged (modern European) culture repertoires over natural realities is clearly demonstrated here, as well as the role of transfer of culture models in the making of new cultures.

Drawing on the complex linguistic scene of the Indian subcontinent, **Panchanan Mohanty** analyzes another case of "unnoticed" historical cultural contacts in the formation of an indigenous repertoire. He discusses the subtle relations between various Indian cultures through a detailed analysis of the maternal uncle terms. While a distinctive phrase for the maternal uncle exists in all languages belonging to India's four language-families (Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Munda, and Tibeto-Burman), the most puzzling case is that of the Indo-Aryan group, in view of the patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal culture of the Indo-European people. Examining their cultural-linguistic peculiarity, Mohanty concludes that the Indo-Aryans have converged with the non-Aryan Dravidians, demonstrating once again how what is regarded as a most fundamental cultural trait is historically generated through cultural interference.

Thomas Harrington addresses the question of the role of colonial elites in the formation and maintenance of local, proto-national cultural systems, in the context of his ongoing research on the relationships between Iberian and emerging Latin American national cultures. Harrington draws on Even-Zohar's conceptualization of polysystemic cultural dynamics to problematize the stereotypic view of a dominating Spanish colonialism. First, the complexity of the intra-Iberian cultural systems is brought up here by focusing on the impact of marginalized *Catalan* (rather than hegemonic Castilian) culture in the construction of a number of Latin American cultures ever since the eighteenth century. Harrington shows how small cadres of Catalans, who occupied the position of a high status immigrant group of professionals, have contrib-

uted to the making of culture repertoires in nineteenth century modern Uruguay, with special emphasis on their contribution to its architectural development. However, despite their role as powerful elite – and in fact precisely for this reason – their obvious contribution to the construction of local cultural systems remained invisible to both Uruguayan hegemonic national narrative as well as scholarly scrutiny.

A view of a westernization process in the academic world is proposed by **Nam-Fung Chang** in his study on the rise of translation studies into a separate academic discipline in China as a result of transfer of Western translation theories. Chang focuses on the active role of Chinese academia in this process, puzzled by the fact that China makes such an exception in the "Far East", in being receptive to Western cultural theories of translation, in spite of local active resistance. He proposes that China's receptiveness developed as a result of its strong sense of "self-insufficiency" since the late 1970s, which is reflected in China's urge to modernize by learning from the West. In his critical view, "The Westernization of translation studies in China can be seen as a classic case in which a polysystem borrows repertoires from others ..., saving the effort of inventing them entirely by itself".

Focusing on canonical literary texts, **Yaacov Shavit** describes the process through which Greek mythology was introduced into and accepted by Hebrew high culture production, with reference to two moments of such cultural interference in two historical points: in the world of antiquity, and in the nineteenth century. The existence of Greek mythological layers in Jewish literature raises questions related to when and how (and why) they underwent judaization in the different relevant cultural settings. Shavit shows in detail how modern Hebrew literature in the nineteenth century absorbed and domesticated these elements of Hellenism.

A discussion of the role of inter-cultural translation from a polysystemic perspective is offered by **Saliha Paker**, based on her decades-long study of the 'hybridity' of Ottoman literary tradition that comprises different linguistic and cultural origins. Paker reviews some of the fundamental, "interculture-bound" concepts embraced by modern Turkish critical discourse for studying Ottoman literary translation history and historiography. Within the broad scope of her ongoing research, she re-examines major critical notions as referring to central

procedures of poetical production, taken usually to waver between repetition practices (*terceme*) and inventions generated by cultural translation (*telif*). Revisiting the prevailing literary critical discourse, Paker proposes a view of over five hundred years of pre-Ottoman and Ottoman literary dynamics as having evolved by the sixteenth century into what might be described as a hybridized intercultural systemic entity within a complex cultural polysystem. She claims that a polysystemic view, with translation-related activity dominating the intercultural system conceptualized at the center, allows for taking into account interaction among the diversity of literary translators and their production.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

All the articles assembled here are reports of works in progress of the contributors. We hope this volume reflects at least in part the depth and complexity of questions and problems in which we have gained so much from our ongoing encounters with Itamar Even-Zohar, each of us in his or her own way. Through this collection we wish to honor and celebrate his imaginative mind and unmatched intellectual creativity that has inspired us all. The work never ends, we look forward to the next forty years to come!

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Part One
Identities in Contacts: Conflicts and Negotiations of Collective Entities

THE AFTERMATH OF THE HYKSOS IN AVARIS[1]

Manfred Bietak

The first foreign dynasty which ruled Egypt were the so-called Hyksos[2] (ḥqꜣw ḫꜣswt, "rulers of foreign lands") c.1648–1540 BCE[3] (Van Seters 1966; Helck 1971: 89-106; Bietak 1980; 2001; Redford 1992: 98-122; Oren 1997; Ryholt 1997: 118-50; Schneider 1998: 31-98, 146-167). Their power backers were a large demographic group of Near Eastern origin, living on the eastern Nile delta with a large concentration at the capital of Avaris. Where they came from and how they came to overrun Egypt are still a matter of debate. This article, however, deals with another rarely asked question: what became of the Hyksos after their defeat by King Ahmose c. 1530 BCE. In order to find an answer to this question, we should concentrate on the people behind Hyksos rule. The label "Hyksos" had been misunderstood by Flavius Josephus as a kind of ethnical term for people of Near Eastern origin and as a group who established the rule of the Hyksos (Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I: 14, § 82; see Waddell 1940: 84-85). For convenience's sake, it will also be used in that sense in this article in dealing with the people from whom these rulers came forth.

The capital of Hyksos rule was called Avaris (Egyptian Ḥwt-wꜥrt) which had been identified with Tell el-Dabʿa in the north-eastern Nile Delta (Habachi 1954; van Seters 1966; Bietak 1975; Bietak 1981; Bietak 1996). It was later – during the time of the 19th Dynasty – the southern part of Pi-Ramesse, the Delta capital of the Ramessides, in particular of

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[1] I wish to pay tribute to Itamar Even-Zohar for his outstanding scholarship in linguistics and the models of cultural contact and transformation. I would also like to mention his keen interest in a wide range of research and his readiness to share his ideas with colleagues and, finally, for his unstinting willingness to help if called upon.

[2] Van Seters 1966; Helck 1971, 89-106; Bietak 1980; 2001; Redford 1992, 98-122; Oren 1997; Ryholt 1997, 118-150; Schneider 1998, 31-98, 146-167.

[3] After von Beckerath 1997, 137: 1648/45–1440/37 BCE. Cf. High chronology of Kitchen 2000, 49: 1640-1532 BCE (low chronology: 1637–1529 BCE). Recent investigations support a high chronology for the Middle and New Kingdom of Egypt, see Schneider 2008.

Ramses II. During the Hyksos Period, it turned into one of the biggest towns in Egypt and the Near East and had pivotal importance in trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The end of Hyksos rule in Egypt from historical point of view is a subject rarely addressed in Egyptology. The sources available are particularly silent about the fall of their capital Avaris. Of interest are the entries on the reverse of the mathematical Papyrus Rhind in the British Museum (EA 10.057) (Peet 1923: 128-131; Robins and Shute 1987) which had been kept at Avaris during the last phase of the Hyksos Period. He mentions from the angle of the beleaguered Hyksos the way the Theban leader, who must have been Ahmose, captured in quick succession Memphis and then Zaru. Avaris is understood to have been bypassed and the eastern frontier secured. No information on the siege of Avaris. On the fall of the Hyksos capital, the most contemporary and explicit source is the autobiography of the Upper Egyptian naval officer Ahmose, son of Ibana, in his tomb at El-Kab. He makes the pithy statement: "one captured Avaris" (*Urk.* IV, 4: 10). Afterwards the last stronghold, Sharuhen, was besieged for three years and evidently ended up being taken (*Urk.* IV, 4: 14). This site is identified either with Tell el-'Ajjul (Kempinski 1974), Tell Haror (Oren 1997) or else with Tell el-Far'ah South (Recently by Hoffmeier 1991)

The only other information can be found in Flavius Josephus who, citing Manetho, wrote that forcing a surrender of Avaris by a blockade did not work and that the Egyptians had given up in despair (Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I: 14, § 88; see Waddell 1940: 86-89). They would have concluded a treaty making all the "shepherds" leave Egypt, taking their possessions and households with them on a desert trip to Syria ((Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I: 14, § 88; see Waddell 1940: 86-89). This information led historians to the firm conviction that the Hyksos had been driven out by the Egyptians and had moved on to Palestine; in so doing, they had returned to their original homeland.[4] Looking at this version critically, one cannot escape the impression that Josephus, who wanted to show the antiquity of his kin, identified the ancestors of the Jews with the Western Asiatic population who had precipitated Hyksos

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[4] For other reasons, this view had been adopted by Weinstein in 1981, 10; McGovern 2000, 70-74; Ben-Tor, 2007, 189-192.

rule. In accord with biblical tradition, they had indeed lived in Egypt several hundred years.

In Egyptology, the impact of Hyksos rule on Egypt has been largely neglected in research, if not ignored. Texts are understandably unforthcoming on this subject as Hyksos rule has been deemed largely influenced by the ancient Egyptian doctrine that such rule had been an unpleasant interlude in Egyptian history and had been terminated by an uprising and military campaign by the Theban dynasty which succeeded in creating the New Kingdom. Conversely, it is only logical to postulate that the presence of several ten thousands people of Western Asiatic people in north-eastern Egypt over a period of over 300 years (c. 1830–1530 BCE) must have had an impact on the successive New Kingdom culture. It is highly unlikely that such a long time span of intense interaction between Egypt and a foreign population in the north-eastern Delta did not leave any traces. Could this population have disappeared, and could it be that 300 years of cultural discourse had no effect on the cultural life in Egypt? It is implausible that Western Asiatic culture had no aftermath and stopped the moment that Avaris was captured. Over the last decades, excavations at Tell el-Dabʿa, Tell el-Maskhuta and other places in the eastern Delta have turned up a lot of new evidence which may provide an answer to our question.

Archaeological evidence shows that Avaris had been largely abandoned. No traces of destruction were discoverable, except for some doubtful traces around the late Hyksos palace at the edge of the Nile. Virtually all tombs of the final occupation had been completely looted (Bietak 1991: 24; 1996: 67; Hein and Jánosi 2004: 65-182). This evidence seems to square with the Josephus story (Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I: 14, § 88; see Waddell 1940: 86-9). The 18th Dynasty re-occupied the site and at the Pelusiac branch of the Nile constructed magazines and silos, soon followed by a military camp (Figs. 2. area H and Figs. 9-10) (Bietak and Dorner 2001: 59-67; Bietak and Forstner-Müller 2007a: 38-43).

There are areas, however, where settlement activity continued into the 18th Dynasty on a limited scale. South of the New Kingdom's military installations, there may be vestiges of uninterrupted settlement, but the surface has been removed largely by agricultural levelling. In the erstwhile eastern suburbs of former Avaris (Area A/V) there is

some evidence of settlement activity in the 18th Dynasty.[5] This may be explained by squatting or may also have been military camps belonging to the military and naval site which we shall be discussing later (Bietak 2005).

Within the precinct of the temple of Seth (Area A/II), however, no interruption of occupation can be attested (Fig. 3) (Bietak 1985; 1990). The temple was in the early 18th Dynasty given an enclosure wall which is probably a sign of enlargement of the precinct (Fig. 4). Within the enclosed area there is evidence of settlement activity, such as waste disposal and the creation of vineyards (Fig. 4) (Bietak 1985; 1990). It was not until the Amarna Period that the temple was abandoned or destroyed. Under Tutankhamun and Horemheb, it was rebuilt once more. A lintel with an inscription mentioning Seth, "great of power" has been found there (Fig. 5). It features the prenomen of Horemheb cut into an older cartouche, most likely of Tutankhamun (Bietak 1985, fig. 6; 1990: 11-12, fig. 2; 1994a; 1996: 82, fig. 61). It seems that a continuous cult of Seth as *interpretatio aegyptiaca* of the Syrian storm god Baʿal-Zephon and which stretched at Avaris from the late Middle Kingdom[6] into the Ramesside Period can be advanced. Unfortunately, there is no image of this god Seth on this stone. It would be a wonderful missing link. Taking the image of the Syrian storm god Hadad/Baʿal-Zephon as the patron of sailors on a locally cut hematite cylinder seal from a 13th Dynasty context at Tell el-Dabʿa as evidence (Fig. 6) (Porada 1984: 487; Bietak 1990: 15, fig. 5), we can speculate that it was as early as the era of king Nehesy in the early Second Intermediate Period that the image had already assumed the features of the Syrian storm god.[7] We find

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[5] Although the surface was denuded, the material garnered at A/V suggests squatters rather than a fully developed settlement. See Hein and Jánosi 2004, 183-186.

[6] Bietak 1990. The temple of Seth from the Hyksos Period has not, however, been discovered hitherto. We would expect it to be located somewhere underneath the vast compound of the New Kingdom.

[7] Sethe 1930; Montet 1931, 207-8, fig. 4; Stadelmann 1965; Goedicke 1966, 1981; Bietak 1990, frontispiece. See the representations of the Ramesside Seth as the Syrian storm god in Cornelius 1994, 146-154, pls. 35-40. Seth of Avaris can be compared with the representation of the North-Syrian storm god Baʿal-Zephon on a stela from Ras Shamra (Louvre AO 13176): Yon 1991, 284-8 [1], figs. 6 [1] (p. 326), 8 [a] (p. 328; our Fig. 6); Cornelius 1994, 151-3 [BR 11], pl. 39.

Seth retaining the features of a Near Eastern god till Ramesside times, as seen on the "Stela of 400 Years" from the reign of Ramesses II (Fig. 7) (Sethe 1930; Montet 1931; Stadelmann 1965; Goedicke 1966; 1981; Bietak 1990, frontispiece). The family of this king is most likely to have its roots in the eastern Delta, probably even Avaris itself. This would explain why they chose the god of this place as their dynastic ancestor – "the father of the fathers", according to this stela.[8] It then becomes understandable why, on the scarab iconography, there is suddenly a surge of symbolism from the Hyksos Period during the time of the 19th Dynasty. At the same time, the Hyksos' sportive writing of the wsr-sign (Gardiner F12), with a canine head and walking legs which we know from throne names of the Hyksos dynasty, resurfaced on temple inscriptions in this period (Fischer 1977: 17, n. 156; 1996: 188, n. 106; Kitchen 1979: 186 [9]).

A sprawling sacred precinct from the Bronze Age to the south of the Seth temple was apparently abandoned in the New Kingdom (Fig. 8). Unfortunately, the surface is very denuded in this area. Yet the place, as the lack of later foundation walls and storage pits show, was not occupied in later centuries until the Late Period (Bietak 1981: 266). The site was apparently respected and not used for profane purposes. This shows that there was some kind of local continuity from the Hyksos Period down to the late New Kingdom.

Now there is the question of what had happened in-between, during the time of the 18th Dynasty at that very site. It seems logical that only a community for which this cult was meaningful could have achieved the continuity of the cult of Seth/Baʿal-Zephon from the Second Intermediate Period to Ramesside times. Conversely, this cult for a foreign god, even in Egyptian guise, must also have been useful to the new Egyptian Dynasty with a highly nationalistic ideology after long foreign domination. The explanation could be found in the harbour function of the site. Baʿal Zephon was the patron of seafaring and sailors, as had already been articulated in the above mentioned cylinder seal from the 13th Dynasty (Fig. 6). There was no Egyptian god who could fill that call for protection. That is why it was also in the interest of the new overlords of Egypt to maintain that cult. The question is

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[8] Stela of 400 Years, l. 5; see Sethe 1930; Montet 1931; Stadelmann 1965; Goedicke 1966; 1981; Bietak 1990, frontispiece.

whether it was the survivors of the Hyksos occupation who also supported the cult.

Avaris, which comprised c. 680 acres, was resettled during the 18th Dynasty, and on a much smaller scale of at least 50 acres on the east bank of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.[9] Magazines and numerous silos (stratum e/1.2, phase D/1.2) now occupied the site of the citadel of the Hyksos Period (stratum e/2, phase D/2) (Fig. 9) (Bietak and Dorner 2001: 59-67; Bietak and Forstner-Müller 2007a: 38-41, fig. 7). A thick mud-brick wall that was to remain intact through four strata, probably for more than a century, used to enclose them. It was within this compound that a part of a palatial building has also been found (Bietak and Dorner 2001: 60-5, fig. 22). There can be hardly any doubt that the numerous silos represent a large-scale storage facility. The installations are likely to have been built in order to concentrate large numbers of military personnel at this place. The continuity of pottery types (see below) goes to show that at least some of the people who congregated here were survivors of the Hyksos Period. The ongoing use of circular offering pits in which remains of ritual meals such as remnants of animal bones and broken pottery are evidence of a continuance of offering practices of the Hyksos Period.[10] We have already mentioned that it was probably south of this complex that a settlement of the Second Intermediate Period continued to be occupied non-stop into the New Kingdom (Bietak and Forstner Müller 2007a: 38, figs. 4-6, 13).

Afterwards the storage facilities at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty gave way to an open camp (Fig. 10, stratum e/1.1, Phase D/1.1) surrounded by the same enclosure wall as the previous complex. The largest part consisted of open areas with camp fires, large bread ovens for sizeable household units, postholes, internal enclosure walls, some small brick houses and a compound enclosed by a substantial mud brick wall with single graves, mostly of young men, presumably soldiers (Figs. 10-11) (Bietak and Dorner 2001: 67-74; Bietak and Forstner-Müller 2005: 69-71). Outside this compound, series of multiple burials

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[9] For detailed preliminary reports, see Bietak and Dorner 2001, 59-67; Bietak and Forstner-Müller 2003; 2005; 2007a.

[10] Bietak and Dorner 2001, 64-67, fig. 23; Bietak and Forstner-Müller 2007a, 42, fig. 10. On offering pits from the Hyksos Period and early 18th Dynasty, see Müller 2008 (preliminary reports: Müller 1997; 2001; 2002).

have been found with corpses deposited closely together and facing in opposite directions, frequently embedded on their stomachs. The suspicion of remnants of executions looms, but is difficult to substantiate, given the bad state of preservation of the skeletons. Household Kerma ware (Hein 2001; Fuscaldo 2002; Bietak and Forstner-Müller 2006: 76-77, fig. 14; 2007b: 23, fig. 4) collected from the surface of the camp and Kerma arrow-heads from other contexts[11] look as if some of these soldiers had been recruited from the wars of the young Theban dynasty against another major enemy, the kingdom of Kush in the Sudan. The date of this Kerma pottery fits in chronologically with the first major assault on the capital of Kush at Kerma by Amenophis I.

During the Tuthmosid Period (strata d-c, phases C/3-2), we find the site occupied by a huge compound of 13.5 acres straddling three palaces (Fig. 12). Two of these palaces show remains of Minoan wall paintings which fell off the shrinking walls and were dumped at the base of the accession ramps (Aslanidou 2002; Bietak 1994b; 1995; 1996; 1997a; 2000; Bietak and Marinatos 1995; Bietak, Marinatos and Palyvou 2007; Marinatos 1998; Marinatos and Morgan 2005; Morgan 1995; 1997; 2004; 2006). Due to agricultural levelling, a New Kingdom town south of this precinct has no longer been traceable, but surface finds bear witness to such a settlement. The palaces also featured workshops which – besides other purposes – were used for military production. Weapons, projectiles and, again, Kerma-pottery was retrievable in the basements of the largest palace (G) and the workshops. This evidence shows that the site continued to be used as a military base.

The palace precinct is of regal dimensions (the largest measuring 160 x 78 m). It was in use from the early reign of Tuthmosis III until the reign of Amenophis II, perhaps even until the end of this king's reign. The evidence of military personnel and production shows that there was a military base at 'Ezbet Helmi during the first half of the 18th Dynasty. The fact that Egyptian texts testify that Avaris had been a large harbour for hundreds of ships (Habachi 1972: 37, l. 13) and Piramesse the major naval base of Egypt during Ramesside times (Turayev 1913, with pl. 13; Papyrus Anastasi III, 7.5–6, translation Caminos 1954: 101; Bietak 1975: 205-206) begs the question of whether it had not

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[11] The arrow-heads were found, however, on a higher stratum dating to the Tuthmosid period; see Tillmann 1994a, 108-109; 1994b.

also been a major harbour during the era of the 18th Dynasty. Indeed, the presence of a huge square basin of c. 450 x 400 m, with an inlet from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile and by another canal flowing back to the Nile, was confirmed by geophysical surveying and core drilling (Fig. 2).[12] Sediments from the inlet canal have been dated to the time of the Middle Kingdom[13] whilst walls from the late 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period are parallel to the northern edge of the basin. This result seems to confirm the old theory of Georges Daressy[14] and Labib Habachi (Habachi 2001: 9, 106-107, 121. See also Roehrig 1990: 125-126) that the military harbour of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II called Pe-ru-nefer was situated at the same site as Avaris and Piramesse, and not at Memphis as most Egyptologists still believe (Badawi 1943; 1948; Glanville 1931, 109; 1932; Helck 1939: 49-50; 1971; Jeffreys and Smith 1988: 61; Edel 1953: 155; Kamish 1985; 1986; 1987; Der Manuelian 1987; Säve-Söderbergh 1946: 37-39; Stadelmann 1967: 32-35; Zivie 1988: 107). This is understandable as, hitherto, no monuments of the 18th Dynasty have been found at the site of Avaris. This has now changed after the discovery of the Tuthmosid palace precinct whose dimensions suggest the presence of royalty, most probably of the king himself. The combination of this compound with the harbour basins adds to the accumulating evidence favouring the site's identification with Peru-nefer. In addition to the palace and the huge harbour, another important reason for this identification is that we have texts and archaeological sources which testify to Canaanite cults one after the other at Avaris (Bietak 1981: 247-253; 1996: 36-48; 2003: 155-159; 2009c; Müller 1997; 2001; 2002), Peru-nefer (Stadelmann 1967: 32-47, 99-110, 147-150; Collombert

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[12] Already suggested in Bietak 1975, plan 2, but the extent of the basin has become clearer in the course of the geophysical survey by Forstner-Müller *et al.* 2007, 104, fig. 7, north-east of areas G, H. For the identification as a harbour, conclusive sediments have been examined in 2007 by Jean-Philippe Gueron (CNRS) and Hervé Tronchère (University of Lyon). Preliminary report by Tronchère et al. 2008.

[13] Unpublished results of the investigation of Hervé Tronchère, University of Lyon).

[14] Daressy 1928-29, 225, 322-6; see also Gauthier 1929, 141-142. S. already Spiegelberg 1927, 217. – Naville 1891, 31, pl. 35 [D], published a stone block of Amenophis II mentioning a cult of Amun-Ra "who resides in Peru-nefer". He thought that Peru-nefer ought to be located at Bubastis.

and Coulon 2000: 217; Bietak 2009a; 2009b) and Piramesse.[15] This makes it possible to assert with very good rationale that there had been cultic continuity from the Second Intermediate Period to the 18th Dynasty and Ramesside Period.

Let us, however, also examine the reasons why Peru-nefer has been located hitherto at or near Memphis. Important dignitaries of Peru-nefer had monuments at the necropolis of Memphis.[16] This argument can be dismissed since, at the time of the 18th Dynasty, Memphis had the closest residential necropolis. This is also true of the era of the 19th Dynasty, when Pi-ramesse was the actual royal residence, but had no cemetery for royalty and high dignitaries who were buried either in Thebes or at Saqqara. A more cogent case for locating Peru-nefer at Memphis seems to be a passage in papyrus Sallier IV (vs. 1.6) from the Ramesside Period. This lists the gods of Memphis in a model letter (Gardiner 1937: 88-92; Caminos 1954: 333-40). After Amun-Ra, "the great ram (?) of Peru-nefer" and some other Egyptian gods, there follow the Canaanite deities Baʿalat, Qudshu, Inyt[17] and Baʿal-Zephon. They do not carry any epithets that link them to either Peru-nefer or Memphis, but papyrus Hermitage 1116 A (vs. 42) definitely mentions Canaanite gods in the same breath as Peru-nefer, also making the Canaanite gods on papyrus Sallier IV b identifiable as gods of Peru-nefer. This assumption carries all the more weight as, a few lines further down, we find a remark about Asiatics feeling well in Memphis. The necropolis of Memphis at Saqqara attests a priest of Amun, Baʿal and Astarte as well as Canaanites for the time of the late 18th Dynasty or the Ramesside Period (Zivie 1988: 107; PM III[2]: 717). Added to that, Amenophis II – by his military upbringing and belligerent activity in Syria – shows in his inscriptions close ties with Memphis as well as Peru-nefer (Badawi 1943; 1948; Der Manuelian 1987: 12, 187-188, 314 (Memphis); Yoshimura *et al.* 1999; 2000). All of this, taken together, seems to make out a strong case for locating Peru-nefer at Memphis.

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[15] Daressy 1928-29, 326; Stadelmann 1967, 148-150; Uphill 1984, 200-2, 212, 233-234, 245 (Anta), 246 (Astarte), 252 (Reshep), Seth (252-3). There was even a waterway at Piramesse called "the […] waters of Baʿal" (papyrus Anastasi III, 2.8; see Caminos 1954, 74).

[16] Survey in Kamish 1986, 32-33.

[17] Unknown deity; see Caminos 1954, 338.

However, examining the range of gods on papyrus Sallier IV, vs. 1.3–6, more closely, we can see that it also includes gods whose cults were based at places other than Memphis, such as *Jmn-Rˁ-nb-nswt-t3wj*, i.e. Amun-Ra of Thebes. It is most interesting that, in this manuscript, he is identified with Amun-Ra of Peru-nefer, which suggests an affiliated cult at Peru-nefer adopted at Memphis.[18] There then follow once more Amun, the Ennead (of Heliopolis), the above-mentioned Canaanite gods (without associated toponyms) and Sopdu.[19] This god had his temple at Pi-Sopdu (Saft el-Henneh) in the north-eastern Delta and personified the Asiatic East (Schumacher 1988).

It is hardly a coincidence that Canaanite gods are mentioned together on one line with Sopdu. It seems very likely that they express the religious topography of the eastern Delta at this time. Memphis could well have accommodated, within the temple of Ptah, all the gods of the region through affiliated cults. After all, it was the traditional capital of Lower Egypt. This explanation receives strong support from new discoveries at the temple at Karnak in Thebes where blocks of a chapel of Amun of Peru-nefer, constructed by Amenophis II, have been found.[20] This proves that this king has not only established an affiliated cult for Amun-Ra of Peru-nefer at Memphis but also at Thebes which certainly was not the site of Peru-nefer (Bietak 2009b: 17). This shows the enormous devotion of Amenophis II to Peru-nefer and to Amun at Peru-nefer. From this site could have originated a stone block found at Bubastis (Naville 1891: 30-31, pl. 35 [D]). It shows Amun-Ra of Peru-nefer receiving offerings from Amenophis II. This block is most likely not to have been originally erected at Bubastis but, like most of the inscribed material from the New Kingdom found in Bubastis and Tanis, had been quarried from Piramesse during the Twenty-first and Twenty-second

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[18] For Amun in Memphis, see Guermeur 2005, 9-44. See also n. 20 for an affiliation cult of Amun of Peru-nefer at Karnak.

[19] Besides many gods of Memphis one also finds gods from other places without epithets and connected to Memphis. Apart from the above-mentioned examples, see especially Sobek of Mery-Ra; according to Caminos 1954, 340, the latter toponym is a corruption of *Mj-wr/Mr-wr*, designating the Fayum or the town now called Kom Medinet Ghurab at the entrance to the Fayum (Caminos 1954, 340; Leitz 2002, 261).

[20] Carlotti 2008, 55-66. I owe this reference to Jean-Luc Gabolde.

Dynasties. Building their new residences at Tanis and Bubastis, the new Libyan kings helped themselves to readily available building material from the old capital after that city had lost its role (Habachi 2001: 90-92; Uphill 1984: 110-125, 157-162, 223-224). It is therefore highly likely that this block of Amenophis II also, ultimately, originated from the area of Tell el-Dabʿa/ʿEzbet Helmi. It is there that we have to look for the remains of Peru-nefer.

A passage of the Karnak stela of Amenophis II mentions Peru-nefer and Memphis separately as parts of the king's itinerary when he arrived at Egypt after returning from his Syrian campaigns (Edel 1953: 120, 123, 132, 135 [80 and 120]; Klug 2002: 265): "His Majesty went forth from Peru-nefer by proceeding[21] to the town (dmj) of Memphis." This text shows quite clearly that Memphis and Peru-nefer were not situated at the same place. This does not, of course, rule out locating Peru-nefer just a little downstream from Memphis, for example at Giza, but the text would also make sense if we locate it on the Delta. At Tell el-Borg, a fortress constructed by Amenophis II at the north-eastern fringes of the Delta, a stela dedicated to Reshep and Astarte has been found (Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007). It dates, by iconography and find circumstances, to the reign of this king and would prove that he promoted Canaanite gods in this region. The special devotion of Amenophis II to Canaanite gods is well-known. He made Seth-Baʿal his personal god and liked to be compared to him (Schneider 2003b: 161).

Finally, it is the physiography of the river Nile which rules out Memphis as the site of Peru-nefer. Comparing the positions of harbours for seagoing ships in deltaic landscapes such as the Rhine Delta, the Ganges and the Punjab Delta, we find them generally 5 km to 50 km upstream. This affords shelter from storms and a position near the reach of the tides, which helps navigation of the shallows at the river-mouths. Rosetta and Damietta, harbours which have been in operation since medieval times, were chosen only a short distance upstream away from the coast. Tanis was a harbour for seagoing ships, which is confirmed by the story of Wenamun. Abbess Aetheria, who visited Egypt and the Holy Land in the 4th century AD, happened to disem-

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[21] Spiegelberg 1927, 215-216; Daressy 1928-29, 225, 322-326. The emendation by Edel 1953, 123 [120], suggesting that the king went from *Peru-nefer* to Memphis by chariot: "*prt ḥmf m Prw-nfr ḥr wdꜣ* [*ḥr ḥtr r*] *dmj n Mn-nfr,*" is without evidence.

bark at what was still a working port of Tanis (Röwekamp 1995: 345).

The position with harbours for seagoing ships in Ancient Egypt was even more complicated. Before arrival of the annual flood, during the dry season from February to June, the Nile branches were as a rule so shallow that river traffic in the Delta was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for seagoing vessels. Even riverboats had their problems. In the *Description de l'Égypte* we find the following statement on Nile navigation before the construction of barrages at the time of the French Expedition (Le Père 1822: 240-241): "Pendant les derniers temps du décroissement du fleuve, c'est-à-dire pendant quatre à cinq mois de l'année, depuis janvier jusqu'à la fin de juin, le Nil est peu navigable ... Les vents favorables pour remonter le fleuve pendant cette saison sont également rares ou faibles, de sorte que la navigation est presque nulle". This makes the situation before the introduction of barrages quite clear. According to statistics, the volume of the Nile was reduced during the dry season to about a fifth of its average water volume (Willcocks 1899: 46-8; pls. 7-8; Baumgarten ed. 1981: 21). That is why sea harbours had to be situated near the reach of the sea waters which would fill the nearly empty Nile channels at the lower reaches. Such a position would, with the help of the sea, have enabled ships to enter and leave the river mouths in all seasons. The efficiency of harbour traffic could have been enhanced by dredging the lower reaches of the river between mouth and harbour. It is speculated that such improvements had actually been carried out, corvée labour being well-attested for ancient Egypt. All important delta towns in antiquity like Damanhur (*Dmj-n-Ḥr*), Buto, Sebennytos, Abusir, Mendes and later towns such as Tanis and Herakleouspolis mikra are located along a parallel line c. 70–80 km south of the present Delta coast (Fig. 14). During the third and second millennium BCE, the northern coastline of Egypt, including its belt of lagoons, lay further south than at present. The importance of the above-mentioned towns may have been that they had been harbours within navigable distance from the coast during the dry season. This role would explain their early ascendancy to importance. For Tell el-Dabʿa we even have osteological evidence from the one-time presence of brackwater fish that the town was not far beyond the reach of seawater (Boessneck and von den Driesch 1992: 42-43). Its distance to the open sea was about 20 miles in the 2nd millennium BCE.

We can gauge from antique sources that Memphis, more than 100 miles upstream, could have been reached by large seagoing ships only during the second part of the year. During the dry season, due to the low river level, it had only a poor connection to the sea. Because of gales and the difficulties of navigation in cloudy and misty weather, we have also to bear in mind that marine traffic in the Aegean ceased in wintertime from mid-November to mid-March (Casson 1971: 270-273; Matthäus 2005: 360). In the Levant it discontinued only two months, namely during January and February (Yardeni 1994: 69; Stager 2003: 243). If seagoing navigation from Memphis also had to discontinue during the dry season, this would have reduced the sailing season to half a year only. It is illogical that the major naval base of Egypt should have been positioned so far from the sea and, therefore, far from all military activity in the Near East. Any swift response to a military situation in the Near East would have been delayed either way – which could have culminated in serious consequences. This makes the location of Peru-nefer at Memphis highly unlikely. It strongly supports locating it at Avaris, as already suggested by Daressy and Habachi for other reasons (Daressy 1928-29: 225, 322-6; Habachi 2001: 9, 106-107, 121. See also Roehrig 1990: 125-126). Also the stratigraphy of the site of 'Ezbet Helmy/Tell el-Dab'a supports this location (Fig. 15). Peru-nefer is well attested by written records for the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II. This is precisely the period for which we have a body of strong archaeological evidence for a military and royal presence at the site (see above). At times the writings are silent about Peru-nefer, that is during the reign of Tuthmosis IV and perhaps the early reign of Amenophis III. 18th Dynasty installations at 'Ezbet Helmi are missing and were apparently abandoned. Texts mention Peru-nefer again at the time of the late 18th Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1979: 556). This is specifically a phase when we have evidence of a rebuilding of the Temple of Seth under Tutankhamun/Horemheb (Bietak 1985; 1990) and, at 'Ezbet Helmy, there are traces of strong walls at the site (phase C/1) and of a huge fortress constructed also by Horemheb (Fig. 16) (Bietak and Dorner 2001: 101-102). Papyrus Sallier IV which mentions Amon-Ra of Peru-nefer and Canaanite gods leads us into the Ramesside Period. At that time the site of Avaris was the southern part of Piramesse, viz. that part where according to an inscription on naos doors in the Pushkin

Museum the harbour was located (Moscow I.1.a.4867; see Turayev 1913, with pl. 13). Topographically, this fits in perfectly with the discovery and positive identification of the huge aforementioned basin as a harbour.[22]

A strong case can be made out for the continuity of a part of the population of Avaris of the Hyksos after the political break caused by Ahmose's conquest of Avaris and his destruction of the Hyksos kingdom. The comparative study of material culture of the late Hyksos Period and the Early New Kingdom at Tell el-Dab'a and Tell Hebwa shows unbroken continuity right up to the Tuthmosid period. The specific eastern Delta blend of an Egyptian pottery tradition with Near Eastern Middle Bronze Age forms shows no break. Red-slipped burnished carinated bowls and shouldered pots continued to be used (Fig. 17). For example, all specific pottery types connected with wine production, such as Canaanite amphorae, red-slipped burnished dipper juglets and polished wine sieves (Fig. 18) were still being produced in the late Middle Bronze Age tradition of the late Hyksos period with continuing production of other customary shapes from the Middle Bronze Age, such as bowls with inner lip, cups with flat base. Also the local Marl F forms, with a blend of Near Eastern and local shapes, can still be found in the New Kingdom levels.

Also other artefacts display continuity in production, for example the scarabs (Fig. 19). Their back during the 18th Dynasty is still frequently shaped to the typology of the Second Intermediate Period, with the pronotum separated from the elytra by two lateral notches, whilst the seal design had already been adapted to include typical New Kingdom motifs. Even so, deeply cut figures with internal patterning, and motifs such as lions and crocodiles, are typical of the Hyksos scarabs. Conversely, scarabs that already featured the New Kingdom back shape are apt to retain typical Canaanite motifs, such as linear-cut caprids combined with palm leaves. All of this is evidence that such workshops continued in the tradition of the Hyksos Period (Bietak and Jung 2007: 217). Motifs, such as the winged sun disk, survived during the 18th Dynasty and became commoner again in the Nineteenth Dynasty (Bietak and Jung 2007: 217-8). Obviously, the old iconography of

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[22] Tronchère et al. 2008, have been able to confirm samples from the bottom of the basin as harbour sediments.

the Hyksos Period had survived the political break and was deliberately adopted by the Nineteenth Dynasty. As they originated from this region it is possible that symbolisms from the Hyksos Period had a local meaning that would explain their survival.

A part of the Egyptian bronze weaponry of the New Kingdom was produced along the lines of Near Eastern typology, such as the short sword with cast-ledge handle (Raven 2004), and the typical weaponry of chariotry such as the scimitar, pair of javelins and composite bow (McDermott 2004: 129-132, 150-175). Practices and long experience of horse breeding, grooming and training were certainly introduced during the Hyksos Period as a part of their Near Eastern heritage to Egypt.[23] The chronology of osteological and pictorial evidence of horses in Egypt supports this postulation. The horse bones found at Tell el-Dab'a date from the early Hyksos Period (Boessneck 1976, 25; Boessneck and von den Driesch 1992, 24-25; Bietak and Forstner-Müller 2009: 99-100, fig. 8) and are the oldest in Egypt. It is an absolute mystery why the Buhen horse burial in literature is still considered by many as being from the Middle Kingdom.[24] It should in all likelihood be dated to the New Kingdom. It was buried on top of the Middle Kingdom rampart pavement, which had not been damaged by the burial.[25] The light horse-drawn chariot is an Asiatic invention and was also, as it seems, introduced during Hyksos rule in Egypt (Littauer and Crouwell 1979;

[23] On horses and chariots in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Littauer and Crouwel 1979; Hofmann 1989, 342-505; Rommelaere 1991, 86-121, 149-247. Bibby 2003, ignores German literature and has numerous mistakes.

[24] Emery 1960, 8-9; Dixon *et al.* 1979; there is a long list of literature, see still Raulwing and Clutton-Brock 2009.

[25] Braunstein-Silvestre 1982, 37, and 1984, 272-273, although in favour of a New Kingdom date for other reasons presented the stratigraphical evidence incorrectly. The burial could have been completed only after sufficient sand and other deposits had accumulated between the buttresses of the main wall onto the rampart's pavement. This means that the lower forewall and the ditch in front of it must have been completely covered, which cannot have happened during the period of occupation of the fortress in the Middle Kingdom. It is therefore out of the question that the ash layer above the burial originates from the destruction of the fortress during the Middle Kingdom. The high date of the ash to 3630 BP ± 150 years was calibrated to ± 1680 BCE, so that an early New Kingdom date would still be within the range of possibilities.

Decker 1986: 35-36). Right into the 18th Dynasty it was constructed of wood and bark originating from mountain regions in Asia Minor or the Caucasus (Literature in Herold 2006: 1, nn. 17-18), as shown by the earliest preserved example from a shaft grave in Thebes from the 18th Dynasty and today in the Museo Archeologico in Florence (Florence 2678; see Rosellini 1836: 263-271; Botti 1951). The Egyptians adopted the use of the chariot from the Hyksos and seem to have already been using it in the final battle against Avaris, as shown by representations from the temple of Ahmose in Abydos (Harvey 1994: 5, fig. at top left).

The evidence of an unbroken tradition of hybrid Middle Bronze Age culture of the late Hyksos Period to at least the time of Tuthmosis III at Tell-el-Dab'a allows the conclusion that at least part of the Western Asiatic population that had brought Hyksos rule to the eastern Delta was resettled there after Ahmose's conquest of Avaris. The other part may have been spread all over the country into state and temple institutions and among soldiers and officers who had won laurels in war. Expulsion of those people would have been illogical as they were useful to the new overlords of the country because of their skills as craftsmen, metal workers, wine farmers, horse grooms, possibly soldiers[26] and charioteers. One wonders whether the sailors and shipbuilders, attested for Tuthmosid times in Papyrus Hermitage 1116 B (16.30.37), did not originate from the Hyksos people or were newly captured in war in the Near East (Golénischeff 1913: 6). Most probably the prisoners of war taken from the Hyksos were also the bulk of the community who sustained Canaanite cults from Avaris to Peru-nefer and finally to Piramesse. We may assume from Papyrus Sallier IV that such a community also existed at Memphis.

Our conclusion is that, apart from the Manethonian/Josephus tradition, we have no evidence that the Western Asiatic population responsible for Hyksos rule in Egypt was expelled to the Levant. It could have been that elite groups moved to southern Canaan at the end of the

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[26] Western Asiatic people can be found as soldiers of the Egyptians since the Old Kingdom. They could have been employed fighting in the Egyptian campaigns against the Kingdom of Kush. On the other hand, there is evidence of Nubians in Tell el-Dabʿa of Nubians in the camps of the early New Kingdom. It is conceivable that the Egyptians pressed Nubian prisoners of war into military service for their campaigns in Asia.

Hyksos Period in order to evade captivity. A movement of thousands of people from Avaris and the Hyksos cultural province to southern Canaan would have caused an impact which is culturally visible. The material culture in southern Canaan is, however, very distinct from the hybrid Middle Bronze Age culture in the eastern delta. That is why this proposition can be dismissed. I hope I have shown that there is mounting evidence that a large part of this population stayed on in Egypt and served their new overlords with their skills and experience which were in demand in their host country. They were able to contribute in many ways to New Kingdom culture and society. It seems that they had built up a lasting local tradition on the eastern Delta, kept alive by the cultic installations of Canaanite gods, particularly Seth of Avaris, down to Ramesside times. We can identify many Near Eastern features in Egyptian literature, religion and may muse whether this influence did not also exist in music and other cultural fields which are not that easily decipherable. Discoveries of a cuneiform letter from a palace of Khayan and of a cuneiform seal impression on a bag, both found at in Avaris (Van Koppen and Radner in Bietak and Forstner-Müller 2009: 115-118), give us food for thought, if it were not the Hyksos who had already introduced into Egypt 150 years before the Amarna Period long-distance letter diplomacy and use of Akkadian as a diplomatic language. The contributions made by the foreign rulers and their people to New Kingdom culture will be increasingly revealed by future studies and will no doubt let us understand much better their place in Egyptian history.

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Appendix

Illustrations contribution Manfred Bietak:

All illustrations if not stated otherwise: © Joint Archives Austrian Archaeological Institute and Austrian Academy of Sciences
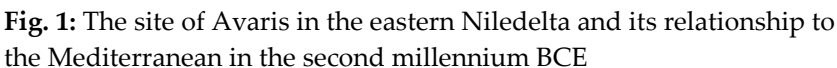
Fig. 1: The site of Avaris in the eastern Niledelta and its relationship to the Mediterranean in the second millennium BCE
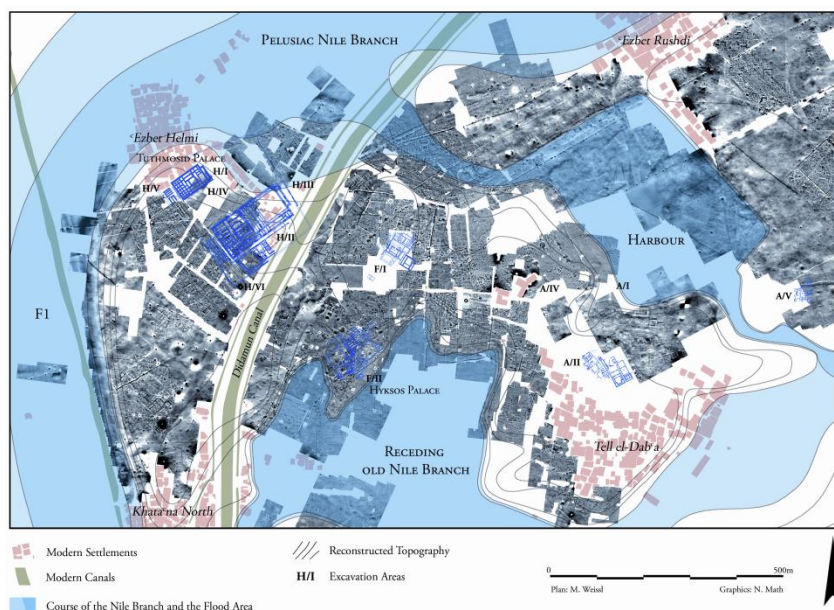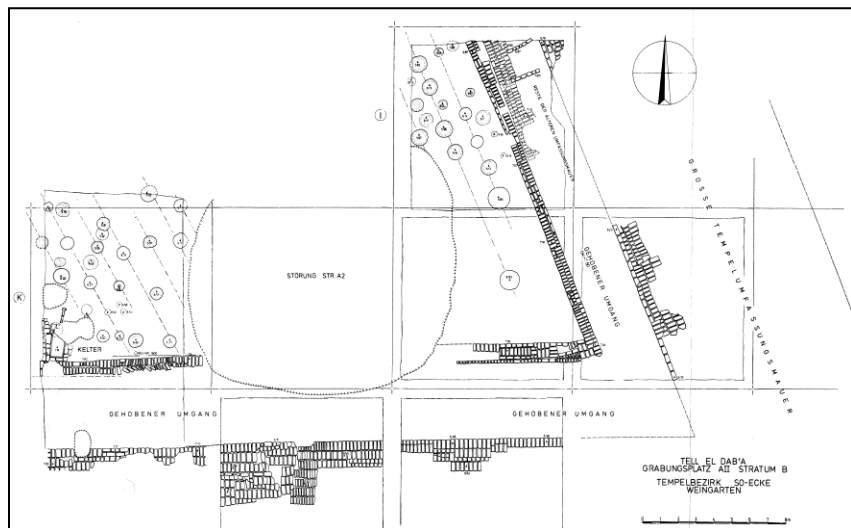
Fig. 2: Plan of the site of Avaris (Surveywork by drilling: J. Dorner, Magnetometry survey: J. Dorner, I. Forstner-Müller, T. Herbich, C. Schweitzer, M. Weißl)

Fig. 3: Precinct of the Temple of Seth at Avaris

Fig. 4: The vineyard of the 18th Dynasty within the temple precinct of Seth

Fig. 5: Lintel of a door from the Temple of Seth with the name of King Horemheb, replacing probably the name of king Tutankhamun
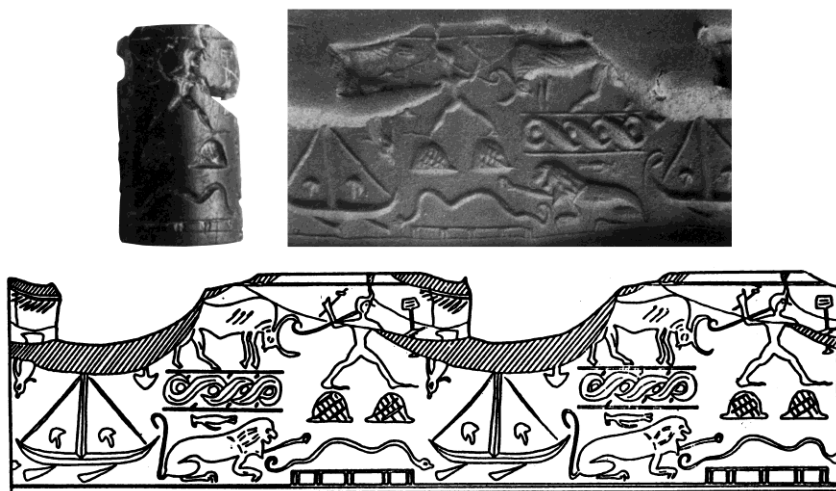
Fig. 6: Seal cylinder of hematite with the representation of the Syrian stormgod Hadad/Baʿal-Zephon as patron of the sailors, found in a level of the 13ᵗʰ Dynasty at Tell el-Dabʿa
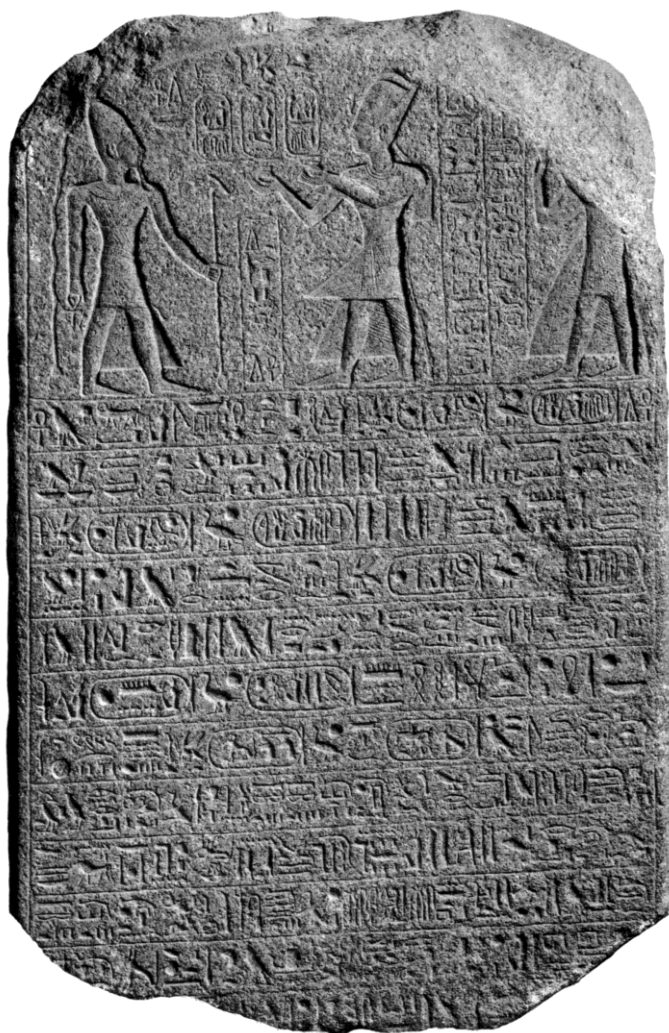
Fig. 7: Stela of 400 Years of Ramses II found at Tanis, originating from the Temple of Seth at Avaris (after *Ägypten und Levante* 1, 1990, frontispiz). The representation recalls 400 years of worship of the "Father of Fathers" Seth in guise of the Syrian storm god Hadad/Baʿal-Zephon at Avaris
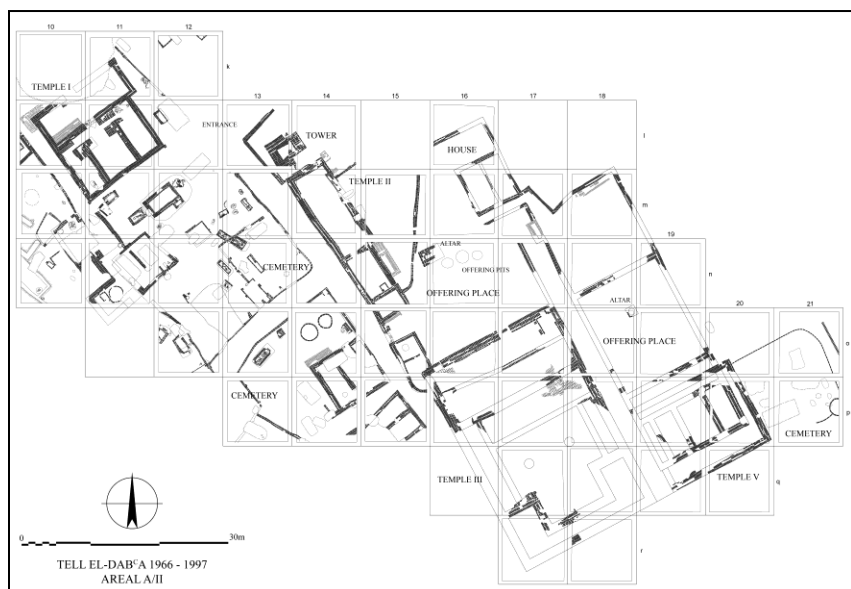
Fig. 8: Temple precinct of the Hyksos Period south of the Temple of Seth of the New Kingdom
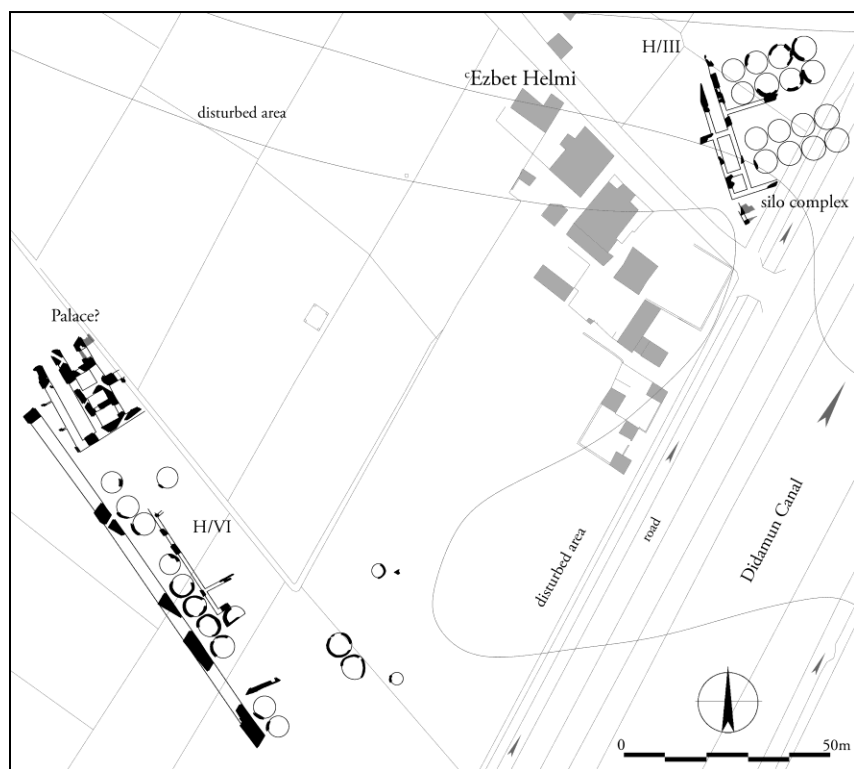
Fig. 9: Occupation of the early 18th Dynasty at the western edge of Avaris with silos, magazines and a palace, str. e/1.2, phase D/1.2

Fig. 10: Military camp and graves of soldiers of the early 18th Dynasty, str. e/1.1, phase D/1.1
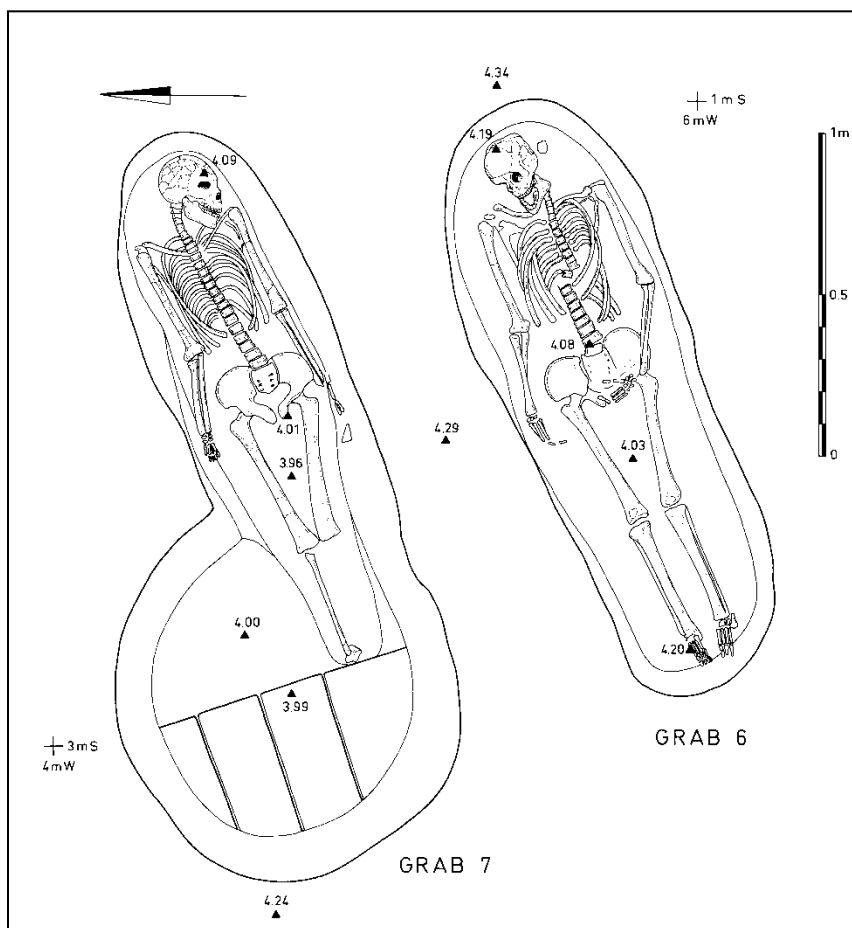
Fig. 11: Graves of soldiers of the early 18th Dynasty at the western edge of Avaris
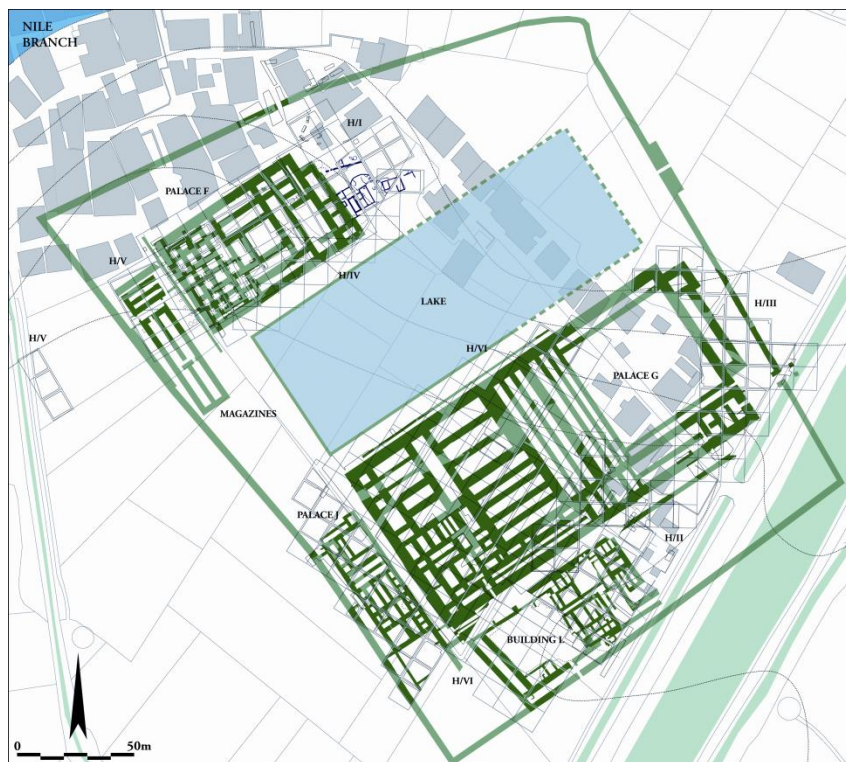
Fig. 12: Palace precinct of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II
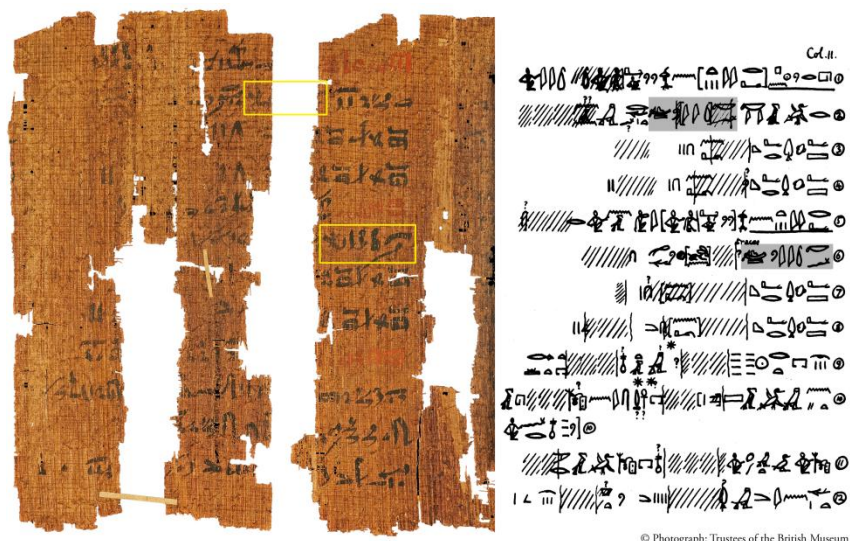
Fig. 13: British Museum Papyrus 10056: Document from the dockyard of the harbour of Peru-nefer mentioning Keftiu-ships (Cretan ships) (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum)

Fig. 14: The Nile delta and its most important ancient towns which could have been originally harbours

BC	PHASES	STR.	FEATURES			
			STRATIGRAPHY OF ᶜEZBETH HELMY			
	B / 3	b / 2	FORTRESS, HAREMHAB			
	C / 1	b / 3	BIG WALLS AMARNA PERIOD			
			HIATUS			
	C / 2	c	WORKSHOPS W1-2, SETTLEMENT I	LATE MIDDLE EARLY		
	C / 3	d	PALACES F, G, J ENCLOSURE H			
	D / 1.1	e / 1.1	GRAVES AND FIRE PITS			
	D / 1.2	e / 1.2	MAGAZINES, SILOS, SMALL PALACE			
± 1530			CONQUEST OF AVARIS			
	D / 2	e / 2	PALATIAL DISTRICT, ENCLOSURE WALL WITH BUTTRESSES, GARDENS, PLATFORM C, WATER SUPPLY			
	D / 2	f	EARLY PHASE OF e/2			
	D / 2-3	g - h	SETTLEMENT, HYKSOS PERIOD REVETMENT WALLS			

© by M. Bietak (2001)

Fig. 15: Stratigraphy of 'Ezbet Helmy/Tell el-Dab'a

① Temple of Tell Abu el-Shafᶜei
② Temple of Amun-Re-Harachte-Atum
③ Installation for Chariot Troops
④ Royal Horse Stud
⑤ Living Quarter
   (houses of different sizes, gardens, streets, canals, quai installations)
⑥ Landing for Ships with Quai Installations
⑦ Ramesside Cemetery of ᶜEzbet Helmi (Area H/VI)
⑧ Limestone Platform (Area A/IV)
⑨ Ramesside Cemetery (Area F/I)
⑩ Vineyard (Area A/V)
⑪ Tuthmoside Palace
⑫ Fortress of Horemheb
⑬ Pre-Horemheb Installation

River   Innundation Area

Fig. 16: Tell el-Dabᶜa and Qantir in the 18th and 19th Dynasty (Landscape reconstructionbased on the survey activity of J. Dorner 1982-1990)
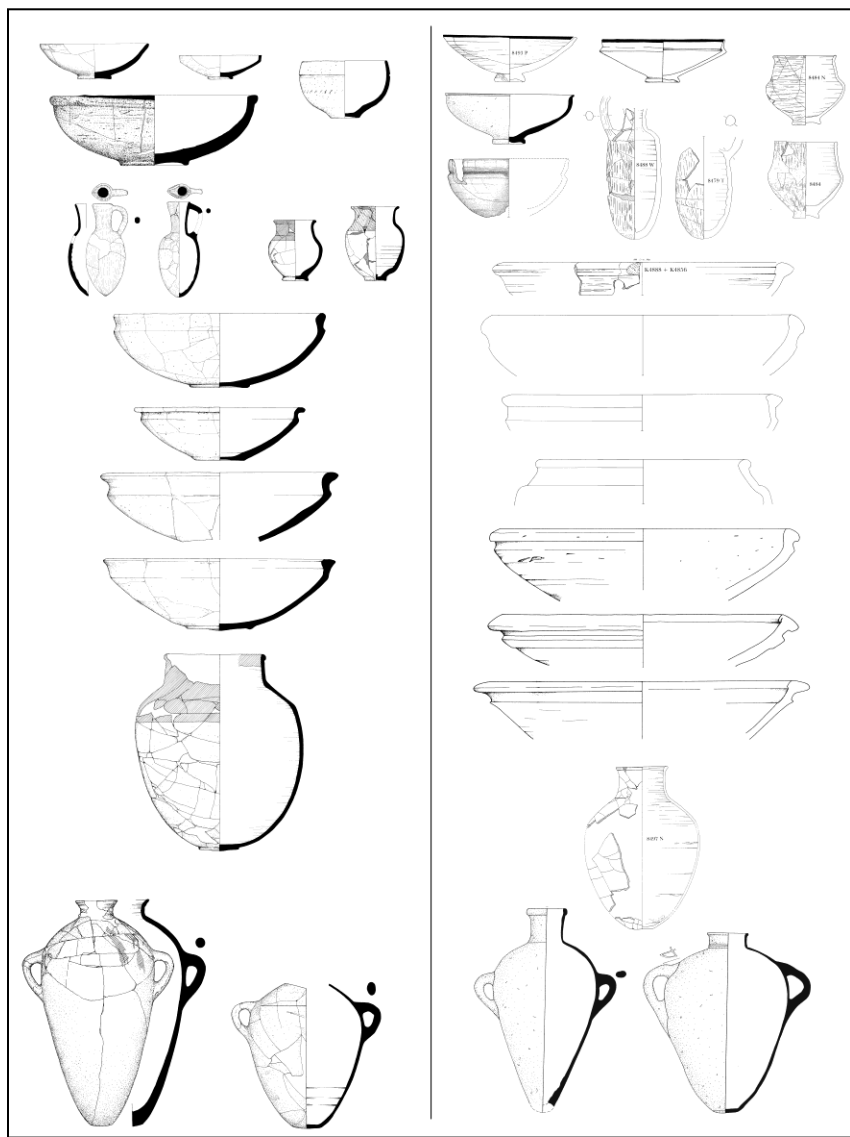
Fig. 17: Ceramic survivors of the Middle Bronze Age Culture in the time of the 18th Dynasty

Fig. 18: Amphora, dipper juglet and strainer as survivor of the Middle Bronze Age Culture in the time of the 18th Dynasty

Fig. 19: Scarabs of the New Kingdom from ʿEzbet Helmy with features of Middle Bronze Age scarabs

IDENTITY PUZZELMENT:
SAAMI IN NORWAY, PAST AND PRESENT

Robert Paine†

This article looks at how Saami (Lapps) in Norway are handling their identities as individuals. The ethnography emerges out of an extended historical period of a government policy of cultural assimilation followed today by an agenda reversal: official accord with the promotion of a Saami nation. Yesterday, Saami were to "become" Norwegians; today, Saami are called upon to affirm their Saaminess. There is a wide spectrum of responses: some leave their one-time Saami identity in the past – perhaps denying it; others find personal enhancement in their Saami identity – yet some of them may be tormented with the question of how to "re-become" a Saami. It is then especially when one "Saami" – variously defined – meets another that their identities become a *puzzle* that may defy solution. Unsurprisingly, the pervasive contextualization of "identity" evokes not just ambiguity or contradiction but also ambivalence. Furthermore, introduction of official symbols of Saami identity – e.g. bilingual road signs – instead of relieving "cultural" tension may re-ignite it.

In formal terms, the Saami[1] are a minority population, and a dispersed one, through Northern Fenno-Scandinavia and onto the Kola Peninsula in Russia. However, the dispersal is more than a matter of geography: not only may Saami communities and individuals live alongside non-Saami communities and individuals, but individuals within the same community may have quite different notions of what it means to be – or not to be – a Saami.

The key concept in this article (limited ethnographically to northernmost Norway: see map), then, is *identity* not *culture*. Certainly for the Saami ethnopoliticians, culture is the key word, but for most others of Saami heritage the response is likely to be "Wait! First, *who* am I?" And, of course, individuals are aware – in different ways and to differing extent – of how their identity is really a multiple matter – identities.

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[1] As once there were "Eskimos" but now *Inuit*, so there were "Lapps" who are now known by their own name for themselves – *Saami*.

***

But let us take a step back. Puzzlement over Saami identity?

Surely, even the foreign tourist travelling through North Norway is able to identify the Saami? First you see the tent, then the colourful tunics and, sometimes, a reindeer or two. No mistaking! But these reindeer pastoralists are but a small minority – and an exotic one – of the Saami population. The others? Fishermen, farmers, teachers, merchants, technicians, doctors, pharmacists, government employees, students, academics, and so forth – are, for the most part, dressed unremarkably. The tourist passes them by, as likely as not, as Norwegians, and so they are (the pastoralists as well) besides being Saami.

What of the *Norwegian* tourist from the south of the country? What do they see? What they learned from when they grew up – that up here in the farthest north there is a mix of Norwegian, Saami (Lapp) and Finn (Kvaen). No more than the foreign tourist do they recognize a real Saami before they see a reindeer!

But let's forget the tourist: the puzzle begins between Saami themselves.

***

I hasten to say the puzzle will not be solved here. Indeed, it is, for the most part, ontologically insoluble on account of its changing nature, involving different parties at different times and in different contexts. This of itself, though, is reason enough that the puzzle be addressed. And there is a particular urgency, given that so much of the current Saami ethnopolitical debate is energized by the idea of "becoming a nation" (Bjørklund 2000) at the centre of which is the notion of common identity – "Saami identity": and hence, *yes*! a "Saami culture."

Yet among the Saami rank and file (allow me to generalize a bit here: specific differences will be recognized farther down the road) there is no place for any easy assumption about there being *a* Saami identity and least of all about *its* national fulfilment: "for some individuals it is immensely important while for others it is totally without interest" (*Arbeidsseminar*, 2001:6; translation mine).

On the other hand, what is increasingly evident is the involvement of individuals regarding their *self-identity*. Of course there are those who proudly proclaim themselves as Saami, but for many others it is a

teasingly perhaps agonizingly complicated matter: "Am I Saami?" "How much of me?" "What part of me?"

Earlier, such questions were more dormant than alive; not only that: the prevalent feeling was that it mattered little what one felt about being or not being a Saami. Today, it does, increasingly. Nevertheless, we will see that not all know the answers about themselves.

<div align="center">***</div>

Now, given this background, I think it helpful to consider at the outset the place of Saami in Norway in respect of *being* and *becoming*. And here there are two historically-spaced scenarios:

Behind the contemporary scene lies the Norwegian policy of assimilation of Saami by which they become – were made to become, in one manner of another Norwegian. The policy was particularly effective along the coast – where the majority of Saami reside.

However, the era of assimilation politics is past. Hence the increasing self-involvement of individuals with a Saami background regarding their *own* identity/identities. This is particularly evident in decisions about *re-becoming* Saami as opposed to just lamely being one, even as they remain being Norwegians.[2]

Taken together, assimilation and self-realization produce this processual sequence often within the timespan of two generations:

Being a Saami, becoming a Norwegian;

Being a Norwegian, re-becoming a Saami.

Now, with this background in mind, let us approach the decision of the Norwegian parliament, in 1987, that there shall be a Saami Assembly or parliament: *diggji* in Saamisk and in Norwegian *Sametinget*.

Quite how – within what limits – it is a "parliament" I have to gloss over here: suffice it to say that (a) it receives its funding from the Norwegian state, (b) it has both decision-making powers on culturally defined issues and advisory responsibilities on political issues and (c) of course the distinction between cultural and political itself becomes a twister.

Yet one thing is quite clear: the presence of a Saami Assembly requires the provision of an eligible Saami electorate: some 5000 *self-*

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[2] Here my attention is caught by the Maori notion of "going home, growing home" as a re-directing of life following the realization of having missed out on vital aspects of self as a Maori (Ramstad 2001:57).

declared Saami took part as registered voters in the first election to the Assembly in 1989. It is impossible to say how many individuals of Saami heritage there are – globally or in Norway (Aubert 1978) and we come to the make-belief of it all in a moment; but at least to put the "5000" in some perspective, it is repeatedly cited that there are 30,000 Saami in Norway.

Note should also be taken of the fact that voting in the Saami Assembly elections does not disqualify a person from voting in the elections for the Norwegian parliament: *Stortinget* (literally, "The Large [inclusive] Assembly"); to the contrary, it remains her/his duty as a citizen to do so.

Yet in relation to the core of this article, what carries the most significance is, surely, the *introspective* character of this electoral enterprise. This is underlined by the key self-declarative question that all potential voters should answer: "do you feel yourself to be a Saami?"

Now, as already suggested, declaring "I am a Saami" can be a particularly delicate issue for the individual who wishes to *re-become* a Saami but has lived her/his life thus far as a Norwegian: "I'm a Saami ... but will others recognize that?" Or "I'm a Saami ... but should I keep that to myself? And *can* I do that? ... What game of deception am I leading others into?"

Of course, there are those whose re-becoming is an act of intensification (and simplification) of identity: "I am a Saami. Period."

But here the self-revelation carries its own load – not of deceiving others but of *self*-deception: namely, that there is no Norwegian in you? Nothing Norwegian about you!

So there emerges a general unease over this officially chosen self-declarative question – "do you feel yourself to be a Saami?" – particularly among younger Saami, not necessarily members of the Assembly but whose voices are heard.

Why, then, is such a question still in use? The Assembly's President answer is that "the Saami voice will fall silent if we take it away" (*Finnmark Dagblad* 1995, 22nd Sept.; translation mine) Nor – I think it is reasonable to add – was there much of an alternative?

But let us note that beyond the introspection, there is (arguably) an unavoidable element of *make-belief*. Namely, the other qualifying hurdle that has to be jumped in order to qualify as a voter for the Saami As-

sembly has to do with the place of the Saami language in a person's history: If neither oneself nor one's parents spoke Saami, then it is enough that a grandparent does or did – and this is later extended to great-grandparentage. Now, an interesting relationship has been suggested between these two requirements: the great-grandparent rule alone (in keeping with the element of make-belief) might well provide a Saami majority in North Norway; however, "the criterion of self-ascription reduces the number" (Thuen 2002: 6).

An element of make-belief? Who really knows, in this polyglot landscape, which language or languages great-grandparents used – and in what contexts? Indeed, the element of make-belief is held up for ridicule: hence this widely gossiped story about the Dane who is married to a Saami, lives in Norway, and wishes to become an eligible voter for the Saami Assembly: How can he? Well, *he speaks Saamisk to his dog*, that's how!

<center>***</center>

But we have entered the 21st century and with it come a generation of young persons – among others – whose *parents* (but not the youngsters themselves) moved experientially from "being" a Norwegian to "re-becoming" a Saami. Such families, then, are they "secure" and at peace with themselves in their Saami world?

For some (I can't give numbers) this is undoubtedly true. But for others we find generational differences in the handling of being Saami. Here I cite a Saami ethnographer from the community of Karasjok, itself – along with Kautokeino[3] – a vibrant cultural centre:

> [For] today's parent generation, the life project was to create a Saami identity solely based on Saami traditions .... This was a project in opposition to mainstream society.

And the children?

> [They] have no lost Saami past to avenge or mourn. ... They are ... claiming their right to determine their own terms and symbols of ness ... (Stordahl 1997: 145-48.)

This can leave parents at a loss: why, for example, would one's children who speak Saami with their friends and whose parents speak Saami to

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[3] The Saami Assembly is in Karasjok, the Saami research institute and university college in Kautokeino.

them, resort to Norwegian at home in front of their parents? The answer (Stordhal suggests) is a protest against parental attempts to direct them as to what is "correct" and "incorrect" Saami behaviour: the children insist on managing their own Saami identity; and in this "management" there are likely to be elements of invention. In other words, another phase of "re-becoming" is being entered into. And here I would call attention to how Saami radio and television and song and theatre producers and artists are launching Saami-ness in new imaginative directions.[4]

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That characterizes the situation in Karasjok and Kautokeino in the interior of Finnmark. But what's happening out along the coast? In one bay there are the sounds of cultural warfare, in another – silence. It's warfare in Kafjord, it's silence in Kokelv.

In *Kafjord*, among those who now see themselves as being Norwegian, there is anger over what they see as attempts by fellow villagers to undo that Norwegian identity: "it's like experiencing assimilation [in reverse] once again" (Hovland 1996:60; translation mine). And among those who wish to re-become Saami, life is marked by painful contradictions between family members:

> I know if I say I'm a Saami, so dad says, 'No, that you are not'!"
> (Hovland p. 92; translation mine)

And just as hurtful is the scorn of Kautokeino Saami – I see them as the emblematic Saami – visiting the coast, telling those of Kafjord who have declared themselves Saami – perhaps using Norwegian to do so but have dressed themselves as Saami – that you don't become a Saami simply by wearing Saami clothing (Hovland p.125).

What I think is particularly worth stressing is that many of the young people of Kafjord are truly "migrants of identity" (Rapport & Dawson 1998) but it is migration in time not space; they do not move geographically, they are still *in* Kafjord but they self-consciously face the question *which* Kafjord are we *of*? Or, can the different Kafjords be combined? Their parents, on the other hand, having done one such migration (towards Norwegian-ness) likely want no more of it.

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[4] Several of the essays in Gaski 1997 serve well as an introduction, in English.

Kokelv was also subjected to assimilation but in contrast to Kafjord it is not a cultural battlefield today; or rather, perhaps the battle is to avoid such a battle:

We want peace in Saami politics ...(Paine 2000: fieldnotes).

In Kokelv today, but not Kafjord, instances of re-becoming Saami are the exception. Kokelvers have also been migrants of identity but their journey is now concluded: there's no turning back from having been Saami to now "being" Norwegian.

(Of more than mere incidental relevance here: On my arrival in Kokelv, back in 1951, they refused to teach me Saamisk – and at least among the elderly, Saamisk along with Norwegian were their alternating languages. Why their refusal? Because: after all, I am an *Englishman*! It wasn't until I returned to Kokelv two years later with a functional ability in Saamisk, having spent time with a pastoralist group, that Saamisk was recognized, perforce, as appropriate for this "Englishman"! But was I still one to them?)

How to explain the Kafjord-Kokelv contrast? I think that in the main it has to do with a contrast – and its implications for personal awareness of "who I am" and "whom I am not" – between the ethnic homogeneity of Kokelv and the heterogeneity of Kafjord with not just Norwegian immigrants but Finnish as well. Assimilation politics through church and school were more effective in the homogenous Kokelv than ever it has been or is to this day in Kafjord.

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I remarked earlier that Saami – along with the rest of us – are entering the 21st century. What this means for the self-declared Saami – be they in Kafjord Karasjok or Kautokeino – is that at the same time as they are making for themselves "new" Saami worlds, they are also being brought face to face with the world at large through *Norwegian* and *English* radio and television programming, as well as Saamisk.

And so, one may well suppose that as this young generation reaches adulthood, their cultural *habitus* of being Saami will have relatively open borders with the *habitus* of being Norwegian. And we hear it proudly claimed, ethno-politically:

I don't just have one foot in each camp [Saami and Norwegian], I have both feet in both! (Paine 2001:fieldnotes)

Even as we hear, despairingly:

I'm no proper Saami! I have so many kinds of background (Hovland 1996:85; translation mine).

And yet, having both feet in both camps, is part of what modernity has brought. Furthermore, there is the essential need of Saami ethno-politicians for competence and confidence in the non-Saami world "in order to be heard and taken seriously" in decision-making circles there (Gaski 1997:12).

Yet there are warnings as well as to what the implication may be for cultural self-identity. Here are two, the first from a Saami from the coast speaking as an "ordinary" person (but with telling irony) about "Saami in top positions,"

[t]hrough the educational system they have become so Norwegian, but they don't see that themselves (Andersen 1999:125; transl. & emphasis added; cf. Paine 1955: 319).

And the second one is from a Saami who certainly experiences "top positions":

When we have learned the language of power, [we may well turn into] a kind of political actor without a cultural base (Gaski 1997:20).

<center>***</center>

I've repeatedly highlighted *difference* among the Saami and the *dissension* that likely follows from it; but there are many whose plea can be rendered as: "Let my being be!" – whether it be a Saami being or a Norwegian one or a combination thereof.

However, there *is* a cultural *cum* political home for such people, along with many "ordinary" Saami for whom the distance between their local world and that which is promulgated by the Saami elite is too great: it is the SLF party: *Samenes Landsforbund*. (I have not intruded the word "ordinary" into the discourse, one finds it both in Saamisk and Norwegian texts.)

An approximation of SLF sentiment – at least in terms of this article – might be "Let my being be: I am a Saami *and* a Norwegian. So be it." In short, it makes being into a respectable cultural and political alternative to re-becoming. The SLF has its own intellectuals, its own political leadership, and can justly claim a bicultural philosophy and practice (if a somewhat muted one). I cite a leading SLF figure:

We wish to pursue a moderate Saami political line. We will live peacefully together with our neighbours in the whole of Finnmark ...

And from this it follows

One cannot demand special rights for ourselves as Saami (Nielsen 1986:66; translation mine).

Thus the SLF declines participation in the Saami Assembly; in effect, it asks "why should we favour the Assembly as the guardian of our common interests rather than the state?"

And here it is worth noting how the reindeer pastoralists ask themselves much the same question – but for a different reason: the interests of sedentary Saami dominate the Assembly at the cost of pastoral interests. The Saami pastoralist feels 'safer' in dealing with the state where – especially in recent years – reindeer pastoralism is recognized and supported as one primary resource in the national economy among several.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

I have perhaps given too little attention to the place of the Norwegian state in this Saami puzzle. There have been interventions by the state in the name of cultural enlightenment. Thus some North Norwegian municipalities have been declared Saami municipalities: Kafjord is one of them (also Kautokeino and Karasjok, of course). This meant, among other things, the introduction of the language law whereby Samisk is afforded equal rights with Norwegian: i.e. Saami-speakers must be heard and responses given in Saamisk when they so wish.

The question is, then, what effect will such *imposed* procedures have in a community, such as Kafjord, that is already embroiled in its own ethnopolitical battle? Clearly, moral autonomy has been both enhanced and prejudiced: enhanced for the Saami activists, prejudiced for those who now see Kafjord as their Norwegian home.

There is also an irony about the situation that should not pass us by. As seen by the "Norwegians" of Kafjord, it is *their state* – the Norwegian state – that has sided against them, in support of their "Saami" adversaries! In short, the state has sided with one faction of Saami against other Saami with different ideas of what the future – and the present day – should hold. Here is a typical voice of dissent:

Declaring Kafjord a Saami place meant the loss of [our] domicile. Others have taken it. (Hovland 1999:184; translation mine)

However, in the view of one who is engaged in Saami cultural life but is not himself a native of Kafjord, his concern is not with the loss of "domicile" but of *choice*:

> Kafjord is now defined legally as a Saami place – well and good; but the danger is that people will lose their sense of choice. (Paine 2001: field-notes)

Yet choice is not what everybody wants; indeed, some wish to deny it of others. For example, the response among the Saami "Norwegians" of Kafjord to the introduction of road signs in Norwegian, Saami and Finnish (instead of simply Norwegian) has led to the physical blotting out of the Saami and Finnish words on the signs!

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In closing: a question that we are left with is how does today's cultural diversity with its marked subjectivities fit in with everyday life? For the moment, the immediate answer is that there is much that is ill-fitting. On the other hand, Saami are making their own constructions of self-identity, replacing prescribed identities imposed upon them. Thus, alongside sameness and sharedness, those old hallmark notions of culture, there emerges, with new force, an emphasis on individual uniqueness, not simply collective uniqueness (which is too easily seen as amounting to "sameness".)

But still, there is unease over possible incompatibility between the necessity – as held by some Saami – of ethnopolitical programming (a successor to Norwegian hegemony) and the value of individuality. In short, collective uniqueness and individual uniqueness are sometimes pulling against each other.

Is it, then, in this pulling against each other that we find Saami *culture*?

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Appendix
A map of Northernmost Norway
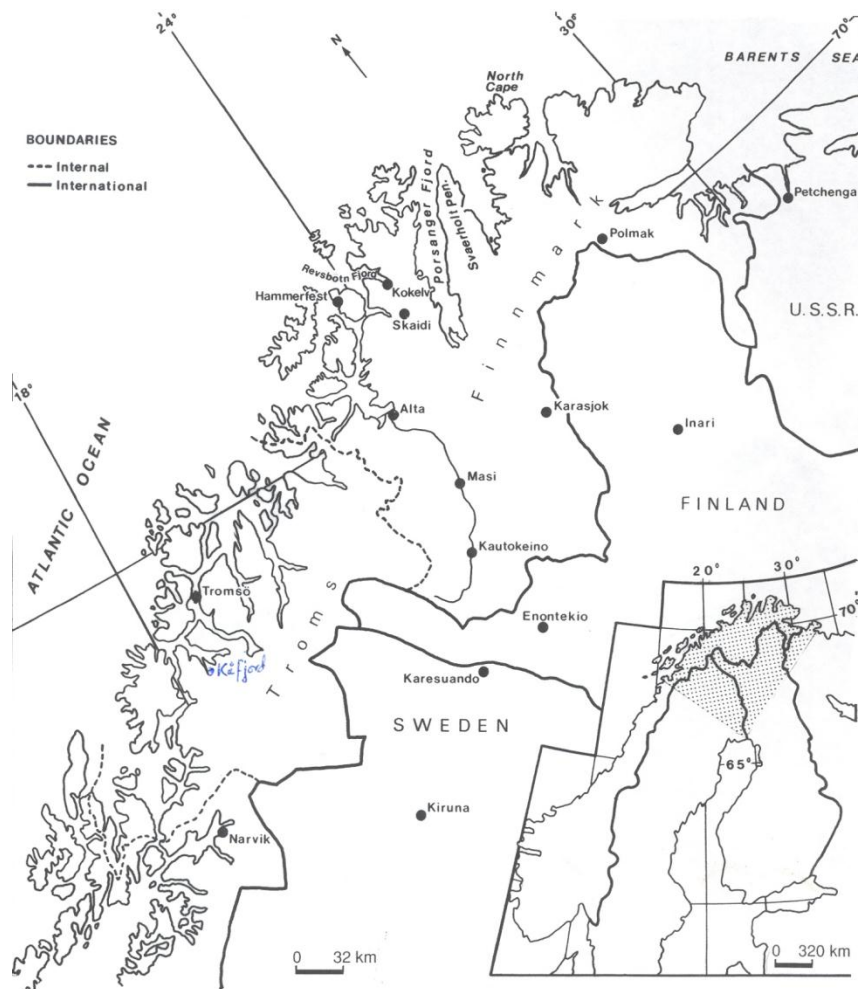
HIGH STATUS IMMIGRATION GROUP AND CULTURE RETENTION: GERMAN JEWISH IMMIGRANTS IN BRITISH-RULED PALESTINE

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy

The case of the German Jewish immigrants in British-ruled Palestine raises questions of identity negotiations and culture conflicts in the context of immigration – in this case, not between different national groups but in a multi-ethnic situation within what is believed to be *one and the same* national society. Immigration research has dealt lengthily with questions of culture retention and asked if and how it correlates with ethnic segregation. The assimilationist view in the 1960s and 1970s saw a fatal bond between ethnic-cultural retention and problems of social integration. Today, on the contrary, a multi-cultural agenda prevails and ethnicity is being celebrated. However, students of immigration like Herbert Gans (1997), Mary Waters (1990) or Richard Alba (1990) have already argued against this clear-cut dichotomy and have shown that 'ethnic options' are often situational, influenced by their potential symbolic profits for the individuals, and do not necessarily go hand in hand with failed absorption.

While immigration research usually focuses on low-status immigrants, here I ask about a marginal-yet-high-status immigrant group. The critique of Israeli society mostly addresses the repression of 'non-European' groups through dominating *Ashkenazi* cultural machinery, but it often overlooks other formative identity battles that do not fit in this dichotomy, yet which were crucial for the westernization of the local culture. An intriguing case is the German Jewish newcomers (known under the popular nickname '*Yeckes*') in their encounter with the veteran Jewish community (the '*Yishuv*') in British-ruled Palestine (1918-1948).

Between 1933 and 1939, around 60,000 immigrants from Germany and German speaking territories arrived in Palestine.[1] Although they

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[1] According to various sources, until 1928 the number of Jewish German immigrants in Palestine ranged between 1,000 and 2,132 people (Ben-Avram 1984. The estimated numbers vary for several reasons, such as the fact that not all the

constituted only about 24% of the massive immigration wave during these years, they were the dominant group in it (Eliav 1985; see detailed analysis in Gelber 1990).[2] At this point, the semi-autonomous Jewish society in Palestine was already in an accelerated process of formation. Although this has been a society of immigrants from its birth, the newcomers from Germany were specifically marked out as a foreign, culturally incompatible element. Their reputation – which has endured quite effectively to the present day – is that of 'European aliens in the Levant', that is, highly cultured people, deeply attached to their fatherland culture, who had hard time adapting to the local life. There is a whole folkloric lore about the *Yeckes*' culture shock and inadaptability, that allegedly caused their segregation – how they suffered from the locals' non-modern norms of public life, low hygiene and professional standard, bad taste, ignorance and lack of good manners – for all of which they called the locals '[primitive] Asians'.

But why and how deeply was their culture shock different (and so much harder) than that of those who came to Palestine from Eastern-Europe before and at the same time with them? It is usually taken for granted that it was their distinctive home culture, internalized firmly in their minds and bodies, which had prevented their assimilation. Yet, although much has been said about the peculiarities of the German Jews, their immigration story in Palestine still raises questions about identity formation, ethnic choices and culture estrangement. Obviously, the context of the *Yeckes*' alienation in Palestine was *not* their encounter with a supposedly 'native', 'oriental' culture, but rather with that of mainstream Jewish community of predominantly East-European origins, who were the majority, and from whose ranks the political leadership and hegemonic Hebrew culture emerged (e.g., Ben-Avram 1984). Yet this encounter had a history: it was a continuation, and in a way a reversal, of the alienation with which German Jews approached the 'Eastern Jews' (*Ostjuden*) who immigrated to Germany ever since the 19th century (Aschheim 1982; Barkai and Mendes-Flohr 1996; Bloom

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Jews who immigrated to Palestine from Germany were German citizens, or the fact that not all of them stayed In Palestine).

[2] The 5th *Aliya* is estimated to have comprised 245,000 people; this was a massive immigration wave, which actually doubled the Jewish population in Palestine, which in 1933 amounted to roughly 250,000 people (Eliav 1985)

2007; Volkov 2002; Weiss 2000; Wertheimer 1987). Only in Palestine the people from the East were now the veterans. Let me say my argument in advance: The *Yeckes*' retention tendencies and distinctive habitus were *induced* by an ongoing distinction process that involved the two parties, the immigrants and the veterans, and which was instrumental in – and not an obstacle to – their social integration. In what follows I will touch on some aspects of this dynamics, and then illustrate it by an example from the legal profession.

A few words of reservation are due: first, the material I have at my disposal, such as memoirs, autobiographies, popular anecdotes, newspaper articles and secondary literature, as well as some pilot interviews – all these discursive practices reflect the *image* of the *Yeckes* and not their actual performance. Nevertheless they all have created a mythology of the *Yeckes*, which is in itself a powerful social fact, to judge by the way it has been so intensely perpetuated. Second, there is certainly a problem of generalization here: the term *Yeckes* automatically brings to mind high cultured, urban liberal professionals and intellectuals; but this was just one layer (albeit relatively large) that amounted to roughly 10% of this population.[3] All the others were merchants and retailers (roughly 30%), as well as blue-collar craftspeople and manual workers (roughly 20%; detailed analysis in Gelber 1990). Moreover, this large group of immigrants was sociologically diverse and stratified – there were Zionist and non-Zionist circles, secular and religious, those who came from the big cities or from small towns and rural provinces, highly educated and semi-educated, single young people and adolescents in groups, or families with capital and property. And as in other immigrant groups, their cultural options and integration strategies varied according to all these factors.[4] Yet for all their stratification, they all

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[3] Their number amounted to around 7000 people (Eliav 1985, Gelber 1990: 57, and elsewhere), although in the beginning their share was higher and amounted to roughly 20% of the population of German immigrants. In spring 1933 the Jewish emigrants from Germany to Palestine were mainly medical doctors, lawyers and civil servants who suffered most drastically from the boycott on their jobs in Germany, and were able to receive an immigration certificate to Palestine as professionals (Niederland 1988; Barkai & Mendes-Flohr 1996).

[4] In terms of socioeconomic background and motivation to immigrate, these immigrants are usually roughly grouped under three categories: the early Zion-

were tagged by – and readily embraced – a unifying stereotype of Prussian-like order freaks and cultural snobs. On the positive side, this stereotype includes self-discipline, integrity, perfectionism, diligence, efficiency and civilized good manners; yet at the same time it also conveys dogmatism, pedantry and obedience, bordering on inflexibility and mental rigidity, even blockheadedness (e.g., Ben-Avram 1984; Berkowitz 1997; Eliav 1985; Gay 1989; Gelber 1990; Getter 1979, 1981; Miron 2004; Niederland 1984; Reinharz 1978; Stachel 1995; Stone 1997).

And thirdly, regardless of this stereotype, by and large, the *Yeckes* had shown great ability to integrate socially and economically in many various fields, from commerce, industry or banking, not to mention medicine and the academia, to blue-collar professions and agriculture (e.g., Gelber 1990; Niederland 1984; Getter 1979; Stachel 1995). They were quite flexible in terms of occupational retraining and dispersion in the country – including in agricultural settlements and *Kibbutzim* (Gelber 1990, 173-257, 317-384; *Palestine and Jewish Emigration from Germany* 1939, 19-22),[5] and even the rate of emigrants among them was not as high as commonly thought (Gelber 1990, 233-236; see also Erel, quoting Preuss 1989, 40-42).[6]

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ists, who arrived during the 1920s, the 'disillusioned', or 'belated Zionists', who left Germany after the Nazis rose to power, and those who came as refugees after 1938 (Getter 1979; for an analysis of immigration patterns of German Jews in general, see Niederland 1996). Moreover, a critical distinction is usually drawn between the large wave of immigration of 1933-1939, which amounted to tens of thousands of people, and the small community of mostly Zionist German Jews who had settled in Palestine for ideological reasons already in the early 1920s; they came mostly from the urban, professional Jewish bourgeoisie, and later served as supportive and organizing elite for the newcomers during the 1930s. However, I suggest that age and marital status was a most important factor of distinction, as the inclinations to cultural closure of single young immigrants and adolescents were significantly weaker than these of older people who came with families and property.

[5] There are different sources of data, but it seems safe to say that at least 15% of the German immigrants settled in rural communities. In other sources the number is even higher. According to the *Palestine and Jewish Emigration from Germany 1939* Report, 16,000 out of 50,000 German immigrants in Palestine settled in rural places of residence.

[6] Walter Preuss reports about less than 10% of emigration among German Jew-

In spite of all this, however, they have never been considered by historians to be a central force in the formation of the Palestinian-Hebrew *culture*. An obvious reason seems to have been their relatively marginal *political* status, but this marginality is always explained in cultural term: The *Yeckes* are said to have been the proponents *par excellence* of a local civic bourgeois culture, which was allegedly not in line with what was seen as the core of modern Hebrew culture. It is widely believed that this culture was dominated by a socialist nation-building agenda which gave rise to a new, 'productive' society of workers and agricultural settlers, as opposed to – and at the cost of – an urban 'bourgeois' society. Apparently, this view was so compelling that it was taken a bit too much at face value to be a true reflection of reality (Ben-Avram & Nir 1995, Ben-Porat 1999, Bar-On and De Vries 2001).

However, as recent studies increasingly recognize, there was a growing Jewish urban middle-class in Palestine, even before the massive immigration of the Germans (Ben-Porath 1999; Karlinksy 2000). The majority of this community (about 80%) lived in towns already in the 1920s. They were predominantly low and middle middle-class people who sought in Palestine opportunities to improve their lives, many of whom were educated or semi-educated merchants, craftspeople and service employees.[7] Among the 20% of Jews who lived in the rural frontiers,[8] only small groups were actually experimenting the new life model as ascetic *anti-bourgeois* 'pioneers' in the spirit of the *labor-movement* Zionist ideals (Ben-Avram & Nir 1995, Ben-Porat 1999, Alroey 2004). But even the workers in the cities were often petit-bourgeois people who shared the same aspirations to modern, European-oriented secular values and life-standards that the German newcomers practically represented. Tel Aviv was already a fashion-aspiring town, and even if this did not apply to the entire population, when the German immi-

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ish immigrants in Palestine until 1956, compared to over 25% of the general population in the years 1919-1931 (Cited in Erel 1989:14).

[7] For instance, in 1922, 68,622 out of 83,749 Jews who lived in Palestine resided towns. The working Jewish population comprised of 19.9% agricultural workers, 18.4% in small factories, 14.5% in construction and 47.2% in the public services (Ben-Avram & Nir 1995: 54).

[8] In 1922 it amounted to roughly 18% of the Jewish population; from 1924, with the 4th *Aliya*, the share of the Jewish urban population increased. (ibid).

grants arrived they could find in Palestine enough leisure facilities and well dressed, educated people like themselves. So that when Ziona Rabau, a known Tel Aviv Figure, herself a native of Palestine (1906) who married a German-born gynecologist, comments in her memoirs on her failure to meet the expectations of her husband's *Yecke* family that she wear bourgeois clothing – especially a hat (Rabau 1982: 105) – she is certainly exaggerating to make a point.

In light of this extant infrastructure, the cultural peculiarity of the German newcomers seem to have been a bit overstated, not because they were so totally different, but actually because of the *affinity* between them and the locals, the earlier immigrants (Sela-Sheffy 2006). In other words, the fact that the home-country repertoire is maintained by immigrants is almost trivial. As Even-Zohar has already established in his pioneering work on the construction of Hebrew culture in Palestine (1990 [1982]), even in cases of deliberate efforts to construct a new culture such as this one, much of the old culture still persists – if often unnoticed. The point with the *Yeckes* is that their retention tendencies have been *amplified and foregrounded* so as to serve their claim to *monopoly* on this repertoire.

Unlike cases of underprivileged immigrants, the *Yeckes* were in possession of resources – and not just economic ones. Their collective stereotype was quite profitable in the local 'market of symbolic goods', and therefore induced a dynamics of negotiating for its price.[9] This negotiation is evidenced from many popular accounts where the attitude of the veterans wavers between recognizing the value of this behavior and delegitimizing it. Here is one example from a newspaper column by journalist Yaacov Gal (published posthumously, Gal 1952), which reported anecdotes from Tel Aviv law-court during the 1940s:

> … I was going in a taxicab with a tourist down Herzl Street, a major traffic disaster especially during early noon. Suddenly an ambulance siren shrieked. None of the drivers were impressed, including our cab

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[9] Like other cases of 'symbolic ethnicity' (Gans 1979) their culture retention tendency was manifest in certain areas of life more than in others. While, as mentioned, they were known to be quite flexible, for instance, in occupation choices, their conservatism was more conspicuous in traditionally symbolic ethnic elements and matters of taste, such as, notable linguistic behavior, dress, music and leisure practices (as will be argued below).

driver. There was only one little car that seemed very obedient – it immediately turned to the side; the driver parked it and gestured to the ambulance to pass. Everyone else kept on driving without any effort to clear the way. … The tourist commented: "I have never seen anything like this… only one person stopped their car". To which the driver instantly replied: "Look at him and you can immediately see that he's a Yecke. Only the Yeckes are such idiots." (Gal 1952, p. 136; all translations are mine, R.S.)

This anecdote, which unbelievably resembles Israeli discourse of identity today (see Sela-Sheffy 2004), is typical for its ambivalence, in employing self-distancing techniques and implied admiration for 'European-like civilized behavior'. It is told from two conflicting voices – the insider and the outsider. The taxi driver here reflects what the narrator sees as the default attitude of the locals: not only does the *Yecke* driver stand out from all the others in obeying norms of public order, but his behavior is actually mocked at as awkward and totally unfitting. To dissociate himself from the 'faulty standards' of the locals, the narrator mobilizes the perspective of a 'civilized stranger' – the tourist, who identifies with the *Yeckes'* code of civil manners – and expresses astonishment.

On the other hand, many other reports were plainly aggressive and confrontational. Discussions of the 'integration problem' of the German newcomers were common in the local newspapers during the 1930s, where they were accused with opportunism and indifference to the nation-building project. Now, the same reproaching discourse had already been directed against earlier petit-bourgeois immigrants throughout the 1920s (e.g., Ben-Avram & Nir 1995). Yet in the case of the *Yeckes'* it was tinted with resentment towards their cultural habits – and specifically their use of the German *language*, which was interpreted as a patronizing claim for cultural superiority.[10] An article in *Hapoel Hatzair* in 1939 says:

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[10] The *Yeckes'* linguistic resistance, namely, their inability or refusal to speak Hebrew, is a typical aspect of their mythology. I personally have heard the same generic story from two different persons, about their mother who was asked: 'are you not ashamed that you live in Israel for so long and don't know Hebrew?' to which she replied: 'it is easier to be ashamed than to learn this language!'

> [The German immigrants] are absolutely certain, without any shame or embarrassment, that the Yishuv must adapt to them. They arrogantly speak German, in cafés and on the bus, in shops, everywhere in public. Moreover, they are deeply insulted and often retort in an insolent and aggressive manner if anyone refuses to respond in German ... The desire for a new life and a Hebrew culture, which is the driving force of our life here, is absolutely alien to them.... one often gets the impression that the 70,000 German speakers in the country are the 'majority' within the 300,000 Hebrew speakers in the Yishuv ... This is not a mere linguistic issue, but also a cultural-intellectual one. (Ben-David, 1939, p. 11)

However, German was by no means the only other language spoken by Jews in Palestine at the time. Asher Benari, a young German immigrant who arrived in Palestine with the group that founded Kibbutz HaZorea (1935), comments on this in his memoirs: 'We were newcomers […still] knew very little Hebrew, and what was even worse – we did not speak Yiddish, the ordinary spoken language in the *Yishuv* which at that time was composed predominantly of descendents of Eastern-Europe' (Benari 1986: 82–83). Apparently, what was resented by the locals was not just the *Yeckes*' avoidance of Hebrew but specifically their use of *German*, understood as a token of snobbery.

From the viewpoint of the German immigrants, this was certainly a matter of distinction. While many of them may have been ambivalent about Hebrew, most of them abhorred Yiddish (e.g., Cohen 2000; this sentiment has hardly waned even until today, as emerges from *Yecke's* memoirs and interviews). This aversion was obviously rooted in the socio-cultural stratification of the Jews already in Germany. It was this self-distancing attitude on the part of the Jews aspiring to become German towards their brothers from the East, especially since many of these German Jews were themselves only first or second generation of Eastern-European immigrants in Germany (Barkai and Mendes-Flohr 1996, and elsewhere). Gerda Cohen, born and raised in a West German town, accounts for this situation most openly in her autobiographical book:

> ... Yiddish was despised and ridiculed [by her relatives and herself] and regarded as an aberration of German, far removed from Poetry and literature ... Most of the children [in the youth movement] were not entirely Yeckes, their parents had emigrated to Germany from Poland and brought along Yiddish and the books that they loved. But their children

learned very quickly to feel embarrassed for the broken German of their parents; they, themselves, spoke and read only good German (Cohen 2000: 18).[11]

Now, many of these Germanized children from the East were also among the *Yeckes* who arrived in Palestine. This is a well known fact, but astonishingly left out as irrelevant to the story of the *Yeckes* in Palestine. Reading memoirs and biographies of these people one cannot fail to be struck by the rapid and quasi-natural acculturation of these Jewish families and their accelerated attainment of a sound sense of Germanness – with its modern, secular, highly cultured habitus – sometime within the span of *one generation*.[12] For these people, arriving in Palestine was the second immigration in their own or their parents' lifetime. Only this time they were immigrants with symbolic capital, and Germanness was *their* own prime asset. Precisely because they were newly arrived self-made Germans, they were obviously reluctant to give it up.

In short, while in many other cases it is the *Been Heres* who exercise culture distinction practices to dissociate themselves from lower-status

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[11] The ancestors of the narrator herself were veteran Jewish families in the Rhine area. A child of petit-bourgeois family, a retailer and a dressmaker, in a provincial town near Dortmund, she nevertheless became very aware of this cultural distinction: 'In the Jewish school in Dortmund there were many children of people from Eastern Europe, they were called *Ostjuden*, and my mother did not like it. My father was easier. He worked not once with merchants who came from East Europe and he liked them […] the question where the children should go to school was very disturbing [for my parents…]' (Cohen 2000: 7).

[12] One such typical story is that of Cessi Rosenbluth, a daughter of a highbrow wealthy family (a lawyer and an intellectual lady engaged in community work) from Berlin, whose two grandfathers came from provincial orthodox Jewish communities in Poland. Consider, for instance, her description of her uncle's (fathers' brother) self-fashioning trajectory (which resembles many other *Yeckes'*):

He left his parents' home [on the Polish border area] at early age. First he kept on with his father's business – a textile and haberdashery shop, and after some vacillations opened a large wholesale business of lacework and decoration, and moved most of his family – including my father – to Berlin. He did not have the basic formal education, but his whole appearance and conduct were those of a gentle noble man. He was expert in art, a perfect athlete, he particularly loved back-horse riding […] (Rosenbluth 21-22).

invaders (I am thinking, e.g., of Norbert Elias' essay on *The established and the outsider*, Elias & Scotson 1994), in Palestine it was the German *Come-Heres* who controlled the culture index and were able to profit from monopolizing it as their own exclusive cultural baggage. In light of this, their retention tendencies seem to have been a resourceful strategy of 'gaining a seat at the common table' (Boyer 2001, Sela-Sheffy 1999) rather than just a matter of habitus conservatism.

Another topos to illustrate this point is the *Yeckes'* music-loving mythology. While music life flourished in Tel Aviv already in the 1920s (with the foundation of the Opera [1924] and the first music school [1912]), the *Yeckes* have been recognized as the real arbiters of musical taste. One of the many examples from the memoirs by Ziona Rabau divulges how music rituals worked for the *Yeckes* in creating distinction: it was not so much about participating in music consumption as it was a *contest* over the right musical style and way to consume it:

> [The Yeckes] used to have 'record evening' parties in their apartments where they listened with great concentration, motionless, to pieces by Schoenberg or Bartok, who were held as modern composers in the avant-garde cultural world of those days. Once, ... I was invited to such a circle and was forced to listen to this music for a whole evening. Finally, I said naively: 'why precisely Bartok in such a Hamsin evening, why not playing a little bit of Mozart?' Well, they all raised their eyebrows, astonished, apparently, at my Sabra ignorance, and placed their judgment, too, and as a result of my straightforwardness I had never been invited to this admired circle again. (Rabau 1984: 110-111).

An example from the legal field

Let me now sketch briefly the instrumentality of yet another central topos in the *Yeckes'* mythology – their sense of professionalism (Ben-Avram 1984) – with an example from the legal profession (for detailed analysis see Sela-Sheffy 2006). The legal field seems, at first glance, to be a typical arena for examining this dynamics, if only because this profession was largely pursued by Jews in Germany, mainly in the big cities (Jarausch 1991, Niederland 1996),[13] and also because the founders of

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[13] Over 10% of German immigrants to Palestine were professionals (e.g., Eliav 1985). According to Niederland, in 1933 there were 5000 Jewish lawyers in Germany; Jarausch notes that in Prussia their number amounted to 28.5% of the

Israeli legal system and its canonical historical figures were a group of German born lawyers (among them, Israel's first Minister of Justice, the first President of the Supreme Court, the first General Attorney, and first State Comptroller, Siegfried Moses). However, surprisingly enough, the *Yeckes* were *not* the majority of Jewish legal practitioners under the British rule. For one thing, the number of lawyers who emigrated from Germany to Palestine was small compared to their share in the Jewish population in Germany itself (Niederland 1988). Moreover, those who came to Palestine often failed to integrate in the legal system and were forced, at least in the beginning, to retraining.[14] Whatever the practical reasons were, there was also a *cultural* reasoning to this absence; a *Yecke* lawyer who became a carpenter explains: '...the opinion [of my private Hebrew tutor] was that as a typical *Yecke*, I could never adapt to the 'corrupt' conditions in the country, that is, I will not be able to 'get on' with the officials, I will not understand the mentality of the local clients, and I would never know how to run a trial the way it should be run in Palestine ...'. (S. Wichselbaum, quoted in Gelber 1990, p. 447)

But even if many German professionals failed to actually practice their profession, their self-perception as 'professionals at heart', endowed with professional ethos and dignity, still persisted. This was true for all the professions, including the blue-collar ones (Ben-Avram 1984), but there was special aura attached to the legal profession, as an

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general population of lawyers; in the big cities, like Berlin and Frankfurt, it reached over 45%, and in Breslau it was 35.6% (Jarausch 1991, 176-177; and compare with Barkai & Mendes-Flohr 1996, also Niederland 1988. On the share of academics and professionals among Jewish immigrants from Germany between the world wars see Niederland 1996, 86-87).

[14] According to data presented in a review of the 'German *Aliya* in the *Yishuv*,' published in *Hapoel Hatzair* in November 1934, during 1933-1934 only 250 Jewish lawyers (out of 5000 who lived in Germany, and 600 who left Germany until June 1934; Niederland 1996) arrived in Palestine (compared to 550 physicians). Only 135 of them passed the local bar examinations or intended to take them; 175 underwent retraining, and the rest turned to farming (Brachman 1934, p. 13. See also Gelber 1990, 447-449). However, upon the establishment of the state, many of them managed to integrate in the judiciary civil service, which was to a large extent controlled by an elite circle of *Yecke* jurists (Gelber *ibid*., and below).

icon of German Bourgeoisie's bureaucratic liberalism (Ledford 1996). So that when Journalist Gerda Luft, recounts the career of her husband, Zvi Luft, as the Secretary of the Agricultural Federation, she tells about his 'extraordinary organizing methods' in fighting for order and cost-cutting. Although Luft himself was born in Polish Galicia, his years of law schooling and practice in Vienna qualified him in her mind as a *Yecke*: 'It was the fight of a man from Central-Europe who studied law, with the impulsive man from Eastern-Europe, who came from the *Shtetl* and knew nothing about organizing a modern office' (Luft 1987: 63).

However, all evidence shows that the legal profession in Palestine served as an important habitat for a local bourgeois culture even without the intervention of the German immigrants. In fact, precisely for this reason it was so resented by the labor-party, to which it was a symbol of a non-productive, capitalist, urban Diaspora occupation, and a threat to the career choices of the younger generations (e.g., Neeman 1955; Löwenberg 1956, also Mash 1955 and Ankarion 1955).

Yet despite ideological criticism, the Jewish lawyers were rapidly growing as a professional guild. The Lawyers' Associations and the Federation of Jewish Lawyers in Palestine (which were operating ever since the 1920s)[15] were struggling to establish unified ethics and working procedures, and to impose self-management and control. In their reports they used the national rhetoric, but only as a lip-service. In reality they had to cope with suffocated market and meager opportunities for Jewish professionals under the British rule (Shamir 2001, Bar-On and De-Vries 2001), and to fight all this they evoked *professionalism*. They preached 'the dignity of the profession', based on expertise and credibility, complained about corruption and advocated the type of lawyer that '[sees clients in his office and] conceives his duty as a man of law who fights with legal means' (*Report* 1944, p. 26). A pressing issue, for instance, was the adherence to unified and fixed fees. The strong symbolic effect of such professional regulations may be understood only in light of the fact that in the local culture they were regarded as uncommon and, along with other issues such as general stand-

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[15] According to Strasman (1984), the first Hebrew Lawyers' association was founded in Tel-Aviv in 1922 by eight lawyers (out of the 14 then practicing in Tel-Aviv). The first national convention of the Federation of Jewish Lawyers in Palestine was held in Jerusalem in the spring of 1928 (Strasman, 1984, 161-162).

ards of service, or regulated work and rest hours, they were seen as decent European norms of modern civic conduct. [16]

Furthermore, there was a whole repertoire of 'how to behave' as a professional *person*, which these organizations promoted, by caring for the lawyers' working conditions -- for instance, by upgrading office furniture, installing telephones, adapting their attire to the weather (short khaki uniforms for the summer), or establishing regular vacations and providing cultural needs such as seminars and lectures, trips etc. (e.g., *Review* 1944, p. 42).

The popularity of this profession can be inferred from the increasing demand for legal education in the 1930s and 1940s (Lissak 1994), and the expansion of legal training venues, in spite of the limited offer of jobs. Next to the only authorized British-Mandate Law School in Jerusalem, there was founded in 1935 a Hebrew School of Law in Tel Aviv. This school operated regularly and even expanded from its inauguration to its merging with the Hebrew University in 1949,[17] with almost no support from the authorities. One reason for this was the fact that it was the only institute of higher education in Tel-Aviv.[18] Even if most of the students eventually used the legal education as a springboard for entering other white-collar clerical jobs, the demand for this line of education suggests that it was treated as a desired milestone of an educated urban life trajectory.

And yet the German immigrants were hardly represented at the Hebrew Law School. The majority of the students were East-European

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[16] This judgment is suggested by the impressions recounted by veterans who marveled at the manners of German immigrants' in trade and service (e.g., Horowitz 1993, p. 26; see also Yithak Navon cited in Erel 1989, p. 14; also Gay 1989, p. 574).

[17] Except for the war years (1942-1943), the number of students in the school grew steadily, from 119 in 1935 to 175 in 1947/48 (based on the 1947/48 *Yearbook*).

[18] It was certainly regarded as such by the Tel-Aviv municipality. In a letter to the President of the Courts, Israel Rokach, Mayor of Tel-Aviv, writes: 'The school's scientific level is well known, and it meets an important need for higher education of the Hebrew *Yishuv* in Tel-Aviv and its vicinity. […] As mayor, I wholeheartedly support their just request that local residents should have a venue for higher education in Tel-Aviv, without the need to travel abroad or to Jerusalem […]' (Rokach 1945).

immigrants and natives of Palestine,[19] and so were the faculty – they were mostly jurists from Eastern Europe, although many of them had acquired their education at least partly at German universities.[20] This demography is telling. For, despite the fact that German born lawyers did not represent the majority of the active legal community, there emerged an elite group from their ranks, who enjoyed the best reputation as owners of most respectable law firms (Rubinstein 1975; Saltzberger & Oz-Saltzberger 1998, Yadin 1990; Shachar 1991). I am referring, first and foremost, to Pinchas Rosen (then Felix Rosenblueth), Israel's first Minister of Justice; Moshe Smoira, the first Chief President of the Supreme Court; and Haim (then Hermann) Cohen, the first General Attorney.[21] These prominent German personalities disregarded the educational-nationalist aspirations of the Hebrew Law teachers,[22] and

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[19] According to the school yearbook for 1937, out of 120 students (both in the Law and Economics departments; the number of students in the Law department was normally twice bigger than in the department of economics) 45% were immigrants from Poland, 20.8% came from Russia and 10% were natives of Palestine. Only 2 students were born in Germany.

[20] 3 out of 11 professors in the first year of the school were Russian or Polish born who had acquired their legal education in German speaking universities – in Bern, Koenigsberg, Tuebingen and Vienna; only one of them, Fritz Naftali, was a German born *Yecke* (Tel Aviv Archive, folder 1826a).

[21] Other German immigrants who held key positions in the state legal system upon its establishment were Uri Yadin (then Rudolf Heinsheimer), the first head of the Legislation Department (Cohen and Yadin also served as committee chairmen on the pre-state Judicial Council), and Siegfried Moses, the first State Controller, as well as several known Supreme Judges (Such as Menachem Dunkelblum, Alfred Vitkon, Moshe Landau, Yoel Sussman and Benjamin HaLevi. Dunkelblum and Sussman were regarded as *Yeckes* by their education and personal conduct, although they were born in Austrian-Galicia; Oz-Salzberger and Salzberger 1998).

[22] Something about the clash between these teachers' scholarly-ideologist self-image and the 'plainly professional' mindset may be gleaned from a very bitter document penned by Zvi Rudy, a veteran faculty member of the Tel Aviv School of Law and Economy (Rudy 1959). Recounting the School's history, he characterizes the founding group of teachers and students as a select team of '[…] seekers of knowledge and teachings, who despite their desire for professional training of the highest academic quality, have never regarded establishing law practices and gold-raking bookkeeping firms as their ultimate goal'

had no problem cooperating with the British authorities. And still they were very much accepted by the Jewish political leadership as providers of professional expertise, in spite of their moderate Zionism which was at odds with mainstream politics. Eventually it was they, and not the proponents of the Hebrew Law School, that left a personal mark and later were called to occupy key positions in the legal system when the State of Israel was founded.

This example from the legal field then puts in perspective the sense of culture alienation of the German immigrants. It suggests that, beyond the political conjuncture that was at play, [23] it was precisely this already emerging civic-professional infrastructure that opened the channels for elite German-born lawyers to become so dominant in this profession. Paradoxically, their accentuated 'bourgeois' profile and marginal political position helped them become recognized as *the* representatives of this profession by the establishment and by the public at large.

No doubt, these influential individuals were quite aware of the value of their 'Germanness' as a social resource. In their memoirs and interviews they always rely very keenly on their shared experience with their *Landsmanschaften* and construct their communal memory (see e.g., Bondy 1990; Smoira-Cohen 1997; Yadin 1990; Shashar 1989; and others).[24] But their emphasized ethnic kinship – extensively expressed

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(Rudy 1959, p. 2). For the 'rising stars' in the lawyers' milieu he has nothing but contempt, calling them opportunists, lacking Zionist vision and zeal, and craving money and titles.

[23] It is commonly argued that the reason for the appointment of Pinchas Rosen as Israel's first Minister of Justice in 1948 was political: prime-minister Ben-Gurion wanted to share power with the Progressive Party led by Rosen. Opinions differ, however, on whether this appointment indicates a lack of respect on Ben-Gurion's part for the justice portfolio (Baron 2001; Harris 2002; and Haim Cohen as quoted in Shashar 1989, p. 99).

[24] This social network naturally comprised a larger group of people who were not necessarily involved in the legal field. Some were not even of German origin. It is, however, possible to distinguish a pool of people, the majority of whom were of German origin, with whom this 'circle' of German lawyers maintained close contacts. Shlomo Erel counts in this list Arthus Ruppin, Felix Danziger, Georg Landauer, Ludwig Feiner and Moshe and Esther Kalvari (Erel 1989, 186-187). The most prominent others in this circle include Haim Arlozo-

through collective pronouns such as 'ours', 'one of us' or 'brothers' – was not coupled with social isolation. On the contrary, it helped their access into the local Jewish elite. Gerda Luft, who was part of the 'old German guard' and associated with the Labor Party through her two husbands, Haim Arlozorov and Zvi Luft, describes this sense of be-longing-through-distinction:

> ... Arlozorov had equal standing with the workers' leaders right from the start. His advantage was his western education. ... Luft also had equal standing, mainly due to his organizational skills. ... Some of the leaders, ... I already knew from Berlin. ... But my closest contacts were with the Yeckes, who were already settled in Jerusalem, ... By the 1920s it was already clear that there were differences in style between Eastern and Western European immigrants. That difference clearly sharpened during the 1930s wave of German immigration. (Luft 1987, 81-82)

Let me conclude by citing from a series of conversations with the first General Attorney and later Supreme Judge Herman [Haim] Cohen (Shashar 1989). These conversations were conducted in the late 1980s, but they still reflect quite vividly this dynamics of integration through distinction: While Cohen was at home in the highest echelons of socie-ty, his incidental comments reveal 'the importance of being German' as an exclusive code on which his authority was built. He often reminds us that his clients were mostly *Yeckes* like himself, and throws here and there evaluative comments such as: 'My client was a *Yecke* and it was inconceivable that he would not speak the truth' (Shashar 1989, p. 201). And here is how he perpetuates the *Yecke* legend in describing his close friend (and former boss), the first minister of justice, Pinchas Rosen as against the background of the first government of Israel:

> He was a Yecke down to the core, and that also was manifest in profes-sional matters. ... He was a Yecke in appearance as well: always closely shaved and spotlessly dressed. You would never find [in his office] a piece of paper or a book lying about out of place, because he could not tolerate disorder. By the way, in this respect he found an ally in me. I am the same way .... That was another trait of Rosen – his thoroughness – unlike most of the other ministers. Ben-Gurion could be very thorough when he so wished, but only if he was sufficiently interested. Most of

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rov, Kurt Blumenfeld, Max Tuchler, Erich Cohen, Moshe Landau, Gustav Kro-janker, Azriel Karlebach, Julius and Johanna Rosenfeld, Zalman Schocken and Zalman Shazar.

the other ministers would make decisions ... without extensive research, rather unlike Rosen [Shashar 1989, 98-99]. ... 'Ben-Gurion selected Fritz Naftali and Giora Josefthal for cabinet membership only because of their professionalism, although they were Mapai supporters. Both were Yecke academics ... Ben-Gurion was amazed not only by [the Yeckes'] accents, but also by their professional and moral standards. He would often ask me where did the Yeckes (and the Yemenites) get such excellent talents from' (Shashar 1989, p. 79).

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Ramón Power y Giralt, First Delegate to the Cádiz Courts, and the Origins of Puerto Rican National Discource

Wadda Ríos-Font

The island of Puerto Rico, which was discovered by Christopher Columbus on his second voyage in 1493, did not, like most other Spanish American colonies, attain independence in the aftermath of Napoleon's 1808 invasion of Spain. Together with Cuba, it remained part of the ailing Spanish empire through the Spanish-American War of 1898, at which point it became a colony of the United States of America, as indeed it remains to this day (although in 1952 this relationship was redefined as the *Estado Libre Asociado*, the Free Associated State or Commonwealth). Unlike Cuba, Puerto Rico did not engage in wars of independence. The only significant separatist revolt was the Cry of Lares of 1868: at 2:00 a.m. in September 24th of that year, a group of rebels proclaimed the Republic of Puerto Rico, but within twenty-four hours the Spanish military brought the ill-fated insurrection to an end. For the rest of the nineteenth century, especially after the appearance of political parties in 1870, patriotic sentiment was channeled through the currents of *asimilismo* [assimilationism] – which sought greater political and administrative equality between peninsular and overseas Spanish provinces without more differences than those imposed by geographical conditions –, and later *autonomismo* [autonomism], which went beyond *asimilismo* in recognizing a special situation in the colonies and demanding a high degree of self-rule, still within the greater national unity. In 1897, Puerto Rico was finally granted an Autonomy Statute establishing shared rule by a Spanish governor representing the monarchy and a bicameral local parliament. A provisional government was inaugurated in February of 1898, and elections were held in March of that year, but the newly-elected government did not have time to assume its functions before the July 1898 U.S. invasion.

The central phenomenon of the Puerto Rican nineteenth century is, then, the paradoxical coincidence of the emergence of nationalist consciousness and the absence of a significant independence movement. In

the narrative of this budding consciousness, one historical figure holds a particularly prominent position: Ramón Power y Giralt (1775-1813), Puerto Rico's first representative to the Spanish Constitutional Courts in Cádiz.[1] Power y Giralt's iconic place is probably best encapsulated by historian Lidio Cruz Monclova in his 1952 *Historia de Puerto Rico (Siglo XIX)* [History of Puerto Rico (XIXth Century)]. Referring to a ceremony held on August 16th, 1809 to honor Power on the eve of his departure for Cádiz, Cruz Monclova emphasizes how Bishop Juan Alejo de Arizmendi (the only native Puerto Rican to hold that office well into the twentieth century) gave the new deputy his ecclesiastical ring, consigning it to him "*como prenda segura ... que os afirmará en la memoria vuestra resolución de proteger y sostener los derechos de nuestros compatriotas, como yo mismo la tengo de morir por mi amada grey*" [as a firm pledge ... that will strengthen in your memory your vow to protect and uphold the rights of our compatriots, like I myself have made to die for my beloved flock] (Cruz Monclova I 20).[2] In this historian's account, the silhouettes of the two natural-born islanders take shape against that of the much-hated figure of Spanish Brigadier Salvador Meléndez Bruna, who had only weeks earlier replaced Toribio Montes in the multiple posts, linked in Puerto Rican government through most of Spanish rule (con-

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[1] The Cádiz courts are, in essence, the origin of Spanish constitutionalism. In the aftermath of Ferdinand VII's abdication in Bayonne, and Napoleon's appointment of his brother Joseph as Spanish regent, revolutionary *juntas* were formed across the Spanish territory, each claiming to be the depositary of sovereignty in the absence of the legitimate King. Eventually they were replaced by a *Junta Central Gubernativa del Reino* [Supreme Central Governing Junta of the Kingdom], which itself gave way to the *Consejo de Regencia* [Regency Council] that in 1809 called the Constitutional Courts. Spanish liberals took advantage of this juncture to attempt the transformation of the absolutist monarchy into a constitutional monarchy, based on the principle of national sovereignty. The experiment was short-lived, as in 1814 Ferdinand VII returned, and quickly suppressed the Courts and the 1812 Constitution. A military coup would restore them for the period of 1820-1823, after which Ferdinand VII ruled again through his death in 1833.

[2] The italics in this quotation, as in others from the same source, are Cruz Monclova's. The historian often uses these, rather than quotation marks, to indicate citation.

stitutional periods excepted), of Civil Governor, Captain General, and Treasury Intendant (*Intendente*).

In transferring his emblematic ring to Power y Giralt, Arizmendi portrays him as a new savior, willing, like him, to die for the *beloved flock* (Power did die in Cádiz, during an 1813 yellow fever epidemic). To make the scene's importance absolutely clear, Cruz Monclova stresses that "manifiesta el concepto de patria circunscrito por la geografía y marca el preciso instante cuando ... cobra categoría rectora lo puertorriqueño" [it displays a concept of fatherland limited by geography, and marks the precise instant when ... Puerto Ricanness becomes a guiding condition] (I 20-21). The historians's statements appear, and are, exaggerated. As I will argue in this paper, Power and his Puerto Rican contemporaries' use of terms such as *patria*, *país*, and *nación* [fatherland, country, and nation], and consequently their understanding of their own allegiances, are quite complex, as well as thoroughly intertwined with changing notions of national identity in the Iberian peninsula. Nevertheless, Cruz Monclova's view is characteristic of a whole historiographical tradition. As Laura Náter and Mabel Rodríguez Centeno keenly observe, "la puertorriqueñidad emerge triunfante y consolidada a principios del siglo XIX, simbolizada por el primer obispo puertorriqueño – Juan Alejo de Arizmendi – y el primer diputado de la isla a las cortes españolas – Ramón Power y Giralt" [Puerto Ricanness emerges triumphant and consolidated at the outset of the XIXth century, symbolized by the first Puerto Rican bishop – Juan Alejo de Arizmendi – and the first deputy from the island to the Spanish courts – Ramón Power y Giralt] (5).

Ramón Power's own intricate standpoint on the national question can be extrapolated from his actions in his triple character as a member of the Spanish *Cortes* engaged in finding a constitutional alternative to the absolutist monarchy; as a *diputado americano*; and as a representative of Puerto Rico. His letters, speeches, and other papers reveal calculated choices regarding the problem of the relationship between natural origin and membership in a political community. Nonetheless, any analysis of his ideological trajectory has to begin with a discussion of his biographical background, which, at a more basic level, must have inexorably affected his developing thought. Without spending undue

time on Power's biography, it will be convenient to remember certain points:

1. His mother was Catalan, born in Barcelona, and his father, Joaquín Power y Morgan, was a Basque Country native of Irish descent. (The great grandfather moved from Waterford to Bordeaux, the grandfather from Bordeaux to Bilbao, and the father from Bilbao to Puerto Rico, as a factor of the *Real Compañía de Asiento de Negros de Cádiz* [Royal Slave Trading Company of Cádiz).

2. His family established a sugar plantation, which means they became wealthy land- and slave-owners. The *hacienda* was sacked in 1797 during the attempted British invasion. This is a very important episode in Puerto Rican history, since the islanders' victory over the attackers was widely regarded as proof of unconditional fidelity to the metropolis, earning the city of San Juan the epithet of *Muy Noble y Muy Leal* [Most Noble and Loyal].

3. Ramón himself studied in Bilbao and Bordeaux, and by 1792 had already begun his naval career in the Royal Marine Guards. He served under Squadron Chief Federico de Gravina (of later Trafalgar fame) and his allied Anglo-Spanish royalist forces – and against Napoleon Bonaparte – in the Siege of Toulon (1793).

4. He was also a captain on the Costa Firme mail fleet, sailing between San Juan, Puerto Cabello, and La Guayra.

5. Perhaps his most famous naval action is his distinguished service in the 1809 siege of Santo Domingo, which led to the reestablishment of Spanish rule on the colony.

In 1808, with Ferdinand VII in Bayonne, the *Junta Suprema Central Gubernativa del Reino* [Supreme Central Governing Junta of the Kingdom] assumes sovereignty. In Puerto Rico, the Governor General (still Montes) and the San Juan *Cabildo* [city council] resolve without delay to recognize its authority, making Puerto Rico the first American possession to swear allegiance to it. Soon, another order arrives calling for an elected local representative to the *Junta*:

> Considerando el rey, nuestro señor, don Fernando Séptimo, y en su real nombre la Junta Suprema Central Gubernativa del Reino que esta isla no es propiamente una colonia o factoría, como las de otras naciones, sino una parte esencial integrante de la monarquía española y deseando estrechar de un modo indisoluble los sagrados vínculos que unen esta isla y demás dominios de América con los de España y corresponder al

mismo tiempo a la heorica lealtad y patriotismo de que acaba de dar tan decidida prueba ... , se ha servido su majestad declarar ... que los reinos, provincias e islas que forman estos dominios deben tener representación nacional inmediata a su real persona y constituir parte de la Junta Central Gubernativa del Reino por medio de sus correspondientes diputados, y que para que tenga efecto esta soberana resolución ha de nombrar esta isla un individuo que la represente. (Caro, *Compilación* 23-24). [Deeming the King, our Lord, Ferdinand VII, and in his name the Supreme Central Governing Junta of the Kingdom, that this island is not properly a colony or factory, as those of other nations, but rather an essential and integral part of the Spanish monarchy, and wishing to render unbreakable the sacred bonds that tie this island and other American domains to those of Spain, and simultaneously to correspond to the heroic loyalty and patriotism it has decisively proved. . ., His Majesty has seen fit to declare ... that the kingdoms, provinces, and islands that compose these dominions shall have national representation immediate to his royal person, and constitute part of the Supreme Central Governing Junta of the Kingdom through their corresponding delegates, and that so as to put into effect this sovereign decree, this island shall name an individual to represent it.]

Power y Giralt is chosen for the commission, but two circumstances immediately begin to hinder developments: the arrival in Puerto Rico of Meléndez Bruna, who at once sets out to challenge Power's election,[3] and the dissolution of the *Junta* itself in January of 1810. Nevertheless, the new Regency Council decides to convene the Cádiz *Cortes*, and Power y Giralt is once again elected.

The facts of coming from a multicultural family, studying in Europe, traveling across three continents with the Spanish Navy, fighting on the side of French royalists in the battle that made Napoleon's career, frequenting pre-Independence Venezuelan society, and contributing to the *Reconquest* of Santo Domingo before being chosen to the *Cortes* can, at the very least, be assumed to have complicated for Power the question of what it meant to be Puerto Rican. Against their background, one cannot doubt he devoted great consideration to the riddle of what con-

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[3] According to Cruz Monclova, Salvador Meléndez Bruna addresses to the *Junta* "un largo oficio tachando e impugnando la reciente elección de Power Giral [sic], no obstante haberla aprobado antes" [a long communiqué criticizing and contesting Power Giral's recent lection, despite having approved it earlier] (*Historia* 21).

stitutes national identity, and it is highly unlikely that he would have found a simple answer in what Cruz Monclova called the *naturales y amorosas relaciones que ligan al hombre con el medio geográfico y humano que presta abrigo a su cuna* [natural and loving relations that bind man with the geographic and human environment that shelters his cradle] ("Ramón Power" 37). In fact, Power inaugurates a long majoritary tradition in Puerto Rican thought of separating the questions of identity and of the state – a fact that has been obscured by limited attention to his own action in Cádiz, as well as to the history of Western nationalisms and the connection between Puerto Rican and metropolitan politics at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In attempting to reconstruct Power's ideas, it is interesting to contrast the language of the instructions he receives from Puerto Rico's five *cabildos* to that of his own final proposals to the Courts. The originary text behind the different *Instrucciones* dates back to the aftermath of Power's initial appointment to the *Junta Suprema*. Its author Pedro Yrisarri, San Juan's *Alcalde de primer voto* [First Mayor], aims to describe meticulously the conditions of life on the island, and lays out a number of social and economic measures for their improvement. However, he frames them as part of a proto-nationalist discourse that, like Cruz Monclova's, links land and nature with nationality. His *Informe* starts with an emotional reference to "¡Puerto Rico o amada Patria! a quien tan justamente se daba y merecía este ... nombre por ser un suelo en quien la Naturaleza pródigamente derramó la fertilidad" [Puerto Rico, or Beloved Fatherland! Who was so justly given and deserved this ... name, being a soil on whom Nature generously poured fertility] (45), and consistently uses the affective term *patria*, as opposed to *estado* [state] or *nación*, to refer to Puerto Rico. Although much of the more maudlin wording disappears from San Juan's later instructions to Power – now as Courts representative –, Yrisarri's outlook (as one of their authors) is clearly visible in them.[4]

The discourse deployed by Yrisarri and the *Ayuntamiento* conceals a highly wrought system of categorization along the axis of nativeness to foreignness. His *Informe* urges the city to demand "que no se consienta por ningún pretexto ni motivo el establecimiento de los extranjeros, ni

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[4] A lot of Yrisarri's original language, however, makes it into the *Instrucciones de la Villa de Coamo*, to which it must obviously have been circulated.

en la Ciudad ni en el campo, y se extrañen de nuestra Patria todos los que no estén casados con españolas, principalmente franceses" [that the settlement of foreigners not be tolerated for any excuse or reason, either in the City or in the countryside, and that all those who are not married to Spanish women be banished from our fatherland, especially the French] (Caro, *Compilación* 67). The capital's *Instrucciones* reiterate the same entreaty, requesting, in addition, "que la misma suerte corran los catalanes que ... se hallan tolerados ... con detrimento de los vecindarios, y señaladamente de esta Ysla" [that the same fate be incurred by Catalans, who are tolerated ... to the detriment of neighborhoods, and specifically this Island] (82-83).[5] Elsewhere, the *Instrucciones* insist that members of regular and volunteer military forces be "naturales del país" [natives of the country] not only to remedy what is seen as an injustice, but also because individuals brought from Europe often turn out to be "hombres pervertidos y criminales" [perverted and criminal men]. In this spectrum, at one end are the *naturales*, paradoxically portrayed as *incautos* and *dóciles* [gullible and docile], and at the other the treasonous abductors of Ferdinand VII. The place of peninsulars is legitimate and legitimizing; but then again, they not only command positions that might be best filled by natives, but can also on occasion be perverted and pernicious, especially the *catalanes*, who "rara vez construy[e]n fábricas, foment[a]n haciendas, ni tom[a]n otro destino que la salida ... con el metálico que han grangeado" [rarely build factories, promote plantations, nor follow any course but to depart with the money they have made].[6]

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[5] "Island" in this sentence refers to the city of San Juan. The town of Coamo restates the provision regarding foreigners, perhaps moderating it somewhat to permit continued residence in Puerto Rico to "los casados en el país con españolas, los hacendados ya permitidos y conocidos igualmente que los que han jurado fidelidad a nuesro amado y católico soberano Fernando Séptimo, con absoluta renunciación de todo derecho a su país natal; siempre que no den un motivo que desdiga del concepto que se han formado" (96-97). At the same time, it considers it necessary "que circulen en el interior de la Isla sino con causa legítima y previo permiso" (97).

[6] The attitude of the *Instrucciones*'s authors toward Catalans is paradoxical, as they criticize them both for staying longer than they should – "es de considerar que la mente de Su Majestad fué no alimentar o dar pábulo a la despoblación de España con la salida de los comerciantes y mercaderes para las Américas, y por

The language in Yrisarri's *Informe* and in the capital's *Instrucciones* arises from an incipient feeling of difference not only between different *kinds* of Spaniards, but between the "being" of a creole and that of a Spaniard – and so lays the foundation for a telluric vein of cultural nationalism. Nevertheless, the majority of the twenty or so proposals included in them concern material reforms that could allow the colony to achieve a level of development comparable to that of most peninsular provinces. San Juan authorities seek, among other things, agricultural stimuli; relief from a variety of taxes and other financial obligations; liberalization of trade and institution of a commercial oversight board; establishment of health and educational centers; award of certain positions to creoles; and more expedient channels for legal action. Absolutely nothing in the documents calls for either a restructuring of colonial administration or a modification in the political relationship to Spain, beyond that already effected by the much-celebrated institution of the *Junta Suprema* – that is, American representation.

Their brand of cultural nationalism is not unlike many formulations of non-Castilian Spanish nationalisms, which, especially in their early regionalist origins, conceive of allegiance to both a *patria* and a nation or state. In America, where differentiation from indigenous peoples and slaves is as important as the need for equity with regard to peninsular Spaniards, loyalty to the native soil not only coexists with allegiance to the monarchy, but also with an adamant insistence on Spanish identity. Yrisarri and his San Juan colleagues are most concerned with functioning at the metropolis as equal members with full participation in decision-making processes that nevertheless will continue to take place, for the most part, in the metropolis, and/or through colonial

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esto sin duda se dictaron las providencias para su regreso" [one should note that it was His Majesty's intent not to feed or foster Spain's depopulation through the departure of traders and merchants for the Americas, and it was undoubtedly because of this that provisions for their return were made] (Caro, *Compilación* 82) – and for not staying to establish factories or plantations. Furthermore, although the document upholds the time-honored stereotype regarding Catalans' "cálculo comercial" [commercial mindset] (83), it does not consider this trait a potential aid in the island's business development, as "sus especulaciones... degeneran de las mercantiles a la regatonería frecuentemente" [their speculations... frequently degenerate from commercial [interest] into haggling]. In other words, the prototype of the Catalan is that of the traditional miser.

institutions such as the *Gobierno* [Government] or the *Audiencia* [Audience Chamber]. In this respect, they can be seen as precursors of nineteenth-century Puerto Rican *asimilismo*.

Most of the instructions issued by towns and villages closely echo the tone and contents of the San Juan document. Special mention should be made, however, of the *Instrucciones del Ayuntamiento de San Germán* [Instructions from the City Council of San Germán], the oldest and most important settlement other than the capital.[7] These also establish a clear terminological distinction between Spain – "Nación," "Estado," or "Monarquía" [monarchy] – and Puerto Rico, referred to as "Patria" and "Isla" (Caro, *Compilación* 123-25). Nevertheless, they lack any sort of sentimental reverence for the native soil. In highly business-like language, they outline a list of commands addressed directly to Power y Giralt, in which the questions of sovereignty and form of government take precedence over social and economic recommendations.

The first order of business establishes that, given the delicate situation in Spain itself, the town's adherence to the metropolis is strictly conditional:

> Primeramente debe protestar que esta Villa reconoce y se sujeta a dicha Suprema Junta Central ahora y en todo tiempo que gobierne en nombre de Nuestro muy Amado, Augusto y Dignísimo Rey el señor don Fernando Séptimo y su Dinastía; pero si por Disposición Divina ... se destruyese ésta y perdiere la Península de España, quede independiente esta Isla y en libre arbitrio de elegir el mejor medio de la conservación y subsistencia de sus habitantes en paz y Religión Christiana. (123-24).[8]
>
> [In the first place, he must protest that this Village recognizes and subjects itself to said Supreme Central Junta now and as long as it rules in the name of Our most Beloved, August, and Dignified King Ferdinand VII and his Dinasty; however, if by God's Will ... the latter were destroyed and lose the Spanish Peninsula, this Island shall be left inde-

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[7] It was Juan Ponce de León who first divided the island into the *Partido* [District] *de Puerto Rico* (later San Juan) and the *Partido de San Germán*, around 1515 (Bayrón Toro 20).

[8] Notice the ambiguity in the implicit construction of Power's role as representative. Although, as a member of the *Junta Suprema*, he is part of the body to which the town pledges (conditional) allegiance – representative of, and *inmediato a*, *la real persona* -, the tone of the instructions casts him as a more traditional procurer mediating between local and metropolitan authorities.

pendent and free to choose the best means for the conservation and sur-
vival of its inhabitants in peace and Christian Religion.]

Such a stipulation makes it apparent that the landowners of Puerto Ri-
co were aware of the justifications for independence already circulating
in Latin America.[9] The second item of the list calls for the formation of
a *Junta Provincial* [Provincial Junta], to be composed of the Captain
General, the Bishop, and one representative from each of the island's
five *cabildos*, and have jurisdiction over "los asuntos concernientes a
favor de la Nación y Estado, del bien y utilidad de la Isla y sus habitan-
tes, refundiéndose en ella toda la autoridad Superior Gubernativa, Mili-
tar y de Intendencia de la Provincia" [matters concerning the Nation
and State, the well-being and profit of the Island and its inhabitants,
being recast upon it all of the Superior Governing, Military, and Ad-
ministrative authority of the Province (124).[10] This document, then,

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[9] As José M. Portillo Valdés explains, the earliest American insurrections consti-
tuted an attempt on the part of American creole classes to establish themselves
– as opposed to any metropolitan body – as the keepers of sovereignty given
the monarch's incapacitation. Quoting an 1813 Mexican document, he writes
that "al reivindicar 'el derecho que tiene de guardar estos dominios a su so-
berano, por sí misma, sin intervención de gente europea', no se estaba, en fin,
sino sacando las últimas y extremas consecuencias de la idea del depósito de
soberanía" [in claiming 'the right [Mexico] has to guard these dominions for its
sovereign, by itself, without intervention from European people,' they were, in
the end, doing nothing more than drawing the ultimate and most extreme con-
clusions from the idea of the deposit of sovereignty] (56-57).

[10] María de los Ángeles Castro speaks of "peticiones para reformas políticas
concretas, tales como la creación de las juntas provinciales sugeridas por los
ayuntamientos de San Juan y San Germán" [demands for concrete political re-
forms, such as the creation of provincial *juntas* suggested by the city councils of
San Juan and San Germán] (294). She thus attributes to both cities a mandate for
autonomist reforms, a characterization that she extends to Power y Giralt's en-
tire project. Nevertheless, the only language in the San Juan documents (Yrisar-
ri's report and the instructions) referring to a *Junta* lobbies for what I have de-
scribed instead as a commercial oversight board. The twelfth *súplica* of the *Ins-
trucciones* calls for

una Junta en la Capital compuesta de cinco hacendados y tres comerciantes: los
cuatro de aquéllos nombrados por cada uno de los Cabildos de las cuatro Villas;
el quinto de los mismos, y los tres de éstos, por este Ilustre Ayuntamiento con
un Presidente elegido por el Gobierno pero que sea precisamente uno de estos

proposes the creation of an organism that will replace the personalized and omnipotent powers of the military governor with a measurable degree of self-government. Ironically, although the authors of the San Germán proposals are much less concerned with the establishment of a creole birthright, they go much further than their San Juan counterparts in imagining the possibility of administrative separation between the colony and the metropolis. Their *instrucciones* are, perhaps, the earliest precedent of nineteenth-century Puerto Rican *autonomismo*.

Where, in relation to the San Juan and San Germán paradigms, does Ramón Power y Giralt stand? Power relayed Puerto Rico's proposals to the Courts in his "Exposición y peticiones" [Statement and Petitions] of April 7, 1811, and subsequently in writing to the *Consejo de Regencia* in the "Peticiones que hace al Consejo de Regencia de España e Indias el Diputado en Cortes por la isla de Puerto Rico" [Petitions made to the Regency Council of Spain and the Indies by the Courts Deputy from the island of Puerto Rico]. Other evidence of his political opinions has survived, including various letters and the record of his interventions in the Courts' minutes. An examination of these documents shows points of contact and divergence with respect to the two archetypes. At the most basic level, however, it should be noted that Power refrains completely from any rhetoric denoting a sense of cultural or telluric

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Capitulares, cuyo instituto sea relativo principalmente a los conocimientos de agricultura y comercio, y con extensión a todo cuanto pueda ser concerniente a promover y progresar estos dos interesantes objetos; y sus facultades, autoridad y demás formales requisitos dependa y se describan según estime la Suprema Junta. (80)

[a Junta (Board) in the Capital composed by five landowners and three merchants: four of the former appointed by each of the four Village Councils; the fifth of them, and all of the latter, by this Illustrious City Council with a President elected by the Government but who should be precisely one of these Trustees, its institution relating principally to agricultural and commercial knowledge, and by extension to all that might concern promoting and advancing both of these interesting objectives; and its faculties, authority and other formal requirements shall depend on and be expressed at to the Supreme Junta's discretion.]

It is very important to note that the two *cabildos* are referring to different types of organisms – one political and one economic –, and consequently that their attitudes toward colonial administration are quite dissimilar.

nationalism. In fact, every time he uses the word *patria*, it is in reference to Spain; and repeatedly he brings up Puerto Rico's loyalty to the metropolis as the major virtue of that "benemérito Pueblo" [distinguished People] (Caro, *Compilación* 188). In contrast, he sometimes speaks of the island with a certain remoteness, as in the phrase "al acordarme de que pertenezco al Pueblo fiel de Puerto-Rico" [when I remember I belong to the faithful Puerto Rican people] (191), and claims for himself a cosmopolitan perspective: "el servicio de mi profesión me ha conducido ... a muchos de los principales puntos de ambas Américas, y esta concurrencia ... me ha hecho conocer el corazón y opiniones de sus naturales" [the exercise of my profession has taken me ... to many of the principal places of both Americas, and this coincidence ... has allowed me to comprehend the heart and opinions of their natives] (152). Perhaps this implicit distance determines his eclectic approach to Puerto Rico's constitutive issues.

This said, in his *Exposición* and *Peticiones* he remains very close to the spirit of the San Juan instructions. He begins the first of these texts by arguing that

> tres siglos han corrido ya desde que Puerto Rico forma una parte del Imperio Español, y después de tres siglos esta Isla ... todavía se hallaría envuelta en la misma vergonzosa obscuridad que sucedió a ... la adquisición, si el bizarro denuedo con que sus naturales han sabido defenderla de cuantas naciones la han invadido y la fidelidad siempre acendrada que por decirlo así constituyen el carácter distintivo de que se honran no la hubiera justamente adquirido un nombre ilustre entre los Pueblos de ambos Hemisferios. Al considerarse el mérito distinguido de tantas virtudes cívicas y las pocas ventajas de que hoy gozan los habitantes de la Isla, ... el hombre ilustrado ... procura examinar ... de qué funesto principio ha podido nacer ... uno de los más extraordinarios fenómenos de la economía política. (165, my emphases).

> [three centuries have elapsed since Puerto Rico forms part of the Spanish Empire, anf after three centuries this Island ... would still be wrapped in the same shameful darkness that followed ... [its] acquisition, if the brave daring with which its natives have defended it from whatever nations have invaded it, and the always pure loyalty that, in a manner of speaking, constitute the distinctive character on which they pride themselves, had not justly earned it an illustrious name among the Peoples of both Hemispheres. Reflecting on the distinguished merit of so many civic virtues and the few advantages the inhabitants of the Is-

> land now enjoy, ... the learned man ... strives to examine ... what ill-fated principle might have begotten ... one of the most extraordinary phenomena of political economy.

Indeed, Power devotes his efforts almost exclusively to issues of political economy. From among all the instructions he received, he transmits to the *Cortes* only those relating to trade and development: among them, the lifting of tithes and taxes; the relaxation of rules on import and export, the institution of a *Sociedad Económica* [Economic Society], and last, but most certainly not least, the establishment of an *Intendencia* separate from the military governorship.

From the San Juan recommendations, gone is, most notably, any reference to ethnic categories, either foreigners or Catalans – a predictable exclusion on the part of Power y Giralt, of all people. Where Yrisarri and his San Juan colleagues insisted on the *naturales*, Power makes many of his claims in the name of a more general "habitantes" [inhabitants] (183). What is more, one of the indirect results of Power's groundwork in Cádiz – achieved through Alejandro Ramírez – was the 1815 *Real Cédula de Gracias* [Royal Bill of Graces], which built on a previous 1778 *Cédula* to authorize the entry of foreign settlers of agricultural skill, who would swear allegiance to King and Church. This measure allowed the mass arrival of Spaniards from the peninsula (including a veritable wave of Catalans) and from former or disputed territories, as well as other continental Europeans (French, Corsican, Italian, Dutch, British, German, Portuguese), immigrants from all over the Caribbean (including freed slaves), and North Americans. Power y Giralt's early elimination of the capital's propositions regarding foreigners paved the way for the *Cédula*, and indicates his awareness of the potential contained in Puerto Rico's multicultural character – of which he himself was living proof.[11] Nevertheless, the Puerto Rican deputy's

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[11] There is one sense in which the "graces" granted by the Royal Decree respond to the capital's, and particularly Yrisarri's appeals. Recognizing the need for greater manpower to devote to agriculture, but wary of increasing the slave population to a degree that might propitiate events similar to those of the Haitian Revolution, the mayor in his *Informe* recommends the import of white laborers, especially from the Canaries:

Como los sentimientos de mi corazón no tienen tan estrechos límites sino que se extienden a procurar la felicidad presente y futura de mi Patria, nada me aco-

greatest deviation is from San Germán's recommendations. He leaves out all political statements – most notably those on the contingency of loyalty and the proposal for a *Junta Provincial*. It is not that he dismisses these issues; but at this juncture, he deliberately decides that the *Exposición* and *Peticiones* must be *economic* in character.

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barda para opinar que con igual número de hombres libres, jornaleros (traídos de Islas Canarias y del reino de Nueva España y de una y de otra parte sin desmembrar sus poblaciones) [sic] al que hay de esclavos en el día, se fomentaría entonces la agricultura al doble que ahora: porque si a este igual número de españoles e indios, se añade la multitud de hombres libres patricios, que en la actualidad no quieren emplearse en los oficios de la labranza, en que se ejercitan los esclavos, porque juzgan que desmerece su estimación, guiados del buen ejemplo de los jornaleros de afuera pondrían los de adentro las manos a todo trabajo de labranza... Deben descartarse aquéllos que remotamente pueden ser perjudiciales al Estado y a la Patria y dar la preferencia a los que desde sus progenitores están marcados con el brillante sello de españoles. (Caro, *Compilación* 53)

[Since the feelings of my heart lack such narrow boundaries, but extend to procuring the present and future happiness of my Fatherland, nothing prevents me from observing that with an equal number of free men, (workers brought from the Canary Islands and from the Kingdom of New Spain and from one place and another without breaking down their populations) to the present number of slaves, agriculture would advance twice as much as now: because if one added to this number of Spaniards and indians the mass of free patrician men, who currently refuse to engage in the farming labors exercised by slaves, because they think it detracts from their repute, led by the example of the newcomers, these natives would take all farming jobs in their hands... Those who might remotely be a threat to the State and to the Fatherland should be ruled out, and preference given to those marked by their ancestors with the brilliant brand of Spaniards.]

Given his participation in the Dominican *reconquista*, Power might have agreed with this part of Yrisarri's outlook; on the other hand, as the son of a slave trader, he might have disagreed. At any rate, he is silent on the issue of slavery. What is, perhaps more relevant, is the contrast between the way Yrisarri envisions these immigrants – as subordinate workers – and the attitude that finds its way into the *Cédula*, which invites their participation in the island's economy as plantation owners. In the first instance, the existing *patricios* would retain social control; the second would – and did – radically alter the composition of the ruling classes.

One wonders why Power resolved to take this route despite the fact that his electors evidently saw the opportunity to present their demands as an opportunity to further embryonic nationalist agendas, either cultural or administrative (autonomist). The answer is right there in his *Exposición*. He starts out from the basic fact that Puerto Rico's material fortunes are not what they should be, and observes that, for the monarchy, the island has become "un punto oneroso, conservado más bien ... por sólo la circunstancia militar de tener allí un baluarte avanzado de defensa o protección ... [para] las ricas posesiones inmediatas de ambas Américas" [a burdensome point, retained chiefly ... for the single military circumstance of having there a first bastion of defense and protection ... for the nearby rich possessions of both Americas] (168). This is the result of a lack of foresight in appreciating that Puerto Rico is *unlike any other Spanish-American colony*: "no se calculó que *el local* de Puerto Rico; *su vecindad a las Colonias extranjeras*, y otras particulares circunstancias hacían *una excepción tan principal*, que constituyéndola en *un caso singularísimo*, era preciso adoptar medios casi del todo opuestos para obtener los favorables resultados a que se aspiraba" [it was not taken into account that the *locale* of Puerto Rico; *its proximity to foreign Colonies*, and other particular circumstances made for *such a major exception* that, turning it into *a most singular case*, required almost entirely different measures to achieve the favorable results desired] (167, my emphases).

For Power, a Caracas native could become an *homo politicus* because he already was an *homo economicus*. If, as Benedict Anderson proposes, Latin American nationalisms arise from earlier "administrative units" and "market-zones" (53), at the point when creoles sharing a common "language-of-state" (56) experience the reality of a glass ceiling, Puerto Rico's considerable distance from that situation explains much of its trajectory. There was, in fact, limited administrative apparatus in an island where almost all local authority was concentrated in the person of the Governor General, and whose ties to the viceroyalty of which it formed part were tenuous. And there was little agricultural production in a site that, as Power himself stressed, had always been treated chiefly as a military stronghold. Although it is a fact few Puerto Rican historians like to highlight, the island's delayed and unstable colonization cast it in the triple character of, in the words of historian Tomás Blanco:

a) "puesto militar de choque" [military post], b) "estación auxiliar de las conquistas continentales" [auxiliary station for continental conquests], and c) "jardín de aclimatación para hombres, animales y plantas" [acclimatization patch for men, animals, and plants] on their way to the New World (Blanco 29-30). So it was only late in the eighteenth century that "se había ido organizando la colonia como tal" [the colony as such had begun to be organized] (52). Only this stark scenario explains Power's *positive* references to "esta hermosa Colonia" [this beautiful colony] (Caro, *Compilación* 168), when the very decree that sent him to Cádiz declared the island *provincia*. In Power's eyes, though, becoming a *colonia* or *factoría* is evidently a necessary stage of progress; hence the audacious statement that "el Ministerio de Hacienda ... es casi privativamente el que puede hacer florecer aquella hermosa posesión" [it is almost exclusively the Finance Ministry ... which can make that beautiful possession blossom] (179). Consequently, he privileges above all else the establishment of the *Intendencia*, and the limitation of the despotic governor's powers. The happy ending Power y Giralt envisions is literally something like a *commonwealth*: "ocupando un lugar distinguido entre las provincias Americanas, [podrá retribuir] en riquezas a la Madre-Patria lo que reciba de ella en beneficios" [occupying a distinguished place among American provinces, it will be able to return in riches to the Mother-Land what benefits it may receive from her] (209).

Power y Giralt's conviction that Puerto Rico was unlike all other Spanish territories allows him to stand in solidarity with his fellow American delegates, while reserving the right to make different choices for the island. One example of his attitude is paradigmatic. The biggest point of discord between peninsular and American deputies was the battle over appropriate representation of the overseas empire in the *Cortes*. No sooner had these met, than the few American delegates who were present – all of whom, except for Power himself, were substitutes – asked for confirmation that their territories were indeed *parte esencial integrante de la monarquía española*, and for measures ensuring full and proportional representation. As James F. King explains, this generated a conundrum for the Europeans: "on the one hand the Cortes recognized the need to grant colonial participation in the central government ... On the other, it was clear that fifteen or sixteen millions of people in

the Americas and the Philippines would hopelessly swamp the ten and a half million Peninsular Spaniards" (33). Their strategy was to undertake the exclusion, not of indigenous peoples, already recognized by the *Leyes de Indias* [Laws of the Indies], but of the colored castes (Africans and their descendants), not only from voting, but also from the population counts on which representation would be based.

The ensuing debate was fierce, and Americans' own ambivalence about mixed races was not the smallest of obstacles. Finally, as King notes, they reached a compromise decree, *based on a formula presented by the proprietary deputy of Puerto Rico*, which was finally adopted on October 15 [1810]. It confirmed 'that the Spanish dominions of both hemispheres form a single monarchy,' stating in studiously ambiguous terms that ... 'los naturales *originarios* de dichos dominios europeos ó ultramarinos' [the natives originally from said European or overseas dominions] are equal in rights to those of the peninsula" (45, my emphases).

Power y Giralt's wording allowed peninsulars to consider the matter closed and Americans to consider it open for the future. It permitted further debates to take place, leading to the December 1810 "Proposiciones que hacen al Congreso Nacional los Diputados de Asia y América" [Proposals made to the National Congress by the Delegates from Asia and America], the first of which declared that overseas representation "debe ser y será la misma en el orden y forma ... que tienen hoy y tengan en lo sucesivo ... la Península e Islas de la España Europea" [must and will be the same in kind and form ... enjoyed today and in the future ... by the Peninsula and Islands of European Spain] (Caro, *Compilación* 139). After much discussion, the proposition was voted down, and Power y Giralt was one of several deputies who subsequently stepped forth in protest.

In his "Reflecciones ... acerca del estado presente de la América y sobre las medidas que deben adoptarse" [Reflections ... on the Present State of America and on Measures to be Adopted] and his "Voto ... sobre la igualdad de representación" [Vote ... on Equality in Representation], Power backs the *principles* defended by the American delegates. Nevertheless, he does not go into details about what particular shape equal representation should take. Instead, he asks the *Consejo* generally to eliminate any "diferencia de derechos entre el ciudadano español de

la Península y el ciudadano español de las Américas" [difference of rights between the Spanish citizen of the Peninsula and the Spanish citizen of the Americas] (144) – a phrasing that still potentially excludes inhabitants who are not citizens –, and to forgive any rebellious actions that may have already occurred. Notwithstanding his moral support, it is notable that throughout the lengthy debates about equal rights and representation, Power y Giralt was notoriously *silent*; although he was the author of the original "compromise decree," the Courts *Diarios* [Minutes] do not record any intervention on his part. This was clearly not an issue he saw fit to argue as vehemently as others, and in fact his original contribution was one of *mediation* between both sides. One might speculate on whether his family's slave-trading past played a part in his stance; but in truth, Puerto Rico, which boasted a relatively small slave population, by then had no indigenous groups to speak of,[12] and was overall sparsely inhabited did not have much to gain in the battles over representation. Thus, having paid due respect to his fellow American deputies, Power chooses his own way.

More compelling than Power y Giralt's silence is of course his speech. Particularly, the way in which he literally and figuratively *represents* his province not only shapes his ideas, but serves to put them into effect, constituting a bona fide speech act. For example, in the *Exposición* and *Peticiones* he makes his case in the name of a concrete *dramatis persona* mentioned *dozens* of times: "el Labrador [que] sufre" [the Farmer {who} suffers] (177). Evidently, the farmer whose tax and trade burdens Power aims to alleviate is not the poor white laborer (of which there were plenty), but rather the plantation owner who is, in addition, a local leader of relative wealth. This makes Power's characterization all the more significant. For one, it is obviously related to the *jíbaro* [peasant] which the privileged Puerto Rican classes were just beginning to fashion as an archetype of ethnic self-identification.[13] Speak-

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[12] As reported by Tomás Blanco, Puerto Rico's *taíno* population upon its discovery did not exceed 30,000 individuals. It had been decimated by the mid-sixteenth century, owing not only to imposed labor, but to lack of immunity to European diseases and miscegenation (28).

[13] Scarano compellingly analyzes the archaeology of the *jíbaro*:

The Puerto Rican-as-jíbaro trope was initially tied to the politics of a historically young, ascendant elite; as such, it formed art of the arsenal that this group used

ing for the *labrador* also helps Power emphasize the precarious conditions he wants to improve, and justifies his decision to exclude political arguments from his petitions. The needs of this iconic struggling peasant concern, first and foremost, agricultural and commercial expansion.

As a corollary, this vocabulary reverses Power's symbolic relationship to his electors. As he morphs from their agent or ambassador into a protector of disadvantaged laborers, he becomes, not *their* representative before what he himself calls "Congreso Soberano" [Sovereign Congress], but its representative before *them*. His figurative transformation is not a small matter, for two reasons. In the first place, as Power promotes an agenda for Puerto Rico, he insists on having it implemented on the basis of his newly-acquired authority. When challenged by a San Juan *Cabildo* now dominated by Meléndez Bruna, he does not hesitate to invoke "la inviolabilidad declarada a los diputados representantes *de la nación*" [the inviolability granted to the deputy representatives *of the nation*] (189, my emphasis). He also increasingly discriminates between his actions "no ya como Diputado de Puerto-Rico, sino como Representante nacional" [not just as Deputy for Puerto Rico, but as national Representative] (162). In the second place, such lexical shifts need to be read in the context of discussions taking place in Cádiz. The issue of whether deputies represented the nation (and thus, it was one and indivisible), or their particular territories (and thus, it was

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to advance a particular socioeconomic and political – that is, class – project... In the 1810s and 1820s... its meanings proved a bit opaque and difficult to decipher by those whom the masqueraders assumed to be the 'natural' audience, that is, other constitution enthusiasts, among whom liberal creoles predominated, and their absolutist rivals, a group dominated by conservative Spaniards. But, in time, the masquerade's intent became more widely understood, and the Puerto Rican-as-*jíbaro* trope assumed a key role in the liberals' protracted struggle to fashion and solidify a Puerto Rican ethnicity, a proto-nation. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the trope had acquired the transparency and clarity necessary for its symbolic anchoring of the nation. Thus, when in 1849 Manuel Alonso published, under the pen name of El Gíbaro de Caguas..., a collection of vignettes about customs (*cuadros de costumbres*) filled with rich imagery of Puerto Rican traditions, he donned the mask without complications or misunderstandings. Although the title of Alonso's vignettes was, significantly *El gíbaro*, the customs described in the book were clearly not of rural plebeians but of the more privileged groups ("Jíbaro" 1403-04).

plural and potentially federal) divided the writers of the 1812 Constitution – and, as could be expected, deputies of different origin tended to fall on different sides.

According to Joaquín Varela Suanzes, the Cádiz delegates were split into three clusters. Conservative royalists considered the nation the conjunction of, on the one hand, the King, and on the other a collection of unequal estates distributed through territories and kingdoms with distinct political traditions; they supported differential (in fact, bicameral) representation. For the most part, American deputies had a similarly corporatist idea of the nation, now chiefly conceived as the aggregate of its "provincias o pueblos componentes" [component provinces or towns] (Sec. 3). In their scheme, every one of the individuals composing the nation was a holder of national sovereignty; consequently, the Courts held a "mandato imperativo" [imperative mandate], and important acts (like the Constitution itself) had to be be ratified by every territory. Peninsular liberals, in contrast, considered the nation an indivisible whole exceeding the sum total of free and equal individuals within it. In such a view, sovereignty *resides* in the *composite* nation, and is *exercised* by the Courts' elected representatives. As Agustín Argüelles maintained, "[es] necesario insistir en desvanecer cualquiera idea de representación que se pueda suponer en las diputaciones de provincia ... La Representación nacional ... está refundida solamente en las Cortes" [it is imperative to insist on dissipating any idea of representation one might attribute to the province deputations ... National Representation ... is deposited only in the Courts] (qtd. inVarela Suanzes, Sec. 4). By assigning sovereignty to an abstract and unitary body, in addition to conjuring what they saw as the "peligro federalista" [federalist danger] (Sec. 5), Spanish liberals paved the way for the exclusion of the castes and the consequent relegation of Americans to a representative minority. Against this background, Ramón Power assumed the identity of a *representante nacional*. His proximity to the liberal peninsular view is patent in statements such as "la nación, ... siendo ella soberana, ... es únicamente la que puede dictar leyes, imponer contribuciones y ejercer los demás atributos de la soberanía [por su] Congreso deliberante" [the nation, ... being herself sovereign, ... is the only one who can dictate laws, impose taxes, and exercise all attributes of sovereignty {through its} debating Congress].

As mentioned before, Power systematically uses the word *patria*, as well as the corresponding term *nación* to allude to Spain or, more exactly, *las Españas* [the Spains]. In comparison, he calls Puerto Rico by the names of *posesión*, *colonia*, *isla*, *país*, and *pueblo*. With the exception of the descriptive *isla*, each of these terms has a complex political etimology. Most interesting here is the use of *país* [country]and *pueblo* [town or people], which now capture the affective community Yrisarri had designated as *patria*. While Power's own concept of nation remains very close to the liberal notion of an association of individuals under common law, he *is* nevertheless allowing a space for the telluric, proto-ethnic perspective of the San Juan proposals. Power is definitely aware of the emergence of a distinctive cultural collectivity around a shared geography. Acknowledging it without equating its limits with those of the political unit he is engaged in creating is certainly a foundational gesture, but not one understandable from the strict domains of either cultural or civic nationalism.

Power y Giralt reserves the passion characteristic of oratory for avowals of Puerto Rico's loyalty to Spain. When, in the aftermath of the Caracas revolt, the *Consejo de Regencia* grants Salvador Meléndez Bruna even wider authority than he already had, encouraging him to exercise all the power "que puede atribuír la *soberanía*, para remover de sus destinos a toda clase de empleados[,] ... proceder a la detención de toda clase de personas[,] ... confinarlas y trasladarlas a donde más bien le parezca" [that *sovereignty* can grant, to remove from their positions all manner of employees, ... carry on the detention of all types of persons, ... confine and transfer them wherever he likes] (158, my emphasis), Power vigorously protests that Puerto Rico's proven and unquestionable fidelity commands the the abolition of "esta orden bárbara, ... [por la cual] cada ciudadano trémulo y consternado ... teme verse cruelmente arrancado del seno de su patria ... para ser confinado a una región de horror" [this barbarous order, ... {due to which} each tremulous and shocked citizen ... fears seeing himself cruelly torn from his land's bosom ... to be confined to a region of horror] [158-59]. To insist on Puerto Rico's patriotism, Power repeatedly goes back to the 1797 British attack. By returning precisely to this episode, he places the island's inhabitants on equal footing with the *pueblos* of the peninsula who rose against the French invasion. Puerto Ricans not only have a *natural* right to a just

and equitable government; they deserve these things on the basis of patriotic *merit* for the Spanish cause, the one entitlement to which no other Spanish American territory has an equal claim at that point. This is why at the end of the *Exposición* Power places in the hands of the monarchy "la felicidad de doscientos-mil habitantes que … por su acendrado amor a la causa de la Patria, deben merecerla su *particular* protección" [the happiness of two hundred thousand inhabitants who … for their pure love toward the Fatherland's cause, should merit its *particular* protection] (179, my emphasis).

Are Power y Giralt's political choices a betrayal of his American colleagues? In reality, Power was one – possibly the most successful – of a group of New World deputies whom Rafael Estrada Michel has labeled *provincialistas*. They opposed the *regnícolas* ["Kingdom-ites"] who favored parliamentary representation along divisions corresponding to the old viceroyalties. Conversely, *provincialistas*, most often coming from "una intendencia o provincia menor" [a minor superintendence or province] (20), saw an opportunity to sidestep the structures that had most directly been oppressing them; they were also, in Estrada Michel's words, "más cerca de la idea europea de una nación transcontinental, pues no compartían con sus pares regnícolas el independentismo protonacionalista" [closer to the European idea of a transcontinental nation, as they did not share with their *regnícola* peers the protonationalist secessionism]. While Power's position on issues often has to be inferred from his vocabulary, one thing is always loud and clear: he considered Puerto Rico's failure to thrive a direct result of its economic stagnation, caused by the political mishandling of the Captain Generals. No possible goal could have surpassed, for him, that of destroying their claim to sovereignty, and having it exercised instead by a Puerto Rican representative in the national Congress.

While other American deputies were in fact demanding a "descentralización autonomista" [autonomist decentralization] (Chust, "Insurgencia" 12), Power was pursuing full participation in the central government. Therefore, it is only in the context of national discussions that some of the political issues brought up in the San Germán proposals are resolved. For example, Puerto Rico gets a *diputación provincial*, but it is not the autonomous body conceived by the *sangermeños* – as declared in the Constitution, all major business is still to be decided in the penin-

sula. While some of his original electors may have seen these as defeats (undoubtedly giving rise to the undercurrent of separatism that would lead to Lares and beyond), Power y Giralt saw them as a major victory. The Constitution, for him, fully represents his ideals. He rejoices in it, above all, because it saves Puerto Rico from despotism, whether that exercised by the Governor General or by other imperial systems. And the terms in which he expresses his delight are, again, full of significance: "si algo puede dar ... una idea de la dignidad a que acaba de elevarse la Nación Española, son las sublimes palabras del ilustre obispo de Mallorca, que yo me complazco en repetir a ese Consejo. *Ya somos libres y ahora indudablemente seremos españoles*" [if anything can give ... an idea of the dignity to which the Spanish Nation has just risen, it is the sublime words of the Illustrious Bishop of Majorca, which I take pleasure in repeating to this Council. *We are already free, and now we will undoubtedly be Spaniards*] (216).

If Ramón Power y Giralt represents the crystallization of a national sentiment, that national sentiment is not what Lidio Cruz Monclova assumed it to be in his *Historia de Puerto Rico*. The historian himself seems to have realized this, as in a 1962 article (thus published ten years after the *Historia*), he rephrases his interpretation of the episode of the *anillo del Obispo*:

> En aquella mañana memorable del 16 de agosto de 1809 ... halla su primera expresión el sentimiento regional ... Cobra categoría rectora el sentido colectivo. La palabra nosotros conquista entre los hijos de la Isla un sentido gentilicio ... Y, en fin, al llamarnos y tenernos por puertorriqueños, ... toma ser y presencia nuestra personalidad de pueblo. ("Ramón Power" 39).
> [On that memorable morning of August 16, 1809 ... regional sentiment finds its first expression ... Collective feeling becomes a guiding condition. The word "we" achieves among the Island's sons a sense of family name ... And, lastly, upon calling and seeing ourselves as Puerto Ricans, ... our personality as a people acquires being and presence.]

What happened between Cruz Monclova's first and second statements is, of course, the establishment of the *Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico* (July 25, 1952). Ever since then, many political uses have been made of Power's figure, not only on the occasion of the Courts' sesquicentennial, but also notably in 2002, when talk began about repatriating his remains, and each of the major parties in Puerto Rico sought to claim him

as the first *estadista* [statehood advocate] the first *autonomista*, or the first *independentista*.[14] On March 29th, 2009, the day Puerto Rico's former Popular Democratic governor, Aníbal Acevedo Vilá, was acquitted of charges of political corruption filed against him at the opposition's instigation during the last election, a news item in a major local paper described how "cuando [se] pronunció la frase absolutoria ... el ex Gobernador miró hacia arriba, se persignó y besó el anillo que le obsequió el obispo de San Juan, Roberto González Nieves" [when the phrase of acquittal was pronounced ... the former Governor looked up, crossed himself, and kissed the ring given to him by the bishop of San Juan, Roberto González Nieves] (Hopgood Dávila). The current Bishop gave Acevedo Vilá the ring in 2000, when he was first elected Resident Commisionner in Washington, obviously relating this role to Power y Giralt's action in the Spanish Courts.[15] It is, of course, as tempting as it is useless to try to "read" Power y Giralt as the inaugural, and legitimizing, figure of any present-day political party, not least because Puerto Rico is not a colony of the United States *in the same way* that it was a colony of Spain – the question of assimilation vs. autonomy or independence is now marked by the development of a cultural nationalism, and the clear perception of ethnic and cultural differences between Puerto Rico and its current metropolis.

What should be stressed is Power y Giralt's firm belief in the Cádiz liberal project, and in the concept, derived from Emmanuel Sieyès, that a nation is an aggregate of associates bound by common law and represented by a common legislature. In this respect, he was much closer to Basques and Catalans in the peninsula – no doubt partly to his Basque and Catalan background, and his educational and military experiences

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[14] Presently, there are three major political parties in Puerto Rico, each defining its platform according to the status it favors regarding the relationship with the United States: the Partido Nuevo Progresista supports statehood; the Partido Popular Democrático defends continuation of the current commonwealth status in some form; and the pro-independence Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño. The latter lost official recognition after the 2008 election, when obtained it 2.04% of the gubernatorial vote.

[15] In the current organization of the *Estado Libre Asociado*, Puerto Rico does not have senators or congress representatives; the Resident Commissioner is a nonvoting delegate to the latter chamber.

in Spain – than to the majority of his fellow American delegates. While the latter were demanding autonomist reforms, and even approaching the ideal of independence, despite a kinship of "*religión, leyes y costumbres*" (Arbos Marín 149) with the metropolis –, at that time the former were, for the most part, putting aside ethnic and historical differences in order to invest in a common national project: "per als liberals ... el grupo s'anomena nació per la identitat de lleis que li dóna homogeneitat. No sorprèn, doncs, que ... vegin la unificació jurídica des d'una perspectiva 'nacional'. El substrat cultural o lingüístic no era tan rellevant com la unitat jurídica" [for liberals ... a group is designated as nation because of the identity of laws that provides it homogeneity. It is not surprising, then, for them to ... see juridical unification from a 'national' perspective. The cultural or linguistic substratum was not as relevant as juridical unity] (138). This project, while centralist, was also modernizing – based at it was on the concepts of national sovereignty and citizenship. What was clearly a *choice*, and a significant one, on Power's part, followed his understanding of the possibilities offered by Puerto Rico's stage of development, as well as a conviction that the island's situation was *singularísima* – unlike that of any other American colony. The path to the future was clearly a pragmatic one, and required a process of becoming *españoles*. The Puerto Rican delegate seems to have believed, from the perspective of political economy, that "not all states would coincide with nations" (Hobsbawm 24), and that "small, and especially small and backward, nationalities had everything to gain by merging into greater nations" (34).

If Power's choice led to a "failure," it was not exactly that of Puerto Rico to become a nation, but that of the entire Spanish liberal (nationalist, constitutionalist) project:

> El fracàs liberal és el fracàs del primer nacionalisme espanyol ... Els liberals espanyols del començament del segle XIX ho van intentar ... però els nuclis burgesos, més susceptible d'acollir el liberalisme, no van donar el suport suficient. La societat a què els liberals s'adreçaven va presentar resistències massa fortes. Els sectors vinculats a l'antic règim varen aconseguir la indiferència o l'adhesió de capes populars contra el liberalisme, que no havia sabut, o no havia pogut, integrar-les. El liberalisme va néixer d'una majoria parlamentària que va donar a la llum la Constitució del 1812. Però la majoria parlamentària de Cadis no esdevingué una majoria social ... Amb ells va apagar-se la idea nacional que defen-

saven, i el camí de l'homogeneïtzació nacional havia de continuar sense l'aval del sistema representatiu. (Arbós 240-41)

[The liberal failure is the failure of the first Spanish nationalism ... Spanish liberals of the early XIXth century tried their best ... but bourgeois groups, the most likely to adopt liberalism, did not lend enough support. The society liberals addressed put up too strong a resistance. Sectors connected to the ancien régime obtained the indifference or adherence of popular strata against liberalism, which had not known how, or been able, to integrate them. Liberalism arose from a parliamentary majority that gave birth to the Constitution of 1812. But the Cádiz parliamentary majority did not become a social majority ... With them, the national idea they defended was extinguished, and the path of national homogeneization would continue without the guarantees of the representative system.]

In Latin America, the breakdown of these liberal ideals gave birth to independence movements; in Spain, it led to the birth of peninsular nationalisms. In Puerto Rico, its aftermath was much more complicated. The island's trajectory through 1898 can only be explained through the intricate interaction of myriad economic, ethnic, and political factors that nevertheless always revolved around the pragmatism of Power y Giralt's originary choice. While the development of cultural nationalism and its repertoire – in which Power himself participated, through his construction of, for example, the *Labrador* – was already under way, the idea of the nation would always retain an administrative substratum. For the delegate himself, the matter was quite simple: "si es verdad que he podido en algo mejorar la suerte de mis compatriotas; si la generación presente y las venideras serán más dichosas que lo fueron hasta hoy los habitantes de esta Isla, todas mis penas desaparecerán al presentarse a mi imaginación esta dulce idea" [if it is true that I have in some way been able to improve my compatriots' lot; if the present generation and future ones will be happier than this island's inhabitants have heretofore been, all my sorrows will disappear upon imagining this sweet idea] (Caro, *Compilación* 207).

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CULTURE PLANNING AND COUNTER-PLANNING: THE YOUNG HASAN AL-BANNA AND THE FORMATION OF EGYPTIAN-ISLAMIC CULTURE IN EGYPT[1]

Israel Gershoni

Introduction: Culture Planning vs. Counter-culture Planning

I would like to open with a personal note. Over two decades ago, Itamar Even-Zohar first expressed an interest in 'culture planning.' He was one of the first, for me the first, to define the concept and to pursue scholarly research in this field. Itamar, in typical fashion, extracted a term from the world of linguistics, economics, engineering, architecture or tax planning and used it as a central term in cultural studies. When he began to conceptualize the then new term 'culture planning' and render this into a detailed and practical agenda for research in the early 1990s, I was honored that Itamar considered me his confidant in framing his terminology and in fomenting his research 'revolution.' He would patiently wait for me in his small office, and when I would arrive, he would excitedly spout his subversive idea and wait for my reaction. After initial shock, I would eventually catch my breath, and slowly I became accustomed to the conceptual framework and its significance for cultural studies. Afterwards, I attempted to include the theory in my own research on modern Egyptian Arab culture. The concept of 'culture planning' proved applicable to my specific field of interest, namely intellectual labor in Egyptian society, culture, and politics. I discovered that the idea of studying the toil of intellectuals as architects of culture is appropriate to a specific group of Egyptian idea-makers and cultural entrepreneurs who were active from the late nineteenth century to the 1940s. I am referring to a group of luminary intellectual entrepreneurs whose members can be defined as the founding forefathers of a modern Egyptian-Arab cultural system. Their ideas and actions as founding culture planners took place in a formative historical

[1] This article is a condensed version of a more extensive Hebrew language article written in honor of Prof. Itamar Even-Zohar.

environment characterized by a profound metamorphosis: i.e. the dissolution of the existing "traditional" cultural polysystem, and the emergence of a new "modern" cultural polysystem.

Two or three years later, after digesting the revolutionary idea and trying to appropriate it for my own work, Even-Zohar and I again met in the winter of 1996 for another comprehensive discussion on the topic. This time Even-Zohar strived to redefine the concept and present a more detailed explanation. He claimed that it is important to distinguish between 'culture planning' and 'culture *stichya*.' He argued that 'culture planning' is an intentional, deliberate, and well-designed act of intervention by great makers of ideas who can also be defined as intellectual planners or cultural planners. These are powerful free agents, usually pioneer founding fathers of a new culture, such as philosophers, writers, poets, playwrights, journalists, or politicians. The grand planning is the province of a handful of 'luminary,' 'brilliant,' 'gifted,' and 'truly unique' idea-makers who intervene in reality (in order to) change it. They plan the structures, themes, contents, symbols, and language of a new cultural system. As cultural architects and engineers, they draft the contours of the new culture, shape its basic skeleton, organize the components and other ingredients of the system, choose the key reservoirs and select materials and symbols, and determine how to best utilize them in erecting the new cultural building.

Moreover, the culture planners do not stop at the planning stage. Usually, after they produce the new cultural system or its archetypes, they fulfill the task of social dissemination. Aware of the political nature of the struggle for control of the new culture, they reach out to the public and conduct an open marketing battle for the hearts and minds of the different strata of the national community. The intellectual labor process involves several stages. First the idea-makers establish their status as primary cultural authorities, launch circles of readers and disciples, and ascertain their central position as 'thinkers of the time.' The acceptance of new cultural products across society takes place, because increasing numbers of consumer publics view these idea-makers as 'gurus,' or the ultimate spiritual authorities who confer a compass for a new future on the community and who create a new modern cultural identity that gives authentic expression to its ideals and desires, as well as its agonies and dilemmas, on its path to modernity. Then, with the

help of affiliated intellectual agents (Even-Zohar defines them as cultural entrepreneurs) they mobilize material and symbolic capital for cultural 'industrialization' – mass production and distribution – of culture commodities. In the process, these agents, also function as makers of life images, and take control of the print media and the publishing houses, including books, newspapers, periodicals, magazines and textbooks. Later they take control of the audiovisual media – the radio and cinema. In addition, they recruit political resources and appropriate political power by forming alliances with political parties or forces, or by cooperating with the state and its institutions and agencies. This represents the culture planners' efforts to ensure that the culture they produced will emerge from the ovens of design and industry and trickle down to the public spheres, find its place and be accepted by broader sectors in society, elite and non-elite. The culture planners also invest great effort in generating neutralizing actions, namely the undermining of 'old' cultural symbols, institutions and practices. In particular they challenge what they term as 'traditional culture' by waging a cultural war against the textual corpus, the icons, and the language of the traditional cultural repertoire.[2]

According to Even-Zohar, 'cultural *stichya'* confronts this intellectual mega-project. By the term cultural *stichya*, Even-Zohar refers to a spontaneous cultural process which emerges and evolves, either shortly after, or long after, the development of a newly designed culture. Moreover, for Even-Zohar, cultural spontaneity refers to unintended, unplanned, amorphous, anonymous, and hybrid cultural processes and productions. These processes are fluid, unpredictable, uncontrolled, and in principle, not conscious. The spontaneity process usually produces unrefined and vulgar popular mass-cultural commodities. Sometimes, these are expressed as resistance to the planned repertoire. Nevertheless, the very existence of this spontaneous *stychic* processes in the cultural field is evident; these processes are important in determining the final products that reach the market, and particularly in representing those social, political, and cultural forces that either do not take part in the intellectual enterprise, or whose initial influence is insignificant. They often attempt to undermine the intellectual cultural project, alter

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[2] See for example Even-Zohar 2010a, and 2010b.

it, vulgarize it, or destroy it. In such instances, over time, under the growing impact of these spontaneous processes, the pioneering intellectual planners loose their authority, and increasingly loose their control and influence in the cultural field. The remnants of the planned culture are stripped of their original nature, and are replenished with new contents, meanings, and symbols, until they take on new forms and become a 'different culture,' more in line with the spontaneous culture. At this point the idea-makers may feel that their culture planning project – although initially successful and now the new dominant culture at the center of cultural polysystem – confronts difficulties and crises that undermine its hegemonic status.

Even-Zohar did not define the time period of the process where the spontaneous culture eroded the master planned culture and indeed thrust it to the sidelines while itself taking over the cultural centers. The process can take dozens or even hundreds of years. Within this slice of time, the scholar of cultural studies can examine how culture planning establishes a dominant culture, and how this in turn yields to the new power of the changing spontaneous culture after a certain amount of time, which also in turn gives way to a new culture planning project. Specific examples of this process in modern times can be found in the *kibbutz* and the *kibbutz* culture in the Yishuv settlement in pre-state British Mandate and in the state of Israel; the Soviet socialist communist culture and its place as the official hegemonic culture of the Soviet Union until this world power collapsed; or the culture planning of the Kemalist (Atatürk) revolution in Turkey and its demise – all these examples demonstrate the struggle between planned culture and spontaneous culture.

Again I needed to take a break to digest this brilliant and insightful observation. The more I thought about it and the more I tried to understand this radical notion within a specific historical context, in a specific time and place, I found myself not *quite* agreeing with Even-Zohar. It seemed to me that cultural spontaneity assumed intensive impersonal activity via deterministic inexorable historical factors and forces, in which the culture producer and agent disappears from culture production, or at least remains passive in the process. The spontaneity, as it were, produces a culture with no producers and agents and sets in motion cultural dynamics not controlled by human agency. As an histori-

an who assumes that human beings' thoughts and actions exist in every cultural labor, either planned or spontaneous, I found it difficult to accept this observation. I wanted to bring human agency back to the process. Of course, I am well aware that these distinctions and terminology are mine. Furthermore, perhaps I was attributing more weight to these distinctions than Even-Zohar himself did. For Even-Zohar, *stychia* produces a product/s through human agencies, even if in many cases these are anonymous and unidentifiable human agencies. Moreover, in his other works (particularly the polysystem theory), Even-Zohar assumes a reciprocal dynamics between the cultural center and its periphery. He noted the dynamic of certain forces on the edges of the cultural system being shifted to the center, and the marginalization of the central repertoire to the periphery, and so forth. He took into account that the hegemonic cultural planner operates within a cultural polysystem with a periphery that may produce cultural forces that challenge the cultural center and struggle to replace it (Even-Zohar, 1990). Nonetheless, it appeared to me that within the defined category of 'culture planning,' the idea of 'a spontaneous culture' is worthy of re-examination in order to suggest a slightly different theoretical and methodological approach.

And indeed, I would like to argue that the concept of 'spontaneous culture' is not necessarily the most appropriate for historical cultural studies. It may even be misleading. What appears to be a spontaneous challenge that contests the intellectual project and undermines the culture designed by the 'great planners,' should be defined as *counter-culture planning*. This 'another planning,' to rephrase Roger Chartier's concept of "another production" in a different context (LaCapra and Kaplan 1982: 13-46), is effected by defined planners, usually 'secondary' or 'reproductive planners,' or 're-makers.' These second or third tier planners, at least in the formative planning stages, challenge the master planners and subversively attempt to undermine their designed culture by presenting an alternative counter-planning of a new modern culture. It is important to understand that by highlighting this counter-planning, we are not referring to the traditional or conservative forces and factors that act to preserve and safeguard traditional culture. These traditionalists or conservatives seek to limit or nullify any cultural initiative that promotes modernity. They reject any attempt to plan or create a new modern culture, labeling it as a Western-oriented, foreign,

imperialist culture. They foster a conservative 'ideology' sanctifying tradition or neo-traditional indigenous modes of thinking and practices as a defense against "western" modernity. In Even-Zohar's terminology, they function as agents of active resistance who overtly and straightforwardly struggle against the planned modern repertoire.

I refer here to the counter-planning of another different 'modern culture'; in other words, of a culture that seeks to promote norms, values, images, symbols, language, and practices for a *modern* society, economy and polity. It is a modernist planned repertoire, presented as an alternative to the modernist repertoire that the idea-making masters planned, produced and disseminated. Usually, the counter planning intellectual labor begins from the social, political, and cultural margins. The cultural planners function as cultural dissidents against what they negatively term as the dominant establishment culture. They can also be defined as secondary cultural entrepreneurs. They invest new meaning to the very term 'modernism' as an idea, as a cultural strategy and as the platform for action. They challenge the monopoly that the intellectual luminaries claimed for themselves – to exclusively represent modernity and to serve as the exclusive authority that determines its content and meaning, and view themselves as the sole disseminators and those in control of patterns of reception. It is also important to note that this initiated activity of the counter-planners does not occur only when they sense that the 'grand endeavor' has encountered a crisis that augers its demise. We argue that the formative stages of the culture counter-planning can already be identified when and where the master planned cultural endeavor is at its peak, precisely when it is successfully drifting from the planning stages to the public sphere and conquering, for the first time, the major sites of the cultural field. In other words, the counter planning coalesces long before the existent master planned culture expires. A historical dialectical process often occurs, whereby when the planned culture is at its historical peak, and it has become the common culture of the mainstream literate groups in the community, this very culture stimulates and promotes the counter planners to come out of hiding, and to express themselves and act publicly.

Al-Banna and the Production of Egyptian Islamic Culture

I will now turn to examine central contours of the formative process of counter planning in Egypt, with a specific focus on Hasan al-Banna's pioneering role in this process. I will attempt to apply the concept of counter-culture planning to an Egyptian case represented by the early thinking and activity of the Muslim Brothers.

Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949) was the founder and first leader of the Society of the Muslim Brothers (جمعيات الإخوان المسلمين [*Jam'iyyat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*]) in Egypt and the Arab world. The association was established by al-Banna in March 1928 in Isma'iliya as a peripheral religious charity and educational organization. Towards the end of the 1930s and during the 1940s this changed dramatically, as the Muslim Brothers gained popularity and power. From an elementary school teacher in a distant government school, and a secondary intellectual who occasionally wrote articles and commentaries for marginal Islamicist journals and the head of a small organization with a few dozen members, al-Banna became 'the General Guide' of a mass movement. The Muslim Brothers reached their zenith after World War II, with about one million followers and sympathizers in Egypt and other Arab countries. From the perspective of the twenty-first century, one can say that the Muslim Brothers became the most important and popular Islamic Salafi power (or in more updated language, political Islam or Islamic fundamentalism) in Egypt and the Arab Middle East. It created and implemented an entire modern Islamic counter-culture. This involved creating a rich repertoire of ideas, models, images, practices, patterns of behavior, and modes of organization and political strategies. No less important was the creation of effective means of communication and indoctrination, and aggressive methods of transmission.

I will focus here on the young al-Banna's early writings and activities in the late 1920s to the early 1940s (1928-1941). Al-Banna launched his counter-cultural journey at that point in time when the modernist Westernist Egyptian culture was at its peak.[3]

What were the components and themes of this counter-culture? I will start by presenting al-Banna as a secondary idea-maker and cul-

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[3] For this type of culture and its development see Gershoni 1992.

tural entrepreneur. His formative worldview included a number of ideological principles and a set of programs.

A. Rejecting Colonial Culture

Al-Banna systematically deconstructed the European secular and Egyptian territorialist foundations of Western-oriented Egyptian culture. He defined this hegemonic culture as an alien imitative and thus humiliating culture. For him, this imitative culture is not a genuine culture but rather an artificial one transplanted by the colonial power and embraced by local collaborationists. Suffering under colonial, political, and cultural occupation, al-Banna found it inconceivable and impractical that Islamic Egypt borrow the occupier's cultural repertoire and turn it into models for local culture. Al-Banna emphasized that he was not opposed to assimilating the technical blueprints of a material culture from Europe: technology, science, media, economics, industry, educational systems, etc. But when it came to national spiritual contents, defined later by Partha Chatterjee as the spiritual '"inner" domain of national culture' (Chatterjee 1993: 3-13), these must derive *only* from the Arab-Islamic cultural reservoirs of Egypt. These reservoirs must first be re-discovered, renewed, reshaped, and adapted to modern reality, and then made accessible, in order to build a vital Arab-Islamic cultural repertoire for Egypt and for the Arab Middle East. Lastly this cultural store must be presented as a complete and effective alternative to the Pharaonic and Greco-Roman reservoirs of the neo-Pharaonic, Mediterranean and European-oriented national repertoire.

B. Nationalism and National Culture

Al-Banna rejected the concept of neo-Pharaonic Egyptian territorialist nationalism built on the organic continuum between ancient Egypt and modern Egypt. This primordial territorialist concept assumes that the Egyptian national entity is exclusively based on the unending dialogue between the Egyptian population and the Nile Valley. Al-Banna claimed that nationalism based on geography, ethnicity, and race is necessarily chauvinist and pagan, pre-monotheistic (*Jahilite*). Such nationalism does not correspond with a framework of national identity and culture appropriate for Muslims and for Arabic speakers. He redefined Egyptian national identity by anchoring it in its religion and lan-

guage (not territory) and by tying it to the larger Islamic Arab national community. An Egyptian does not define him or herself by race, territory or pre-Islamic history, but rather by the Islamic religion and the Arabic language. Thus, the Egyptian nation is not the physical landscape of its homeland, but rather the landscape of its language and religion. Indeed, Islamic Arab nationalism is anti-colonial nationalism, which can truly lead Egypt to liberation, emancipation, and independence. Hence, an independent and genuine Egyptian national culture must be anchored solely on post-Pharaonic and post-Greco-Roman Islamic-Arab legacies and traditions of the Nile Valley.

C. Political Government and Political Culture

Al-Banna expressed his objection to the existing parliamentary system of liberal democracy. He vehemently rejected the multi-party system, labeling it self-serving factionalism (*ḥizbiyya*). Al-Banna claimed that democratic politics corrupted society. By only promoting the interests of the elite, democracy is concerned solely with the welfare of the wealthy, the landowners, the big merchants and the bankers. Democracy creates a social and cultural rift, deepens social gaps, and destroys national unity, thereby playing into the hands of the Western colonial power which aims to divide the colonized nation, in order to perpetuate its occupation. In al-Banna's planned political agenda, he envisioned a kind of theocratic or autocratic government headed by the royal family, specifically King Faruq. According to his agenda, the Palace regime will rule with the aid of an advisory council to be made up of what al-Banna defined as great spiritual authorities of the nation, i.e. reputable, respected individuals that represent all segments of society (al-Banna did not specify how the council members would be elected). The ruling King and the council would underline the Islamic foundations of the political regime in Egypt, both symbolically and practically. Thus al-Banna did not call for the blanket application of Islamic law (*al-shariʿa)* rather he imagined a sort of neo-Caliphate monarchial order, receptive to the needs of modern reality.

D. Education and History

Al-Banna called for the elimination of Westernized education which was reducing Islamic studies to a meager 10% in all levels of schooling.

He presented the Ministry of Education with a detailed agenda for an across-the-board expansion of Islamic studies in Egyptian schools. Simultaneously he suggested a drastic reduction of what he defined as Western studies, based on the culture of the enlightenment. This agenda specifically underlined a new historical narrative: rejection of the Pharaonic and Greco-Roman past as pagan, and unrelated to Egyptian Islamic history. According to al-Banna, true Egyptian history only commenced with the Arab-Islamic conquering of the Land of the Nile in the seventh century. Islamic religion and Arabic language placed Egypt on a genuine historical stage. In this Islamization and Arabization of history, al-Banna elevated the medieval Islamic Arabic heroes of Egypt, such as Ibn Tulun, Baybars, Salah al-Din, as well as Omar Makram from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Egypt's leading role in Islamic history was expressed in its defense of Islamic *umma* particularly in removing the Mongolian threat and in defeating the crusaders.

E. Culture, Art, Fine Arts

Al-Banna resisted the neo-Pharaonic and the territorial nationalist realism of Egyptian culture and art. He rejected modern Egyptian sculpture, painting, architecture, and specifically, their entry to public buildings and institutions. He also opposed Western iconography, and neo-Pharaonic public monuments (for example Mukhtar's monumental public sculpture of 'The Revival of Egypt' and the two statues erected in honor of Saʿd Zaghlul). As an alternative, he suggested returning to Islamic architecture, mainly to traditional and neo-traditional forms, represented in the public sphere by mosques and other Islamic monuments and structures.

F. Moving from ideology and program to practice

I would like to briefly present the methods al-Banna and the Muslim Brothers used to transform the planned counter-culture into the concrete management of daily life. This happened within the new context of Egypt and the Arab Middle East, which changed dramatically during the 1930s and 1940s. The political, economic, social, and ideological transformations propelled new literate publics of secondary cultural consumers to the market. They changed the market and created a new

environment for reception of al-Banna's counter-cultural products. Eventually, these new conditions turned the counter-culture into a primary culture consumed both by secondary elites and broader sectors of the literate society. It was specifically the swift ascent of the groups of the educated urban middle class (the new young *effendiyya*) to the center of the public sphere and cultural field, which propelled this process. Many of them found in the Muslim Brother's cultural message a home for developing their own culture. Al-Banna, himself a typical *effendi,* and his *effendiyya* followers, created a sense of identification between the *effendiyya* and the Muslim Brothers. They defined the Egyptian Islamic culture they created as 'the *effendiyya* culture' and claimed that the Muslim Brothers' cultural message is the '*effendiyya*'s message.'

G. What was the appeal of this new culture?

In terms of the nationalist struggle, the new culture gave the growing *effendiyya* an authentic anti-colonial national culture in their struggle against British colonialism. The *effendi* cultural entrepreneurs presented this culture as a more effective cultural base for bringing liberation and independence to the Egyptian nation. In terms of the socio-economic divide, al-Banna's counter-culture provided the *effendiyya* with an alternative culture to fight the Western-oriented territorialist Egyptian culture that was associated with the old landed elite and other commercial, merchant and bureaucratic upper classes. It also imbued them with a cultural tool to fight against the 'foreigners' (Italians, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews) and against their perceived hegemony in Egypt's capitalist economy. In terms of cultural identity, this culture gave the *effendiyya* a new Arab-Islamic national identity which combined modernity with the local indigenous traditions.

Conclusion

The expansion of al-Banna's counter-culture during the formative years of 1928-1952 did not stem from spontaneous, unplanned, and unstructured cultural processes. On the contrary, al-Banna was more than an intellectual laborer, an idea-maker, a cultural entrepreneur, or a producer of life images. He was a sophisticated and charismatic political activist, and an outstanding orator and effective propagandist. He al-

ways claimed that action (*al-ʿamal*), or realization (*tanfidh*), namely or-
ganization, administration, mobilization, and operation is no less im-
portant than the idea (*al-fikra*). For him, the 'message' (*al-daʿwa*) must be
embodied in a detailed and concrete agenda (*barnamij*), and the shaping
of methods of intervention in reality to fundamentally reshape it. And
indeed, the transformation of the planned counter-culture into a real
and effective political and social implementation was impressive. Al-
Banna, as the General Guide, established an extremely strong and dis-
ciplined headquarters in Cairo, a General Guidance Council (*Maktab al-
Irshad al-ʿAmm*), with hundreds and later thousands of branches in
Egypt and throughout the Arab world, subject to the Council's direc-
tives and orders. This system of provincial branches was based on fam-
ily units. The family heads were subject to the authority of local leaders
of the branches, who were subject to a system of district offices, who
were in turn subject to the supreme General Guidance Council. This
system allowed al-Banna to penetrate and mobilize almost all sectors
and strata of Egyptian society. The Muslim Brothers successfully re-
cruited urban industrial workers, civil servants and students, as well as
small merchants and artisans. They were very successful in mobilizing
professionals – journalists, teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, clerks,
and to some extent also junior military officers. The Muslim Brothers'
use of family units also allowed for the inclusion of many women, who
were called Muslim Sisters. This centralist hierarchy enabled al-Banna
to recruit hundreds of thousands of adherents to his ranks, and to lead
them to his cultural orientation. At the height of his success, he created
a strong, hard-core membership of tens of thousands of what he termed
'fighters,' 'activists,' 'disciples,' and 'sympathizers.'

   The process of cultural penetration involved the establishment of
several forums of indoctrination and dissemination. This included the
exploitation of mosques, recruiting activities in tea-houses and coffee
shops and street gatherings (*ḥalqa*), as well as the generating of demon-
strations, parades, meetings, youth sports clubs, the Scouts, the troupes
of rovers (*firaq al-jawwala*) and the semi-militaristic battalion system.

   All of these were supported by the rigorous activity of the print me-
dia: a network of five newspapers, books, pamphlets, and other publi-
cations. The 'messages' (*Risala*, pl. *Rasaʾil*) that al-Banna published as
'special calls' (*daʿwāt*) to his followers and the Egyptian and Arab pub-

lic at large were especially noteworthy. These were 'primary' texts, written by al-Banna in a concise and simple style, elucidating his ideology and his platforms for planned action in the fields of culture, religion, economy, society, education, politics, and foreign affairs. The *rasa'il* were distributed in hundreds of thousands copies, in an inexpensive pocket book format. Millions read them, and they were an elementary tool in disseminating the ideas and goals of the Muslim Brothers. Practically, they served as blueprints for actual operations. Al-Banna also established a well-organized network for economic aid for the needy. This network drew funds from membership dues and from larger contributions from philanthropists and public figures who supported the Muslim Brothers. The system of economic support included banks and other financial credit institutions, soup kitchens, women's aid associations, and adult education schools. All of these organizations and institutions acted to promote the Islamic Arab counter-culture and to establish it as the major alternative culture of the time. In fact, considering that al-Banna developed the Egyptian-Islamic culture as a civil counter-culture based mainly on open civil society and principally non-violent means, and with no official governmental backing, his achievements were most impressive.

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Recadrer la Mémoire Collective : L'exemple de la France à la Libération

Gisèle Sapiro

A Itamar Even-Zohar, qui m'a donné le goût de la recherche

Préambule : Lorsque j'ai commencé mes études au département de Poétique et littérature comparée de l'Université de Tel-Aviv en 1986, j'ai tout de suite remarqué la figure distinguée du Professeur Itamar Even-Zohar, qui impressionnait les aspirants que nous étions par sa culture sans rivages – il maîtrisait trente langues et nous promenait dans l'histoire universelle avec une aisance confondante, des Sagas islandaises à l'Italie du Risorgimento – et par son détachement ironique. Il faisait cours apparemment sans notes, sur le ton badin de la conversation, propre au tutorat plus qu'à la chaire, à mille lieue de toute démagogie, et sans aucune concession à la bêtise humaine. Il nous impressionnait et nous intimidait, nous redoutions par-dessus tout de mériter le mépris dans lequel il semblait tenir la plus grande partie des êtres et des choses. Il fallut quelques temps pour que l'hautaine et élégante silhouette qui nous transperçait d'un regard bleu laissât entrevoir des abimes de bienveillance et de générosité. J'avais entrepris parallèlement un cursus de philosophie et envisageait, à la fin du premier cycle qui me donnerait le titre de Bachelor or Arts, de m'orienter vers la logique. Je fis part de ce projet à Itamar, dont je m'étais rapprochée, et avec lequel j'entretenais des relations de plus en plus cordiales. Tu ne feras pas de recherche, a-t-il déclaré ! Cette phrase suffit à me faire changer d'avis. Je me inscrivis donc en second cycle sous sa direction. J'avais d'abord eu l'idée de travailler sur la comtesse de Ségur, dont les romans avaient marqué mon enfance et façonné la vision du monde de centaines de milliers de petites filles et de petits garçons, mais Itamar m'en dissuada. Je finis par trouver mon sujet : ayant lu un article du sémioticien russe Iouri Lotman sur « l'image de soi » d'une culture, je décidai de consacrer mon mémoire à « L'image de soi » de la France à la Libération. Le répertoire des représentations nationales dans les hebdomadaires de la nouvelle presse (1944-1945). *Outre les discussions sur la construction conceptuelle de*

la problématique et le plan, Itamar me proposa, pour m'aider à venir à bout de cette première expérience de recherche, de lui rendre quelques pages tous les quinze jours, ce qui m'aida à progresser dans les méandres de la rédaction et à la rendre moins douleureuse. En Master, nous étions déjà professionnalisés : Itamar m'avait obtenu un poste à mi-temps à la bibliothèque de l'Institut Porter, et j'assurais les T.D. du cours de narratologie de Menakhem Perry, ainsi que de celui d'histoire des idées politiques de Shlomo Sand. Je m'initiais aussi à la traduction. Itamar m'avait associée à l'équipe qui avait entrepris de traduire des textes du sociologue Pierre Bourdieu, dont il introduisait les travaux en Israël. Lors du séjour de recherche que j'ai effectué à Paris pour réunir mon matériel, j'ai rencontré Pierre Bourdieu, auprès de qui Itamar, qui était son ami, m'avait recommandée. Itamar m'avait conseillé de poursuivre mes études doctorales en France lorsque j'aurai obtenu mon M.A. Je rédigeai un projet de thèse sur la recomposition du champ littéraire à la Libération et l'envoyai à Bourdieu, qui accepta de le diriger à l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales. Ayant achevé mon mémoire en septembre 1990, je partis pour Paris, ma ville natale, pensant que je retournerais à Tel-Aviv au terme de mon doctorat. Je ne suis jamais revenue : quelques mois après avoir soutenu ma thèse de doctorat en décembre 1994, devant un jury dont Itamar faisait partie, j'étais recrutée au CNRS et affectée au Centre de sociologie de l'éducation et de la culture, fondé par Pierre Bourdieu. Mais jamais les liens d'amitié qui me reliaient à Itamar ne furent distendus ni le dialogue interrompu. C'est lui qui m'a conduite de la littérature à la recherche en sociologie par le biais de la sémiotique de la culture. Il m'a surtout donné le goût de la recherche, qui ne m'a plus quitté depuis.

Cet essai en son honneur reprend, à sa demande, et sous une forme remaniée, une partie du mémoire de Master que j'ai rédigé sous sa direction. Faute de pouvoir procéder à une refonte totale qui eût engagé des nouvelles recherches, j'ai effectué une mise à jour partielle et nécessairement insatisfaisante de ce premier travail de recherche réalisé il y a plus de vingt ans, augmenté d'une nouvelle introduction qui rejoint mes préoccupations actuelles.

1. Introduction

Comment se forme l'image qu'une société se fait d'elle-même ? Comment évolue-t-elle dans le temps, tout en assurant une continuité par-delà les changements politiques, socio-économiques et/ou culturels ? Cette étude porte sur la reconstruction de « l'image de soi » de la

France au lendemain de l'occupation allemande et du régime de Vichy, qui ont bouleversé les structures sociales et généré une crise de l'identité collective. La reconstruction passe par la réaffirmation des représentations constitutives de la culture nationale à travers la réactivation de l'héritage révolutionnaire, par le récit intégrant le passé immédiat dans la mémoire collective, et par l'élaboration de programmes et de projets pour l'avenir. Prenant pour source les hebdomadaires politico-culturels publiés dans la première année qui suit la Libération, l'analyse examine les représentations et thèmes convergents et les points de divergence entre les différences tendances politiques. Cette étude de cas est précédée d'un bref état des lieux et d'une ébauche de réflexion sur les concepts et outils théoriques dont nous disposons pour analyser l'« image de soi » d'une société.

1.1. Représentations, modèles, catégories, schèmes

Loin d'être une activité passive, comme le supposaient les empiristes, la perception de la réalité a une dimension active sur laquelle la tradition rationaliste, néokantienne en particulier, a mis l'accent. Durkheim et Mauss (1903) les premiers ont insisté sur le caractère socialisé des « formes de classification », sur l'origine extra-logique des notions logiques. Comme ils l'écrivent :

> D'un autre côté, classer, ce n'est pas seulement constituer des groupes – c'est disposer ces groupes suivant des relations très spéciales. Nous nous les représentons comme coordonnés ou subordonnés les uns aux autres, nous disons que ceux-ci (les espèces) sont inclus dans ceux-là (les genres), que les seconds subsument les premiers. Il en est qui dominent, d'autres qui sont dominés, d'autres qui sont indépendants les uns des autres. Toute classification implique un ordre hiérarchique dont ni le monde sensible ni notre conscience ne nous offrent le modèle. Il y a donc lieu de se demander où nous sommes allés le chercher.

Durkheim définit par ailleurs les manières de sentir, de penser, d'agir, comme des faits sociaux (Durkheim 1895). La notion de « représentations sociales », ou de « représentations collectives », qu'il distingue des représentations individuelles pour démarquer l'objet de la sociologie de celui de la psychologie, désigne ces manières de penser communes à un groupe (Durkheim 1898). L'idée que les modes de catégorisation ne sont pas universels mais historiques, et qu'ils varient d'une société et

l'autre ou d'une période à l'autre, se retrouve chez Cassirer (1972), avec la notion de « formes symboliques », qui structurent la « vision du monde » d'une époque. Panofsky (1967) a montré, de son côté, que cette vision du monde peut, à une même époque, sous-tendre des activités très différentes, comme l'art gothique et la scolastique. Dans la théorie sociologique de Pierre Bourdieu (1980a ; 2002), qui se fonde largement sur les précédents, les « schèmes » de perception, d'action et d'évaluation constituent l'habitus. Cette idée du caractère actif de la cognition est présente aussi dans la tradition de la sémiotique de la culture avec la notion de « modèles » (Even-Zohar 1990), comme dans la sociologie interactionniste de Goffman (1974) qui, se référant à Bateson, parle des « cadres de l'expérience ». Le partage de tels schèmes, formes et cadres, qui se surimposent au continuum de l'expérience, au point de la rendre discontinue, est la condition de la communication. Ces schèmes concernent non seulement l'environnement matériel mais aussi humain et social, ils organisent la perception des situations comme les classements et les hiérarchies opérés spontanément par les individus. Les individus classent et se classent dans des groupes (famille, tribu, caste, ordre, profession) et dans des entités formées sur des bases culturelles et/ou géographiques, qui peuvent avoir un fondement juridique ou prétendre en avoir (les nations en formation sans Etats). Ces représentations concernent aussi bien la sociodicée, à savoir le grand récit de l'histoire du groupe, qui constitue la « mémoire collective » (Halbwachs 1994), que son présent et son futur.

    Les concepts de catégories de l'entendement, de formes de classification, de représentations, de schèmes, de modèles, de formes symboliques et de cadres ne se recoupent pas entièrement. Sans prétendre ici répondre à des questions qui nécessiteraient un examen beaucoup plus approfondi de ces concepts et de leurs usages dans la littérature savante, on peut à première vue les différencier selon le niveau auquel ils opèrent, les aspects sur lesquels ils mettent l'accent, leurs usages. Les formes de classification concernent, comme on l'a vu, les modes d'assemblage et de séparation des classes ou des groupes d'objets, de personnes, de situations, les relations d'inclusion ou d'exclusion, les principes de hiérarchisation. Ces classes ou groupes déterminent la perception et l'évaluation des objets et des êtres du monde environnant, ils sous-tendent la « représentation » que s'en font les individus

qui les partagent. Empruntée à la psychologie, la notion de représentation met l'accent sur la faculté de l'esprit de se remémorer des impressions hors de la présence des objets qui les ont suscitées, faculté dont l'empirisme et la psychophysiologie ne peuvent entièrement rendre compte. Ce qui permet à Durkheim (1898 : 17) d'affirmer que les représentations collectives ne dérivent pas des consciences individuelles mais de leur interaction. Bourdieu préfère cependant au terme de « représentation(s) » celui de « schème(s) » de perception, d'action, d'évaluation, plus proche de « modèle(s) » en ce qu'il insiste sur leur dimension structurante, mais qui souligne en même temps, à la différence des deux autres, leur caractère partiel, flou, ajustable. Ce caractère flou est un trait non négligeable, car il explique le mode de fonctionnement de ces représentations sociales, qui peut aisément transgresser les règles de la logique, tel que le principe de non contradiction.

Il reste que, du point de vue de la recherche empirique, ces différents concepts n'ont pas le même usage et peuvent être utilisés alternativement selon qu'on travaille sur un corpus de textes et/ou d'images, dont on dégage des « représentations » de la réalité, ou sur l'activité de production de ces représentations, avec le concept de « schèmes » qui renvoie au *modus operandi*, et qui permet en outre d'inclure les systèmes d'oppositions qui structurent la perception, selon le principe de la différence significative emprunté par l'anthropologie structurale à la linguistique saussurienne (voir par exemple Bourdieu 1980b). Le concept de « modèle » a, quant à lui, l'avantage de désigner, d'une part, les relations entre représentations élémentaires (qui peuvent par exemple dériver d'un même « modèle ») et, d'autre part, les combinaisons possibles entre ces éléments ainsi que le type de relations qu'elles supposent. Il faut cependant éviter le biais intellectualiste qui consiste à faire de ce qui est avant tout une reconstruction savante l'origine de l'action des individus, comme le souligne Bourdieu dans sa critique de cette notion (1980a : 63-68).

Le concept de « modèle » peut faire le lien avec celui de « cadre » qui, selon Goffman (1974), donne aux événements leur signification et permet aux individus d'ajuster leur comportement à différentes situations en fonction d'un ensemble de règles et de conventions plus ou moins intériorisée, les ratages ou les situation de rupture d'intelligibilité révélant les limites de ces cadres et leur fondement cul-

turel. Goffman distingue les cadres primaires des modalisations qui transforment les matériaux signifiants selon les premiers à partir d'une série de conventions, comme dans le jeu ou au théâtre, et des cadres fabriqués (comme les canulars) qui conduisent les individus à agir en se référant à un cadre primaire erroné par rapport à la réalité de la situation. À partir de cette notion cinématographique se sont développés – notamment en science politique – des travaux sur les types de « cadrage » de la réalité, dont la problématique rejoint, sans la recouper entièrement, la réflexion sur le rôle des « récits » (« narratives ») dans la perception et l'interprétation des événements, la notion de « cadrage » insistant sur les relations synchroniques entre les éléments qui constituent un événement tandis que celle de récit l'inscrit dans une succession d'événements en établissant notamment des relations de succession, voire de causalité.

1.2. La construction des identités collectives

Pour désigner les représentations partagées par une communauté, Durkheim a forgé le concept de « conscience collective ». Aussi séduisante soit-elle, cette notion présente nombre d'inconvénients : elle donne l'image d'un ensemble homogène de représentations ; elle suggère – même si ce n'était pas l'intention de Durkheim – que les principes qui sous-tendent ces représentations sont énoncés clairement et intériorisés par tous les membres de la société dont ils orientent les comportements[1] ; elle ne prend pas en considération le caractère préréflexif de la pratique ; elle ne rend compte ni de l'hétérogénéité, ni de la dynamique de transformation de ces représentations. Comme l'explique Pierre Bourdieu (1980a ; 2002), qui est proche en cela de Foucault (1966 : 373), ces représentations sont des schèmes de perception, d'évaluation et d'action plus ou moins codifiés mais qui, étant incorpo-

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[1] Evoquant les difficultés soulevées par le terme d'inconscience, Durkheim (1898: 15) maintient cependant, contre William James, l'idée qu'elle désigne, à savoir l'action de caractères non conscients qui orientent le comportement, et qu'on peut aussi appeler « conscience sans moi », en ce qu'ils renvoient à des « centres de conscience secondaires, épars dans l'organisme et ignorés du centre principal ». Pour lui (*ibid*, n. 2), la notion de « représentation inconsciente » est équivalente en définitive à celle de « conscience sans moi qui appréhende ». L'exemple qu'il donne est celui des préjugés.

rés dans les habitus, orientent la pratique et les jugements pratiques sans nécessairement se présenter explicitement à la conscience des agents. Forment-elles pour autant un « inconscient collectif », dictant le comportement des individus à leur insu, comme le suggère l'anthropologie structurale ? Ce modèle demeure encore trop mécanique aux yeux de Pierre Bourdieu (2002: 248-255 ; 1980a : 66), parce qu'il ne prend pas en compte l'aptitude des individus à élaborer des stratégies plus ou moins ajustées à différentes situations, ou encore ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui dans la littérature anglo-américaine l'« *agency* ». C'est pourquoi il préfère parler de schèmes « implicites » plutôt que de structures inconscientes.

Durkheim insistait sur le caractère contraint de ces manières de sentir, de penser et d'agir, qui s'imposent à l'individu de l'extérieur. Le caractère acquis (et non inné) de la culture est un postulat partagé aussi bien par la tradition anthropologique que par la sémiotique de la culture telle que développée par l'école de Prague. La notion de « culture » s'est en effet imposée dans ces deux traditions pour désigner l'ensemble des croyances, des schèmes de comportement, des valeurs et des normes d'une société (voir notamment Malinowski 1931, Murdock 1932; Linton 1938; Herskovits 1948), ou encore le système de signes qui permet la communication au sein d'une communauté (voir en particulier Lotman 1976; 1977; Lotman, Uspenskij, Ivanov, 1975; Lotman, Uspenskij 1978). Lotman (1976) définit ainsi la notion de culture comme la somme d'information non-héréditaire et des moyens qui en permettent l'organisation et la conservation, ou encore (1978) comme la mémoire non-héréditaire d'une communauté.

Selon ces deux traditions, la culture est le principe unificateur d'une communauté dans l'espace, du fait que les individus partagent des croyances, des pratiques, des valeurs, et possèdent donc la compétence de communiquer, c'est-à-dire de produire des systèmes de signes reconnaissables par leurs pairs et d'appréhender et juger ceux que produisent leur pairs. C'est aussi le principe unificateur de cette communauté dans le temps, du fait que ces croyances, pratiques, valeurs et cette compétence sont transmises de génération en génération et que, inversement, chaque génération se rattache aux précédentes en conservant l'héritage transmis. De ce point de vue, la culture fonctionne comme une « mémoire collective ». La pertinence de cette métaphore si

courante dans l'historiographie des dernières décennies tient au fait que, comme le dit Lotman, la conservation du passé ne s'effectue pas suivant un simple principe d'accumulation (comme le pensaient les anthropologues cités), mais suivant des critères de sélection qui doivent être reconstitués par le chercheur. Selon Lotman, la culture serait, sous ce rapport, un mécanisme complexe de conservation impliquant l'élaboration de moyens de conservation et de transmission toujours plus perfectionnés.

Le concept de « répertoire » élaboré par Even-Zohar (2000), qui s'inscrit, dans son approche de la culture, à la fois dans la tradition anthropologique et dans celle de la sémiotique de la culture, a une indiscutable valeur heuristique pour explorer ce stock de représentations collectives et son mode de fonctionnement. Elle permet d'une part de distinguer les représentations ou modèles partagés par certains groupes d'individus (classe, nation, groupement professionnel, groupements politique[2]), d'autre part d'étudier les modalités d'activation des répertorèmes – Even-Zohar propose ainsi de différencier les éléments « disponibles », qui sont fréquemment mobilisés, des éléments « accessibles », qui sont peu ou pas activés à une époque bien qu'existant dans le « stock » – et leur circulation à travers les emprunts et transpositions.

Comme le souligne Bourdieu (1980a), les schèmes de perception sont inséparablement des schèmes d'évaluation. C'est pourquoi je proposerai d'ajouter à ce dispositif analytique le concept d'« opérateurs axiologiques » pour désigner des schèmes dotés d'une valeur positive ou négative, faisant partie de la *doxa* d'une culture : ces schèmes permettent d'unifier des systèmes d'opposition hétérogènes et de passer de la sorte d'un système de classification à un autre de façon floue, ainsi que je l'ai montré pour le schème « désintéressement/utilitarisme » ou pour la notion de « civilisation », opposée à la « barbarie » (Sapiro 2004).

Si ces schèmes et cadres de perception et d'action ne sont pas innés, ils sont le produit d'une activité sociale non seulement de transmission

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[2] Parfaitement compatible avec cette approche, la notion de répertoire d'actions collectives qui s'est développée indépendamment dans les études de mobilisation a également démontré sa valeur heuristique (voir en particulier Tilly, 1986: 541).

mais aussi de production. Cette activité de production concerne aussi bien l'image de soi de la communauté en question que ses représentations de « l'autre », qui sont intimement liées. L'« image de soi », c'est-à-dire les représentations collectives de la communauté produites en son sein est ce qui permet à chacun de ses membres de s'identifier au groupe, suivant un principe qui transcende le simple fait de partager des pratiques, des croyances, une langue, etc. Elle est constitutive de son « identité ». Le besoin de constituer une telle identité va croissant à mesure que le groupe en question s'élargit au-delà de la petite communauté locale qui partage des croyances ainsi que des manières d'être et de faire, et qu'elle se différencie par la division du travail. Alors que l'activité de production de leur image par ces petites communautés (comme les sociétés tribales) est tournée vers l'extérieur, et joue un rôle dans les relations d'alliance ou de conflit avec les autres communautés, celle des grandes organisations (comme les États-nations, les communautés religieuses) visent à consolider l'unité en suscitant l'adhésion des individus au groupe dans son ensemble sur des bases identitaires.

Un des cadres qui s'est imposé dans la période contemporaine pour penser les entités est le cadre national. À partir du XIXème siècle, on assiste à un phénomène de nationalisation de la culture. À un moment d'accélération de la division du travail (Durkheim 2007) et de laïcisation, la nation devient la référence identitaire. La construction culturelle des identités nationales a fait l'objet de nombre de travaux (Gellner 1989; Even-Zohar 1990; Thiesse 1999).

Pour penser les moments de production des éléments définissant les entités collectives, Itamar Even-Zohar (2008) à proposé le concept de « planification culturelle ». Si les moments de construction identitaire peuvent justifier le recours au concept de planification, notamment dans les phases antérieures à la formation des États-nations, il paraît cependant nécessaire de distinguer les conditions de production des représentations collectives de leur mise en œuvre dans des politiques publiques, deux processus qui ne sont pas nécessairement concertés. On constate même plutôt, dans les États-nations modernes, une division du travail intellectuel entre planification et mémoire, entre experts et intellectuels. La notion de planification, qui suppose l'action concertée, devrait, me semble-t-il, être réservée à ces moments fondateurs ou aux référentiels de l'action politique (à condition toutefois de ne pas

masquer les luttes qui sous-tendent ce processus) : programmes sco-
laires, célébrations officielles, constitution d'un panthéon de grands
hommes, etc. Mais la production de représentations collectives est une
activité qui dépasse largement sa traduction dans des politiques pu-
bliques. Toutes les représentations produites ne sont pas appelées à
devenir des référentiels pour ces politiques : elles entrent en concur-
rence, et deviennent référentiels lorsqu'elles sont portées par des grou-
pements d'intérêts assez puissants pour les imposer ; en outre, leur
rapport avec ces politiques n'est pas toujours de cause à effet, elles
peuvent avoir une simple fonction légitimatrice, ou constituer une
nouvelle rhétorique de justification. Or les producteurs de représenta-
tions collectives n'agissent pas nécessairement sur commande, ni de
manière concertée : ils peuvent incarner des intérêts de groupes qu'ils
formulent et explicitent plus ou moins, à l'instar du prophète weberien
(Weber 1995 : 190-211; Bourdieu 1971).

En outre, Bourdieu (1977), à la suite de Marx et de Weber, réintro-
duit les conditions sociales de production de ces schèmes, leur fonction
dans la légitimation de l'ordre social et des modes de domination, ainsi
que les rapports de force et de lutte dont ils sont l'objet : le concept
d'« idéologie dominante » (Bourdieu et Boltanski, 1975) permet ainsi de
désigner les schèmes ayant force de loi, qui fondent ou justifient
l'action publique et, plus largement, la doxa, la hiérarchie des valeurs
dans une société. La notion d'« idéologie » comme l'adjectif « domi-
nante » rappellent que ces schèmes et ces hiérarchies n'ont rien de na-
turel, qu'ils n'apparaissent pas spontanément, mais qu'ils sont le fruit
d'une activité de production, qui invite à une sociologie des produc-
teurs, à savoir les intellectuels. Or, comme le souligne Shlomo Sand
(2010), le rôle des intellectuels dans la construction des identités natio-
nales n'a pas fait suffisamment l'objet d'une étude approfondie et sys-
tématique. La notion d'« idéologie » invite aussi à une étude des formes
de résistance à l'imposition de ces schèmes (Even-Zohar 2002). En
outre, se pose la question de leur évolution ou du changement de ces
cadres de perception. Les notions de contacts culturels, circulation (de
modèles), transfert, échanges, hybridation ont été mobilisées dans dif-
férents cadres théoriques pour penser les conditions sociales et les
causes de ces changements (Even-Zohar, 2005).

Si le modèle national s'est diffusé d'un pays à l'autre, sur un mode quasi-mimétique, les définitions de la nation varient fortement, selon qu'elles mettent l'accent sur le territoire ou sur la filiation biologique. Mais dans les deux cas, la nation se définit aussi par sa culture, c'est-à-dire les schèmes de perception et d'action acquis par l'éducation, qui dans beaucoup de pays passe sous le contrôle de l'État (voir par exemple Déloye 1994). Tout comme les conditions d'accès à la nationalité, par le droit du sol ou celui du sang, la notion de culture nationale sert aussi bien à exclure qu'à inclure. Elle définit l'identité collective et ses marges. Selon sa définition, large ou étroite, territoriale ou biologique, elle inclura ou exclura telle ou telle minorité : les juifs ont été exclus de l'identité nationale en Allemagne et en Europe de l'Est dans les années 1930, ainsi qu'en France sous le régime de Vichy, par la législation antisémite. Les représentations nationales constituent donc un enjeu de lutte entre différents groupes sociaux et politiques.

2. La construction et la reconstruction des identités nationales : l'exemple de la France de Vichy et de la Libération

Les périodes de crise de l'identité nationale sont des moments d'observation privilégiée des luttes pour la réappropriation des symboles de la nation. Ainsi, en France, après la défaite de 1940, tandis que le régime de Vichy tente de redéfinir l'identité nationale autour d'une conception xénophobe et de plus en plus raciste (Paxton 1973, Faure 1989, Gervereau et Pechanski 1990, Muel-Dreyfus 1996), une guerre idéologique s'engage avec les mouvements de la Résistance, chaque camp se réclamant de l'identité nationale authentique et prétendant défendre l'intérêt de la nation (Kedward and Austin dir., 1985). La Résistance intellectuelle va en effet livrer un combat acharné pour la récupération des thèmes et des symboles accaparés par les idéologues de la « Révolution nationale » promue par le régime de Vichy (Sapiro, 1999) : la vertu patriotique, les éléments de l'identité nationale, les symboles (à commencer par Jeanne d'Arc), les références historiques (Péguy, la culture médiévale), jusqu'au thème de la « fidélité à la terre », que marquera l'adoption des noms de pays de France comme pseudonymes clandestins, mais aussi l'Europe (contre le projet d'une Europe sous l'égide de l'Allemagne nazie soutenu par les collabora-

tionnistes), et des valeurs comme l'humanisme, l'entente entre les peuples, la liberté, héritage de la Révolution française.

Le cadrage des « événements » marquants de l'histoire nationale participe de la construction de la mémoire collective (Halbwachs 1994). La défaite et l'occupation donnent ainsi lieu à des récits (*narratives*) concurrents, qui peuvent prendre une forme fictionnelle ou non. C'est l'histoire qui est mobilisée en premier lieu pour penser l'événement. Elle est d'abord mobilisée spontanément au niveau de la mémoire individuelle et collective, ravivant une expérience marquante ; c'est pourquoi les comparaisons avec d'autres guerres varient en fonction des générations : la défaite de 1870 face à l'Allemagne pour la génération des hommes de plus de 60 ans (référence récurrente chez les vichystes), la Guerre de 1914 pour les hommes de 40 ans comme Aragon (les poèmes « Vingt ans après », « La valse des vingt ans », « Les larmes se ressemblent »). Mais des périodes historiques plus reculées sont convoquées, en particulier le Moyen-Age, qui connaît une vogue depuis le milieu des années 1930. En réalité, les usages de l'histoire, sous l'Occupation ont moins une fonction de connaissance qu'une fonction idéologique. L'histoire nationale est un enjeu de lutte. La Résistance va lutter pour se la réapproprier (par exemple, Eléonore d'Aquitaine comme symbole de la liberté dans « Les croisés » d'Aragon p. 155). En outre, comme sous la Restauration, l'histoire est utilisée en tant que code pour parler du présent en contournant la censure. Elle ne sert pas d'explication causale du présent mais a une fonction purement allégorique. La guerre des représentations concerne aussi le cadrage de la lutte menée par les résistants, représentés comme des terroristes par le gouvernement de Vichy. La presse et la poésie de la Résistance, réduits à la clandestinité, les re-présentent, à l'inverse, en martyrs du combat pour la libération nationale, leur redonnant un nom, une identité (Guy Mocquet, Gabriel Péri...) pour leur rendre l'hommage de la nation humiliée (Sapiro, sous presse).

En raison de sa courte durée (quatre ans) et du changement de cadrage survenu brusquement à la Libération, l'expérience de l'Occupation allemande en France a constitué un cas paradigmatique pour étudier le travail de construction de la mémoire collective (Rousso 1987). Plus récemment, les sorties de guerres ont fait l'objet d'un intérêt accru dans les recherches historiques. Ces périodes sont des moments

d'intense production de représentations collectives. Au terme de la crise de l'identité nationale induite par la défaite de 1940 et par l'occupation étrangère, qui ont divisé la population, l'enjeu majeur de cette activité de production dans la France de la Libération est la réhabilitation de l'image de la nation aux yeux des Français comme aux yeux du reste du monde. Cette représentation de soi, sur laquelle on se centrera ici, implique la reformulation de principes fondateurs de l'identité collective et de la cohésion de la communauté nationale. Elle implique un recadrage des événements du passé immédiat pour l'inscrire dans la longue durée de l'histoire nationale.

Le recadrage est le fruit du renversement du rapport de force et de l'accession des agents dominés sous l'Occupation – les résistants – à des positions dominantes dans le champ de production idéologique, notamment dans la presse. Les écrivains issus de la Résistance intellectuelle s'arrogent ou se voient assigner un rôle dans la reconstruction de ce qu'on peut appeler, en le dérivant du concept Durkheimien, la « conscience nationale ». Ils tiennent à ce titre la vedette dans la nouvelle presse (sur cette presse, voir Bellanger, 1961) : Albert Camus dirige le quotidien *Combat*, François Mauriac est éditorialiste au *Figaro*. Ils sont aussi très présents dans les nouveaux hebdomadaires politico-littéraires, issus de la clandestinité, *Les Lettres françaises*, *Action*, *Carrefour*, *La Bataille*, *Gavroche*, *Témoignage chrétien*. On se centrera sur ces hebdomadaires pour étudier ici le recadrage qui s'opère sous la plume des littérateurs dans l'interprétation des événements du passé immédiat des « années noires » et dans la construction de la mémoire collective de cette crise de l'identité nationale.

Ces périodiques sont représentatifs de la nouvelle donne politique, marquée par la délégitimation de la droite et le renforcement de la gauche, en particulier le parti communiste qui, fort de la victoire de Stalingrad en 1943, obtient plus de 26% des voix lors des élections municipales du printemps 1945 (contre 16% en 1936), mais aussi le parti socialiste (25% contre 10%), drainant sans doute une partie de l'ancien électorat radical socialiste (qui s'est réduit à 9%, contre 22% en 1936), tandis que le nouveau parti démocrate chrétien, le Mouvement Républicain populaire (M.R.P.), attire une parti de la droite centriste (24%), la droite tombant de 42% à 16%. *Les Lettres françaises* et *Action* se situent dans l'orbite du Parti communiste. Organe du Comité national des

écrivains dans la clandestinité, *Les Lettres françaises* deviennent un « grand hebdomadaire littéraire, artistique et politique », qui atteint un tirage de 190 000 exemplaires. Né de la clandestinité également, *Action*, « hebdomadaire de l'indépendance française », qui tire rapidement à 100 000 exemplaires, est animé par une jeune équipe qui représente la nouvelle génération des intellectuels communistes. Proche du M.R.P., *Carrefour*, qui prend la suite du fascicule d'inspiration chrétienne *Cahiers du travaillisme français*, rassemble le pôle académique et catholique du champ intellectuel plus ou moins converti au gaullisme et devient rapidement une tribune de l'anticommunisme. Plus à gauche, *Témoignage chrétien* est une publication doctrinaire fondée en 1941 dans la clandestinité, qui incarne le catholicisme social, se préoccupant autant de justice sociale que de valeurs spirituelles et religieuses (sur les catholiques à cette époque, voir Fouilloux 1997). *La Bataille*, hebdomadaire politique et littéraire, a été lancé en novembre 1944 par François Quilici, un ancien collaborateur de l'agence Havas qui a rejoint de Gaulle à Londres, à l'aide de subventions de la 1ère et la 2ème Division Blindée. *La Bataille* représente la tendance gaulliste et évoluera de plus en plus à droite comme *Carrefour*. Enfin, d'inspiration « patriotique et sociale », *Gavroche* se situe dans la mouvance socialiste.

Le patriotisme est la valeur commune revendiquée par tous les courants, catholiques et communistes compris : à une époque où ceux qui ont collaboré avec l'occupant sont jugés comme traîtres à la nation, « l'intérêt national » fonctionne comme un opérateur axiologique légitimant les programmes politiques et sociaux concurrents. La réappropriation du patriotisme par la gauche est un phénomène d'autant plus remarquable que, face au nationalisme exacerbé de la nouvelle droite apparue aux débuts de la Troisième République, autour de l'Affaire Dreyfus, et après l'expérience des conséquences meurtrières de l'idéologie nationaliste pendant le premier conflit mondial, la gauche s'était plutôt rabattue, dans l'entre-deux-guerres, sur des valeurs humanistes et pacifistes, lorsqu'il ne s'agissait pas d'un internationalisme militant. Au Parti communiste, ce patriotisme proclamé et chanté dès le lendemain de la défaite de 1940 par Aragon, l'ancien poète surréaliste converti au communisme depuis 1932, s'inscrit dans la ligne de la voie nationale vers le communisme, adoptée lors de son IXe Congrès de 1937, mais le rôle qu'il a joué dans la Résistance ne suffit pas à laver du

soupçon de duplicité un parti qui demeure aligné sur les directives de Moscou et que la Guerre froide ne va pas tarder à marginaliser au sein du champ politique (il n'en reste pas moins puissant dans le champ intellectuel jusqu'à la fin des années 1950).

Cependant, derrière l'unanimisme de façade de la Résistance, une nouvelle polarisation se fait jour. Recoupant en partie les divisions du champ politique où s'affirme peu à peu la rivalité entre gaullisme et communisme, elle oppose ainsi, au sein du champ intellectuel, des écrivains consacrés d'avant-guerre, comme François Mauriac ou André Malraux, tous deux proches du général de Gaulle, à une jeune génération imprégnée des valeurs révolutionnaires, communistes ou autres, sans que cette opposition épuise les enjeux des divisions du champ littéraire.

2.1 La grandeur de la France

C'est à la suite d'une autre crise, celle de la défaite de 1870, que s'est cristallisé le répertoire canonique des représentations nationales dans sa version républicaine. Même si certains répertorèmes, comme la « mission » de la France ou « l'universalité de la culture française », remontent au XVIIIème siècle, ce n'est que sous la Troisième République que s'est établie et qu'a été diffusée à tous les membres de la communauté, par le moyen de l'enseignement obligatoire, l'image d'une France républicaine. En outre, la conjoncture de 1944 présente certaines analogies avec celle de 1870, notamment la nécessité de redresser la fierté nationale après une humiliation et, par conséquent, de réaffirmer les représentations qui fondent la « grandeur de la France ».

Ce sont donc souvent les mêmes thèmes qui, à la Libération, sont repris et réinterprétés en fonction de la conjoncture. Chaque élément prend, en effet, une signification spécifique dans le contexte de la ruine économique, du sabordement de la République, des conflits internes, du discrédit dans lequel est tombée la France auprès des nations et de la perte corrélative de son rang de grande puissance.

C'est ainsi que le répertorème de l'« âme de la France » a pour fonction de fonder la grandeur de la nation sur un principe spirituel et non matériel ; la réaffirmation de l'héritage républicain, assimilé à « la vraie France », permettra d'écarter l'« incident » que fut le régime de Vichy de la tradition française; la reformulation de la « mission » de la France,

fondée sur l'universalité de sa culture, sera à la base des revendications de la place de la France dans le monde. Ces arguments servent à étayer les nouvelles représentations du passé proche qui seront abordées dans la section suivante.

2.1.1 L'âme de la France

« La nation française a une âme», c'est sous ce titre que paraît à la « une » du premier numéro des *Lettres françaises* publié au grand jour après la libération de Paris un article de François Mauriac, écrivain consacré et seul membre de l'Académie française à avoir fait partie de la Résistance. À la Libération, Mauriac s'érige en écrivain national qui appelle à la réunification du peuple français autour de son héritage culturel :

> À la racine de toutes les trahisons dont nous avons été les témoins, durant les quatre années, se trouve toujours le reniement de telle ou telle part essentielle de **l'âme française** ... Refusons-nous à faire un choix dans l'héritage français. (François Mauriac, *Carrefour*, 28 août 1944[3])

Mauriac réactive ainsi un élément du répertoire des représentations nationales constitué sous la Troisième République. Le processus de nationalisation de la culture est en effet passé par la métaphore animiste (partiellement importée du romantisme allemand et de la définition Herderienne) attribuant à la nation une âme, par le transfert d'une notion provenant du répertoire religieux à la représentation du groupe national (le « peuple ») comme une entité organique dotée d'une existence non seulement matérielle mais aussi spirituelle. On trouve l'expression l'« âme de la France » dans un discours que tînt Jules Simon le 26 octobre 1871 : « Oui, nous avons à guérir l'âme de la France » (cité in Lestocquoy 1968 : 138). Puis dans un poème de Victor de Laprade daté de 1873 (« À la terre de France », *Poèmes civiques*, cité in Girardet 1983 : 56) qui, comme toute la littérature poétique des lendemains de la défaite, est selon Girardet l'une des manifestations des efforts patriotiques pour « refaire la conscience nationale » à la suite de la défaite française de 1870. C'est dans la conférence que prononça Renan en 1882 à la Sorbonne, sous le titre *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation ?*, que cette

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[3] Désormais, sauf indication contraire, toutes les citations sont soulignées par moi.

expression prit une signification précise dans le contexte du répertoire des représentations nationales. En effet, les penseurs français durent élaborer des arguments contre les revendications prussiennes qui légitimaient l'annexion de l'Alsace-Lorraine au nom d'une conception de la nation reposant essentiellement sur la langue et de la culture. Au droit historique, à des considérations ethniques et linguistiques telles qu'en développait Mommsen, les intellectuels français opposèrent, dans la tradition révolutionnaire, le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, la patrie n'étant autre qu'une « communauté d'idées, d'intérêts, d'affections, de souvenir et d'espérances » (Fustel de Coulanges, 1870, *L'Alsace est-elle allemande ou française? Réponse à M. Mommsen*, cité in Girardet, *ibid* : 65). C'est dans ce contexte que Renan, récusant successivement les critères ethniques, géographiques, linguistiques et religieux, a défini la nation comme « une âme, un principe spirituel ».

> Une nation est une âme, un principe spirituel. Deux choses qui, à vrai dire, n'en font qu'une, constituent cette âme, ce principe spirituel. L'une est dans le passé, l'autre dans le présent. L'une est la possession en commun d'un riche legs de souvenir ; l'autre est le consentement actuel, le désir de vivre ensemble, la volonté de continuer à faire valoir l'héritage qu'on a reçu indivis. L'homme, Messieurs, ne s'improvise pas. La nation est l'aboutissement d'un long passé d'efforts, de sacrifices et de dévouements. Le culte des ancêtres est de tous le plus légitime; les ancêtres nous ont faits ce que nous sommes. Un passé héroïque, des grands hommes, de la gloire (j'entends de la véritable), voilà le capital social sur lequel on assied une idée nationale.
>
> ... Dans le passé, un héritage de gloire et de regrets à partager, dans l'avenir un même programme à réaliser ; avoir souffert, joui, espéré ensemble, voilà ce qui vaut mieux que des douanes communes et des frontières conformes aux idées stratégiques; voilà ce que l'on comprend malgré la diversité de race et de langue. (Renan 1882 : 26-27)

Sous l'Occupation allemande, la définition de la culture nationale comme transcendant la diversité de « race » et de langue fut mobilisée par Aragon, qui l'opposa au racisme biologique sous-tendant la définition allemande de l'identité nationale (Sapiro, 1999 : 432-439). En septembre 1944, le répertorème de l'« âme de la France » se voit cependant attribuer une fonction nouvelle. La ruine économique du pays, l'humiliation des « années noires », ont porté un coup rude à cette image de « grandeur » que revendiquait la nation française, ou du

moins ses porte-parole, ainsi qu'à ses prétentions à maintenir son rang parmi les puissances mondiales. L'expression « l'âme de la France » permet de refonder l'image de sa « grandeur » sur la base de sa « richesse spirituelle ». À une nation matériellement détruite, il reste l'« âme », qui malgré ses déboires, n'a jamais cessé d'exister[4]. Tel est le sens de l'article cité de Mauriac[5] :

> Nous croyons que c'est à une grandeur de cet ordre que doit prétendre la France ressuscitée. Ceux qui espèrent tout de notre humiliation et notre fatigue infinie auront beau ajouter chaque jour un trait à l'image de nous-mêmes qu'ils s'efforcent de nous imposer, à cette caricature d'un vieux pays agricole, arriéré, décrépit, dont les magnats des deux mondes n'attendent plus que des fromages, des vins et des modèles de robes, inlassablement nous leur rappellerons ce qu'ils feignent d'oublier, ce qu'ils ont intérêt à oublier : **que la nation française a une âme. ... la richesse spirituelle de la France demeure et elle intéresse éminemment sa puissance temporelle**. (*Les Lettres françaises*, 9 septembre 1944)

Ce thème sera repris par d'autres intellectuels, comme le radical-socialiste Albert Bayet :

> Il nous reste ce qui fait la grandeur des peuples : l'âme, sans quoi le reste n'est rien, l'idéal humain dont nous fûmes, dont nous sommes, dont nous serons, aux jours de détresse comme aux jours de splendeur, les artisans et les soldats. (Albert Bayet, *Carrefour*, 16 septembre 1944)

Il devient un leitmotiv qui, par un renversement, sert à expliquer la cause des malheurs de la France : selon l'écrivain Vercors *alias* Jean

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[4] On trouve un dérivé moderne et vulgarisé de ce principe qui consiste à faire valoir les qualités spirituelles pour pallier à une faiblesse matérielle dans le slogan: « en France on n'a pas de pétrole mais on a des idées ».

[5] Ce n'est pas un hasard si Mauriac, remontant à l'origine de l'expression, ne se réfère pas à Renan mais à une source antérieure: Proudhon. En effet, dans le même article Mauriac cite une lettre de Pierre-Joseph Proudhon où celui-ci établit qu'une nation « est un être sui generis, une personne vivante, une âme consacrée devant Dieu... ». Quoique l'expression ne semble s'être inscrite dans le répertoire canonique de l'image de la France qu'à la suite de la conférence de Renan, Mauriac, en tant qu'intellectuel catholique ayant la main tendue vers la gauche, préfère renvoyer à Proudhon, qui propose une définition quasi-religieuse de cette notion, qu'à Renan dont la *Vie de Jésus* avait été prise par les catholiques français comme une offense.

Bruller, fondateur des Editions de Minuit clandestines, les partisans (« sincères ») de l'armistice, dans leur ardeur à préserver les richesses matérielles de la nation, se sont souciés de son « corps » au détriment de son âme, un argument qui répond à celui du Maréchal Pétain selon lequel « l'esprit de jouissance l'a emporté sur l'esprit de sacrifice », tout en visant, bien sûr, des catégories sociales différentes (là où Pétain visait la démocratie, le Front populaire, les congés payés, la littérature moderne, Vercors vise, implicitement, les hommes politiques et la bourgeoisie qui avait intérêt à préserver ses biens). Le véritable patriotisme, c'est, selon lui, l'amour de l'âme de la France :

> S'il y eut, s'il faut croire qu'il y eut en France des partisans sincères de l'armistice (qui virent dans l'armistice, veux-je dire, la sauvegarde de la France), ce fut là leur terrible erreur. Ils crurent qu'il fallait sauver cette armature matérielle, à n'importe quel prix, si l'on voulait sauver la vie de la France – fût-ce au prix de son âme. Ils crurent (et je dis que c'est parce qu'ils ne l'aimaient pas) que la France, c'était ces chemins de fer ces industries, cette richesse, et qu'en les perdant elle mourrait. Ceux qui croient cela de leur patrie, je le répète qu'ils ne l'aiment pas et l'outragent. Un pays ne meurt pas parce qu'il devient pauvre et nu. Une nation, c'est d'abord une âme. Pour faire mourir une nation ou un homme, il faut lui arracher son âme. (*Carrefour*, 2 décembre 1944)

On retrouve un argument semblable sous la plume d'André Rousseaux, ancien critique du *Figaro*, issu de la droite proche d'Action française, et qui avait rejoint le Comité national des écrivains de zone Sud :

> Cette âme si ardente a pu vivre avec une pureté presque trop farouche. Le corps meurtri et dépouillé de la France n'avait presque plus rien pour le soutenir. C'est la raison pour laquelle les faux sages voulaient que la France s'abandonnât : ils ne croyaient pas à son âme quand ils prétendaient sauver son corps en lambeaux. Ils ne savaient pas, ils ne voulaient pas savoir qu'à certaines heures le corps le plus douloureux doit être oublié, et qu'il n'y a plus que l'âme qui compte. (*Les Lettres françaises*, 30 septembre 1944).

Mais ce répertorème sert aussi à fonder des projets pour le présent et pour l'avenir. Il peut être, d'une part, mobilisé pour justifier le processus d'épuration de la société française (sur lequel on reviendra), ainsi que le formule l'écrivain et poète résistant Jean Cassou : « Car c'est de cela qu'il s'agit : de l'âme de la nation, de la purification et de la reconquête de sa conscience » (*Les Lettres françaises*, 21 juillet 1945). D'autre

part, pour invoquer la « vocation » de la France, son rôle dans le concert des nations, comme l'exprime l'intellectuel catholique Jacques Maritain : « Aimez l'âme de la France et son peuple et sa vocation ressuscitée » (*Les Lettres françaises,* 4 novembre 1944).

2.1.2. L'héritage culturel et historique de la France

Selon la définition de Renan, l'âme d'une nation se fonde d'une part sur un héritage de souvenirs, sur une mémoire commune. L'histoire nationale est donc un enjeu idéologique majeur. Le régime de Vichy avait sabordé la République et détourné l'héritage culturel pour proclamer la « Révolution nationale » qui substituait à la devise révolutionnaire « liberté, égalité, fraternité » le tryptique « travail, famille, patrie » sur les pièces de monnaie, les timbres, les documents et les bâtiments officiels et remplaçait le buste de Marianne par celui de Pétain (voir Novick 1985 : 39-40). Vichy est resitué dans une cadre idéologique plus large, celui du fascisme, thème que les communistes exploitent à la Libération pour se poser en défenseurs de la liberté : « Toute l'entreprise du fascisme international visait à extirper jusqu'aux racines l'œuvre de notre Révolution », écrit Valdi Leduc, *Action,* 13 juillet 45.

Dans la continuité de la contre-propagande résistante, la refonte de la « conscience nationale » passe d'abord par la réaffirmation des valeurs de la Révolution française bafouées par Vichy, comme on l'a vu. « On n'a pu obtenir la capitulation de la nation qu'en minant et détruisant la République, grâce aux erreurs et aux défaillances, en agissant en premier lieu contre le patrimoine idéal de la grande Révolution », rappelle le poète Pierre-Jean Jouve, invitant à « opérer la réunion mystique de toutes les forces de la France » pour achever « le monument de la Révolution »[6].

Le recadrage du passé immédiat s'opère par un double processus de réactivation du répertoire des représentations de l'histoire nationale que le régime de Vichy et ses thuriféraires avaient « désactivé » et de revalorisation positive des éléments codés négativement par ces der-

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[6] Pierre-Jean Jouve, « Les caractères sacrés de la révolution », extraits de l'introduction rédigée pour le premier volume de la collection suisse « Le Cri de la France » consacrée à la Révolution, reproduits dans *Les Lettres françaises*, 4 novembre 1944.

niers, en particulier l'héritage de la Révolution française. Le rétablissement de la légalité républicaine passe par la réaffirmation de ses fondements : « Pour Vichy, il s'agissait de renier **les principes de la république, de la démocratie**, un travail plus que séculaire, **l'âme même de la France moderne** », écrit Jules Romains dans *Carrefour* le 16 novembre 1945.

Des trois principes, c'est celui de liberté, conçu comme la clé de voûte de l'héritage culturel français, qui fut le plus mis à mal sous le joug de l'occupant allemand et du régime autoritaire de Vichy, à commencer par la liberté d'expression. La plupart des mouvements de Résistance avaient fondé la lutte pour l'indépendance de la France non pas sur un nationalisme étriqué mais sur le principe universel de la liberté, associé à l'héritage national. Il a inspiré à Paul Eluard son célèbre poème « Liberté », qui fut parachuté par la Royal Air Force en avril 1943. « Toute notre histoire témoigne que lorsque les Français se lèvent spontanément pour défendre leur soi, c'est qu'ils identifient **Patrie** et **Liberté** », explique Valdi (*alias* Victor) Leduc dans *Action* du 16 septembre 1944. C'est, à travers la réaffirmation du principe de liberté, toutes les valeurs de la démocratie libérale qui sont reformulées : liberté (et égalité) politique, liberté de conscience, liberté de la presse, etc. Cet héritage est revendiqué du MRP à la gauche communiste, en passant par les socialistes, comme l'illustrent respectivement les citations suivantes, la première du nouveau ministre de l'Information MRP Pierre-Henri Teitgen, la seconde du directeur des *Lettres françaises* Claude Morgan, la troisième de Robert Verdier :

> **La France c'est aussi le pays de la liberté. C'est elle qui l'a inventée et enseignée au reste du monde.** ... Dès lors, quand vous entendrez ridiculiser sous toutes ses formes et tourner en dérision la démocratie, vous aurez le devoir de répondre :
> - Vous n'êtes pas de notre tradition : en réalité et sans le savoir, vous ne parlez pas français. (Pierre-Henri Teitgen, *Carrefour*, 11 novembre 1944)
> **Son prestige, la France l'a toujours dû en effet à la passion légendaire pour la liberté**. Dans ses périodes de réaction, de repli égoïste, jamais elle n'a bénéficié de la sympathie ni du respect des autres peuples. ... Grandeur et prestige ne veulent rien dire pour nous, ne voudront jamais rien dire pour nous s'ils ne sont accompagnés, éclairés par cet autre mot, ce maître-mot : Liberté. (Claude Morgan, *Les Lettres françaises*, 9 juin 1945)
> Désormais, une certitude domine toutes les craintes : le peuple français

> a montré que s'il s'était dressé contre le gouvernement de Vichy, ce
> n'était pas seulement parce que celui-ci était au service de l'envahisseur,
> mais aussi parce qu'il avait prétendu installer dans la défaite et
> l'humiliation un régime d'arbitraire et de contrainte. Après avoir donné
> au monde les preuves de son courage, il lui a montré qu'il n'avait rien
> perdu de **ses traditionnelles vertus civiques**. ... le peuple français s'est à
> nouveau installé sans heurt dans le **régime de liberté** comme dans un
> régime naturel. (Robert Verdier, *Gavroche*, 27 septembre 1945)

Cette dernière citation relève de ce qu'on a appelé le mythe « résis-
tantialiste », à savoir l'idée, avancée par de Gaulle dès la Libération,
selon laquelle tout le peuple français se serait opposé à l'occupant, et
que seule une « poignée de misérables » auraient trahi. Cette thèse
permet de conserver intacte la représentation de la « vraie France »
comme porteuse, dans son essence, des valeurs humanistes qu'elle au-
rait pour vocation de défendre, ainsi que l'explique Romain Rolland
dans un message adressé aux *Lettres françaises* :

> **Qui dit France, dit – doit dire – liberté et humanité**. C'est sa mission de
> les défendre. C'est beaucoup plus : c'est son essence, c'est la substance
> de **la vraie France**. Soyons-en dignes. (Message de Romain Rolland, *Les
> Lettres françaises*, 16 septembre 1944).

Elle permet, d'autre part d'adopter une position intransigeante face à
ces traîtres qui ont trahi les valeurs sacrées, justifiant la mise en place
d'une « épuration » de la société française (voir *infra*).

Notons que, contrairement à ce qu'on aurait pu attendre, et sans
doute par stratégie électorale (on y reviendra), les communistes mettent
en avant le principe de liberté et non celui d'égalité, à la différence de la
gauche chrétienne de *Témoignage Chrétien*, par exemple, qui affirme que
la véritable liberté est inséparable de l'égalité (il ne s'agit bien sûr pas
simplement d'égalité politique, comme l'entendent les républicains,
mais d'égalité sociale) :

> Peuple te voilà libre.
> **La liberté que tu viens de reconquérir maintenant est inséparable de
> ce que tu nommes égalité**. Non pas l'égalité impossible des naissances
> égales, des dons égaux ou des aptitudes identiques ... (*Témoignage Chré-
> tien*, 1er septembre 1944)

Enfin, le principe de fraternité prend lui aussi une signification spéci-
fique après quatre ans de luttes fratricides sanglantes. Dans l'allocution
prononcée à l'Hôtel de Ville le 25 août 1944, le Général de Gaulle ap-

pelle « tous les fils et toutes les filles de la France » à « marcher vers les buts de la France, fraternellement, la main dans la main » (Gaulle 1956 : 503). La fraternité renvoie donc à la représentation d'unité et d'unanimité du peuple français :

> C'était le même peuple, heureux de se retrouver. Et le mot 'Fraternité' inscrit au fronton de nos monuments eut alors un noble sens. (Pierre Bourdan, *Carrefour*, 24 août 1945).

Les références historiques permettent, par le jeu des analogies, à la fois d'interpréter les événements du présent et du passé immédiat à la lumière des représentations des grands moments qui scandent l'histoire d'une nation et de les inscrire dans cette filiation. Celles qui s'imposent à la Libération pour exalter l'insurrection et le combat contre l'occupant sont les « luttes du peuple français pour la liberté ». C'est ainsi que la Libération se voit placée dans la lignée de 1789, 1793, 1830, 1848 et, pour la gauche, la Commune. La mobilisation de ces références ne fait cependant pas l'unanimité, elle est l'enjeu de luttes entre fractions politiques, y compris dans le camp des résistants. Un Jacques Debû-Bridel, issu de la droite, ne citera que les révolutions libérales (1789 et 1830), alors que les communistes se réfèrent à 1793 et à la Commune, à l'instar de Claude Morgan :

> C'est toute une **tradition française**, celle de 1789 et de 1830 qui, soudain, s'est réveillée, réveillant en même temps le vieil écho de **nos luttes pour la liberté**, effaçant comme un cauchemar le masque hideux de la France du Maréchal. (Jacques Debû-Bridel, *Les Lettres françaises*, 4 novembre 1944)
>
> Or Paris était prêt. **Paris avait retrouvé son âme de 1793, de 1830, de 1848, de la Commune**. ... Il était prêt une fois de plus à risquer sa peau pour la liberté. (Claude Morgan, *Les Lettres françaises*, 7 avril 1945)

Les catholiques convoquent de leur côté Sainte-Geneviève, Saint-Louis ou les Croisés pour réinscrire l'histoire religieuse dans l'histoire nationale dont elle a été évincée du fait de la politique de laïcisation mise en œuvre sous la Troisième République :

> **Jamais peut-être depuis la Révolution de 89, tu n'avais mieux compris, dans l'épreuve de son absence, la valeur de la liberté** ... La voici maintenant à Paris : cœur irremplaçable d'un pays qui joint indissolublement le souvenir de Sainte Geneviève et de Saint Louis à celui **des hommes de 89 et des soldats de l'An II.** (*Témoignage Chrétien*, 1er septembre 1944)

> Cependant, signe de l'effet radicalisation produit par l'expérience de la guerre sur certains intellectuels, au lendemain de la Libération, un intellectuel catholique tel que François Mauriac, qui fait partie du Front National pour l'indépendance de la France, peut se référer à 1793 : ... le sens de la nation s'est réveillé dans le peuple militant. L'esprit de 93 revit enfin! (*Les Lettres françaises*, 9 septembre 1944).

Pour Mauriac, la Résistance a redonné vie à la devise républicaine, elle l'a incarnée à travers le combat pour la liberté et l'indépendance de la nation :

> Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité... Ce n'est plus pour nous une formule vide écrite sur les murs officiels. Cette devise s'est incarnée de nouveau, elle s'est faite chair et sang : des frères égaux dans le sacrifice ont donné leur vie pour que la France soit délivrée. Nous ne l'oublierons pas. Jamais. (François Mauriac, *Carrefour*, 29 août 1944[7]).

De gauche à droite du camp de la Résistance, les résistants sont assimilés aux soldats de l'an II. Le critique catholique André Rousseaux, issu d'Action française, mais ayant rejoint le camp de l'opposition sous le régime de Vichy, écrit ainsi dans *Les Lettres françaises* du 30 septembre 1944[8] :

> Au delà de toutes les vertus qu'ils peuvent avoir, les hommes et les garçons de la Résistance surpassent le commun des braves gens par bien autre chose : le don total qu'ils ont fait d'eux-mêmes à leur foi en la patrie. ... cette rupture avec tout ce qui est de l'ordre quotidien, c'est le signe d'une vie qui s'élève à un autre ordre : celui de l'héroïsme et de la sainteté .... Des Français comme ceux-là, il en paraît deux ou trois fois en quinze cents ans. Il y a les Croisés, il y a les soldats de l'an II, il y a les hommes du maquis.

2.1.3. La mission de la France dans le monde

La représentation canonique de la place et du rôle de la France dans le monde peut être illustrée par cette citation tirée du « Petit Lavisse », le manuel primaire d'histoire qui, selon le mot de Pierre Nora (1984 : 247), « répandit à millions d'exemplaires un évangile républicain dans la plus humble des chaumières » :

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[7] François Mauriac, « Servir la France ressuscitée », repris dans Touzot: 312.

[8] Voir aussi l'éditorial de *Témoignage chrétien* du 1er septembre 1944, intitulé « Peuple, te voilà libre ».

> La Révolution a mis dans les âmes françaises l'amour de la justice, de l'égalité, de la liberté. Nos pères ont cru que la France allait délivrer tous les peuples des maux dont ils souffraient. Ils étaient fiers d'être un grand peuple qui doit montrer le chemin aux autres peuples (Lavisse, *Histoire de France, Cours moyen*, cité in Girardet, 1983 :83).

La conception de la place de la France dans le monde se fonde donc sur l'idée de sa « mission ». Comme celle d'« âme », l'idée de mission illustre les emprunts faits au répertoire religieux par les républicains pour élaborer une morale nationale laïque qui remplacerait la morale religieuse[9]. Ce nouveau messianisme a pris corps pendant les guerres de la Révolution : « L'idéal messianique de la France chargée d'apporter la liberté à l'Europe et au monde permet de confondre un combat politique et un combat national » (Delon, cité in Ory 1987 : 133). Ce même thème se retrouve autour de 1848 chez Edgar Quinet, Henri Martin et Jules Michelet qui fixent comme destin à la France la mission quasi providentielle de libérer les nationalités opprimées (Girardet 1983: 13).

Ce messianisme est un impérialisme qui se réclame de l'universalité de la culture française, autre répertorème canonique des représentations nationales recouvrant aussi bien la langue, la littérature et l'art, lesquelles occupaient de fait un position dominante en Europe au XVIIIème siècle, que les valeurs humanistes affirmées dans la « Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen ». Cette prétention universaliste servit à légitimer aussi bien les conquêtes napoléoniennes que la politique d'expansion coloniale de la Troisième République, comme l'illustre cette citation de l'ancien Président du Conseil Jules Ferry à l'Assemblée en 1885 :

> Le parti républicain a montré qu'il comprenait bien ... qu'il faut autre chose à la France : qu'elle ne peut être seulement un pays libre; qu'elle doit aussi être un grand pays, exerçant sur les destinées de l'Europe toute l'influence qui lui appartient, qu'elle doit répandre cette influence sur le monde, et porter partout où elle le peut sa langue, ses mœurs, son drapeau, ses armes, son génie. (cité in Girardet, 1983 : 107)

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[9] « Lorsqu'on a abattu un culte, il faut toujours le remplacer», dit La Revellière, membre du Directoire qui, hostile au catholicisme, tente de fonder un culte républicain (cité in Bianchi 1982: 285).

À la Libération, la reformulation de ces répertorèmes prend un sens nouveau sur fond de remise en cause de la position de la France et de son indépendance même pendant les deux premiers mois de la Libération. Son histoire diplomatique à cette époque est une succession de revendications par lesquelles elle s'évertue à reprendre son rôle parmi les grandes puissances. La reconnaissance tardive du Gouvernement provisoire de la République française (G.P.R.F.) par les Trois Grands le 23 octobre 1944 assure à la France, outre son indépendance, un siège au futur Conseil de sécurité et à la provisoire Commission consultative européenne, mais elle ne sera pas convoquée aux conférences de Yalta et de Postdam. Évincée des décisions sur l'Allemagne et sur l'Europe centrale, elle a pour seule consolation l'admission du général Leclerc à négocier et à signer le traité de paix avec le Japon. Selon Fauvet (1959 : 42), « fondamentalement, elle n'aura plus de politique étrangère vraiment autonome».

Or, mis à part quelques protestations ponctuelles[10], les intellectuels semblent minimiser ou occulter le phénomène, réaffirmant la mission de la France, l'universalité de sa culture et, par conséquent, son rang dans le monde. Ceci montre bien que, par-delà les prises de position et les analyses de la situation, le rôle que s'assignent en premier lieu les intellectuels est la reconstitution et la réhabilitation de l'« image de soi » de la France.

Avant même la reconnaissance du G.P.R.F., les revendications concernant la participation de la France à la réorganisation mondiale prennent la forme d'une évidence.

> ... il ne suffit pas que la France se retrouve elle-même. Il faut qu'elle s'affirme devant les autres puissances et qu'elle fasse reprendre à celles-ci – y compris les nations alliées – que **sa grandeur passée, ses souffrances de quatre années et ses victoires récentes lui donnent le droit d'exister et de traiter comme une grande nation**.
> C'est ce que rappelle fort justement le Franc-Tireur du 26 août. Rappelant les regrets exprimés à Alger pour l'absence de la France aux négociations de la conférence de Washington, Franc-Tireur ajoute : « La paix du monde, c'est d'abord la paix en Europe. Et en Europe rien ne peut être réglé sans la France. » («Revue de la presse libre», *Témoignage Chré-*

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[10] Voir par exemple Emil Ludwig, « La France méprisée », *Gavroche*, 20 décembre 1945.

tien, 2 septembre 1944)

Les relations seront donc nécessairement étroites, la France reprenant sa place dans le concert des puissances, ce qui lui conférera des devoirs en même temps que des droits. (André Siegfried, *Gavroche*, 23 septembre 1944)

Si Mauriac se servait de l'expression de l'« âme de la France » pour réhabiliter sa « grandeur » et lui restituer sa place dans le monde, on peut suivre chez Albert Bayet, dans l'article déjà cité, la rhétorique qui l'amène, à l'aide de ces deux éléments de répertoire, à élever la France à la position d' « âme du monde », d'où la conclusion inévitable qu'on ne peut refaire le monde sans la France :

Ce qui, dans le discours du général de Gaulle au palais de Chaillot, m'a le plus frappé, c'est la simplicité émouvante avec laquelle, d'un élan, sans phrases, **il a rendu à la France sa place dans le monde ... Refaire le monde sans la France, sans la France des droits de l'Homme, sans la France des soldats de l'an II, sans la France de la Marne et de Verdun, sans la France du gaullisme et de l'insurrection, rêve dérisoire!** ... Les nations savent et sentent d'elles-mêmes que construire un monde sans la France, ce serait construire un monde sans âme. (Albert Bayet, *Carrefour*, 16 septembre 1944)

Cette stratégie d'affirmation de la place de la France se poursuit après la reconnaissance qui, comme on l'a vu, n'assignait à la France qu'un rôle secondaire dans les décisions sur le sort de l'Europe :

Affirmer que la France est une grande puissance est un signe de faiblesse. Il est des choses qui vont de soi et nos amis anglais estimeraient nous faire injure par de trop tapageuses manifestations de leur confiance. **Pour eux, nous avons repris notre rang et cela va de soi**. (Jacques Debû-Bridel, *Les Lettres françaises*, 4 novembre 1944)

Une autre conception, que l'on trouve déjà sous la plume d'Ernest Lavisse, une des figures de proue de la Troisième République, qui œuvra à la refonte de la « conscience nationale » après la défaite de 1870, est l'idée de la mission de la France comme une force stabilisatrice entre les nations, argument diplomatique distinct de la vision impérialiste d'un Jules Ferry :

Je me suis défendu de mon mieux contre les préjugés du patriotisme et je crois n'avoir pas exagéré **la place de la France dans le monde**. Mais le lecteur verra bien que, dans la lutte entre les facteurs opposés de l'histoire, la France est le plus redoutable adversaire de la fatalité des

suites ... Si les conflits qui arment l'Europe et menacent de la ruiner peuvent être apaisés, ce sera par l'esprit de la France (préface de 1890 à la *Vue générale de l'histoire de l'Europe* de Michelet ; cité in Nora 1984 : 257)

Cette conception est mise en avant à la Libération par Pasteur Vallery-Radot, qui vient d'être élu l'Académie française, et par l'intellectuel catholique Jacques Maritain, qui sera nommé l'année suivante ambassadeur la France auprès du Vatican :

Qu'elle [la génération qui monte] regarde bien en face les deux mondes formidables qui se lèvent à l'Occident et à l'Orient : elle trouvera le moyen d'y insérer **la place de la France**.

L'esprit de notre pays, qui clarifie, tempère, harmonise, a pour l'équilibre de la pensée humaine une importance telle qu'il serait impossible d'imaginer ce que serait le monde sans la France. (Pasteur Vallery-Radot, *Carrefour*, 18 novembre 1944)

La France est le centre nerveux de la conscience de l'Europe, la pointe de l'Europe tournée vers l'Atlantique et le Nouveau monde ; sa position géographique et sa tradition politique font d'elle un lien naturel entre l'Orient et l'Occident de notre civilisation, entre le monde russe et le monde de langue anglaise. Sa mission historique et sa force dans l'époque qui suivra la guerre seront de fixer et stabiliser le sort de l'Europe dans la coopération entre ces deux mondes et de contribuer à leur compréhension mutuelle en formulant pour sa part les idées nouvelles qui sont aujourd'hui en gestation dans tous les cœurs libres de l'Europe. L'action et les responsabilités de la France seront ainsi d'une importance décisive dans l'organisation internationale d'après-guerre. ... La France n'est pas seulement une puissance européenne ; de par son empire qui l'engage dans la communauté des destins du monde, elle est une puissance mondiale et peut être dans la politique mondiale un ferment de coopération vraiment humaine, supérieure aux intérêts et aux convoitises des groupes économiques comme aux égoïstes revendications de prestige. Nous autres Français nous devons nous habituer à penser non pas seulement en termes européens mais en termes mondiaux. Jacques Maritain, *Les Lettres françaises*, 4 novembre 1944)

Mais c'est plus encore la représentation universaliste de la culture française qui fonde cette mission revendiquée, laquelle revêt une importance accrue pour une puissance déclinant sur les plans économique et politique. À commencer par l'universalité de sa langue. « Tout ce qui n'est pas clair n'est pas français », écrivait Rivarol en 1784, dans son

Discours sur l'universalité de la langue française, répondant au sujet mis au concours deux ans plus tôt par l'Académie de Berlin, alors gouvernée par Frédéric II, sous forme de trois questions : « Qu'est-ce qui a rendu la langue française universelle? Pourquoi mérite-t-elle cette prérogative? Est-il à présumer qu'elle la conserve? » Remportant le concours, le *Discours* allait avoir un retentissement européen (Lestocquoy 1968 : 91-92). C'est donc probablement cet ouvrage qui fut le principal vecteur de diffusion de la représentation explicite du français comme langue universelle dans les milieux intellectuels de l'Europe du XVIIIème siècle.

En étayant cette représentation sur une caractéristique de la langue, la clarté, Rivarol posait comme une nécessité ce qui en réalité était un phénomène conjoncturel, à savoir la position dominante du français dans les élites éclairées européennes de l'époque. Le thème de la clarté intrinsèque du français, développé par nombre de penseurs, dont Jules Simon, était fondé sur son caractère logique. « Le langage était censé refléter le bon sens et la clarté d'esprit que tous les Français auraient hérités de Descartes » (Zeldin 1978 : 24).

C'est sur cette représentation que vont se baser les protestations des intellectuels français en 1945 lorsqu'ils apprennent l'intention des Nations Unies d'adopter l'anglais, le russe et l'espagnol comme les trois langues officielles. Même si, dès le milieu du XIXème siècle, sa position de langue internationale avait été mise en cause par l'expansion de l'anglais, notamment dans le domaine technologique, industriel et commercial, le français demeura la langue de la diplomatie jusqu'au Traité de Versailles (1919), où l'anglais fut reconnu comme son égal. L'exclusion du français en 1945, qui signifie non seulement la méconnaissance de sa place parmi les puissances mais aussi de sa prédominance culturelle, est donc ressentie par la France comme une injure et ce n'est que suite à ses protestations que le français sera ajouté aux traités de paix rédigés en anglais et en russe, et admis comme la quatrième langue officielle (Zeldin 1978 : 23).

Voici deux exemples des réactions dans la presse, tirés de deux articles qui se réfèrent longuement à Rivarol et qui sont significativement intitulés : « Universelle quand même », du médiéviste Gustave Cohen, et « Ce qui n'est pas clair n'est pas français », d'un journaliste :

> Mais que le français, langue traditionnelle de la diplomatie, des traités
> et des congrès, et dont on s'est plu jusqu'en 1918 à reconnaître

l'universalité, ait été exclu, ceci passe l'imagination : insulte toute gra-
tuite, offense à notre orgueil et **défi à la raison**. ...

Est-ce que nos amis anglais ne ressentent donc pas l'injure qui est faite
ainsi à une langue qui entre pour moitié dans la composition de la leur
et qui fut jusqu'en 1362 celle de leurs cours et tribunaux ? ... Sont-ils sur
le point de renier leurs origines normandes?

L'Allemagne, par contre, triomphera de cette belle besogne accomplie
pour elle, de ce secours inattendu venu d'outre-Atlantique dans sa
guerre à **l'Esprit... à l'esprit français**, par une atteinte à cette langue bi-
fide, perfide, qui persifle et tue de son dard mortel par le rire et le sou-
rire, le mot à l'emporte-pièce ou l'épithète qui colle au corps et pénètre
l'âme, la langue de ce haut-parleur de l'Europe qu'a été la France depuis
François 1er et Louis XIV et... Frédéric II. (Gustave Cohen, *Les Lettres
françaises*, 24 mars 1945)

La raison de cette grande victoire diplomatique? C'est que le français
est la plus claire de toutes les langues. Rivarol en tire un axiome : « Ce
qui n'est pas clair n'est pas français ». Sous l'ancien Régime jusqu'à la
Révolution, tous les grands traités ont été rédigés en français. En fran-
çais les innombrables traités de l'Empire, ceux du Congrès de Vienne
et, pour aller un peu vite, ceux de la dernière guerre. Ce bel instrument
diplomatique choisi à cause de sa loyauté, on le brise aujourd'hui, on le
rejette au grenier des choses démodées. Elle n'est donc plus loyale la
langue française à l'heure actuelle? **Ou bien craint-on cette clarté sou-
veraine? (**J.-J. Brousson, *Carrefour*, 31 mars 1945)

Une autre composante constitutive de cette représentation de la cul-
ture française est, comme on l'a dit, le caractère universel de la *Déclara-
tion des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen.* Doublement universelle, parce
qu'elle énonçait les droits de chaque homme, indépendamment de
toute appartenance confessionnelle, culturelle, nationale ou autre, et
parce qu'elle identifiait pour la première fois dans l'histoire l'homme
au citoyen, la *Déclaration* était un message à l'humanité entière. Mais
pour que le message soit entendu, il faut que quelqu'un se charge de le
diffuser, et qui serait-ce sinon la France qui l'a conçu et la culture fran-
çaise dont il fait partie intégrante? C'est en réaffirmant cette mission
que les intellectuels entendent rendre à une image ternie de la France
son rayonnement. L'écrivain Georges Duhamel, membre de l'Académie
française, rappelle ainsi que « le peuple français, en des temps qui ne
sont pas fort lointains, a été pour le monde entier un professeur de li-

berté ». (*Les Lettres françaises*, 16 septembre 1944). Le ministre de l'Information Pierre-Henri Teitgen explique de son côté :

> Enfin, **la France est faite pour porter au Monde un message d'universalité**. C'est l'une de ses caractéristiques : la France est persuadée qu'elle doit incarner une civilisation, une conception de l'homme et du destin humain, une culture et un style de vie valable aussi pour les autres, que sa civilisation, sa culture, doivent avoir une valeur universelle. (Pierre-Henri Teitgen, *Carrefour*, 11 novembre 1944)

Dans un article intitulé « Oui, Dieu est français », le critique André Billy présente une interprétation originale de cette représentation missionnaire de la culture française, que l'on retrouve, bien que dans une version plus critique, chez Jean Schlumberger :

> Le nationalisme issu de 89 a eu, comme tout ce qui sort de chez nous, un caractère égalitaire. Certes, il existe un impérialisme intellectuel français, mais il est égalitaire et la France n'y cherche aucun privilège. **Dans un univers qui penserait et parlerait français**, à supposer qu'il fût concevable, il importerait peu à la France politique et géographique de ne pas tenir plus de place qu'elle n'en tient actuellement. (André Billy, *Les Lettres françaises*, 9 juin 1945)

> Mais si naïf et mal informé que soit ce nationalisme intellectuel de la France, il comporte, à l'opposé de l'autre, un **caractère universaliste**, qui lui confère une indéniable générosité. Il a semé et fait lever dans le monde mainte idée qu'il croyait juste sans se demander si son intérêt ne serait pas d'en empêcher la diffusion. ... Et cette forme de nationalisme « ouvert » (au sens bergsonien du mot), le seul qui soit authentiquement français, est amené par sa nature propre – c'est là sa noblesse – à se dépasser lui-même. ... **Le monde est peuplé d'idées mises en circulation par nos penseurs politiques, par nos révolutions : nulle nation n'en a tant émis d'universellement valables et que vingt peuples ont faites leurs**. C'est là une de nos principales raisons d'être, une de celles qui, malgré notre faiblesse numérique, font que nous conservons, parmi les autres nations, le droit à la parole et **un rôle dans l'élaboration de la culture commune**. (Jean Schlumberger, *Gavroche*, 11 janvier 1945)

Le nationalisme éclairé est ainsi présenté comme un universalisme. Cette représentation trouve à s'étayer sur l'expérience du combat contre l'occupant nazi.

2.2. Le passé proche : représentations et arguments

Dans son analyse de l'évolution des représentations de Vichy dans la mémoire collective française de la Libération à nos jours, Henry Rousso (1987) distingue quatre phases. L'étude présente portant sur la reconstitution de l'« image de soi » de la France immédiatement après la crise, on ne traitera ici que des représentations qui se sont formées au tout début de la première phase. « Très vite, dit Rousso (ibid. 26), parce que la nécessité commandait de liquider les séquelles, et parce que les forces politiques rivales ont tenté d'exploiter à leur profit un héritage ambivalent, la mémoire 'collective' de l'évènement encore chaud s'est cristallisée autour de quelques noyaux durs ». C'est au général de Gaulle que revient l'initiative de la production de certains de ces « noyaux durs». Rousso évoque trois images-forces de la symbolique gaullienne. Selon la première, la défaite militaire de 1940 a été effacée par les armes et par la nation tout entière. Cette représentation vise, d'une part, à minimiser le rôle des forces alliées et, d'autre part, à assimiler la Résistance à toute la nation sans évoquer les résistants, le salut émanant de la « France éternelle ». Cette image porte déjà en germe les conflits à venir, en particulier celui qui va opposer de Gaulle aux résistants tout au long de la première année de la Libération. Moins apparents dans les représentations du passé, ces conflits se font ressentir dans les programmes, les résistants revendiquant le droit de prendre part à la reconstruction, exigeant la participation des Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur à la guerre et aspirant à la fusion de la Résistance en un parti, comme on le verra.

La seconde représentation gaullienne consiste dans la mise entre parenthèses de Vichy, illustrée par la non-proclamation de la République. Cette représentation se retrouve dans le thème de la trahison qui oppose la « vraie France » à « l'anti-France », et sur lequel il ne semble pas y avoir de dissension (il y en aura en revanche sur la question de la punition des « traîtres »). On n'abordera pas ici la troisième composante de la symbolique gaullienne, la « guerre de trente ans », à savoir l'assimilation des deux guerres mondiales qui voile la spécificité de la deuxième, cette représentation n'étant pas relayée dans les hebdomadaires dont il est question dans cette recherche.

Selon Rousso, ces trois images-forces constituent le « résistancialisme gaullien », « qui se définit moins comme une glorification de la Résistance (et certainement pas des résistants), que comme la célébration d'un peuple *en résistance* que symbolise l'homme du 18 juin, sans l'intermédiaire ni des partis, ni des mouvements, ni d'autres figures de la clandestinité » (Rousso 1987 : 28).

2.2.1. Les représentations de l'Occupation

C'est à travers les représentations de l'Occupation que l'on voit se dessiner une première image de la France des « années noires », laquelle se définit par opposition à l'occupant et par l'expérience qu'elle a vécue. Si l'occupant incarne les « puissances du mal », l'Occupation, c'est « l'enfer ». Mais c'est aussi une « épreuve » imposée à la nation et dont elle va sortir « raffermie ».

Un moyen commun employé par les producteurs de représentations nationales pour exalter les qualités de leur nation en conflit consiste à faire contraster celles-ci avec la représentation négative de l'ennemi. Ceci permet d'effacer nuances, doutes, interrogations, en forgeant des formules binaires et des images synthétiques frappantes, qui suscitent l'adhésion immédiate et ont un effet rassembleur. Cette technique n'est spécifique ni à la conjoncture ni à la France. Le langage figuratif qui renvoie à l'opposition entre le bien et le mal (obscurité/lumière, bas/haut, etc.), originaire du répertoire religieux, est subsumé par les oppositions culturelles bourreau/victime et barbarie/humanisme, qui fonctionnent dans les cultures occidentales comme des opérateurs axiologiques, la déshumanisation de l'ennemi étant une stratégie rhétorique courante.

> Mais dans cette guerre et à ce moment de l'histoire humaine, l'Allemagne nazie a incarné les **puissances du mal**. (Jacques Maritain, *Les Lettres françaises,* 4 novembre 1944)

> On peut croire, on croit un instant qu'avec la France trahie c'est **l'humanisme** qui succombe, que **la barbarie** a partie gagnée, que la nuit d'un nouveau moyen âge va envelopper l'Europe.
> C'est du fond de cet abîme que la victoire d'aujourd'hui fait surgir un nouveau humanisme.
> Grâce à de Gaulle, à Churchill, à Roosevelt, à Staline, grâce aux immenses forces populaires dont ils sont l'expression, c'en est fait, sur le

plan militaire, des monstres qui, durant des années, ont été les bour-
reaux des corps et les bourreaux de la pensée. (Albert Bayet, *Action*, 11
mai 1945)

Un ennemi surgi de l'enfer et l'abjecte trahison sa complice, ont jeté la
France contre terre, ont paru l'ensevelir vivante dans la boue, le sang et
les supplices. Berlin, Rome et Vichy, la tiare du trirègne sur le front de la
Bête, pour parler comme saint Jean, ont cru en finir avec la plus noble
nation du monde. (André Suarès, *Les Nouvelles littéraires,* 5 avril 1945)

Et ainsi la France, pendant quatre ans, ce fut **l'Enfer**. Car il n'y régna
que l'Injustice. Pendant quatre ans, dans ce pays, **les méchants** furent
heureux à la mesure de leur méchanceté. Et **les bons** furent frappés à la
mesure de leur pureté. (Vercors, *Carrefour,* 2 décembre 1944)

Outre l'image de l'enfer, on trouve également une représentation
(typiquement religieuse, elle aussi) de l'Occupation en tant
qu'« épreuve » dont la France serait sortie « grandie et purifiée » *(Carre-
four*, 26 octobre 1945). Georges Duhamel, par exemple, parle de la
« grande épreuve » *(Les Lettres françaises*, 16 septembre 1944). Même si
ce répertorème est en quelque sorte une métaphore vieillie, voire un
cliché linguistique, les résidus de connotations mystiques sont ravivés
par l'insertion de références concrètes aux évènements et par
l'interaction avec d'autres représentations du même registre (par
exemple, le thème de l'espoir, sur lequel on reviendra). Mettant en jeu
des forces surnaturelles, une telle représentation permet d'estomper la
honte et le sentiment de culpabilité, voire la responsabilité collective,
tout en grandissant l'issue de l'« épreuve » :

En effet, loin de l'abattre ou de la diminuer, **l'abominable épreuve** que
Paris a subie, avec ses fusillades et ses déportations, **l'a durci dans son
refus, dans son esprit de résistance** et sauvé, sur les barricades, du sort
à quoi ses occupants semblaient près de la réduire. (Francis Carco, *Car-
refour*, 3 mars 1945).

Toute la question était de savoir comment l'âme française allait la sup-
porter. **Épreuve tragique,** et qui risquait d'être mortelle. Elle a failli
l'être, aux regards du monde atterré. Ce n'était pas tant l'écroulement
matériel que l'apparent abandon des âmes au désastre, – ces troupeaux
d'âmes trahies par ceux à qui elles s'étaient confiées. L'abdication parut
complète – sans précédent dans toute l'histoire française. (Texte de Ro-
main Rolland lu à la Sorbonne le 9 décembre 1944 à la séance de com-

mémoration des intellectuels victimes de l'occupation, *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 5 avril 1945)

Jamais peut-être depuis la Révolution de 89, tu n'avais mieux compris, dans **l'épreuve** de son absence, la valeur de la liberté. *(Témoignage Chrétien,* 1er septembre 1944)

La France, en ce moment, traverse une nouvelle **épreuve**, à peine moins redoutable que celle dont elle sort. (Jules Romains, *Carrefour,* 14 juillet 1945).

Une variante plus accentuée de cette représentation mystique se retrouve dans le thème chrétien de crucifixion et de résurrection. C'est le thème de la « patrie ressuscitée ». Le fondateur des Éditions de Minuit clandestines, Vercors, par exemple, décrit une affiche que l'on voyait alors sur les murs de Paris et qui représentait la France sous les traits d'une jeune femme « dont la main porte encore la marque du clou qui la tenait crucifiée » *(Carrefour,* 2 décembre 1944). L'article de Mauriac dans le premier numéro de *Carrefour* (28 août 1944) s'intitule « Servir la France ressuscitée », et Alexandre Arnoux écrit : « Mais la Résurrection a eu lieu » *(Carrefour,* 7 avril 1945).

Ces représentations mystiques ou religieuses sont cependant plus fréquentes parmi les intellectuels de l'ancienne génération, partisans de la réconciliation nationale, ceux de la nouvelle, qui campent sur des positions plus intransigeantes, insistant plus volontiers sur le thème du combat. Ceci apparaîtra nettement dans les représentations des formes de refus et de résistance, mais on peut déjà observer comment, chez le directeur des *Lettres françaises* Claude Morgan, le thème de l'« épreuve » est remplacé par la « lutte » :

Loin d'être épuisé, notre peuple est sorti raffermi et trempé par la lutte. La preuve en est dans cette vitalité des Comités de Libération qui … collaborent étroitement avec les pouvoirs publics à la reconstruction de la France. (Claude Morgan, *Les Lettres françaises*, 14 octobre 1944).

Cette différence correspond au clivage qui se crée entre les deux générations : la jeune vise à promouvoir les nouvelles valeurs constitutives de « l'esprit de Résistance » dont elle se réclame ; elle reconvertit le capital moral acquis dans la Résistance intellectuelle en fondant sa conception du rôle de l'intellectuel sur les notions de « responsabilité » et d' « engagement », dont la forme la plus extrême est la lutte armée (Sapiro, 1999 : chap. 8 ; 2011, chap. 9).

Dans un article paru en décembre 1944 dans *La France libre*, revue gaulliste que dirige Raymond Aron à Londres depuis 1940, et repris dans *Situations* III, Sartre va donner au thème de l'épreuve un sens plus existentiel, qui tranche avec la vision optimiste et réveille le sentiment diffus de culpabilité refoulé par la dénégation de la responsabilité collective. S'adressant aux anglais et aux américains qui pensent que l'occupation en France n'a pas été si terrible, Sartre met de côté les souffrances physiques pour se concentrer sur la manière dont les parisiens ont ressenti l'occupation au quotidien. Les Allemands n'étaient pas violents, explique-t-il, ils se comportaient correctement. Loin de les couvrir de leur mépris, les parisiens étaient, de ce fait, tiraillés par des consignes contradictoires : le refus de leur adresser la parole et les règles de serviabilité. « Il s'était établi à la longue une sorte de solidarité honteuse et indéfinissable entre les Parisiens et ces troupiers si semblables, au fond, aux soldats français », écrit Sartre. Cet accommodement, cette banalisation de l'occupation contribuaient à brouiller le concept d'ennemi. Celui-ci n'avait pas de visage. Sartre le compare à une pieuvre qui s'empare un jour de certains et les engloutit en silence. L'épreuve consistait précisément dans la coexistence « d'une haine fantôme et d'un ennemi trop familier qu'on n'arrive pas à haïr ». Il évoque le cas des fous habités par le sentiment qu'un événement atroce a bouleversé leur vie, une impression de rupture entre le passé et le présent. Puis cite les cas de « dépersonnalisation ». La dépersonnalisation naît de la sensation de perte de l'avenir. Cette dépossession de l'avenir et de la capacité de projeter et d'entreprendre, le sentiment de n'être pour les autres qu'un objet engendraient une perte du sens de l'existence, et une forme de déshumanisation. C'est pour « recouvrer un avenir » que nombre de Français se sont engagés dans la Résistance. Cette analyse exprime la conception sartrienne du projet et du choix comme matérialisation de la liberté, telle qu'il la développée dans *L'Être et le néant* (1943). La sensation d'abandon était accrue par l'attitude des alliés et les sentiments contradictoires qu'ils suscitaient, entre révérence et indignation, lors des bombardements. La mauvaise conscience, due à la complicité quotidienne avec l'occupant, à la promiscuité de la situation d'occupation, la honte et la culpabilité, due au sentiment de responsabilité alors même que ses conséquences ne pouvaient être assumées, tel était le fondement de la souffrance psychologique des parisiens occu-

pés. Sartre met de côté les collaborateurs, phénomène « normal » dans toute nation. Mais le sentiment de culpabilité venait de « la situation du pays, tout entier collaborateur ». Cette condition était aggravée du fait des divisions de la nation : familles dispersées, prisonniers séparés de la communauté nationale, clivages traditionnels, mais que la situation de crise a accentués au lieu de les atténuer, entre paysans et citadins, bourgeois et ouvriers, conflits de générations. Ces querelles étaient ressenties d'autant plus fort que les Français furent bercés pendant ces quatre années par un rêve d'unité. La dépossession de son destin, la honte et la culpabilité ont fait que l'occupation fut vécue comme une souffrance plus terrible que la guerre, puisqu'elle empêchait d'agir et de penser. Si la France n'a pas « fait preuve de grandeur », la Résistance rachète cependant les faiblesses du peuple tout entier.

2.2.2. L'attitude des Français

Il est difficile d'estimer dans quelle mesure les représentations de l'attitude des Français, qui composent l'image d'une résistance passive, sont dérivées de la vision gaullienne d'un « peuple en résistance ». Toutefois, qu'elles soient motivées par des intérêts différents ou non, elles semblent bien remplir une même fonction, celle d'attribuer un rôle dans la libération du pays à la majorité de la population qui n'a pas participé au combat armé, afin d'éviter toute scission interne et de présenter une image d'unanimité (les « traîtres » mis à part). L'image de la résistance passive se dégage de deux thèmes majeurs, employés alternativement : le refus et l'espoir. Ces deux thèmes développés par la Résistance intellectuelle dès la défaite, de Jean Paulhan, qui avait intitulé l'édito du dernier numéro de la prestigieuse *Nouvelle Revue française*, paru en juin 1940, « L'Espoir et le silence », jusqu'à Giraudoux qui, plus d'un an avant l'euphorie de la Libération, combine les deux thèmes du refus et de l'espoir en interprétant l'apathie des Français comme un refus de reconnaître la réalité, attitude qu'il explique par la confiance (l'équivalent de l'espoir) :

> Mais il est une apathie née de la guerre, qui n'est pas une forme de l'indifférence, mais de la **confiance**. Loin de signifier que le pays admet sa défaite, elle dit qu'il n'y croit pas, et combien d'entre nous, à défaut de cocaïne, ont traité le mal de la patrie par une distraction instinctive ou volontaire. Il a toujours fallu plus d'imagination pour saisir la réalité

que pour l'ignorer. **La plupart des Français se sont imposés ce manque d'imagination qui empêche de voir les drapeaux étrangers**, de ressentir les musiques étrangères, de ressentir les contraintes, les hontes, les blessures autrement que dans une espèce de rêve. (Jean-Pierre Giraudoux, « Sans pouvoirs », 21 juin 1943, reproduit dans *Les Lettres françaises*, 23 septembre 1944)

Le refus est tout d'abord celui de la défaite, incarné par l'appel du 18 juin et par l'homme qui l'a lancé, le général de Gaulle :

Dès ce jour Charles de Gaulle était le symbole de la France, de son refus et de sa volonté. Refus de la France d'accepter comme définitive la victoire nazie. (P. Chaillet, Témoignage Chrétien, 2 septembre 1944)

Mais le refus est bientôt devenu l'expression de l'attitude des français face à l'occupant. Thématisé par Vercors dans *Le Silence de la mer*, premier récit publié clandestinement par les Éditions de Minuit, en 1942, l'image du refus du peuple français d'accepter le joug de l'occupant est le corollaire de l'imputation de la trahison à une petite minorité. Le célèbre article de Sartre, paru sous le titre « La République du silence » le 9 septembre 1944, à la une du premier numéro des *Lettres françaises* publié au grand jour, confère à cette représentation une portée existentielle et philosophique sans précédent.

L'article s'ouvre sur le fameux paradoxe : « Jamais nous n'avons été plus libres que sous l'occupation allemande ». Sartre s'érige ici en porte-parole de la conscience nationale – il emploie la première personne du pluriel – pour donner un sens à l'expérience collective de l'Occupation. L'oppression quotidienne qu'ont subie les Français dans les circonstances particulières de l'occupation étrangère leur a révélé la condition mortelle de l'homme. En même temps, elle les a conduits à lutter contre cette oppression, à y résister. Sartre distingue l'élite des « vrais Résistants » qui ont pris les armes des Français ordinaires qui ont eux aussi résisté à leur façon, dans leur conscience, en disant *non* à l'occupant.

Et le choix que chacun faisait de sa vie et de lui-même était authentique puisqu'il se faisait en présence de la mort, puisqu'il aurait toujours pu s'exprimer sous la forme « Plutôt la mort que... » Et je ne parle pas ici de cette élite d'entre nous que furent les vrais Résistants, mais de tous les Français qui, à toute heure du jour et de la nuit, pendant quatre ans, ont dit non. (Jean-Paul Sartre, *Les Lettres françaises*, 9 septembre 1944; souligné dans le texte)

En posant la question même de la liberté et de ses limites – « son pouvoir de résistance aux supplices et à la mort » -, cette situation a dévoilé aux Français leur condition humaine. Elle les a mis face à la nécessité de choisir entre la servitude et la liberté. Si, dans l'ombre, la Résistance a constitué une « démocratie véritable », la « plus forte des Républiques », cette république « sans institutions, sans armée, sans police » a été affirmée par l'ensemble du peuple français qui a silencieusement dit non au nazisme. On a vu que Sartre reviendra quelques mois plus tard sur cette représentation du refus généralisé, qui reprend de la thèse gaullienne selon laquelle, hormis une petite minorité, la nation toute entière aurait résisté à l'occupant

On retrouve le thème du refus sous une forme plus vague, en tant qu'attitude morale individuelle d'affirmation de la liberté chez Duhamel, ou encore en tant que réaction collective de la nation, personnalisé sous la figure d'une femme, comme dans ces citations de Mauriac et d'André Suarès :

> Même dans le secret d'une chambre, même dans la solitude de la promenade, l'esclavage se fait sentir. L'homme cherche à s'enivrer de la liberté intérieure. Il se répète, les dents serrées : « **Non, non, je ne suis pas esclave**! Je pense ce que je veux. Rien de ce que j'aime n'est perdu. Le Louvre n'est pas vaincu, Molière n'est pas vaincu, Debussy n'est pas vaincu. **La vraie France est plus grande que sa prison**. » Ainsi rêve le passant du trottoir. (Georges Duhamel, *Les Lettres françaises*, 16 septembre 1944)
>
> La martyre dont le vainqueur a abusé et dont un bâillon serre la bouche, regardez sa tête qui ne s'interrompt pas de bouger de droite à gauche et de faire depuis bientôt cinq années le signe du refus. (François Mauriac, *Les Lettres françaises*, 9 septembre 1944)
>
> De toute part on entend gronder ce « non! » qui la venge et la sauve, après quatre ans de tortures et d'ignominie. L'honneur a dit non et ce « non ! » a rendu l'honneur à la France. (André Suarès, *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 5 avril 1945)

Le thème de l'espoir qui n'a pas quitté le peuple français durant les « années noires » symbolise la force spirituelle qui a moralement soutenu la lutte armée. Dans sa version mystique, l'espoir correspond à la foi qui émane du génie du peuple et se rattache ainsi au répertorème de l'« épreuve ». Cette version tend à apparaître, comme on le voit, chez

des intellectuels de l'ancienne génération et chez les intellectuels catholiques comme Mauriac et Maritain :

> Nous savions, nous sentions que la France ne pouvait pas mourir, que le génie de la France tenait en réserve des miracles admirables ... Alors, dans le fond de nos cœurs, nous avons commencé de répéter, avec ferveur, notre affirmation, comme une prière obstinée : « nous vaincrons parce que nous somme les plus libres ». (Georges Duhamel, *Carrefour*, 2 septembre 1944)

> Nous ne pouvons nous prévaloir de rien sinon de **notre foi** qui, durant ce cauchemar de quatre années, n'aura pas défailli. Même en juin 40, le Reich eut beau hurler sa joie à tous les micros de l'Occident et, sur une France vidée par tous les suçoirs, par toutes les ventouses de la pieuvre, les maurassiens de Vichy eurent beau, en tremblant de joie, essayer enfin leur système, oui, même alors **nous demeurions fous d'espérance**. (François Mauriac, *Les Lettres françaises*, 9 septembre 1944).

> Or, c'est là que le miracle se produisit. Du fond du gouffre, **l'éclair de la foi** dans la France a jailli et la flamme sacrée de **1'indestructible espérance**. Elles ont bondi de tous les milieux, de tous les partis, de toutes les classes de la société .... (texte de Romain Rolland lu à la Sorbonne le 9 décembre 1944 à la séance de commémoration des intellectuels victimes de l'occupation, *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 5 avril 1945)

> Salut au peuple de France et à son **espérance crucifiée**! (Jacques Maritain, *Les Lettres françaises*, 4 novembre 1944)

Mais on trouve aussi, surtout chez la jeune génération imprégnée de l'ambiance révolutionnaire (communiste ou autre), la représentation d'un espoir engendré par la lutte. De même qu'il substituait le thème du combat à celui de l'épreuve, Morgan remplace le « génie du peuple » par l'« élan insurrectionnel », soutenu par l'espoir de la liberté retrouvée.

Lorsque notre pays haletait sous le poids de l'occupant, résistant farouchement aux entreprises de sa propagande, c'est **l'espoir de la liberté** retrouvée qui le soutenait et l'élan qui emporta les Parisiens aux barricades était l'élan même qui emportait les combattants de Valmy (Claude Morgan, *Les Lettres françaises*, 23 septembre 1944)

De même, Jean Guéhenno, intellectuel de gauche (de tendance socialiste), représentant de la génération intermédiaire qui a immédiatement adopté une attitude intransigeante face à l'occupant et à la politique de Collaboration engagée par le gouvernement de Vichy, ajoute l'aspect actif de la résistance à l'attente passive dans la foi :

> ... jamais le peuple français, dans sa masse, n'a cru à sa défaite. Dans la prison et dans la nuit il a **attendu et préparé la délivrance** et le retour à la lumière. (Jean Guéhenno, *Gavroche*, 16 novembre 1944)

La première image-force de la vision gaullienne se dégage de ce passage de l'allocution prononcée par le Général le 25 août :

> Paris! Paris outragé! Paris brisé! Paris martyrisé! Mais Paris libéré! Libéré par lui-même, libéré par son peuple avec le concours des armées de la France tout entière, de la France qui se bat, de la seule France, de la vraie France, de la France éternelle.

En omettant de mentionner la Résistance et les résistants et en n'évoquant que tardivement dans son discours les forces alliées, de Gaulle fait émaner le salut de la France tout entière. Négligés dans les discours de De Gaulle, les résistants sont cependant présents sur le terrain, qu'il s'agisse de la scène politique (où ils sont promus au sein des partis) ou de la presse, et ils n'ont pas l'intention de se laisser usurper un titre qui leur revient de droit.

C'est en particulier le Parti communiste qui va s'opposer au Général, étant donné le rôle majeur qu'il a joué dans la Résistance et dont il se réclame, entre autres, en le présentant comme le « parti des fusillés », selon la formule forgée par l'écrivaine Elsa Triolet. En dépit de l'unanimisme de façade qui règne dans les premiers mois de la Libération, la tension se fait d'ores et déjà sentir dans les luttes autour de la représentation du passé. Les communistes insistent sur la lutte clandestine, le combat antifasciste, et la lutte de classe contre les élites qui ont trahi alors que la vision gaullienne privilégie le combat militaire et la légitimité républicaine, les résistants (bien qu'héroïques) n'ayant fait que leur devoir de soldat (Rousso 1987 : 37). Une première manifestation du conflit survient lorsque le Général, au nom de l'ordre, décide de désarmer les gardes patriotiques[11]. Citons en exemple la réaction de Valdi Leduc dans *Action* :

> La période insurrectionnelle est terminée. 'Il faut désormais désarmer les factions', clament d'officieuses manchettes. On croit rêver. Deux

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[11] En fait, c'est Thorez lui-même qui, dès son retour de Moscou, va dissoudre les gardes patriotiques (voir Fauvet 1959: 30 ; Elgey 1965: 28). Ce paradoxe tient probablement à la tension qui se crée au sein du parti entre les anciens dirigeants qui optent pour la coopération avec le chef du gouvernement et de nouveaux agents promus par leur activité dans la Résistance.

mois à peine et le vocabulaire de Vichy retrouve une singulière fortune. Les factieux, c'est vous, hommes des groupes francs et des équipes de sabotage : c'est vous ouvriers des imprimeries qui, de vos mitraillettes avez fait un rempart à ces journalistes qui aiguisent aujourd'hui leurs meilleures formules pour applaudir à la dissolution des vos Milices patriotiques.

Il paraît que désormais la vigilance des citoyens est superflue. Il paraît que la présence d'une garde nationale formée de volontaires pour la défense de la République est un danger pour l'ordre. ...

Le peuple, dans un grand élan de confiance et de sacrifice, a appelé au pouvoir le gouvernement du général de Gaulle. Il est dangereux de jouer avec la confiance du peuple. (Valdi Leduc, éditorial d'*Action*, 3 novembre 1944)

Les communistes poursuivront leurs revendications en exigeant la mobilisation des volontaires « patriotes » qui désirent participer à l'effort de guerre et à la victoire[12]. Le conflit prendra aussi des dimensions politiques, comme on le verra plus loin. Dans les hebdomadaires politico-littéraires de la Libération apparaissent deux figurations de la France en lutte : la Résistance et la « libération du pays par les Français ».

Parmi les répertorèmes produits à la Libération, l'image de la Résistance est de ceux qui se sont le plus incontestablement intégrés par la suite au répertoire canonique des représentations nationales. Dès la Libération, la Résistance est une référence convoitée par tous les courants idéologiques, mis à part les anciens collaborateurs. Plus particulièrement, deux formes majeures de résistancialisme émergent, la version gaullienne et celle de la gauche qui, comme le dit Rousso (1987 : 29), a « plus volontiers que d'autres tenté d'inscrire la Résistance au panthéon des valeurs républicaines ». Mais Rousso montre aussi comment la droite, qui réapparaît au grand jour sur la scène politique avec le renvoi des ministres communistes en 1947, va tenter peu à peu de récupérer la Résistance au profit de Pétain, tout en dénonçant ce qu'elle appelle le « résistantialisme» et qui est censé désigner les fanfarons de la dernière heure. L'argument d'une partie de la droite et de l'extrême-droite sera, à partir de cette date, le suivant : « la défaite et l'armistice étant inéluctables, Vichy l'était aussi et a gouverné en toute légitimité, résistant tant qu'il pouvait aux nazis » (Rousso 1987 : 39). Cette thèse,

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[12] Voir André Rousseaux, « L'âme du maquis », *Les Lettres françaises*, 30 septembre 1944.

mobilisée dès les procès de l'épuration en défense des accusés, n'est pas parvenue à s'imposer et à leur éviter d'être punis en tant que traîtres à la nation.

En 1944, une telle vision est, en effet, encore inimaginable. Les représentations qui circulent, d'inspiration gaullienne, communiste ou autre, se réfèrent toutes à la lutte armée. L'usage abondant du registre héroïque dans l'exaltation de la Résistance, déjà présent dans la littérature et la presse clandestine (voir Atack 1989), reflète bien l'esprit guerrier ou insurrectionnel qui règne dans les représentations nationales de l'époque. La Résistance se rattache, comme on l'a vu, aux « luttes du peuple français pour la liberté », c'est à dire aux références historiques canoniques de la « grandeur de la France », en particulier à la Révolution française. Elle devient le symbole du patriotisme français dont elle incarne toutes les valeurs suprêmes : esprit d'abnégation jusqu'au martyre, héroïsme, fidélité à la tradition française des droits de l'homme, etc. On ne citera pas les innombrables descriptions détaillées des exploits de la Résistance. Voici juste quelques exemples qui en illustrent la représentation héroïque :

> Au delà de toutes les vertus qu'ils peuvent avoir, les hommes et les garçons de la Résistance surpassent le commun des braves gens par bien autre chose : le don total qu'ils ont fait d'eux-mêmes à leur foi en la patrie. ... cette rupture avec tout ce qui est de l'ordre quotidien, c'est le signe d'une vie qui s'élève à un autre ordre : celui de l'héroïsme et de la sainteté. ... Des Français comme ceux-là il en paraît deux ou trois fois en quinze cents ans. Il y a les Croisés, il y a les soldats de l'an II, il y a les hommes du maquis. (André Rousseaux, *Les Lettres françaises*, 30 septembre 1944)

> ... les sacrifices inouïs consentis par des millions d'hommes au nom de la patrie et de la liberté, l'héroïsme de la résistance chez les peuples opprimés, l'héroïsme incomparable de la résistance française, dressée à la fois contre l'ennemi et contre un pouvoir usurpé qui trahissait l'âme de la France, et retrouvant la passion des libertés civiques au milieu de tortures souffertes pour la nation, ont fait voir au monde quelles suprêmes réserves d'énergie morale et spirituelle demeuraient en réalité dans les démocraties. (Jacques Maritain, *Les Lettres françaises*, 4 novembre 1944)

> La France nouvelle est née de **l'héroïsme des meilleurs de ses enfants.** Elle ne sera grande que par l'héroïsme. (Claude Morgan, *Les Lettres françaises*, 31 mars 1945)

La tension entre les deux versions du « résistancialisme » se manifeste dans les nuances, les mises en relief et les omissions. Voici deux représentations de la Résistance assez proches de la version gaullienne. Celle de Mauriac met en avant l'unité de l'action. Le réalisateur Jean-Bernard Derosne est plus catégorique : il décrit la lutte des résistants (ceux de l'extérieur inclus) comme une réponse à l'appel du Général :

> Par bonheur, la Résistance a réuni d'abord autour du général de Gaulle, puis confondu et amalgamé dans une passion unique des Français de tout bord et de toute condition. (François Mauriac, les Lettres Françaises, 9 septembre 1944)

> La Résistance, c'est l'ensemble des hommes qui, en France et hors de France, ont créé à l'appel du général de Gaulle, « la lutte du peuple français pour sa libération ». Rien ne les obligeait à cette lutte que le seul volontariat. Ils lui ont apporté leur acceptation du danger. Ils ont leurs martyrs. Ils ont eu leurs victoires. Seul d'abord, le général de Gaulle devint, grâce à eux, le chef de quelque chose, puis le chef de la France entière. Il était dès lors impossible que, dans le monde, on ne reconnût pas cette réalité. Elle fut reconnue.

> Un homme, puis dix hommes, puis un million. Il n'en faut pas davantage pour refaire une patrie autour de laquelle se groupe bientôt tout un peuple. La Résistance avait tout sauvé. (Jean-Bemard Derosne, *Carrefour*, 13 janvier 1945).

La version communiste peut être illustrée par cette citation de Valdi Leduc. En glorifiant la lutte clandestine et en représentant de Gaulle entrant dans un Paris déjà délivré, Leduc propose un récit qui tranche avec la version gaullienne sans toutefois expliciter le conflit :

> Jamais l'action des patriotes n'a été plus ardente et plus sûre d'elle-même. Dans le secret, une grande armée s'est forgée qui passe au combat sans plus attendre. Le rythme des sabotages, des grèves, des attaques de colonnes ennemies témoigne de la part croissante que prend la France authentique à la guerre. ...

> Tandis que le peuple se prépare avec fièvre à l'insurrection nationale, c'est le coup de tonnerre du 6 juin. Ce qui va suivre est le fruit merveilleux de l'œuvre souterraine de la Résistance. La France court aux armes, aux pauvres et rares armes, avec ardeur. L'épopée du 19 au 21 août, qui revit Paris « arracher ses pavés » et les dresser contre les chars Tigre, restera comme le symbole de l'année héroïque. Dans le même élan national, l'ennemi est bousculé et chassé des trois quarts du pays avec une disproportion de moyens et une audace dans l'attaque qui étonnent le monde. Le général de Gaulle entre dans Paris délivré, accueilli par la

ferveur de tout un peuple. (Valdi Leduc, *Action*, 5 janvier 1945).

La première image-force de la vision gaullienne représentait la France libérée par les Français, les Alliés n'étant mentionnés que tardivement dans le discours du 25 août. La force de cette image réside en ce qu'elle efface le souvenir de la défaite et la honte des années d'occupation et de collaboration, redressant la fierté nationale. La part de vérité dans cette représentation tient au fait que c'est une division française qui est entrée la première dans Paris (grâce à lui), et aussi qu'une bonne partie de la population, dans le Sud-Ouest notamment, n'a pas vu de soldats alliés.

« Paris s'est délivré lui-même », écrit Mauriac dans le premier numéro des *Lettres françaises.* Le thème est donc repris par les intellectuels qui emploient diverses stratégies : l'omission des forces alliées, l'énumération des régions libérées par les forces françaises, la mise en relief des moyens précaires dont disposaient ces dernières, etc. La représentation du pays libéré par son peuple s'enchaîne à celle de la Résistance pour former l'image héroïque d'une nation en lutte contre l'oppression. Elle est renforcée par l'attitude de résistance passive du peuple (le refus et l'espoir).

> On sentait, à les écouter plaider la cause de la France, que dès à présent, par l'effort conjugué des Forces Françaises combattantes et des Forces de l'Insurrection nationale, elle avait partie gagnée. (Albert Bayet, *Carrefour*, 16 septembre 1944)
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> Sait-on que les quatre régions de Limoges à Clermont-Ferrand ont été entièrement libérées par 80 000 soldats des forces intérieures – sans le concours des forces alliées ou des armées d'Afrique du Nord – qui ont décimé la valeur de quatre **divisions allemandes** (André Desmont, *Carrefour*, 23 septembre 1944)
>
> On sait qu'une colonne de la division Leclerc pénétra au cœur de Paris dès le 24 au soir. Le gros des forces n'y entra que le 25 au matin ... Ce qu'il nous fallait apprendre, c'est que si la division Leclerc libérait la capitale de l'étreinte allemande et la dégageait pour toujours, c'était bien au peuple de Paris avec ses pauvres armes et les ongles de ses doigts qu'on devait ce retranchement de l'ennemi qui permit ensuite de l'attaquer de front et de mener des opérations militaires, d'ailleurs très dures et souvent coûteuses, mais franches et rapides ... Mais qui se préoccupait alors de mesurer la part que l'armée régulière et le peuple de Paris avait prise, chacun, à cette œuvre miraculeuse qu'était la libération de Paris? (Pierre Bourdan, *Carrefour*, 24 août 1945)

On relève deux nuances idéologiques dans la variante communiste : l'attribution de la libération du pays à l'insurrection nationale et la mise en relief du « peuple ». Notons aussi que Kriegel-Valrimont mentionne les forces alliées à propos de la défaite d'Hitler, et non pas de la libération de la France, insistant sur le rôle de l'Union Soviétique :

> Nous venons de vivre une insurrection. Les ouvriers, les boutiquiers, les braves gens de France se sont soulevés. Avec des armes conquises à la force du poignet ; selon l'énergique expression d'un journaliste, ils ont libéré leur capitale, comme ils ont libéré Marseille, Lyon, Toulouse, Montpellier, Clermont, etc. (Valdi Leduc, *Action*, 16 septembre 1944)
>
> Notre peuple fête sa victoire de 1918. Il fête aussi la victoire de l'Insurrection nationale qui permit aux armées de délivrer la majeure partie de notre sol en un temps record. (Claude Morgan, *Les Lettres françaises*, 11 novembre 1944)
>
> Les Français n'oublient pas que c'est l'effort de toutes les nations alliées qui aura permis la défaite d'Hitler. Ils garderont toute leur reconnaissance à l'Union Soviétique qui a cassé les reins au monstre hitlérien. ... Mais ils n'oublieront pas non plus qu'ils ne se sont jamais pliés et qu'ils se sont soulevés, **presque sans armes,** contre un ennemi encore puissant et barbare. (Maurice Kriegel-Valrimont, *Action*, 9 septembre 1944)

2.2.3. L'Anti-France et la vraie France

La deuxième composante de la vision gaullienne était la mise entre parenthèse de Vichy. Ainsi, lorsque le 25 août Georges Bidault, président du Conseil National de la Résistance, lui demande de proclamer la République, le Général réplique :

> La République n'a jamais cessé d'être. La France libre, la France combattante, le Comité français de la libération nationale l'ont, tour à tour, incorporée. Vichy fut toujours et demeure nul et non avenu.

Le régime de Vichy étant décrété illégal, le pouvoir a donc été usurpé par des « traîtres ». Dans l'allocution qu'il prononce ce même 25 août, le Général parle de « quelques malheureux traîtres qui se sont livrés à l'ennemi et qui connaissent ou connaîtront la rigueur des lois » (de Gaulle 1956 : 503). Le thème de la trahison, antithèse du patriotisme, permet donc d'attribuer la responsabilité des malheurs de la France à une minorité qui n'incarne pas la nation.

Le renversement du rapport de force à Libération entraîne ainsi une permutation de la figure du traître, qui se déplace des résistants et des gaullistes aux vichystes et aux collaborateurs. L'écrivain fasciste et collaborationniste Robert Brasillach avait ainsi appelé à fusiller les « traîtres » ou à les déporter et à frapper ceux qui en étaient « moralement complices ». À ses yeux, le général de Gaulle était « un traître fort légalement condamné à mort », les gaullistes étaient tous des « traîtres », comme il l'avait écrit dans *Je suis partout* le 21 mars 1942. À présent, c'était lui qui était condamné à mort pour le crime d'« intelligence avec l'ennemi ». Il fut exécuté en février 1945.

Le thème de la trahison a, en effet, des conséquences bien au-delà du niveau des représentations, car il est au fondement des interprétations de l'article 75 du code pénal (« intelligence avec l'ennemi »), et des autres articles condamnant les atteintes à l'intérêt national, sur la base desquels les collaborateurs sont jugés lors des procès de l'épuration (voir à ce sujet Novick 1985 : 219-253; Simonin 2008; Sapiro 2011 : chap. 11), sans parler des exécutions sommaires effectuées en son nom. Mais ceci dépasse notre propos. Toujours est-il que la désignation d'une catégorie de traîtres, fondée sur un critère de classement qui transcende les divisions sociales : le patriotisme, a pour fonction d'unir la nation contre un « ennemi de l'intérieur ». On se bornera ici à citer quelques exemples de l'emploi de cette représentation qui, appliquée au gouvernement de Vichy et aux collaborateurs, permet de préserver intacte l'image de la France :

En 1940, des traîtres ont livré la France à Hitler. Le complot contre l'indépendance française avait réussi. ... Pour camoufler la trahison, ils invoquaient la « France seule », quand ils ne juraient pas par la « nouvelle Europe ». Mais la France, trompée et trahie, s'est retrouvée. Elle a résisté. (Maurice Kriegel-Valrimont, *Action*, 9 septembre 1944).

Pétain et ses cagoulards livrent à Hitler le pays de Descartes, de Voltaire et des Droits de l'Homme. (Albert Bayet, *Action*, 11 mai 1945)

Sans doute il y avait en ce pays, comme en tout pays, un quarteron de traîtres, les hommes de Maurras et de Pétain. ... Vous ne pouvez imaginer ce qu'est cette autre guerre, hypocrite et sourde, que le tyran et les traîtres, ses valets, peuvent faire à l'âme d'un peuple ... (Jean Guéhenno, *Gavroche*, 16 novembre 1944).

Les complices et les serviteurs de la trahison n'ont rien compris au peuple qu'ils ont trahi. Ils n'ont rien su de son histoire ni de son sang. (André Suarès, Les Nouvelle littéraires, 5 avril 1945)

Notons que, de même que le gouvernement Vichy et ses thuriféraires avaient imputé la défaite de 1940 aux « péchés républicains », parmi lesquels les congés payés adoptés par le Front populaire et aussi au pessimisme et à l'immoralisme de littérature moderne (Muel-Dreyfus 1996 ; Sapiro, 1999 : chap. 2), la trahison est assimilée, par la gauche, à une catégorie sociale : les « élites ». Politiques, économiques, intellectuelles, les « élites » ont mis leur pouvoir au service de l'ennemi, selon un thème qui apparaissait déjà dans la presse et dans la littérature clandestine :

> Non, je parle de ceux qui, placés avec le consentement du pays, de son gouvernement, de ses institutions, de son économie, se sont faits les instruments de la guerre hitlérienne et de l'asservissement français. Ce sont, en premier lieu, les ministres de la capitulation et les ministres de Vichy, les industriels et les banquiers qui ont froidement misé sur la victoire allemande, les archevêques qui ont, en chaire, applaudi à notre châtiment, les grands corps de l'État, les généraux, les hauts fonctionnaires, les salons, les journalistes, les intellectuels. Il s'agit de ce qu'on appelait les élites et les cadres du pays. La trahison est d'autant plus criminelle qu'elle est plus haut placée. (Pierre Hervé, *Action*, 16 septembre 1944)

Dérivée du thème de la trahison, l'idée que Vichy n'est pas la France est le corollaire du rétablissement des valeurs républicaines identifiées à la « vraie France ». Selon les nuances idéologiques, l'accent sera mis sur la France libre de l'homme du 18 juin ou sur la Résistance et l'insurrection nationale, héritière de la Révolution, mais les représentations semblent plus ou moins se recouper et se compléter pour former un tout harmonieux :

> Ce qui nous a fait le plus souffrir, au cours de ces quatre années, ce ne sont pas les périls courus, c'est le sentiment cruel qu'aux yeux des nations, la France n'était plus la France. Nous savions bien nous, qui étions sur place, que la France n'avait pas été battue, qu'une poignée de traîtres vendus au fascisme l'avait empêchée de se battre. Mais le monde, lui, ne le savait pas. Mais le monde entendait répéter tous les jours, par l'abominable propagande pétainiste, que la France était une nation dégénérée, un pays de jouisseurs devenu brusquement incapable d'élan et de sacrifices. Nous savions que des amis, égarés par cette propagande, allaient murmurer : « Pauvre France ! » Comment répondre quand les Allemands de Vichy tenaient la presse, le cinéma, la radio, quand nos pauvres journaux clandestins ne parvenaient pas à franchir les fron-

tières ? Oui, il a fallu quatre années durant supporter ce supplice : savoir qu'on doutait de nous, savoir que des amis éprouvés, comme nos frères d'Amérique, en étaient à se demander si la France n'était pas pétainiste. Aujourd'hui, le voile ourdi par les mains des traîtres vole en lambeaux au vent de la victoire. Le vrai visage de la France républicaine reparaît ... Ils savent aujourd'hui, les hommes de tous ces peuples amis, que la France n'a jamais été pétainiste, que la France reste la France. (Albert Bayet, *Carrefour*, 16 septembre 1944)

La France n'était plus la France, il eût bien fallu la recréer ailleurs. (Jean Guéhenno, *Gavroche*, 16 novembre 1944)

Des barricades aux maquis de Bretagne, des Alpes, du Limousin, le même courage, la même fierté, la même volonté de bataille et d'insurrection à tout prix ont balayé la vieille honte qui n'a pas pu souiller la France, car la vraie France l'a tenue pour intolérable. Le cœur de la vraie France a éclaté tout d'un coup. (André Rousseaux, *Les Lettres françaises*, 30 septembre 1944)

On a cru longtemps, surtout à Washington, que le gouvernement de Vichy représentait quelque chose en France : son effondrement est la preuve évidente du contraire. L'accueil unanime fait au général de Gaulle doit prouver aux plus sceptiques que c'est la Résistance qui est la vraie France. (André Siegfried, *Gavroche*, 23 septembre 1944)

Ainsi se cristallise la mémoire du passé immédiat autour d'une image unificatrice qui implique l'exclusion d'une « poignée de misérables ». C'est sur la base de ces représentations des « années noires », cadrées selon les répertorèmes de l'héritage national, que sont être élaborés les projets et programmes de reconstruction.

2.3. Projets et programmes : refaire la France

Dans son étude de l'image de la Résistance dans le Sud-Ouest de la France à la Libération, Pierre Laborie décrit l'atmosphère qui régnait dans « l'opinion » :

Chez les témoins qui en reparlent avec émotion, dans les lettres de catholiques, de communistes ou de jeunes F.F.I., dans les comptes-rendus des manifestations publiques où se succèdent explosions de joie et réactivation à vif du proche passé lors des obsèques des martyrs, c'est la même atmosphère. On veut refaire la France 'par-dessus les barrières pourries des formules périmées' (Laborie 1983 : 71).

La grande majorité des Français a manifesté son désir de changement dans le référendum du 21 octobre 1945 en répondant « oui » à la pre-

mière question : «Voulez-vous que l'Assemblée élue ce jour soit consti-
tuante ? » Car même s'il y a, comme on l'a vu, réaffirmation du répu-
blicanisme, « les formules périmées », ce sont avant tout la constitution
de 1875 et les institutions de la Troisième République, qui sont rendues
responsables de la défaite et de ses conséquences.

Mais « refaire la France » ce n'est pas seulement un programme po-
litique de changement de constitution. Il y a le problème pressant de la
reconstruction économique. En outre, le rejet des institutions de la Troi-
sième République en raison de la défaite, des pleins pouvoirs donnés à
Pétain et de la collaboration des « élites », entraîne aussi des interroga-
tions d'ordre social et moral. Il y a bien d'autres problèmes (la recons-
truction architecturale, par exemple ; voir Voldman 1997), dont on ne
traitera pas ici.

Un grand nombre de projets de reconstruction avaient déjà été con-
çus pendant l'Occupation. On peut en trouver un choix dans le recueil
publié par Henri Michel et Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch, *Les Idées poli-
tiques et sociales de la Résistance* (1954). Dans son introduction, Michel
(*ibid.* : 4) décrit comment s'est formée « la pensée de la Résistance » :

> Les rédacteurs des journaux clandestins n'étaient d'abord, ne serait-ce
> que par les risques encourus, que des soldats. Mais en face de
> l'occupant, dans le silence du Gouvernement de Vichy que déchiraient
> mal quelques protestations platoniques, devant les problèmes que po-
> sait la guerre et les préoccupations que suscitait toute anticipation sur
> l'après-guerre, ils parlèrent au nom de la France. Il leur fallut prendre
> position, affirmer des principes, soutenir une politique, esquisser des
> programmes. Le sort de la France libérée, le statut à lui donner, sa place
> dans le monde, les préoccupèrent d'autant plus que la Libération appro-
> chait et que le pouvoir véritable, de l'aveu même de l'ennemi – avant
> même que les Alliés fussent unanimes à le reconnaître – leur était peu à
> peu échu, échappant à la houlette débile du Maréchal, alors même que
> sa milice les traquait encore. De la lutte contre l'ennemi, la Résistance
> passa ainsi au souci des lendemains de la lutte ; du plan militaire, elle
> glissa insensiblement au plan politique.
> Ce glissement, c'est toute l'histoire de la Pensée de la Résistance fran-
> çaise, doctrine de la Libération d'abord, puis esquisse d'une Rénovation
> Nationale.

Bien que les projets diffèrent selon les tendances, on relève quelques
thèmes qui circulent dans la presse clandestine et composent « l'esprit
de Résistance ». À la Libération, ces thèmes seront repris et élaborés

dans la nouvelle presse ainsi que dans certains anciens titres qui se réclament de cet « esprit de Résistance », formant l'unanimisme de façade qui caractérise les premiers mois de la reconstruction. On n'analysera ici que quatre thèmes, la sélection ayant été établie suivant la fréquence de leur apparition dans nos hebdomadaires et non pas selon le succès de leur réalisation[13].

Refaire la France, c'est tout d'abord l'épurer de ses traîtres afin d'assurer le rétablissement moral de la nation. C'est aussi procéder à des transformations radicales, en particulier sur le plan socio-économique. La reconstruction et les transformations ne seront possibles que si l'unanimisme dont les Français ont fait preuve dans la lutte survivra à la libération du pays : c'est le thème de l'unité. Enfin, cette unité et cette rénovation ne peuvent être réalisées qu'avec la participation (politique) de la Résistance.

2.3.1. Le châtiment des traîtres

La représentation de la trahison conduit naturellement aux projets de châtiment et à leur mise en œuvre dans le cadre du processus d'« épuration ». Après la retraite de l'occupant, c'est de l'« ennemi de l'intérieur » qu'il faut avoir raison pour assurer « le salut du peuple français ». L'épuration est le gage du redressement moral de la nation, première condition de la reconstruction. Les aspects juridiques, politiques et sociaux de l'épuration ont déjà fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches (voir notamment Novick 1985; Rousso 1992 ; Baruch dir. 2003 ; Simonin 2008). Sans aborder un sujet trop complexe pour un exposé aussi sommaire, on se contentera ici d'évoquer brièvement les représentations de l'épuration dans les milieux intellectuels et la polémique qu'elle a provoquée entre les partisans d'une justice intransigeante et les tenants de « l'indulgence » ou de la réconciliation. En effet, si le camp de la Résistance s'accorde sur la nécessité de l'épuration, il est divisé quant à la sévérité des mesures à prendre. Ces divisions, que nous avons étudiées ailleurs (Sapiro 1999 : chap. 8 ; 2003), reposent autant sur une polarisation politiques (entre communistes ou proches et

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[13] Le succès ou l'échec d'un programme est déterminé par d'autres facteurs, comme les rapports de force dans les champs politiques et/ou économique, dont l'étude dépasse le cadre de cette recherche.

gaullistes ou MRP) que sur un clivage générationnel, entre les nouveaux entrants qui s'affirment sur la scène intellectuelle à travers le capital moral acquis dans la Résistance, et leurs aînés considérés comme trop conciliants.

Du point de vue politique, cet extrait d'un éditorial d'*Action* illustre l'intransigeance communiste :

> Des hommes ont pu se tromper ; un poilu de Verdun qui a gardé quelque temps sa confiance à un maréchal traître a pu commettre une erreur de bonne foi qui ne l'exclut pas de la communauté nationale, mais les hommes qui, d'intention délibérée, pour la sauvegarde de leurs intérêts, ont systématiquement trahi, trompé leur pays, doivent être jugés et punis. ... la France en guerre ne peut se permettre un pardon évangélique de la trahison d'hier, un tel pardon serait une prime à la trahison d'aujourd'hui. (*Action*, éditorial, 20 octobre 1944)

La position d'Yves Helleu dans *Carrefour* illustre la tendance modérée et soucieuse de la régularisation du processus. Il y dénonce les résistants de la treizième heure à qui il attribue les excès de l'épuration.

> Se dominer d'abord. Le pays aspire à la justice, il répugne aux vengeances. Or un pur trouve toujours un plus pur qui l'épure. Et les brassardiers de la treizième heure sont les plus acharnés à se dédouaner aux dépens du voisin... ou du concurrent. La Résistance se doit de les chasser impitoyablement pour aider le gouvernement à régulariser la procédure et les inculpations. (Yves Helleu, *Carrefour*, 16 septembre 1944)

Entre les deux, *Témoignage Chrétien* demande une épuration « dans la lumière et dans l'ordre » (1er septembre 1944), approuvant la nouvelle sanction « d'indignité nationale » adoptée par le G.P.R.F. (voir Simonin 2008) :

> Nous ne verserons pas de pleurs sur les plumitifs que frappera demain le verdict d'indignité nationale. Il fallait choisir entre la pâtée des Allemands et l'estime des Français. (Témoignage Chrétien, 7 octobre 1944)

L'épuration trouve sa légitimation aussi bien juridique que morale dans la référence à la Révolution française. Le poète résistant Jean Cassou écrit ainsi dans *Les Lettres françaises* du 21 juillet 1945, au moment du procès du maréchal Pétain :

> Eh ! oui, il y a guerre. Guerre entre deux clans, deux sectes, deux bandes, deux partis, comme on voudra les appeler, le parti de la France et le parti des ennemis de la France. Et guerre qui n'est pas terminée. Donc, et puisqu'il faut se battre, ne faut-il pas se battre ? Et avec vi-

gueur, et avec passion ? Et je rappellerai les raisonnements fondés en raison, et dénués de tout sectarisme, de Camille Desmoulins et de Saint-Just, à propos du traître Louis XVI, démontrant que ce criminel devait être jugé non comme citoyen, mais comme ennemi, car il s'agissait du salut du peuple français. Non de la satisfaction de la manie sanguinaire, mais du salut du peuple français. De la défense de ce peuple contre un ennemi, contre ses ennemis. (Jean Cassou, *Les Lettres françaises*, 21 juillet 1945; c'est Cassou qui souligne).

Dans le même esprit, Claude Morgan cite dans *Les Lettres françaises* du 11 août 1945 le mot de Saint-Just : « La République ne se fonde pas avec l'indulgence, mais avec la rigueur implacable envers tous ceux qui ont trahi ». Même le catholique François Mauriac, qui va dès le mois d'octobre se rallier au thème gaullien de la réconciliation nationale et devenir le porte-parole des « indulgents », fait montre d'une telle intransigeance :

Nous n'hésiterons pas à défendre la liberté par la force contre ses ennemis éternels. Nous comprenons maintenant le sens de la devise révolutionnaire que les timides républicains de Second Empire avaient amputée de l'essentiel : **Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité OU LA MORT**. (François Mauriac, *Les Lettres françaises*, 9 septembre 1944)

La Terreur n'est cependant pas une référence unanimement partagée, bien au contraire[14]. Les prises de position de Mauriac au lendemain de la Libération lui valent de passer pour un « abject Fouquier-Tinville »[15]. Il n'est du reste pas le seul à être ainsi qualifié. Paul Léautaud, qui écrit à Paulhan : « à la guillotine près, – qui viendra peut-être, – ce que nous voyons n'est pas loin de 93 », décerne à Duhamel le titre de « petit Fou-

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[14] Anne Simonin (1998) montre cependant qu'à l'exception des courants qui se réclament de la tradition contre-révolutionnaire (l'Action française notamment), la droite extrême assimilera, à partir de 1947, l'épuration à la « Terreur blanche » de la Restauration. Comparer les épurateurs de 1945 au Comité du salut public reviendrait, en effet, à les anoblir. Notons, en outre, que l'assimilation du rétablissement républicain à la Restauration est le pendant de la stigmatisation de la Troisième République comme « l'Ancien Régime », représentation mise en circulation après la défaite de 1940 par les « révolutionnaires » fascistes.

[15] Roger Lannes, *Journal inédit*, cité par Jean Touzot, *Mauriac sous l'Occupation*, op. cit., p. 108.

quier-Tinville »[16]. Appartenant à la génération d'avant-guerre et très méfiants à l'égard des communistes, Mauriac et Duhamel ne vont pourtant pas tarder à adopter une ligne plus modérée et à se rallier à l'idée de réconciliation nationale préconisée par le général de Gaulle. Ce qui leur vaut cette fois d'être qualifiés d'« indulgents », en référence à la Révolution française, par la jeune génération intransigeante, que représente notamment Albert Camus, avec lequel Mauriac va s'affronter à ce propos dans une polémique que l'auteur de *La Peste* résumera par les termes « Justice ou charité »[17]. Lors de l'enquête lancée par l'hebdomadaire *Carrefour* en mars 1945[18], peu après l'exécution de Brasillach, sur la question plus spécifique de la responsabilité de l'écrivain, la nouvelle génération, représentée par Vercors, Pierre Seghers, Emmanuel Mounier, Claude Aveline et Max-Pol Fouchet, se confronte à ses aînés, Gabriel Marcel, Georges Duhamel et Émile Henriot. Sans remettre en cause la notion même de responsabilité, ces derniers tentent de lui imposer des limites, ou de proposer une échelle. À l'opposé, Vercors et Seghers vont, quant à eux, jusqu'à considérer la responsabilité de l'écrivain comme supérieure à celle de l'industriel, justifiant ainsi la punition des intellectuels collaborateurs par la peine capitale (voir Sapiro 1999 : 614-621).

2.3.2. La révolution

Par-delà les valeurs qui en sont issues et le châtiment des traîtres, la Révolution sert de référence en ce moment de réorganisation des structures sociales. Le désir de « refaire la France » associé au rejet des « formules périmées », à savoir les institutions de la Troisième République, engendre des projets « révolutionnaires ». « Au total, même si cette période de l'immédiat après-Libération n'a pas été révolutionnaire dans les faits, elle a été vécue comme telle dans l'opinion », constate Pierre Laborie (1983 : 72). La prégnance des références aux révolutions du passé pour penser le passé proche, le présent et l'avenir, nourrit ce climat révolutionnaire. La notion de révolution fonctionne dans

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[16] Lettre de Paul Léautaud à Jean Paulhan, 20 octobre 1944, Fonds Jean Paulhan, Archives IMEC.

[17] Albert Camus, « Justice et charité », *Combat*, 11 janvier 1945.

[18] Les réponses à l'enquête sur « la responsabilité de l'écrivain » ont paru dans *Carrefour* du 10 février au 17 mars.

ce contexte comme un opérateur axiologique positif, contrairement à la connotation négative qui lui avait été associée tout au long du XIXème siècle.

La révolution, c'est avant tout le renouvellement des structures politiques, et plus particulièrement, la création d'une nouvelle classe dirigeante. Ainsi, le projet du « châtiment des traîtres » s'inscrit dans la perspective plus vaste du renouvellement des cadres. Cependant les programmes politiques de la Résistance ne vont pas beaucoup plus loin que des formules générales. Son projet « révolutionnaire » est, en fait, économique, comme l'explique Mirkine-Guetzévitch : « les hommes politiques et les chefs de la Résistance, en 1944, interprétaient la libération comme une révolution économique, distributive et productionniste, et non comme une révolution politique » (Michel, Mirkine-Guetzévitch 1954 : 59). Le libéralisme économique est le repoussoir contre lequel s'inscrivent ces programmes, qui oscillent entre dirigisme étatique et anarcho-syndicalisme, la première tendance l'emportant largement (sur les options et débats autour de ces questions en France depuis les années 1930, voir Denord : 2007). Comme sous le régime de Vichy, il y a un fort écart entre le discours « révolutionnaire » et les réformes entreprises, qui plaide en faveur de notre suggestion de distinguer la construction des représentations collectives de la « planification » au sens des actions concrètes et des politiques engagées pour transformer les structures sociales (la notion de « plan » va d'ailleurs être adoptée dans cette perspective dirigiste).

La représentation « révolutionnaire » est d'autant plus révélatrice de l'image d'une France qui évolue par révolutions et de l'analogie entre la Libération et 1789 que les programmes mêmes ne furent souvent que réformistes (Madjarian 1980). Il s'agissait plus de canaliser l'effervescence révolutionnaire que de l'attiser. Georges Bidault, président du Conseil national de la Résistance, préconise ainsi la « révolution par la loi ». Toutes les mesures économiques et sociales qui furent adoptées (nationalisations, suffrage féminin, prolongation de la scolarité obligatoire) correspondaient au programme du C.N.R. Selon Julliard (1968 : 34), le dirigisme économique qui inspirait ce programme « ne pouvait manquer de rencontrer les tendances politiques profondes du général de Gaulle ». Il faut préciser qu'en dépit des affirmations officielles, le P.C.F. ne fut pas enthousiaste quant aux nationalisations qui,

effectuées en régime capitaliste, risquaient de desservir la cause du pro-
létariat (Elgey 1965 : 31). Par ailleurs, le P.C.F. se montra plus réservé
que la gauche non communiste sur l'idée d'une « révolution ». Thorez
n'avait pas besoin des ordres de Staline pour comprendre que celui-ci
rejetait l'éventualité d'une révolution socialiste en France (Elgey, *ibid :*
28) et c'est pourquoi il coopérera pleinement avec de Gaulle.

Toujours est-il que la nouvelle presse semble présenter une image
d'« unanimité révolutionnaire ». D'*Action* à *Témoignage chrétien* en pas-
sant par *Combat* et *Franc-Tireur*, le thème révolutionnaire est omnipré-
sent, tous, des plus modérés aux plus radicaux, s'accordent au moins
sur la nécessité de procéder à des réformes sociales, ainsi qu'en témoi-
gnent les extraits suivants :

> Comme l'écrit avec raison l'éditorialiste de Combat du 27 août :
> « l'insurrection de Paris ... est née au moins de deux nécessités : une né-
> cessité nationale et une nécessité révolutionnaire. ... Pour l'instant, vou-
> lant uniquement insister sur les grandes lignes d'une révolution que
> tous déclarent nécessaire, les organes des anciens partis et des mouve-
> ments de Résistance s'accordent sur un certain nombre de transforma-
> tions radicales. ... »
>
> A cette restriction près – restriction qui affecte plus la laïcité partisane
> que nous avons toujours connue qu'une laïcité qui serait vraiment res-
> pectée par les laïques, nous acceptons tout à fait les conclusions du
> Franc-Tireur : « Une révolution est nécessaire, une révolution qui, com-
> plétant celle d'il y a un siècle, rende enfin la nation maîtresse de son
> destin économique, mette le travail au service exclusif de la collectivi-
> té ». (« revue de la presse libre », Témoignage Chrétien, 2 septembre
> 1944)
>
> Bien loin d'y être contraire, la reconstruction appelle à la révolution
> (Témoignage Chrétien, 15 décembre 1944)
>
> La Révolution que nous avons voulue n'est pas accomplie mais elle est
> en marche. (Valdi Leduc, *Action*, 5 janvier 1945)
>
> Héritière de la Commune, la résistance veut comme elle non seulement
> se débarrasser de l'oppression étrangère, mais édifier une Société plus
> juste et plus fraternelle (Jean Rous, *Gavroche*, 23 août 1945).

Les nuances idéologiques sont toutefois significatives : la notion de ré-
volution n'est pas le même sens pour les catholiques et les commu-
nistes. Au désir d'un rétablissement de la légalité et de l'ordre, proche
de la vision gaullienne, et qu'illustre bien le thème de la « Révolution
par la loi » formulé par le démocrate chrétien Georges Bidault, prési-

dent du Conseil national de la Résistance (il est repris par le Père Chaillet dans *Témoignage chrétien* du 30 septembre[19]), s'oppose la représentation du pôle communiste de la Résistance, qui ne reconnaît que la légalité révolutionnaire : « ... tout est illégal si l'on ne veut pas admettre que la Résistance a créé une nouvelle légalité révolutionnaire », écrit Pierre Hervé dans l'hebdomadaire communiste *Action* du 29 septembre 1944.

> Pour refaire l'unité, il ne faut pas lasser l'espoir du peuple qui s'est soulevé non seulement pour chasser l'ennemi, mais aussi pour obtenir la révolution par la loi, dont la France attend impatiemment les premières réalisations. (Pierre Chaillet, S. J., Témoignage Chrétien, 30 septembre 1944)
>
> De l'autre côté, nous trouvons la Résistance, image même du pays dans ce qu'il a de meilleur et de plus vivace, nouvelle élite surgie dans le combat contre l'ennemi. Elle s'exprime dans les Force Françaises de l'Intérieur, les comités de la Libération et le Conseil National de la Résistance. Elle exige unanimement, en accord profond avec le peuple, le châtiment des traîtres, l'épuration radicale des grands corps de l'État, des réformes sociales profondes qui brisent le pouvoir des trusts et des oligarchies financières internationales. Elle exige, elle revendique, elle réclame, elle proteste, parce que cela est dans son droit. (Pierre Hervé, *Action*, 13 octobre 1944)

Paradoxalement, cependant, les communistes font preuve d'une certaine modération par comparaison à la gauche non communiste. De même qu'ils mettent en avant le principe de liberté (et non d'égalité), ils se montreront plus réservés quant à la dénonciation de la démocratie parlementaire (associée à la Troisième République). Selon Caute (1967 : 181), ceci s'expliquerait par le fait que, étant toujours suspectés de nourrir des desseins dictatoriaux, ils craignent d'éveiller les soupçons. Mais cela tient également à ce que, Staline n'envisageant pas à cette époque de révolution socialiste en France, la stratégie du P.C.F. était de se renforcer en coopérant avec le gouvernement.

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[19] L'isolement de la gauche chrétienne au sein d'une gauche pour laquelle le principe de laïcité est une valeur qui va au-delà de la séparation de l'État et de la religion et la tendance majoritairement modérée du public catholique auquel il s'adresse expliquent sans doute la stratégie politique de ralliement de *Témoignage chrétien* au M.R.P., dont Georges Bidault est un des dirigeants, et qui se présente comme le parti de la fidélité (à de Gaulle).

Du côté de la gauche progressiste de *Témoignage chrétien*, les projets relèvent plus d'un socialisme de filiation proudhonienne que des réformes dirigistes du C.N.R., comme le montrent les sous-titres d'un article intitulé « La révolution est en marche » *(Témoignage chrétien*, 12 janvier 1945), et où il est question de gérance des entreprises d'intérêt général par la communauté, de communautés d'entreprises privées gérant les moyens de production importants, qui deviennent copropriété de tous leurs membres (« au travail : le profit, au capital : un loyer ») :

> Nous voulons une Révolution par la loi.
> Elle se fera par la suppression du système capitaliste libéral.
> Elle se fera avec les travailleurs, par la reconnaissance de la majorité de la classe ouvrière.
> Elle ne se fera pas sans une réforme de la conception de la propriété.
> (Témoignage Chrétien, 12 janvier 1945)

C'est de *Carrefour* qu'émanent les accents les plus gaulliens. Le ministre de l'Information Pierre-Henri Teitgen (M.R.P) y publie un article où il parle de « démocratie économique », d'« économie socialisée» qui a pour but de « substituer à la concurrence anarchique des intérêts privés l'impératif du bien commun » ; et de conclure que « de pareilles réformes de structure ne peuvent par conséquent se développer, fidèles à elles-mêmes, que dans une société où retentit en permanence l'appel du héros et du saint ». Il n'emploie pas le terme de révolution. De même, dans cette citation tirée d'un éditorial où l'on retrouve tous les thèmes de la « reconstruction » dont il est question ici – châtiment des traîtres, unité (« souveraineté nationale »), participation de la Résistance (« des hommes qui aient fait leurs preuves ») – il n'est question que de « réformes profondes » et du « rétablissement de l'ordre et de la légalité ».

> Depuis de longues années, notre pays n'avait pas connu cette communion dans la mystique de la patrie. Une telle révélation nous dicte nos devoirs. Tout mettre en œuvre pour sauvegarder cette souveraineté nationale. Exclure ceux qui se sont écartés eux-mêmes par leur indignité. Ne pas nous laisser entraîner par les rancunes personnelles, mais frapper fort ceux qui méritent de l'être, si haut placés soient-ils. Rétablir l'ordre et la légalité. Nous adapter aux tâches qui nous attendent. La nation tout entière dressée veut des réformes profondes et pour les réaliser des hommes qui aient fait leurs preuves. (*Carrefour*, éditorial, 9 sep-

tembre 1944)

2.3.3. L'unité des Français

L'unité des Français apparaît comme l'un des thèmes politiques les plus prépondérants au cours des derniers mois de l'an 1944. Si la représentation de l'unité ressort d'abord, en creux, du contraste avec la catégorie des traîtres, elle est renforcée par une représentation positive : l'unanimité qui a caractérisé le combat contre l'occupant (hormis les « traîtres ») et qui se rattache au principe de « fraternité », montre que c'est dans l'unité, fondée sur l'amour de la patrie, que la France a retrouvé sa grandeur ; c'est donc dans l'unité qu'il faudra la reconstruire.

Comme le montre Pierre Laborie (1983 : 74), l'idée d'unité est complémentaire de la représentation du rôle révolutionnaire la Résistance. En effet, elle est perçue comme condition nécessaire à toute transformation par tous les courants d'opinions (les « nostalgiques de Vichy ou de la collaboration » mis à part), qui adhèrent à cette « image d'une communauté nationale retrouvée et fortifiée». Tous les journaux font écho à cet appel à la cohésion nationale, seul gage de la reconstruction :

> Nous saurons unir tous ceux pour qui le mot « Patrie » a un sens profond de réalité et non de slogan. (A. Mandouze, éditorial, Témoignage Chrétien, 9 septembre 1944).
>
> Il n'est pas possible, en effet, qu'après avoir manifesté dans la Résistance, dans la continuation ininterrompue de la lutte à l'extérieur, dans le combat intérieur au grand jour, une telle unanimité, une telle foi, une telle abnégation, il n'est pas possible que la France ne montre pas tout de suite qu'elle est prête à faire preuve des mêmes qualités dans la remise en ordre de la maison. (Jean Marin, *Carrefour*, 21 octobre 1944).
>
> Le travail de reconstruction réclame, autant que le réclamait la lutte dans l'ombre, l'effort commun de tous les Français. ... Il nous faut conserver – et retrouver si nous l'avons perdu – l'esprit qui animait la Résistance. Il nous faut maintenir cette **union fraternelle** qui nous faisait meilleurs. (Claude Morgan, *Les Lettres françaises*, 28 octobre 1944)
>
> Nous n'avons cessé d'affirmer pendant toute la durée de l'occupation que notre union serait le gage de notre victoire. Elle reste la condition de notre renaissance. (Claude Morgan, *Les Lettres françaises*, 25 novembre 1944)
>
> À la veille de ce 14 juillet 1945, premier « Quatorze Juillet de la Victoire », encore meurtris par la guerre, dans le pieux souvenir de leurs

> Morts innombrables, les Français doivent, comme les citoyens de 1790, s'engager à « demeurer unis par les liens indissolubles de la Fraternité ». L'union de tous est le plus sûr garant de la grandeur d'une France immortelle. (André Clair, *Gavroche*, 12 juillet 1945)

Pierre Laborie précise que « la référence unitaire devient une véritable mystique, 'un acte de foi dans les destinées futures du pays' » (*ibid :* 75). Le thème est donc renforcé par la rhétorique mystique que l'on a déjà vue à l'œuvre dans les représentations des « années noires ». Le « manifeste des écrivains français » publié dans le premier numéro des *Lettres françaises* (9 septembre 1944), par exemple, appelle à demeurer unis « pour la résurrection de la France ». De même, l'expression « la mystique de la patrie » est couramment employée à cette fin. Dans *Carrefour*, Yves Helleu propose de « grouper, dans une mystique et un dynamisme collectifs, la grande masse des citoyens » :

> Constatant que les meilleurs éléments de la nation, **unis sans distinction de classe ni d'opinion dans la mystique de la patrie, avaient enfin réalisé la souveraineté française**, nous demandions ici que tout soit mis en œuvre pour sauvegarder cette souveraineté. Elle seule permit de sauver la France et d'éviter la révolution sanglante. Elle seule permettra d'affronter les tâches qui attendent : reconnaissance 'de jure' du gouvernement, participation aux négociations de la paix, reconstruction et rénovation dans tous les domaines. ... Dès avant la guerre, nous étions moins divisés que ne le laissait croire la mosaïque parlementaire. Mais plus que jamais, depuis l'épreuve, l'opinion politique déborde les partis. Par delà les nuances diverses, elle réclame des transformations profondes. (Yves Helleu, *Carrefour*, 16 septembre 1944)

Mais l'appel à l'union qui émane de toute la presse cache en réalité des intérêts divergents. À l'instar de la notion de « révolution », il fonctionne comme un opérateur axiologique positif, que les différentes mouvances se réapproprient pour légitimer leur programme. En fait, la vision unitaire mystique présentée dans *Carrefour* est beaucoup plus proche de la conception gaullienne de l'unité d'un peuple incarnée en son chef que de la représentation du Front National[20] qui sert d'appui à un programme politique : la fusion de la Résistance en un parti. Cette dernière position peut être illustrée par les éditoriaux de Claude Mor-

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[20] Rappelons qu'il s'agit de l'organisation de Résistance contrôlée par les communistes.

gan dans *Les Lettres françaises* de septembre à décembre 1944 ainsi que par ceux d'*Action,* comme on le verra ci-dessous.

2.3.4 « Rien sans la Résistance »

« Au-delà des divergences dans les courants de pensée, écrit Pierre Laborie (1983 : 67), les résistants de l'intérieur, et spécialement ceux des générations antérieures à juin 1944, n'imaginaient pas que leur rôle puisse se terminer avec le départ de l'occupant. Dans leur esprit, en raison même des conditions de formation des mouvements en zone libre, les finalités de l'action ne devaient jamais séparer la lutte armée d'une volonté politique de reconstruction rejetant à la fois le régime de Vichy et les modèles antérieurs ». Si l'épuration représentait l'aspect négatif de la rénovation morale de la France, la devise « rien sans la Résistance » constitue son aspect positif : devenue, on l'a vu, le symbole du patriotisme français dont elle incarne toute la tradition, la Résistance apparaît comme une force spirituelle qui, par son pouvoir unificateur et par l'esprit d'abnégation qu'elle illustre, pourra assurer le rétablissement moral de la nation au terme de l'« épreuve ». C'est pourquoi elle doit jouer un rôle majeur dans l'effort de reconstruction :

> La Résistance est tout autre chose qu'une flambée passagère. Elle est un refus devant la lâcheté et aussi devant les glissements. Elle est essentiellement une attitude d'âme. À ce titre elle a, au premier chef, sa place non seulement à l'heure de la bataille mais à celle de la reconstruction. (Témoignage Chrétien, 8 décembre 1944).
>
> C'est dans la ferveur patriotique qui anime ces représentants de la Résistance française – en qui se retrouvent les plus belles qualités de notre peuple – que réside la chance de la France. Ils ont juré, en se séparant, qu'ils ne se désuniraient jamais, qu'ils resteraient fidèles à l'espérance de ces fils et de ces filles de France qui sont morts pour la Patrie. Ce sont hommes de volonté, de ce moral, inconnus issus des profondeurs de la nation, qui de tout temps ont assuré la continuité de la grandeur française (Claude Morgan, Lettres françaises, 23 décembre 1944).

Mais pour exercer son pouvoir spirituel, pour prendre une part active à la reconstruction, il lui faut des moyens politiques. Or, de la mouvance gaulliste au Parti communiste, le retour à la « normale » passe par une lutte souterraine des anciens cadres dirigeants pour évincer les nouvelles élites issues de la Résistance : en témoignent aussi bien le ralliement de Maurice Thorez à la décision de de Gaulle de désarmer les

F.F.I. que la marginalisation des résistants au sein de l'appareil du parti communiste. La stratégie qu'emploient les agents qui se réclament de « l'esprit de Résistance » pour formuler leurs revendications politiques est simple : la nécessité de préserver l'« unité des Français » permet de présenter la Résistance comme la seule force politique capable de dépasser les tendances partisanes :

> Il faut choisir entre le respect d'une légalité purement formelle, désormais étrangère au peuple de France après quatre années d'illégalité créatrice et l'unité profonde avec le pays. Pour maintenir cette unité, il suffit au gouvernement de collaborer en pleine confiance avec les organismes de la résistance. Il y a un courant continu qui va du peuple à ces organisations et qui doit se prolonger jusque dans les Conseils d'État (Valdi Leduc, *Action*, 6 octobre 1944)

> Ces mêmes champions de la démocratie s'élèvent, comme l'éditorialiste de L'Aurore, « contre la prétention que peuvent avoir des soldats, parce qu'ils ont fait magnifiquement leur devoir, à prendre en main les leviers de commande de l'organisme compliqué qu'est une grande nation ». Ils tentent de démontrer que la Résistance ce n'était pas la France mais une minorité qui lui imposait sa loi.

> Les Résistants qui combattirent effectivement furent une minorité. C'est vrai. Mais ils avaient derrière eux pour les soutenir et les aider la masse de la nation qui souhaitait, à l'encontre de Laval et de Pétain, la défaite allemande. L'immense majorité du pays était avec eux. (Claude Morgan, Lettres françaises, 16 décembre 1944)

Bien entendu, si tous ceux qui s'en réclament semblent d'accord sur le fait que « l'esprit de Résistance doit sonner le ralliement du peuple français », ils se trouvent divisés sur la forme que doit revêtir cette mission de la Résistance. Sans nous étendre sur la complexité des rapports entre les deux grands mouvements de Résistance, le Mouvement de Libération nationale (M.L.N.), constitué d'éléments socialistes et gauchisants, et le Front national, de tendance communiste, et de leurs relations avec les partis, nous ne citerons ici que le programme politique du Front National : la fusion de la Résistance en un parti. Ce programme découle directement de la représentation du rôle unificateur de la Résistance. Voici comment il est présenté dans *Les Lettres françaises* et dans *Action* (on notera que, dans ce dernier, l'argument s'appuie sur les deux thèmes de l'unité et de la révolution) :

> Il faut que la Résistance, unie, marche d'un même pas et rassemble l'unanimité du pays derrière elle. Le magnifique congrès des comités de

la Libération de quarante départements de zone sud doit être suivi d'un congrès de tous les départements à Paris. Les États Généraux de la Renaissance française doivent être l'occasion pour tous les patriotes d'une manifestation éclatante d'unanimité et de volonté constructive. Il faut qu'aux prochaines élections des conseils municipaux et généraux il y ait partout des listes uniques de la Résistance. (Pierre Hervé, *Action*, 13 octobre 1944)

C'est sur une liste commune de la Résistance que, dans le moindre village, doit s'affirmer la volonté d'unité, de victoire et de révolution constructrice du peuple français. (éditorial d'*Action*, 27 octobre 1944)

[...] l'union de tous les Français dans une action énergique de reconstruction et de guerre. Le renoncement jusqu'à la fin des hostilités à nos querelles politiques. La fusion étroite de deux grands mouvements de la Résistance. La présentation aux prochaines élections de listes uniques composées de patriotes appartenant à tous les partis, à toutes les classes sociales, à toutes les confessions. (Claude Morgan, *Les Lettres françaises*, 9 décembre 1944)

Il n'est pas d'autre solution que les listes uniques, c'est-à-dire le grand rassemblement de tous les Français de bonne volonté qu'aucune différence d'opinion ne sépare quand il s'agit de la guerre, de la victoire et de la renaissance de la patrie. (Claude Morgan, *Les Lettres françaises*, 16 décembre 1944)

Ce projet d'unification des Mouvements de Résistance, qui sera d'ailleurs rejeté par le M.L.N.[21], éveille la méfiance au sein de courants non communistes qui, craignant l'emprise du P.C., accusent les résistants d'exclusivisme par un renversement de l'argument : « l'esprit de Résistance » doit unir le peuple et non pas être à l'origine de nouvelles divisions. On reconnaît à nouveau dans cette position des accents gaulliens :

Or, le 25 août, la France fut unanime. ... L'unanimité. C'était peut-être là, après quatre années, la plus grande victoire française. Voilà où nous en étions il y a trois mois. Et maintenant ? Rien sans la Résistance. ... La Résistance, en outre, a des droits à l'action. La logique, enfin, est de confier le pays à ceux qui l'ont sauvé parce qu'ils n'ont cessé de croire en lui. ... Dès l'aube du régime il [de Gaulle], il fit un pas vers l'universalité française : « Tous les Français, toutes les Françaises ». Avec ces simples mots, il y avait de quoi refaire toute la France en quelques secondes. ...

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[21] Selon Jacques Chapsal (1966: 96), les éléments socialisants et gauchisants du M.L.N. ne voulaient pas d'une gauche dominée par le P.C.

> La voie était tracée. II ne restait qu'à la suivre. On ne l'a pas fait, et l'esprit de divorce s'est accentué. Du côté de la Résistance, on est allé jusqu'à l'exclusivisme. ...
>
> II ne faut pas que la France soit à la merci d'un parti politique qui l'accapare, ni de plusieurs partis qui la divisent. C'est l'esprit de résistance qui doit sonner le ralliement de la France entière. Voilà la vraie mission de la Résistance.
>
> Vous, les hommes de la Résistance, les grands de la Résistance, on frappe à la porte de vos conseils et de vos assemblées. Des pas se pressent. Une grande prière s'élève. Ne fermez pas votre porte. Demandez plutôt qui est là, et on vous répondra : « La France, messieurs ». (Jean Bernard-Derosne, *Carrefour*, 13 janvier 1945).

Le rôle des opérateurs axiologiques tels que la « révolution », « l'unité de français », « l'esprit de la Résistance », n'apparaît jamais aussi clairement que lorsqu'il s'agit de présenter des programmes de réforme. Leur réappropriation contradictoire pour légitimer des programmes divergents voire opposés politiquement est révélatrice du mode de production des représentations collectives visant à susciter l'adhésion la plus large possible. C'est le cadre national qui fournit ici la justification discursive aussi bien que la rhétorique de la prédication émotionnelle.

3. Conclusion

Les périodes de crise de la « conscience collective » sont des terrains d'observation privilégiée du mode de production des représentations collectives. Comme le montre le cas de l'occupation allemande en France et de l'avènement du régime de Vichy, la crise de l'identité nationale et la lutte entre les forces politiques entraînent une surproduction de représentations visant à reconstruire l'« image de soi » d'une nation déchirée par les luttes intestines et menacée dans son indépendance. Cette reconstruction s'appuie sur des répertorèmes canoniques, comme les événements qui scandent l'histoire nationale, et sur des opérateurs axiologiques, qui peuvent varier selon les conjonctures (on a vu ici le rôle de la notion de « révolution » ou du thème de « l'unité »).

L'étude de situations de crise et des périodes de sortie de crise permet donc de déceler les éléments constitutifs de l'« image de soi » d'une société, c'est-à-dire les représentations les plus fondamentales de la « conscience collective », qui ont été inculquées à ses membres à travers

l'éducation et sont réactivées dans les médias. Elle montre aussi comment ce répertoire de représentations peut faire l'objet de luttes d'appropriation, et comment certains éléments peuvent être rendus actuels ou changer de valeur. La sélection et l'adaptation de représentations existantes à la conjoncture et à l'idéologie motrice des agents, la fonction spécifique qui leur est assignée dans cette conjoncture, la production de nouvelles représentations du passé proche dans le cadre d'une première cristallisation d'évènements récents dans la « mémoire collective » ainsi que celle de projets et de programmes futurs constituent autant de facteurs dynamiques qui rendent raison de l'évolution et des transformations de l'« image de soi ». Corrélativement, l'effet de continuité provient de ce que même les nouvelles représentations ne peuvent être produites qu'à partir de répertoires existants et qu'elles sont rattachées aux représentations canoniques, la légitimation d'une idéologie passant le plus souvent par sa réinscription dans une tradition, un passé, un héritage.

Nécessitant un certain capital culturel, cette fonction de production de représentations collectives et de réajustement des schèmes et des opérateurs axiologiques, autrefois prise en charge par le clergé ou par les prophètes qui contestaient l'orthodoxie de ce dernier, est assumée dans les sociétés modernes par des intellectuels, sur la base de la même division du travail entre pouvoir temporel et pouvoir spirituel. On a déjà évoqué le rôle qu'ils ont joué dans la construction des identités nationales. Mais avec l'autonomisation du champ intellectuel depuis le XVIIIème siècle et la division du travail intellectuel, on peut s'interroger sur les conditions d'engagement des intellectuels dans la production et la reproduction de représentations nationales.

En France, le nationalisme avait été approprié par l'extrême-droite à la fin du XIXème, mais les républicains, arrivés au pouvoir depuis 1881, s'en réclamaient aussi, dans une acception différente, moins étroite et plus arrimée – en théorie du moins – à des valeurs universelles comme les droits de l'homme. La Première Guerre mondiale vit culminer le consensus nationaliste, à l'exception d'une poignée de pacifistes considérés comme des traîtres à la nation. L'expérience des excès du nationalisme et de ses effets ont cependant favorisé l'adoption, par les intellectuels de gauche, d'une idéologie internationaliste promue par la Société des nations (SDN), qui concevait les échanges culturels comme

moyen de pacification : nombre d'intellectuels s'impliquèrent dans l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle de la SDN (Renoliet 1999 ; Sapiro 2009). Certes, à la différence de l'internationalisme d'extrême-gauche, celui-ci reposait sur l'idée d'États-nations et ne remettait donc pas en cause le cadre national de pensée. Ceci explique que nombre d'internationalistes de l'entre-deux-guerres aient pu adhérer au discours patriotique pendant l'occupation allemande. Le changement de ligne du Parti communiste en 1937 en faveur de la voie nationale vers le communisme permit le ralliement de ses membres et compagnons de route à ce discours (sur le Parti communiste à cette époque, voir entre autres Rioux, Prost et Azéma, 1987). Seule l'extrême-gauche trotskyste garda une certaine distance à l'égard de ce nationalisme (dénonçant notamment l'hypocrisie de communistes en la matière).

Si la lutte contre l'occupant a revêtu presque naturellement une forme nationale, c'est parce que cette forme se présentait spontanément dans le répertoire des représentations collectives constitutives de « l'image de soi » de la société française, mais elle n'avait rien de nécessaire, puisque le nationalisme a pu aussi bien justifier par le passé des formes d'impérialisme, qu'il s'agisse de la colonisation ou de l'occupation par la France d'autres territoire (par exemple pendant les guerres napoléoniennes), ce que les partisans de la Collaboration n'ont pas manqué de rappeler. Par ailleurs, le combat contre l'idéologie nazie aurait très bien pu reposer uniquement sur les principes des droits de l'homme, de liberté, d'égalité, et de fraternité, sans recourir au cadre national, auquel ils ont été rattachés par les résistants. Deux facteurs expliquent cette adhésion spontanée au cadre national par des intellectuels qui l'avaient auparavant critiqué : l'inscription de cette guerre dans l'histoire des conflits et des rivalités entre la France et l'Allemagne, en particulier depuis la défaite de 1870 (rappelons que ces deux nationalismes se sont construits en étroite relation et à travers des échanges et emprunts ; Digeon, 1959) ; la lutte contre l'appropriation des symboles nationaux par le régime de Vichy, qui fut perçue comme un détournement de l'héritage national. Le cadre national était aussi le dénominateur commun le plus large et le plus mobilisateur face à l'occupant.

Si les conditions de production de ces représentations invitent à une sociologie des producteurs que nous avons réalisée ailleurs (Sapiro 1999), se pose la question de leur réception et de leur impact. La diffusion de ces hebdomadaires politico-culturels ainsi que leur couleur politique donne une idée assez précise du public qu'ils pouvaient atteindre. Le capital symbolique dont jouissaient ces écrivains et le rôle prophétique qu'ils ont joué à cette époque, donnant forme aux attentes implicites dans une période de crise de l'identité collective, permet aussi de supposer que ces représentations ont eu un réel impact. Mais une enquête de réception plus poussée demanderait à mettre cette production en relation avec d'autres types de sources : d'une part, des représentations produites dans d'autres cadres, et incluant l'image (comme la littérature enfantine ; voir par exemple Proud : 1995), d'autre part, des sources concernant directement la réception, comme les enquêtes d'opinion réalisées par les services de police (utilisées par Pierre Laborie, par exemple), les correspondances, les journaux intimes. Elles permettraient de mesurer à quel point le cadre national était enraciné dans les schèmes de perception des individus et façonnaient leurs manières de penser, leurs sentiments et leurs émotions.

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POPULR LITERATURE IN HEBREW AS MARKER OF ANTI-SABRA CULTURE[1]

Nitsa Ben-Ari

By way of introduction: *Shel mi ata yeled*, by Hanoch Bartov

In 1970, the well known Israeli writer Hanoch Bartov published an autobiographical description of his boyhood in Petach Tiqva. One of the most delightful passages describes his infatuation with pulp literature, lent to him in secret by one of his friends. His father does not approve, immediately associating pulp fiction with Yiddish Schund (trash):

> Is it for this obscenity that we save from our mouths and send you to Gymnasium, so that you read this filth? For this, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda revived the Hebrew language? For this, generations of Jews martyred themselves, so that you print Sabine and Regine in the twenty-two sacred letters? (195-196).

The boy hides the coveted booklet in a hard-cover classic, none other than Theodore Herzl's *Diaries*, and is praised by his father for his serious reading. Till one day he "must have closed his eyes for just a minute, let his imagination run loose and saw the Captive from Tel-Aviv in her prison in Beirut" – when his father finds out. Then comes the outburst:

> Extraordinary. At last I have some satisfaction. My son, ..., who must be a gymnasium student, has really learnt much ... His mother is afraid he'd damage his eyes, and I brag to Sharoni that my son is reading Herzl! ... If this is what you want to fill your head with, this straw, this garbage, this Schund, I don't care. I can't do more for you than I have done. Let it be. The Captive from Tel-Aviv! ... But to contaminate Dr. Herzl's writing with this filth, with the Captive from Tel-Aviv! Go ahead! Do whatever you want ... You don't want to study, you don't want to be a human being, that's ok, go roll in the street with Kashani the drunk. Go work in a garage. But Dr. Herzl as a cover, and for whom, for the Captive from Tel-Aviv! Woe to me that I should live to see this! (196)

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[1] A slightly different version of this article was published in *Translation Studies* 2:2 July 2009, 178-195.

This short passage encapsulates so many of the key-words I intend to use below: New Jew vs. Diaspora Jew; serious Hebrew reading vs. Yiddish Schund, or trash; Gymnasium pupil vs. garage worker; Ben-Yehuda, the 22 sacred letters, and of course Herzl's *Diaries* vs. *The Captive from Tel-Aviv*. But before we return to the beautiful captive from Tel-Aviv, let me introduce this mini-drama in the context of my present research.

My presentation is part of research I have been conducting in the past two years, which entails a remapping of the Hebrew publishing industry, by means of decoding the identity of many of the agents of popular literature, so far ignored (in the double sense of the word) or hidden. The data accumulated by means of interviews and internet sources was quite different than I'd expected, forcing me to rethink and redefine my work hypotheses. It soon helped me realize that the two distinct production systems of mainstream and popular literature, operating side by side, represented much more than different tastes. What I am going to present is an intermediary suggestion for analyzing this data. I will do it in three parts: the first introducing popular publishing, the second analyzing the accumulated data with the help of a series of binary oppositions, the third illustrating some of the points raised with a summary of one of the interviews. *The Captive from Tel-Aviv* which I intend to present retrospectively as a threat to the supremacy of the Sabra ethos will help me conclude.

Part 1: Short background review: Mainstream & Popular Publishing in Israel 1940-1970[2]

Two kinds of popular cultures emerged in Israel before the establishment of the State: one imposed from above, by ideologues who felt the New Hebrew working classes had to be supplied with cultural activity such as "folk dancing", "folk songs", theater, newspapers, cultural clubs etc., and authentic popular culture, imported from the countries of origin or developing from within (Y. Shavit 1996: 327-346). This was obvious in the theater, where side by side with mainstream production,

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[2] The span of time selected here is from the early 1940's to the late 1960s. The starting point coincides with the establishment of the main ideology-based publishing houses in Palestine.

small fringe groups (often performing in "old-country" languages such as Yiddish or Romanian) supplied vaudeville that used to be fashionable in the Diaspora. This was obvious in literature, where ideological mobilization was perhaps at its highest.

The idea of popular culture for the masses is not an Israeli invention. Mussolini, in Fascist Italy, did not oppose popular literature for the working classes, in fact between 1920 and 1930, some claim until 1934 and even 1938, literary censorship was lax. Popular literature in the form of translations, especially from English and American literature, enjoyed tremendous popularity. This in a regime which paraded its "Italianità", so highly trumpeted by the Fascist leaders. Researchers[3] assume that, because of both the growing popularity of translations and the economic benefit which publishing houses, such as Mondadori, could derive from them, until 1938 the regime allowed translations to be published *in order to exercise control over the construction of a popular culture*, which was seen as a true expression of 'the fascist Italianita'.

In the case of Hebrew culture, mainstream culture-shapers initiated and promoted reading material for the workers, maintaining hegemony over their reading for a long time. As for popular literature over which they could not exercise control – it was either ignored or fiercely attacked.

Yet in the 1950s-60s small commercial publishing, that started sprouting spontaneously in the 1940s, reached a peak. They did not wave any ideological banners, nor did they brag of literary aspiration; they did not parade celebrity names, nor classical titles. They were in for the business, and they supplied their reader with materials the latter wanted to read and couldn't find elsewhere: detective stories, American bestsellers, thrillers, science-fiction, romance, erotica. The books were ignored by the critics, attacked by the teachers and read by the thousands. Many of the producers, people and firms alike, hid behind pseudonyms, changed addresses, refrained from providing basic information like place or date of publication. The books, sometimes booklets, were poorly produced, full of printing errors, with the cheapest

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[3] Dunnett 2005, Billiani 2005. It was, however, obvious that "the regime did not want Italy to appear too receptive to foreign influences since excessive receptivity would imply a failure on the part of the fascist revolution to create a culture of its own" (Rundle, 1999: 428).

possible covers. The line between translation and original writing was often blurred or even nonexistent. Writers masqueraded as translators to legitimize certain genres (Toury 1995: 40-52) or to escape responsibility. Publishing and printing firms constantly invented and changed names in order to evade tax authorities or censorship or both. Reading polls did not account for them: the thousands who read them often denied the fact.

Distribution and sale methods were different in this sector: the books were sold through a completely different network, mostly in market stalls, kiosks, sometimes in second hand shops, where foreign-language books could also be found.

Until the last decade, academic research did not show much interest in mainstream publishing, but there, at least, some public figures played an important part, and they figured in research.[4] Were it not for Even-Zohar and his students, the field, and especially that of non-canonic publishing, may have been neglected. Thanks to pioneering work done by Zohar and Yaacov Shavit, followed by serious research by Z. Shavit, mapping publishing in Israel (with a chapter dedicated to popular literature in Palestine), as well as work done on translation norms by Gideon Toury and his student Rachel Weisbrod,[5] non-canonic popular literature became a valid subject of research. Following in their semiotic footsteps, I found this field of popular literature "agents" (publishers, writers, translators, pseudo-translators, editors,

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[4] A group of young researchers, supervised by Nurith Govrin (Ayala Yahav, Bernard Yakobowitz, Dania Amicahi-Michlin) began to systematically look into the publishing houses that had moved from Eastern Europe to Eretz Israel. Yahav (1995) researched the influence of the publishing house Mordechai Neuman on literary life in Israel. Yakobowitz (1997) studied the activity of the Zentral publishing house in Warsaw and Amichai-Michlin (2000) that of the publisher Stiebel and his efforts of establishing a publishing house in Eastern Europe.

[5] Pioneering work on the Hebrew detective story has been done by Shavit, Zohar and Yaacov 1974, 30-73. Shavit, Zohar 1998 provides us with a serious review of canonic and non-canonic publishing in Pre-State Israel. Toury 1987 on the nature and role of Norms of translation 1930-1945, and Toury 1995 on the use of pseudonyms. Rachel Weisbrod provided vital information about translations from English in the years 1950-1980. Ben-Ari 1997 on building a repertoire where none existed, and 2006 on puritan (self-)censorship in Hebrew literature and the function of popular literature in stratifying the literary system.

critics etc.) most intriguing. I decided to probe the question of who the producers of mass literature were, why they had remained in the shade despite their immense commercial success and what they represented.[6] They supplied me with an abundant source of major information about repertoire building, culture shaping and the making of a national identity.

My addition to research in the field is a project I am undertaking at the moment proposing to dig deeper into the socio-cultural aspects of subversive popular literature. I will discuss it with the help of several dichotomies that reflect a basic split between mobilized and popular literature. The dichotomies are not always clear cut, they often overlap; they are obviously much more complex than the oversimplified manner the scope of a paper allows; they are much more subtle once you remember that publishers in the periphery had their own stratified system, too, with fierce competition, hierarchies and battles for domination.

A word about using "the Sabra", for the sake of those not familiar with this mythological creature. Mythological, for he probably never existed, except as a cultural emblem. The Sabra – the New Hebrew born in Israel or raised in Israel from early childhood – was a conglomeration of images, an idealized cultural creation in which were imbued all the specifications, the hopes, the dreams, of the New Jew. A fusion of physical, behavioral and mental characteristics, which mainstream literature, folk music and the film industry did their best to shape and glorify. During the massive waves of immigration (1948-1953) it was set as a model for the melting pot. The Sabra represented a break with the Diaspora (especially with the loathed Yiddish language and culture) and a direct link with the Biblical Hebrews of yore. [7] He was not an intellectual, he was not encouraged to be an individual, he was Ashkenazi, of socialist ideology; he was puritanical, he did not smoke, or drink

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[6] Step one was about sheer identity. So many puzzles presented themselves in my last book Suppression of the Erotic (2006), where pseudonyms played a major part, that I vowed to try to solve them in my present project.

[7] Dov Baer Borochov called for the inversion of the pyramid and the creation of a productive Jew, living off his work. Max Nordau called for the "Muscular Jew." Ahad Ha'am thought a new Spiritual greatness must characterize the new Jew. What they all had in common was a dissatisfaction with the Diaspora Jew.

or play cards, he was pure even in thought. The key-word for his drive was sublimation, this Freudian slogan replacing love, romance, intimacy and desire with passion for a cause.

Of course it is not any historical figure but the image of the Sabra, in opposition with his counterparts, or "others" that will help me in this socio-cultural remapping of Israeli publishing. I evoke the Sabra image, although in itself it has been exhausted in research, to help me offer some new thoughts on the subject of the popular book industry and of Israeli identity.

Part 2: Producers and Readers in the Periphery
a. Center vs. periphery
The relationship between center and periphery can be studied from various angles.

From the point of view of the *producers* one can study the split between the institutionalized houses and the small private enterprises, with the mainstream clearly mobilized to the cause of the New Hebrew and the melting pot ideology. Sifriyat Poalim [literally: workers' library] was established in Kibbutz Merchavia in 1939. It had a socialist banner-like logo, quite symbolic: a book+hammer. Ha-kibbutz Hameuchad ["the united kibbutz"], established in 1940 chose three icons as logo: a parchment+ a quill pen + an ear of corn, signifying the happy marriage between books and agriculture. Am Oved [working people] was established in 1942 by the Histadrut, the workers' Trade Union. It added a tree branch to its letter logo. The Bialik Institute was established in 1935, a year after the National Bard's death, by the World Zionist Executive of the Jewish Agency. These are but a few examples of the sort of institutions functioning in the center. In all, the mainstream in the 1940s and on consisted of heavily subsidized ideologically propelled institution/party-backed organs.

The periphery was immediately recognizable by publishers with private or family names: M. Mizrahi, Sh. Friedman, Idit, Narkis. Some were less recognizable: Ramdor was Shalgi's publishing name, since Ram & Dorit were his children's names. Deshe Publishing was not called after "grass", which is what it means in Hebrew, but was the acronym for the three partners who founded it, David, Shimon and Eli. Malan Press was the acronym for its founder, Moshe Levy Nachum,

the "mukhtar" of the Yemenite Quarter. Moreover, the name Malan and Aharon Amir later selected for their mutual publishing endeavor was Tzohar, and even to untrained political ears of the period it must have been an echo to the Zionist-Revisionist acronym and party name. Others also chose names that included a code, easily deciphered by the trained ear: Hadar [glory or pomp] the name chosen by Yaacov (Yoel) Amrami for his publishing house, was not a private name, but a name with Revisionist connotations, since "pomp" was absolutely not a socialistic value. To which I'll come later.

From the point of view of the literary production – it was marginal in both the literal sense – coming from the margins, and in the semiotic sense: if it was mentioned at all, it was always in the pejorative sense, as a product to be put aside, if not banned altogether. People sniggered at Mizrachi's "Good Book Club", no matter how great a fortune it made him. In fact, although he was the most successful publisher in the periphery, he was sniggered at by his peers too, who nicknamed him "the Turk".

It was marginalized to such an extent that publishers could afford to take risks inconceivable in the center. For instance, unlike mainstream disdain for the notorious banned books, the periphery was bold enough, or brazens enough, to publish them. This is where Henry Miller (Deshe Publishing) and D. H. Lawrence (M. Mizrahi) appeared for the first time in full (Miller), or relatively full (Lawrence) versions.

Geographically, it is hard to determine whether the production was peripheral, for most literary activity, canonic and non-canonic, took place around Allenby street. There was, however, a hierarchy even in this small area. Mainstream publishers had offices in Allenby street (Sifriyat Poalim, Am Oved in its beginning). The cheap printing shops producing popular literature would concentrate South or South-West to them, in the (old) Central Bus Station area, in the Yemenite district, and in the vicinity of the markets off Allenby street. Eli Kedar, pseudo-translator and entrepreneur spoke about meeting small commercial publishers around this area. Yet the difference was even more marked, for it would be misleading to speak of publishing houses or offices of popular literature. Publishers were mostly operating from home. When

I asked my interviewee Aharon Amir[8], now famous author and editor, Israel Prize laureate for translation, about the whereabouts of the offices of the various peripheral publishing companies he had worked for he burst out laughing, saying: "Office? What office? People would work from home, take a bunch of papers to the printers, then run around distributing the books themselves..."

In the colportage tradition, the books would indeed be sold by peddlers around the markets. Not that this did not happen with "high" literature as well, to be found in respectable bookstores, for there, too, agents would travel from house to house selling books and encyclopedias. Meir Mizrahi[9] started his business selling books and booklets he and his wife carried in rucksacks to friends and acquaintances who wanted to read detective stories they knew from back home in Turkey. In 1958, with a clientele established, he put up some boxes as a stall in the Levinsky market where he sold remainders bought cheaply from bankrupt publishers. Only much later, in the 1970s, did he open a big store in Allenby street, near the big synagogue. By then he had published Agatha Christie, John Steinbeck, A.J. Cronin, Nicholas Monsarrat[10], Harold Robbins, and a hoard of other forgotten bestsellers, side by side with Dickens and Tolstoy and Jules Verne and children's serialized comics.

Incidentally, the kibbutzim happened to be the periphery, and the big cities were the center. Yet, when it came to the ethos, especially the Sabra ethos, it was associated with the communal settlements, where "real Sabras" were supposed to be found.

b. Commercial vs. ideological motivation

As opposed to publishers and culture shapers who regarded books as an ideological tool, the small private publishers began operating mostly in order to make money. The entrepreneurs I interviewed spoke of commercial and financial motives, of finding a "niche" in the market. Not that ideology did not figure. Malka, Shmuel Friedman's daughter, mentioned her father's quarrel with the establishment, and his persis-

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[8] Interviewed January 2008. Sadly passed away February 28, 2008.

[9] Interview with Meir Mizrahi February 2006.

[10] The end of World War II produced an avalanche of American war novels, translated in the periphery.

tent refusal to register to the Trade Union, as part of his credo.[11] She said it had damaged his business, because his repeated requests to go into school-texts had been rejected. Most of the books he published were best-selling (American) novels, competing with Mizrahi on titles such as *Peyton Place*, *Grapes of Wrath*, *East of Eden*, books by Ian Rand, Vicky Baum, Damon Runyon (Carmi's first translation of *Guys & Dolls*). However, Friedman also published a collection of the extreme leftist political satires called *Uzi ve Shut* (Uzi and Co.), and sought the friendship of "Canaanites" such as Benjamine Tamuz and Ratosh.

Only in the late 1960s and 1970s did mainstream publishing revert to considerations such as "profitable", bestselling, supply and demand, and they did so mostly because their subsidies began to run down.

One must not forget, however, that this financial argumentation was part of a bigger ideological framework, that of enhancing the private sector. Which, in itself, was part of the economic agenda of the "Right-wing" parties, as opposed to that of the various Socialist or Labor parties.

This "ideology vs. market" polarity became even clearer when I learnt how many people in the popular book production also "happened to" work in newspapers and magazines. Not the Leftist party organs, such as *Davar* or *Al Ha-mishmar*, but private, non-mainstream, sometimes even subversive papers. To name but a few: *Yediot Acharonot*, and especially *Ma'ariv*, who gave voice to non-establishment views, *Gamad*, *Bul*, *Haolam Haze*, of outright subversive character, *Olam Ha-kolnoa* [The World of Cinema], established by Shmuel Friedman, *La'isha* [for the Woman] established by Arieh Karassik. The latter "bourgeois" type magazines were instant hits, answering to real demand, yet despised by culture planners. In fact Friedman claims to have managed to survive in the publishing business thanks to his *World of Cinema*, which was printed on the cheapest paper and sold very cheaply. Aharon Amir claims it sold about 10,000-15,000 copies per year, in the early State years, though people rarely admitted to reading them. They represented daily (gossip) contact with the fashionable European and American glamour world: another interviewee, journalist, translator and writer Arieh Hashavia was representative of *Laisha* in

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[11] Interview with Malka (Malki) Friedman-Shafir, March 2006.

Hollywood, a post much envied by his peers, and probably by his readers, derisively looked down upon by the mainstream.

Which leads us to the third dichotomy, a major one, to be examined:

c. Left vs. Right, socialist vs. conservative, Mapai vs. Revisionist ideology

In broad generalization, before and after the establishment of the state of Israel, mainstream ideology, shaped and imposed by what is now sometimes called the "Mapai" or Ben-Gurionist ideology, saw two avowed enemies, one in the extreme Right parties and one in the extreme Left, or Communist parties. Those who accepted and assumed the mainstream image of the Sabra or New Hebrew found their way into the establishment and were often integrated into the select body of culture shapers. Those who refused to participate, for various ideological reasons, found the way to the mainstream more or less blocked, opening only much later, with the rise of the Likkud party after the 1977 change of government.

Apparently, it was even more serious in the case of the "porshim". Ben-Gurion never forgave the dissidents who, during the British Mandatory Rule, left mainstream Hagana to found their own more militant Revisionist underground movements, and in State years the doors to establishment institutions were barred to them. Many intellectual youngsters who were formerly members of Etzel ("The Irgun") or Lehi ("The Stern Group") could not find an adequate place in the book industry.

Before having started the investigation, and on the basis of my previous research, my working hypothesis was that people who had an interest in literature and were rejected by mainstream publishing made a start in non-canonic publishing. They looked for a niche rejected by the mainstream and found it in "low" status literature. Some succeeded in promoting themselves to "higher" literature; others stayed in the periphery, enjoyed some commercial success and on the whole remained anonymous.

Further investigation that I conducted showed a more complex, and much more surprising picture. The ideological/political affiliation of many participants *opposed*, more often than not, the normative one accepted/required, by the establishment. In interviews with people active

in the popular literature enterprise, many divulged their past activity in underground movements (extreme-Left or extreme-Right)[12]. Inquiring after deceased publishers, writers and translators, I found that many were anti-establishment in their views and "porshim" in their militant underground history. The list of people belonging to this category grew: Sh. Friedman, Ezra Narkis, Eli Meislish (Deshe Publishing), Yaacov Yoel Amrami (Hadar Publishing), Benjamin Geppner (Ledori Publishing), Uri Eliyahu Amikam (Idit Publishing), Eliezer Carmi (Carmi & Naor), Sh. Katz (Karni Publishing), Maxim Gilan (poet and translator). The case of Gilan is quite intriguing, for according to Aharon Amir, he never actually belonged to the "ranks" but *assumed* a former-Lehi identity, for it gained him status points in the political track he chose later in life.[13]

An invisible ideological line began to present itself, connecting, on the one hand, Revisionist leader Zeev Jabotisky with publishers, writers and translators who produced popular literature thirty or forty years later. Jabotinsky, the first entrepreneur of chapbooks, was also one of the first translators of detective stories (Shavit 1998: 472). As opposed to culture shapers who insisted on publishing only "valuable", classical literature to propagate reading Hebrew among the working classes, Jabotinsky was of the opinion that popular literature would help propagate reading Hebrew more than any other, more didactic, literature. The ideological line did not necessarily entail publishing Right-Wing material: some did, others did not. Publishers like Eli Mesilish of Deshe did not hide their Revisionist ideological stand, yet confessed they had been mainly propelled by profit.[14] When directly asked,

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[12] Mapai was a socialist Zionist movement founded in 1930, which led the Yishuv along the lines of "practical Zionism" until the establishment of the State. In 1968 it was to become the core of the Labor Party. Shortly before and after the establishment of the state of Israel, mainstream ideology, shaped and imposed by what is now sometimes called the "Mapai" or Ben-Gurionist ideology, maintained two avowed enemies: the right-wing parties and the extreme left (Communist) parties. In fact, Ben-Gurion's stock-phrase was that he was willing to form any coalition "without Herut or Maki" (without Menachem Begin's Nationalist party or the Communist party).

[13] After 1967 Gilan exiled himself to Paris, founded the magazine I&P (Israel and Palestine) and allegedly established contacts with Arafat.

[14] Even Deshe published a politically subversive novel, a translation from Ara-

however, many acknowledged the participation of other members of the extreme-Right or extreme-Left in the popular book production. Aharon Amir told me that having founded Tzohar Publishing with Malan (Moshe Levy Nachum), he looked for translators and writers, and "naturally" supplied jobs to his friends from the "ranks" of the "Ha Vaʿad le-gibbush ha-noʿar ha-ʿivri" [committee for the fortification of Hebrew youth]. Amos Kenan just came out of prison, and he offered him a job of writing his serialized *Tarzan* or *Capricorn* booklets. In the true spirit of the underground he refrained (in 2008) from mentioning other names (still classifying information, smiling, talking about the belated effect of the "conspiracy"): "I also supplied work to other friends from the Committee, I can't remember their names now."

Other publishers were not as aware or politically involved. Publisher Ezra Narkis told me he had joined the Irgun, the right-wing anti-British underground movement, in his youth. He also had, as a high-school pupil, translated a story by Conan Doyle, whose name he could not even pronounce at the time. He was surprised to hear from me that his much admired leader, Zeev Jabotinsky, had translated a Sherlock Holmes story when in the Turkish prison.

While at first there seemed to be no apparent direct ideological link between all the participants in this industry, they seemed to be working along the same lines commended by the Revisionist leader decades ago. Does this invisibility hide a shared silent identity?

Following these initial discoveries, my present working hypothesis is comprised of two arguments: one, that the choice of popular literature made by publishers in the periphery was *political*, as was everything else in Israel of the period. Secondly, that although it is important to try to determine whether the many participants in the popular book industry were rejected by mainstream publishing or chose not to participate in it, it is of greater importance to stress that the choice of genres was *an act of subversion*. Obviously, they did not see any potential personal gain in adhering to mainstream norms. What matters is that they did not choose the popular literature niche by accident or by default. The choice answered their commercial sense, but also defined them in terms of an opposition. Breaking with the Diaspora and the Old Jew was not uppermost in their minds, neither was the collective commune

bic of Lebanese author Lila Baʿalbaki's novel *Ana aḥya* (*I Shall Live)*, 1961.

or the Sabra. Their publishing policy was not motivated by didactic values, but it was political. They adhered to market laws as an ideology, creating different production and distribution lines and even shaping an alternative readership. Unlike the subsidized firms, their interest in the reader was commercial, but it was not by accident or default that they focused on the non-Sabra. In adherence with laws of supply and demand, they watched this versatile readership closely, aware of every twist and turn in its nature and in the nature of the reading material it required. Whether this readership could be defined along the same ideological lines, or turned to them for the same reasons, remains to be clarified.

d. "Elite" versus masses

The term "elite" should not confuse us. We are not talking about a small intelligentsia, nor about a snobbish book-club readership of the upper classes. The elite of the period is that of the culture shapers and their avowed readers, collective commune or Kibbutz dwellers, or workers in the big cities. This socio-semiotic elite defined what would be taught in schools, which books would be available in school libraries, which in public libraries. Which books or writers would receive prizes, recognition or even critique, which would find favor with the critics.[15] The elite, however, did not determine which books would enjoy commercial success, for at this stage commercial success was still a despicable term.

We know, retrospectively, that the masses did have an impact, even if belated, even if dependant on a variety of political and socio-economical factors. However, at the time, as well as today, some forty or fifty years later, regardless of their financial success, and of their own accord, people in the popular industry admitted to me that they deemed themselves inferior. Many refused to talk to me of their "dubious" past. Miron Uriel, a diligent pseudo-translator, explained his refusal over the phone, saying that those days had been a dark chapter in his life, which he'd rather not remember. Inferiority feelings made publishers start by showing me "serious" books they have produced. Miz-

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[15] Critique of pulp literature was to be found, if ever, in the then notorious *Haʿolam Haze* magazine. In the rare case where it was mentioned in central organs such as Davar, it was treated as "vomit pills" (see Shavit 1998, 470)

rahi began the interview by showing me the *Que Sais-je* series he had published, then the *20th Century Encyclopedia* and the *Anthology of Hebrew Writers* written by Baruch Karu, before showing me his Agatha Christie's bestselling booklets. He did boast, however, of being the first to start serialization, having bought the rights for all novels of Agatha Christie, Ellery Queen, Erle Stanley Gardner, writers he had known from back home in Turkey.

The common use of pseudonyms was a way of displaying a sense of inferiority, too. Though some celebrities today confess, in a sportive spirit, that they had hidden under those pseudonyms, it is mostly done with a kind of nostalgia. This accounts for the production in 2007 of a documentary film about the notorious *Stalag* series, combining sex and Nazism.

All along, it was the periphery that had to define itself in terms of the mainstream. It looked up to the literary elite and in many ways epigonically copied its stylistic norms. Eventually, however, the mainstream became conscious of the prosperous activity in the periphery and had to re-define itself accordingly, whether by relaxing strict linguistic and stylistic norms, by introducing colloquial Hebrew, or by gradually adopting popular genres.

From the point of view of *readership* other binary oppositions should be presented.

e. Sabra vs. new immigrant

Prospective readers of popular literature were at first mainly new immigrants. In fact, in the first stage, immigrants would read in their mother tongue. This was especially true of romance or erotica, for the puritan Sabra did not read "smut" in principle. Publishers in the periphery were real entrepreneurs in that they didn't turn to the established readership. They had to "invent" one. True, many had migrated with their reading public. But this is true only metaphorically. For the rest they had to work hard at establishing one. Aharon Amir told me how the Farago brothers, for whom he translated as a youngster, brought suitcases full of hundreds of Hungarian pulp novels when they left their small printing firm in Hungary. They then found out who of the old-comers from back home had a standing in Hebrew culture, identified Avigdor Hameiri, and offered to start a publishing firm

with him, called *Ha-roman Ha-zair* [the tiny novel]. Soon, however, they realized they had to present part of the Hungarian repertoire as local Hebrew, especially as their inventory began to dwindle, and no other chapbooks could be imported from Hungary (see also Rosenbaum 1999, 88-107 [1983, 19-21], quoted by Shavit 1998, 478-479). Amir admired their entrepreneurship. But mostly he admired Meir Mizrahi whom he had known in the past, too. The man made literature in Hebrew accessible for thousands upon thousands of newcomers, he said, he deserves all the praise for that.

However, readership of pulp fiction varied. Detective pulp fiction soon became the favorite, even part of the biography of pre-State Israeli youth (Rosenbaum 1999 [1983, 9], Shavit 1998, 475).

f. Town vs. agricultural settlements

Could the cliché binary opposition of town vs. kibbutz apply here? Was popular literature available only to town people? True, due to the means of distribution, pulp literature was not for sale out of urban centers. Itamar Levi, now a famous second-hand book dealer, told me he had an agreement with the kiosk owner near his house in Ramat-Gan: he would buy 100 gr. sunflower seeds and for the time it took him to eat them, he was allowed to read a booklet, a Western or detective story, without paying (see also Levy 1996). However, one should take into account the large hand-to-hand distribution of used books. Most people borrowed the books. Soldiers passed them from hand to hand, so did pupils. Hardcover bestsellers could be found, if not in school libraries, in municipal lending libraries.

Instead, the distinction to be made between city dwellers and those who lived in agricultural communes should perhaps be rephrased as "bourgeois" (in the original and the borrowed sense) vs. pioneer/ worker/ commune farmer.

g. Israel vs. Diaspora

The key word for pulp fiction, viewed by the mainstream, was "cheap" if not "garbage". Pulp fiction encompassed cheap American bestsellers, cheap French literature, literature for women, which, historically speaking smacked of Yiddish "Schund" – or trash. In fact, at its very origin stood Yiddish models such as the Damsel in Distress mod-

el, and Israeli titles of the 40s and 50s (e.g., *Tamar*, *Smadar)*, were adaptations of Yiddish titles such as *Regine* or *Sabine*, themselves adaptations of popular French or German booklets (Eshed 2002, 232). Schund, it must be said, was the derogatory name coined by serious Yiddish writers for the popular chapbooks in Yiddish; but for the New Hebrew culture, it seems, these were superfluous subtleties. I am going to take up "Yiddish" as a metaphor of all that was wrong with the Diaspora Jew, on the part of the Sabra, and the anti-establishment refusal to break up with old traditions, on the part of immigrants. From this point of view, new immigrants from Arab speaking countries would serve the same function.

Mizrahi, Narkis and others I interviewed, mentioned the new sort of readership they were aiming at: new immigrants from the Levant and Arab countries. Mizrahi spoke of newcomers from Mediterranean cities such as Thessalonica. Narkis spoke mostly of immigrants from Arab countries in the Middle-East and North Africa. Explaining how he identified the niche for erotica such as the bestselling *Stalag* booklets, he said that the new immigrants from these "under-developed" countries would be excited by the mere hint of a woman's bare foot.

These are a few of the dichotomies my interviews with the "agents" of popular literature brought forth.[16] I would like, however, to shift the perspective in order to make a final point.

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[16] The binary oppositions examined above are but a few of the possible dichotomies that can be of useful in analyzing the nature and function of popular literature in the formative pre-State and State years. I do not intend to tackle them in this essay.

A possible opposition could also examine pulp literature within the subsystem of children or youth's literature. I do not intend to go into questions pertaining to children's literature, but will mention a few. According to Z. Shavit, popular literature in pre-State Israel played an important role only in its contacts with children's literature (Z. Shavit 1998, 483). Researchers such as Yael Dar (Dar 2002) studied the function of bestselling pseudo-translation serials such as *Tarzan* or the local *Hasamba* in the making of a militant Sabra youth. These adventure stories gained favor with the young readers, and much opposition on the part of educators. In the case of the pseudo-translated *Tarzan* booklets, written by Aharon Amir (among others) and printed by Malan, the lines are not clear-cut: is it meant for youth only? Is it to some extent "mobilized"? Educational? The periphery mobilized to the Sabra cause? What was uppermost in the mind

From the point of view of *Culture planning* one must study the cultural shift within which popular literature flourished, namely, the process of normalization or Americanization that took place in the 1970s.

Regev and Seroussi[17] see three variants in modern Israeli culture: Hebrew-ness, global Israeli-ness and orientalism [mizrahiyut]. Hebrew-ness was the dominant feature in the formative period of the Yishuv in Palestine and the first 15 years after the establishment of the state, till the early sixties. From the mid sixties and on a new variant began to establish itself, that of a global Israeli-ness, which became dominant in the 70s. It did not cut itself entirely from Hebrew-ness, but criticized its separatist isolation, its ethnocentricity, its ideological rigor, inserting practices and substances from western cultures into the local system. Authors of the Dor Ba'aretz generation, the personal cinema and Israeli rock music has been seen as its representatives. Yet popular literature, I argue, preceded both the tendency towards normalization and the one towards orientalization in about 20 to 40 years, helping promote it. Subversive popular literature urges one to see the process in terms of regression to former norms, preceding the Sabra image, eventually undermining it.

The process of normalization included a gradual shift from the communal to the individual. Subversive popular literature, as I see it, persisting as a side stream to canonic literature, played a role in this process. Zionist sublimation and heroism, sacrifice of the I for the commune could be contrasted with individual pleasures, individual achievement, superheroes, supermen, super detectives, super spies, super cowboys, super lovers, passion for a woman not for a cause. Eroticism – not sublimation; luxury, richness American style, not modesty or asceticism. Individual love would begin to replace romantic nationalism in the 1960s, claims author Gadi Taub in his essay "The New Israelis"[18], and again I'd argue that the popular genres paved the way in

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of publisher Moshe Levy Nissim, who in the 1950s had suggested "doing something for youth, too," as Amir recollects? Or does it belong to the category of foreign serials of macho heroes such as Patrick Kim the Karate champion, Bill Carter the super-cowboy or Machista the super Roman? Does it signal the approach of Americanization?

[17] Regev 1999; Regev & Seroussi 2004.

[18] Taub 2003.

privatizing both the production and the themes. Moving to the romantic and personal, looking for something to replace the ethos, be it with an instant "espresso" ethos maybe, produced a sense of immense freedom from the collective. Again things are not as black and white as all that. The superheroes who single-handedly crash their many foes have been believed to function as a metaphor for the small-country-surrounded-by-enemies theme. Yet I believe superheroes belong to a different category, undermining the Sabra image, in that they do not operate in a collective and do not wish to be part of one. They are loners who, like chivalrous knights, come to the rescue of individuals in distress. Their loneliness is a distinct and distinguishing feature, separating them from the collective mob.

Part 3

Before I conclude, the following interview – one among many I conducted – may serve to illustrate the points made above.

Interview with Ezra Narkis, "king" of the chapbooks[19]

Narkis was reluctant to see me. I had to phone a couple of times to make an appointment. He refused to be photographed, claiming he was old and not at his best, nor did he produce any picture from the past. To my introductory statement that I respect publishers in the periphery for their baldness in opposing the mainstream, printing banned literature and eventually introducing stratification to a petrified literature he reacted with slight suspicion. He lives in a villa in an affluent neighborhood, where he keeps a basement office. He is still active, editing and re-writing books for private customers and publishing on a small scale, mainly how-to books. When I came in, Narkis proudly showed me his latest – two new books he was publishing: one, a Backpacker's Guide to Latin America, the other a Guide for New Nannies.

Narkis was born in Jerusalem, to the Khadria family who had emigrated from Syria and dealt in selling vegetables. As a teenager he joined the Revisionist right-wing *Irgun* underground movement, which sought militant ways of fighting the British. He told me something so far kept as a secret. One of his underground missions was supplying

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[19] Interviews held 20-21.2.2006

daily meals to a certain person in hiding in a Tel Aviv apartment, later revealed to be Menachem Begin, wanted by the British mandatory government.

From a very young age he wrote and translated mystery books, and dreamt of becoming a publisher. His first literary attempt was translating a story by Arthur Conan Doyle when he was still in school, and didn't even know how to pronounce the name. From the Hebrew letters he had assumed it was Devil. He was surprised when I told him that the Revisionist leader Jabotinsky had initiated the first Hebrew pocket books. He had no idea that Jabotinsky himself had translated Arthur Conan Doyle when he was in the Turkish prison.

When, in the footsteps of Mizrahi, whom he admired and considered his better, Narkis started his own business, he soon realized there was a hunger for erotica. His sharp business senses identified a new reading public. As he put it: young men who came from Arab, or under-developed countries, for whom the mere thought of a woman's bare leg was enough to arouse excitement. To my question of whether he realized he was swimming against the current, he answered in the negative: he was swimming wherever the current carried him. He saw a niche, and filled it. He realized there were a lot of new immigrants who would read smut, and decided to give them well written books, better than the cheap material others provided.

His greatest success in this field was the series called the *Stalags* (see Ben-Ari 2006, 163-173). The success of the first booklet, *Stalag 13*, made Narkis print dozens of other books describing British or American prisoners (sexually) tortured by sadistic and nymphomaniac SS female officers in prison camps. This was in violation of obscenity laws, because of the combination of sex and Nazism that would be offensive to Holocaust survivors. But the law was not preoccupied with the marginal book industry, until the *Stalags* had become an outstanding commercial success.

Was Narkis preoccupied with censorship? He was not afraid of censorship. He spent one night in jail: his wedding night (10 February 1963) after *Stalag 13* had been published – just because his lawyer neglected to pay the bail. The judge scolded both the lawyer and the police, and let him go.

How did this amazing commercial success start? According to Narkis, the writer, Eli Kedar came to him and offered a book that every other publisher had rejected (Kedar's version is slightly different). Narkis bought the rights for 200 Lira and printed the booklet. Kedar translated it into English and immediately went (what a mistake!) to Germany to try and publish it there. After several months of destitute living he took a ship back. On the deck he saw a young woman immersed in a book, and realized it was his. Moreover, it was the third edition! He stormed into Narkis's office and demanded a share. Narkis made him sign a letter in which he declared he got an extra 100 Lira as a gift, and had no further claims. When he had signed, Narkis showed him the next issue: it was to be the 7th edition! In five months he sold nearly 40,000 books, making a small fortune.

The most notorious book of the series, *I was Colonel Schultz's Bitch*, was not published by Narkis, but by one of his many competitors, Peretz Halperin. The book was so outrageous that complaints arrived. The police confiscated the book, and when Narkis heard of it he immediately ordered his writer, Miron Uriel, to produce a double, to be entitled *Colonel Schultz's Bitch*, with not one pornographic scene in it. Not even a kiss on the cheek. In a couple of hours he had the book and sold 3 editions before the readers could see the sham. Narkis did not hesitate to copy other successes. When 007 James Bond became popular, he published a book entitled *Agent 001*, by Sean Canery.

Narkis published about 25-30 *Stalags* and other booklets combining Nazism and sex. According to him, 99% of the books he produced were not translations: he invented so many names of translators as he went along, that he cannot remember them all, any hint of vegetable (Yarkoni) would suggest it was him. He copied pictures from American and British magazines for his covers; he conjured data for the covers – often excerpts of "critique" by world renowned journalists. About 80% of the books were written by Miron Uriel, who wrote a book in 2 hours and never reread what he had written. Since Uriel, who passed away in 2006, refused to be interviewed, Narkis was the sole source of information concerning his work.

Once the barriers came down, Narkis was very frank and open. He shared another secret with me, namely that he was preparing a re-print of the *Stalags*. He showed me copies of a few old issues (he had to buy

them, for he never bothered to keep any), which his secretary was now copying. He insisted that he would have to clean the language, take out some outrageous sex and correct typos.

In lieu of conclusion: back to *The Captive from Tel-Aviv*

I promised to come back to *The captive from Tel-Aviv*, and indeed she will help me sum up. The series was written by H. Shunamit, pseudonym for Shlomo Ben-Israel, who was the first writer of Hebrew detective stories[20]. Well-versed in Yiddish and European popular literature, Ben-Israel started the serial *The Captive from Tel-Aviv* in the 1930s. It was an immediate bestseller, and sold by the thousands, 5000 copies per issue, according to Eli Eshed (Eshed 2002, 234).

It is the story of the young and beautiful Aliza Rosenthal from Tel-Aviv, the daughter of a German-Jew businessman who still misses his European way of life. Aliza falls in love with a charming tanned Sepharadi Jew, who can dance and kiss her hand and wear elegant white suits, not knowing that he is in fact a rich Syrian merchant on business in Jaffa. Jaffa is described as the cradle of sin, but also of eroticism, and so is this George Gibly. The man kidnaps her and brings her to his palace in Beiruth. The family in Tel-Aviv believes that she eloped with this Arab. Shame and sorrow make them fall ill. The man who comes to her rescue is a *halutz*, Dov (Borka), a young Russian pioneer who is trying to enter Eretz Israel illegally. Wandering around the Beirut palace garden, he hears the wails of the captive girl. He waits outside the walls at midnight, but just as he is about to rescue her, she is kidnapped again by another criminal, who then sells her to no other but Muchamad Gibli, George's father, who has a large harem of his own in Damascus. Borka, pretending to be a detective, joins George in his pursuit of he girl. During the chase on the road from Bierut to Damascus, George Gibly is shot dead, but Borka saves himself and drives on. Gibly senior adds the stunned girl to his large harem, complete with concubines, eunuchs and black servants. He is about to rape the new arrival, when Borka climbs the wall, bends the iron bars on the window "with inhuman forces" and saves her. They find a ship that is ready to take them

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[20] Ben-Israel started a series about the legendary Israeli detective Tidhar in 1929, see Shavit 1974

out of Lebanon, when the girl's innocence is again threatened, this time by the sailors, who had caught a glimpse of a beautiful white girl on board. Some more shooting follows – I will spare you the details, till finally Borka and the girl land in Alexandria, Egypt. The girl's father has in the meantime died of grief, and her mother lies on her deathbed. But the girl's purity is untouched.

Shavit (1989, 481) claims that, as opposed to stories about the commune lives of pioneers in Eretz Israel, the Tidhar detective stories written by Ben-Israel in pre-State years painted life in Palestine with a cosmopolitan hue. As you see, this is also true of *The Captive from Tel-Aviv* attempting to bring the world into small peripheral Palestine. The erotic detective-story takes place in three Middle-Eastern countries, involving passion crimes, women-trade, oriental palaces, harems, dark and dingy cafes, international police inquiries. Small Tel-Aviv of the 1930s is shown as a cosmopolitan city bustling with cafes, cinema and dancing.

To take it a step further, and in opposition to Jaffa, the dark den of Evil, crime and erotica, I would emphasize the image of The Arab, the "other," as dangerous and sexy, as is his mirror-image, the oriental Jew. Both will continue to function in that image in Israeli literature of the following decades (Ben-Ari 2006, 116-130). The protagonist is a would-be pioneer, strong, disheveled and clever, romantic but not sexy; he gets along by a combination of wit and courage, but with a lot of help from fellow Diaspora Jews.

Granted, *The Captive from Tel-Aviv* is a city story, a bourgeois story, a Yiddish epigone. But it is more than this. It is the precursor of a long line of adventure stories, detective stories, erotica, romances and thrillers that will inundate the market in the 1950s and 1960s despite the disdain and opposition of culture planners. I would go even further: if breaking with the Diaspora and Yiddish culture had been the original aim of these culture planners, the survival – and ultimate success – of the cheap cosmopolitan popular genres reflects the persistence of (metaphorical) Yiddish. In spite of the war declared upon Yiddish language and culture, and the temporary triumph of the Sabra ethos, (metaphorical) Yiddish was vital enough to survive in the periphery and finally have the upper hand. Even when the main reading public changed

from Ashkenazi to Oriental, the *function* of Yiddish literature carried on, signaling the possible failure of the New Hebrew.

The issues of the book industry and its conflicting policies cannot be separated from the formation of the Israeli identity as postulated by Zionist cultural policy. The re-mapping of the book industry that I suggest, sheds new light on the intricate fight for hegemony in Israeli society of the years 1940 till 1970. The polarities presented reflect a schism in Israeli society in a critical period, a schism that may have augured normalization, but may as well have warned of the disintegration of the Zionist dream.

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THE ROLE OF CULTURAL SAINTS IN EUROPE-AN NATION STATES

Jón Karl Helgason

From the traditional perspective of literary and cultural history, the canonization of an author or an artist is generally regarded as confirmation that his or her works have exemplary aesthetic or ideological qualities, or at least that they were in some sense groundbreaking or exceptional when created (cf. Sheffy 1990, 511–512). From the perspective of social history, such canonization generally means that the person in question assumes a special semiotic role within a society; he or she is idolized, institutionalized and even mobilized in shaping socio-political realities.

Such actions can be analyzed with reference to Itamar Even-Zohar's discussion of two major concepts of culture as being culture-as-goods and culture-as-tools. In the first case, "culture is considered as a set and stock of evaluable goods, the possession of which signifies wealth, high status, and prestige" (Even-Zohar 2010, 9), in the second case "culture is considered as a set of operating tools for the organization of life, on both the collective and individual levels" (Even-Zohar 2010, 12). The example of skaldic poets within the Norwegian court in medieval times is illustrative of both aspects. On the one hand, the poets were regarded as cultural properties or goods, signifying the king's wealth and power (cf. Even-Zohar 1996, 45). At the same time, however, they were useful instruments in enhancing the royal ideology and the legacy of the king, at least to the extent listeners could understand their complex poetic diction.

The posthumous idolization of individual authors and artists has developed in interesting ways in Europe in recent centuries. Poets, novelists, playwrights, scholars, composers and visual artists have been singled out as leading representatives of their national culture, giving them a status previously held by regal authorities and religious saints. The complex history of this shift in emphasis will not be traced in this paper, but from the perspective of system theory it can be described with reference to the way in which democratic institutions and cultural nationalism have challenged the royal dynasty and the Christian

church within these societies (cf. Leerssen 2006). It can be revealing to refer to these national heroes simply as "cultural saints" and analyze their legacy with reference to concepts traditionally reserved for discussing religious phenomena. The term canonization is already suggestive in this respect. In the following, I will focus on how cultural saints can both be regarded as relics (goods), valuable for the society, and as rituals (tools), instrumental for the organization of life within that society.

Saints' Names and Dedications

A common step in the beatification of a cultural saint is to give his or her name to a public phenomenon. This is a tradition developed in early Christendom and has remained popular through the ages as the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome, St. Petersburg in Russia and the St. Peter's school in York attest to. Renaming of streets in Paris in the last decade of the eighteenth century exemplifies the function of European cultural saints. In the wake of the French revolution in 1789, the revolutionaries wanted to diminish the symbolic influence of the royal court and the church in society; Catholic saints' days were erased from the almanac and royal and religious statues were removed from public space. Names of streets were also altered:

> In 1791, the marquis de Villette, in whose house Voltaire had died in 1778, solicited formal approval for his own alteration to the street name on his house from Théatins (after the religious order located nearby) to Voltaire. ... Villette's enthusiasm fired others. Royalty and saints were swept away by authentic republican saints ... and republican virtues (Ferguson 1997, 26).

Similar examples can be found in other countries. The Prešeren Square in the centre of Ljubljana, dedicated to the Romantic poet France Prešeren, was originally named Maria Square, referring to the Franciscan Church of Mary's Annunciation that stands there.

Anniversaries of a writer or an artist often inspire city or state-officials to name or rename a street, building, park or institution, or establish a prize in his or her honor. One of the main streets in downtown Copenhagen, Vester Boulevard, was for instance renamed H.C. Andersen's Boulevard in 1955, when 150 years had passed from the birth of the Danish writer. The idea of such designations is to sustain

the memory of the saint – a name can be regarded as one of the relics of a departed person – but at the same time the renaming has a ritualistic dimension. People crossing or driving along H.C. Andersen's Boulevard in Copenhagen can be seen as symbolically following in the footsteps of the Danish writer. Similarly, Slovenians receiving the Grand Prešeren Award in Slovenia, for exceptional achievements in the field of arts, or Icelanders receiving the Award of Jónas Hallgrímsson, for having enriched or in some way served the cause of the Icelandic language, are dedicated to the saint, in a manner not dissimilar to that of Catholics who acquire a saint's name when they are baptized.

2. Icons and Totemism

Another step in the beatification of a cultural saint is the reproduction of his or her face, head or body in a public space or its dissemination in society by some other means. This tradition mimics how images of rulers and religious personalities have been a major part of European culture for ages, decorating churches, squares, coins, bank notes and stamps. In modern times, there are so many monuments found in towns and cities of Europe that it is necessary to take their histories and locations into consideration. A national fund-raising for a monument devoted to an author or an artist which is placed in the centre of a nation's capital is certainly an indication that the person is considered eligible for the role of a cultural saint. Funds were raised both for the statue of France Prešeren that was unveiled on the Prešeren Square in Ljubljana in 1905 and for the statue of Jónas Hallgrímsson that was unveiled in the centre of Reykjavík in 1907. The number and density of monuments can also be significant. There are, for example, two central statues of Hans Christian Andersen in Odense, his birthplace, and another two statues in the Danish capital Copenhagen; one in the King's Park, close to the Rosenborg Castle, and the other one on the main square, next to the city hall. Portraits of both Prešeren and Andersen have featured on bank notes. These are now outdated but a representation of Prešeren is presently on the Slovenian two Euro coin.

Icons of cultural saints can be regarded as visual relics that society feels important to preserve and exhibit, but they can also be seen as a modern equivalence of totems and heraldic emblems (cf. Durkheim 2008: 113). Portraits of cultural saints on bank notes and coins may fur-

thermore be seen as references to a semiotic gold standard of the monetary system, which is stored in libraries and museums, rather than in the vaults of a central bank (Helgason 1995).

3. Shrines and Pilgrimages

Another step in the beatification of a cultural saint involves preserving his or her physical remains, personal belongings or home and encouraging people to see the relics in question. This form of remembrance mirrors the religious and political tradition of shrines and pilgrimages, including both the shroud of Turin and Lenin's mausoleum in Moscow. A collection of manuscripts and works of individual authors or artists can certainly be compared to religious relics and certain branches of libraries and museums can similarly serve as shrines. However, as indicated by some English and French examples, the analogy between religious and cultural relics is not merely symbolic. Various kings, queens and bishops are interred in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter at Westminster in London, built by the king-saint Edward the Confessor, but its Poets' Corner is also the final resting place of some important writers and artists, including Spencer, Dryden, Johnson, Tennyson, Dickens, Kipling and Hardy. The first poet to be moved to this section of the church was Geoffrey Chaucer in 1556. "In being translated to a worthier tomb in the main shrine of Catholic and Christian England he is being given the treatment normally accorded to a saint or other venerable person" (Pearsall 1995: 64). The Paris Panthéon was originally designed as a church dedicated to St. Geneviève, but during the French Revolution it was turned into a mausoleum for distinguished Frenchmen. Here Voltaire, Rousseau, Hugo, Dumas, Zola and Malraux have been buried, to name but a few. Incidentally, the bones of Réne Descartes never made it to the Panthéon, but as early as 1666 a part of his skeleton was translated from Stockholm under the supervision of leading French Cartesians and reburied the following year in the Sainte-Geneviève-du-Mont Church in Paris; "the model – Catholic treatment of holy bones as relics – was so closely copied in all its particulars that it isn't even right to speak of the reburial as a secular co-opting of a religious event. It *was* a religious event – an attempt to carry the scientific perspective into a world circumscribed by religious awareness" (Shorto 2008: 70).

A preserved or reconstructed birthplace or home of an author or an artist is another kind of a shrine. Such places may not only shelter important relics, such as a cradle, pair of shoes, manuscripts or a desk, but are often presented as relics in their own right, even though their authenticity may be questionable. Hans Christian Andersen categorically rejected the idea that he was born in the house that is presented as his birthplace and which makes up the core of the Andersen museum in Odense (Olrik 1945: 20-39). Likewise, the Shakespeare birthplace in Stratford "is an imaginative reconstruction of a historical building in which William Shakespeare may not have been born" (Rosenthal 2008: 36). Still, both of these places attract thousands of pilgrims every year, people who want to make closer contact with their cultural idols. Even if shrines of cultural saints are rarely reported to be places of miracles or healing, they can be instrumental for "enchantment" of nationalistic politics, inspiring "kinship, spirits, ancestor worship, and the circulation of cultural treasure" (Verdery 1999: 26).

4. Saints' Days and Liturgies

Yet another way to beatify a cultural saint is to incorporate the day of his or her birth or death, or some important day of his or her life, into the official calendar of the state. The religious and dynastic models here include Christmas, Easter and various saints' days, even the names of July and August. In considering the cultural saints of Europe from this perspective, the example of France Prešeren is again of interest, as the date of his death, February 8, has been celebrated as the cultural day of Slovenia since 1944. For the past two decades the day has also been a national holiday. Another example is the Day of the Galician Literature, May 17, which has been a national holiday in Galicia since 1963. It was chosen with reference to the fact that May 17, 1863, was the publication date of the first literary work ever printed in the Galician language, the poetry collection *Caltares gallegos* by Rosalía de Castro. Similarly, the Icelandic Ministry of Culture decided some fifteen years ago that November 16, the birthday of poet Jónas Hallgrímsson, should be celebrated as the Day of the Icelandic Language. It is not an official holiday, but most Icelandic cultural institutions and schools mark the day with special programs relating to the language and the legacy of Hallgrímsson.

In these examples, the role of the cultural saint is not only to help to structure time but to inspire various social liturgies related to issues of nation, culture and language. Saints' days are an optimal time to hand out awards, rename streets, put flowers next to monuments, put on performances or open exhibitions where the legacy of the cultural saint is celebrated. On these occasions, the different forms of beatification discussed in this paper may be combined and construed in a variety of ways.

Conclusion

When a statue is erected of some writer or artist, his or her home is turned into a museum, or his face chosen for a bank note, this may or may not be an important a step in the beatification of that person as a cultural saint. These processes of canonization are complex and may vary from one country to another and one time to another. Consideration needs to be given to how many different forms of beatification the individual in question is subjected to and to what degree he or she is being formally canonized by the institutions of the state. The role of European cultural saints, as described above, can be compared to the fate of canonized literary works in a culture. In his *Polysystem Studies*, Itamar Even-Zohar points out that such works hardly ever circulate on the market as integral texts; once they have been "stored in the historical canon", they are often distributed as textual fragments, i.e. quotations, short parables, and episodes. A semiotic approach to these fragments, Even-Zohar explains, would not regard them "simply as a neutral stock, but as one which helps society maintain its *models of reality*, which in their turn govern the models of interpersonal interaction. They thus constitute a source for the kinds of *habitus* prevailing in the various levels of society, helping to preserve and stabilize it" (Even-Zohar 1990: 44).

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Part Two
Repertoire Formation: Invention and Change

THE ADVANTAGE OF CULTURAL PERIPHERY
THE INVENTION OF THE ALPHABET IN SINAI
(CIRCA 1840 B.C.E)

Orly Goldwasser

For Itamar Even-Zohar who taught me many years ago that the essence of scholarship is to ask the correct questions

Position Paper

"…Everybody is born with, and carries throughout life, the neurophysiological 'apparatus' of innovation…"
Larry R. Vandervert, The Neurophysiological Basis of Innovation: 27

"…Michael Faraday, who had little mathematics and no formal schooling beyond the primary grades, is celebrated as an experimenter who discovered the induction of electricity. He was one of the great founders of modern physics. It is generally acknowledged that Faraday's ignorance of mathematics contributed to his inspiration, that it compelled him to develop a simple, nonmathematical concept when he looked for an explanation of his electrical and magnetic phenomena. Faraday had two qualities that more than made up for his lack of education: fantastic intuition and independence and originality of mind."
Marshall McLuhan, Quentin Fiore. *The Medium Is the Massage*: 92

The Statue of "*N–ᶜ-m* chief miner"

Sinai 346 top and front (after Hamilton 2006: Fig. A9)

1. Introduction: Some Notes on Earlier Research and on Egyptian Hieroglyphs

Almost all scholars who have studied the birth and development of the Canaanite alphabet – the ancestor of all modern alphabets – think that the Egyptian script played a major role in this great intellectual leap. However, they differ in their reconstructions as to where the invention originated (Canaan, Egypt, or Sinai), the Egyptian source used as the basis of the invention (hieroglyphs, cursive hieroglyphs, hieratic), and the exact role of the source in the actual process of invention.[1]

While few scholars favor hieratic (a very cursive version of the Egyptian hieroglyphs),[2] most scholars tend to see the pictorial hieroglyphs as the source of influence on the inventors.[3] Recently, Darnell and Hamilton strongly advocated a "mixed" source – some models of signs taken from hieroglyphs and some from hieratic or cursive hieroglyphs.[4] An important suggestion was put forward recently, proposing

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[1] The literature on the invention of the alphabet is extensive. For background, the reader is referred to Goldwasser 2010a – "**How the Alphabet was Born from Hieroglyphs**" – a general introduction to the topic (also Goldwasser 2010b and 2010c), and Goldwasser 2006a for a detailed discussion with extensive bibliography. Gardiner "broke the code" of the new script in 1916 (Gardiner 1916). He always believed the script was invented in Sinai in the Middle Kingdom (Gardiner 1961). The fundamental book on the corpus of the alphabet in Sinai is still Sass 1988. Sass dated the invention to the Middle Kingdom. However, recently, he seems to have adopted a different opinion, of a much later date for the invention; see Sass 2004/2005, Sass 2005. The latest book on the topic is Hamilton 2006. As a scholar of Ancient Semitic languages and scripts, his assumptions are different from mine, and his reconstruction of the invention of the alphabet is correspondingly different. Darnell's discovery of the two lines of Proto-Canaanite inscription in Wadi el-Ḥôl is of the utmost importance; see Darnell et al. 2005 with extensive discussions.

[2] Recently Kammerzell 2001; I cannot discuss here the elaborate presentation of Kammerzell on the order of the alphabet. However, the very early date he suggests for an Egyptian "Ur-order," i.e., early 2nd millennium, still fits my reconstruction. For bibliography on the topic of hieratic sources, see Darnell et al. 2005: 90, notes 138–140.

[3] Gardiner 1916, who deciphered the script; Sass 1988 and others.

[4] Darnell et al. 2005; Hamilton 2006. Both believe that the script was invented somewhere in Egypt at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, and that these

"real life" models for some of the signs of the newly invented system.[5] However, all scholars, *the present writer excluded*, today share the basic assumption that the inventors were, at least to a certain extent, educated in the Egyptian language and had a knowledge and understanding of the mechanism of the Egyptian scripts. According to these opinions, the alphabetic script must have been invented by scribes, or by people educated by Egyptian scribes, whether in Canaan, Egypt or Sinai.[6]

This assumption is rooted in two different conceptual biases:

Modern spectators regard the invention of the alphabet with great admiration. It is considered by Western scholarship as a great breakthrough, a turning point in human intellectual history. The inventors were able to leave behind the cumbersome, old-fashioned, multi-sign writing systems (hieroglyphic and cuneiform systems), while creating a much "better" communication system. Such an ingenious invention could have been born, in their minds, only in educated elite circles, e.g., that of scribes.[7] Darnell recently suggested that the alphabet was born in the milieu of military scribes in Egypt, in "a plurality of cultural contexts" (Darnell et al. 2005: 90–91).

The second reason is embedded in one of the qualities of the *Egyptian* writing system. The Egyptian script system includes, among the hundreds of signs it uses, a small group of signs that looks like an "alphabet" to the *modern spectator*. This superficial similarity has tempted scholars to believe that it is this Egyptian "system" that was behind the concept of the new alphabet (See recently Darnell et al. 2005: 90). Let me explain.

The signifiers of the hieroglyphic system are all pictorial icons that stand in different semiotic relations to their signified. Signs may be used either as *logograms, phonograms* or *classifiers*[8] (*determinatives*, in the old terminology).

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hypothetical earliest inscriptions still await discovery.

[5] Hamilton 2006; Goldwasser 2006a; and lately Rainey 2009; see below discussion of *waw*.

[6] Recently Rainey 2009, but also Sass 2005 and Hamilton 2006.

[7] See the recent debates between Goldwasser and Rainey (Goldwasser 2010b, 2010c; Rainey 2010), and Rollston 2010.

[8] The classifiers of the Egyptian script will not be discussed here. For bibliography on the classifier phenomenon in the hieroglyphic script, see Goldwasser

In the case of *logograms*, a sign used iconically refers directly to a pictorial signified, i.e., the picture of a dog serves as signifier for the word "dog."[9]

However, in many cases, the very same icons are often used as "triconsonantal" or "biconsonantal" signs. In the case of "triconsonantals" and "biconsonantals," the pictorial signifier (originally a logogram), is voided of its *semantic* reference. It has to be read as a phonetic[10] signifier, which represents a chain of two or three consonants. This chain, in turn, can be used with *different* vowel combinations *between, before* and *after* the consonants.[11]

For example, the icon (*logogram*) ⚊, "offering table," "altar," represents the *triconsonantal* root ḥ-t-p, see Fig. 1. It may be used in many words that are built on the skeleton of this consonantal root, such as "be happy" or "pleasure" (Gardiner 1957: 501 [R4]).

The icon (*logogram*) , "head" represents a *biconsonantal* root t-p. It may refer to different words built on the word "head" in Egyptian. (Fig. 1)

The hieroglyph □ is a *uniconsonantal* sign (see below) which is usually activated as a "phonetic sign" *p*. (Fig.1, and below 5.2.2)

The triconsonantal icon ⌒ *k-ꜣ-p*, which pictures a "censer for fumigation," may be used to write the word □ ⊏⊐ *k-ꜣ-p*, "harem," built with the same consonantal skeleton but bearing no clear semantic connection to the original icon. The hieroglyph ⊏⊐ plays the role of classifier for all notions related to [HABITAT]. In its iconic use it is the

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[9] In the case of an initiated reader, also to a phonetic signified, see my most recent discussion in Goldwasser 2009.

[10] The term "phonetic" will be used in this article being the term used by most Egyptologists and semioticians, even if a term such as "phonological" would have been more accurate.

[11] Two consonant signs are used freely in this process while three consonants are often bound to various derivations of the root, see Meltzer 1980.

logogram for "house," originally pronounced *p-r*. In our example ⌷⌷ carries no phonetic value and has only an iconic signified – [HABITAT].[12]

A common hieroglyph is the icon , which represents three skins of fennec foxes tied together.[13] It was used as a logogram for the verbal root *ms(i)*, "give birth" and all its derivatives. However, it was also used as a phonogram with words that include the consonant combination *m-s* and have no connection to the etymon "give birth."

This word is still known in Coptic. The verb "bear a child" was written мⲓⲥⲉ. The derivate nouns *ms* "young one" and *ms* "calf, young animal" were written ⲙⲁⲥ and ⲙⲁⲥⲉ in Coptic. The metaphoric extension, "interest" ("what was born"), usually referring to "grain received as interest," was written ⲙⲏⲥⲉ (Crum 1939: 186).

When used as a mere phonogram in the verb *msḏ* or *mst*, "hate," we find in Coptic the writing ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ.[14]

Another common triconsonantal icon *ꜥḥꜥ*, "mast," (Gardiner 1957: 499, P6) was used freely in words that had no obvious semantic relation

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[12] Gardiner 1957: 501 (R5). The hieroglyph ⬜ is activated here as a "phonetic complement." It has a role in repeating some partial phonological information of the triconsonantal root. As the prototype of all sorts of houses, buildings (extended to institutions), and even animal abodes (dens, stables, nests) the ⌷⌷ sign has a widespread use in the role of the classifier [HABITAT]. Nevertheless it may always be used in the roles of logogram for "house" and phonogram in words containing the phonetic skeleton *p-r*, such as *pr(i)*, "go."

[13] On the erotic function of fennec foxes, see discussion and bibliography in Goldwasser 1995: 20.

[14] Coptic is the latest development of the Egyptian language. It is written in a number of Greek-based letters, supplemented by several characters, mostly from Demotic. Vowels are regularly represented. For all the above examples in Coptic, see Černý 1976: 90–91.

to the icon. Such is the word *ꜥḥꜥw*, "lifetime," , or a measure called *ꜥḥꜥ* , (Faulkner 1962: 48, 47). It is also used in the noun

mꜥḥꜥt, , "tomb," "cenotaph."[15] The word gets the [HAB-ITAT] classifier being the final, eternal habitat.

Thus a single pictorial signifier representing a skeleton of a conso-nant combination could refer to different phonetic signifiers (root + dif-ferent vowel patterns) and different semantic signifieds.[16]

Thus, *triconsonantals* and *biconsonantals* may be activated as *phono-grams*, i.e., signs that denote a skeleton of a *phonological signifier* that may acquire different signifieds.

Nevertheless, there are about 25 uniconsonantal signs in the Egyp-tian script system (such as the *p* discussed above). These signs refer to a *single* consonant. Uniconsonantals are activated as a rule as phono-grams, and very rarely as logograms, and thus their semiotic use re-minds the *modern spectator* of the system of the Semitic alphabet. In the Semitic alphabet of today, and also probably in the oldest alphabet, each letter could refer to a *consonant* in accordance with the given con-text.

The uniconsonantal signs were assembled by modern scholars and were put in separate lists (see Table 1) that are sometimes called the "Egyptian Alphabet."[17] However, there is not a single shred of evi-dence from pharaonic times that the Egyptians themselves regarded the group of these uniconsonantals in their script as a separate sub-system, an "alphabet." Never was a separate list of these signs found in ancient Egypt. Had they acknowledged the uniconsonantals as a sepa-rate alphabetic option, the Egyptians could have renounced their entire

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[15] Faulkner 1962: 105. This word may be a noun built on the root *ꜥḥꜥ* with an *m* prefix. The original meaning may have been connected to the eternal "stand-ing" nature of the tomb. Compare the Hebrew מספרה; see Appendix C.

[16] On root, stem and etymon in Semitic languages, see Goldenberg 2005; Prunet 2006; and Faust and Hever 2010. See also Appendix C below.

[17] Gardiner 1957: 26-27, Schenkel 2005: 59-61. The modern lists usually contain 25-27 signs.

complicated system of triconsonantals and biconsonantals (which amount to hundreds of signs) and represented all *sounds* of the Egyptian language with the small group of uniconsonantals. But one must wait until the Late Period to find inscriptions with even a few words written exclusively in uniconsonantals, possibly under the influence of the Semitic alphabets that were already in full bloom during this period.[18] Indeed, already in the Pyramid Texts, the religious texts that adorn the walls of the pyramids of the kings of the 5th and 6th Dynasties (ca. 2350–2250 B.C.E.), we find words written exclusively in uniconsonantals. We should always bear in mind, however, that uniconsonantal writing never became a wide-spread phenomenon and was never used as an *independant system of writing* by the Egyptians at any time in their history.

I propose that the invention of the alphabet has nothing to do with this phenomenon of the Egyptian script.

2. My Hypothesis – General Overview

1. I do agree with the scholars who believe that the pictorial models for the new Canaanite letters were taken from Egyptian *hieroglyphs in Sinai*.[19]

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[18] Since the early days of the 20th century, some Egyptologists have suggested the influence of Greek on such Egyptian spellings (recently Jansen-Winkeln 1998). However, it is much more likely that the influence (if at all) was by a Semitic system as nowhere in these spellings is there an attempt to represent vowels.

[19] In general, this suggestion was already put forward very early by Gardiner 1916, 1961, Ullman 1927. Sass 1988: 143 writes that "Hebeded and the other Semites in Sinai during the Middle Kingdom had at their disposal a selection of hieroglyphic inscriptions. ... which included prototypes of almost all the Proto-Sinaitic letters... .Ullman ... suggested that the signs of one Egyptian inscription, Sinai 53 ... could by themselves have sufficed for the origin of most of the Proto-Sinaitic letters. To this I would add at least Sinai 92 ... in which Hebeded is mentioned, the god Ptah is depicted standing in a shrine, and the shape of the letters is reminiscent of the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions." In Goldwasser 2010 I attributed the resemblance between the hieroglyphs of stela 92 and the alphabet in the mines (especially the "incorrect" classifier) to the fact that the writer of this stela, probably a Canaanite, already knew the alphabetic script and *mixed* the two writing systems – Egyptian hieroglyphic script and Canaanite alphabet.

Even so, I insist that all prototypes for the new letters are available as hieroglyphs from the *Middle Kingdom* inscriptions in Sinai. In Goldwasser (2006a), I demonstrate that almost all models for borrowing are clearly present in the Egyptian inscriptions *in the area of the mines and on the way to them*. A few letters use "real life" models.

2. Unlike all other scholars, I believe the *inventors of the alphabet were illiterate*. This hypothesis changes the reconstruction of the invention in a number of ways.

While it is impossible to fully prove this hypothesis, it seems to me to be the one with the strongest explanatory power.

2.1 Sinai as the Most Plausible Location for the Invention

In previous publications, I have argued in detail why I believe the invention should be reconstructed in Sinai. There are three arguments that support this hypothesis.

2.1.1 Accumulation of Inscriptions in the Mining Area

About 30 early alphabetic inscriptions have been found in Sinai. Most of them come from the areas of the mines (some were written inside the mines) in Serabit el Khadem, and a few have been found on the roads leading to the mines. In the temple precinct itself, only four statuettes bearing alphabetic inscriptions have been found. In the mines themselves, some inscriptions were engraved very close to each other. They give the impression of compact and energetic activity in the same place, and probably during a relatively short span of time.[20] Some of the inscriptions were short texts comprising a few phrases. They are the *longest* texts in the new alphabetic script known in the 2nd millennium B.C.E.

In Egypt itself, on the other hand, two lines of alphabetic inscription have been found to date. They are probably from the late Middle Kingdom. They were discovered very close to each other on the same rock on a desert road in southern Egypt (Wadi el-Ḥôl; see Figs. 2a, 2b).[21]

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[20] The Proto-Sinaitic Inscription 375c (Hamilton 2006: 377–378) may have been written later, during the time of the expeditions of the Late Bronze Age. The ʾ*ālep* is similar to the ʾ*ālep* of the Lachish ewer (Sass 1988: 61 Fig. 156).

[21] According to my tentative reading of the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription (Fig. 2a), the

Another tiny ostracon was found in the Valley of the Queens and should probably be dated to the New Kingdom (Figs. 3a, 3b) (Leibovich 1940; Sass 1988: 104). There are four clear letters on the upper part: 'ālep, *mem*, *kap* (reversed) and *taw*. The *mem* is the "Egyptian" vertical *mem* (see discussion in Appendix B below).

In the entire region of Canaan and Lebanon, less than a dozen inscriptions dating from the 17th to the 13th centuries B.C.E. have been discovered. Moreover, they were found at different sites far apart from each other. There is hardly a site that has yielded more than a single inscription, and most inscriptions comprise names only, or at most, very short phrases.

2.1.2 Proximity of all Available Prototypes

In Goldwasser (2006a), I argued that almost all signs of the new alphabet letters in Sinai have clear prototypes in the Middle Kingdom Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions that surround the mines and in a few other inscriptions found on the roads to the mines.

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sign is not alphabetic. It may represent a gender classifier- [MALE(HUMAN)] The hieroglyphic version may also appear in a cursive version in Egyptian (Goldwasser 2006a: 146–149). If my reading is correct, this is an intrusive cultureme from the Egyptian script system (for a possible intrusion of the same classifier in the problematic inscription in Timna, see Wimmer 2010: 4). Such an intrusion is not really a surprise, as this is the only Middle Kingdom alphabetic inscription found to date in *Egypt*. Sass does not identify a four letter inscription found in Kahun as an alphabetic inscription; he also doubts its dating to the Middle Kingdom; see Sass 1988: 104. The Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription belongs to the formative period of the alphabetic system (18th century B.C.E.) when the alphabet was still centuries away from any process of standardization. In this early stage, signs have various pictorial representations (i.e., there is no single canonized picture that represents a single letter) and there is no school system that would prevent interference from any local systems. See discussion in Appendix B.

I have been able to show that all models for the new letters can be found in the hieroglyphic inscriptions (all dating to the Middle Kingdom) at the site (see Tables 2a, 2b). I called the attention of scholars to the fact that Gardiner, Černý and Peet, the great Egyptologists who excavated at Serabit and published the inscriptions from the site (*Sinai* I–II), mentioned the fact that the letter ☦ *h* of the alphabet is a clear borrowing of the famous "Middle Kingdom" hieroglyph from Sinai ☥ ; an obscure title, known almost only in Sinai during the Middle Kingdom, which they translated as "*Rêis.*"[22] This title appears in hundreds of examples in the Middle Kingdom inscriptions but is absent from the later Sinai inscriptions (see also discussion below, 5.2.4).

I have also shown (Goldwasser 2006a: 144, 151, and Goldwasser 2010a: 45–46) how an unexpected connection can be drawn between a *hieroglyphic inscription* of the highest Canaanite dignitary known to work in the Middle Kingdom with the Egyptian expedition, Khebeded (Sinai Stela 92, see Figs. 4a, 4b) and the new alphabetic script, in a special study on the origin of the letter *bêt*. My main claim in this case is that it seems that the writer of the inscription on Stela 92 mixed the alphabetic letter *bêt* ☐ with the correct Egyptian hieroglyph for "house" ☐. The gist of this claim, if it is accurate, is that some Canaanites, either Khebeded, or someone in his entourage, *was already versed in both Egyptian hieroglyphs and in the newly invented Canaanite alphabetic script.*[23] The somewhat imperfect knowledge of the hieroglyphic script of the person who wrote on Stela 92, and his concurrent acquaintance with the alphabetic system, may have caused him some confusion. It led him to incorrectly exchange, in a few cases, the Egyptian hieroglyph ☐ for the new alphabetic sign ☐ that carried the same *iconic* meaning. This writer was probably not the inventor, as he knew Egyptian hieroglyphs. Yet as an educated Canaanite, he could have

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[22] *Sinai* II: 67, note 1: "It seems to be due to its frequent occurrence in the Sinai inscriptions that the sign (☥ O.G.) has passed into the Proto-Sinaitic alphabet."
[23] For individual scribal "graphic bilingualism," see Cromwell forthcoming.

learned the new script of his fellow workers in the mines, a strange writing-game that must have been a real curiosity at the time among the Canaanites at the site.

This connection points very strongly to a link between the inventors of the alphabet and the writer of Stela 92, which in its turn anchors the date of the invention at around 1850 B.C.E.

2.1.3 A Psychological-Religious Trigger in Sinai

A unique situation was created in Sinai where some illiterate (although surely not "primitive" or "less advanced") workers with strong Canaanite identity were put in unusual surroundings for months: extreme isolation, high, remote desert mountains, dangerous and hard work. There was nothing in the area of the mines to divert their attention – except *hundreds of hieroglyphic pictures* inscribed on the rocks. No town, no buildings, no roads, no distractions of civilization. Although we know of a few Canaanite dignitaries who were in close contact with the Egyptians,[24] and are mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions inside the temple precinct, it is very probable that *most of the Canaanite working force was denied regular access to the temple precinct*, which was surrounded by a wall. Thus, they may have been in minimal contact, if at all, with the Egyptian scribes, architects, treasurers, scorpion charmers, physicians, overseers of workers, builders and professionals of other sorts. Dragomans were regularly mentioned as part of the Egyptian expeditions, a fact that hints at a language barrier to be bridged. There was nothing but mines, desert and hieroglyphs and a strong urge to contact the gods.

The Egyptian pictorial script was the *necessary tool* for the invention of the alphabet. The Egyptian signs presented the inventor with the *hardware* for his invention: the icons, the small pictures that he could easily recognize and identify. Without this basic material, which he utilized in a completely innovative way, the invention would probably not have taken place.

The rare combination of desert isolation, strong religious urge and the excessive "writing to the gods" in pictures all around may have

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[24] The most celebrated one is Khebeded. See my discussion in Goldwasser 2006a, and Sass above note 19.

created a unique timing and the right conditions for a great mind to break a new path.[25]

3. Literacy vs. Illiteracy – an Evaluation of the Data

The main divergence of my hypothesis from earlier ones is that I believe that the inventors were illiterate. This difference has significant repercussions for the reconstruction of the invention of the alphabet. I would like to turn now to some evidence for this hypothesis.

3.1. The Hieroglyph Regarded as Picture – "in the Eyes of the Beholder"

The inventors interacted only with the *pictorial aspect* of the hieroglyphic source. This process may be considered a kind of "pictorial translation." In this procedure, an Egyptian hieroglyph was "read" by the inventors, independently of its correct meaning or role in Egyptian, sometimes also independently of its correct *pictorial* meaning within the Egyptian source script. After the identification of the *picture*, it was given a Canaanite *name*.

In *all cases*, the Canaanite "translation" in Sinai differs from the correct use of the hieroglyph in Egyptian, even if the hieroglyphs were correctly identified as images.[26]

Indeed, in most cases the Canaanites properly recognized the hieroglyphic images. The eye hieroglyph ⟨⟩ was identified as *ʿayin, "eye,"

the water hieroglyph 〰〰 as *mêm, "water," and so on. However, in the Egyptian system, the "eye" hieroglyph carries the meaning "do" and the sound *iri* and the "water" hieroglyph is mostly used phonetically as uniconsonant *n* which plays different grammatical roles but carries no semantic connection whatsoever to "water."

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[25] On the psychological "allure" of the hieroglyphs, see Goldwasser and Laor 1991.

[26] Some resemblance on the phonetic level may have existed in the case of the Egyptian ∦ *ḥ* and the Proto-Sinaitic letter *ḥarm* ∦ = *ḫ*.

It also seems that real life objects may have played a role in the choice of prototypes for the alphabet letters.[27]

An interesting example is the alphabet letter *waw*

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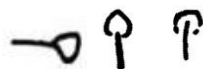
The models for this sign are most probably the two very different Egyptian hieroglyphs depicting "oar," (P8),[28] and "mace," (T3).[29] Some cursive versions of these signs in the Egyptian inscriptions of Si-

nai, such as (Table 2a), look very similar to the Canaanite letter *waw*. Both signs may have served as the pictorial prototype for borrowing.

But why would the inventors choose these particular signs?

Since they could not read Egyptian, they were not aware and probably did not care that the horizontal hieroglyph that looks so similar to the vertical is actually a different hieroglyph in the Egyptian system. The horizontal Egyptian hieroglyph [30] may be the prototype for the horizontal *waw*, well known in the Sinai Canaanite corpus of alpha-

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[27] As for real life models as the source for the letters: *pê (*piʾt-)* "corner" (Hamilton 2006: 195, note 248), I suggested that an actual building tool may be the source for this sign (Goldwasser 2006a: 141–142). As for the letter *kāp (*kapp)* , such a hieroglyph is unknown in Egyptian, and it seems that a real life palm was the prototype. As for *šîn (*θann-), "bow,"* a real life model may have also played the role of prototype. Many of the Canaanites in the expeditions to Sinai were employed as soldiers (Černý 1935; Valbelle and Bonnet 1996).

[28] This enumeration refers to the sign list in Gardiner 1957: 438 ff.

[29] Hamilton 2006: 86–90 also regards T3 as the model for this letter. However, he differs from me in that he looks for hieratic models and models from Egypt, whereas I look for all models of letters in Sinai. Darnell et al. (2005: 85) suggest the hieroglyph O29 as a possible source.

[30] This example, which is a cursive version of the P8 "oar" hieroglyph, is taken from an inscription in Wadi Maghârah, on the way to Serabit. See *Sinai* I: Pl. XI, 27.

betic letters (e.g., Inscription 351 and also ⌒◇ from Wadi el-Ḥôl; see Fig. 2a).

The word *waw* carries the meaning "hook" or "loop" in Canaanite.[31] Rainey recently suggested: "The examples of *w* in the pictographic script look like a common Canaanite object, the toggle pin. That would explain the Biblical form, וים…."[32] Toggle pins were a necessary part of the typical Canaanite dress of the Middle Bronze Age, used to fasten the robe together (see Fig. 5) (Ziffer 1990: 59*–61*; Shalev 1989).

It is possible that the hieroglyph ⌒◉ 🥄 reminded the inventors of this necessary element of their dress, which was also a distinctive "Canaanite" item. It is possible that in their dialect, this article was called *waw*, as suggested by Rainey. Looking for the sound *w*, they chose the hieroglyphs that reminded them of their toggle pins, disregarding completely its Egyptian pictorial meaning or its function in the Egyptian script system.

Thus, if Rainey is correct, in this case the Canaanites may have

"translated" the Egyptian hieroglyphs ("mace" and "oar") ⌒◉ 🥄 into their own cultural world, as the picture of the toggle-pin. Rainey's suggestion is that it is the "real world" toggle pins *alone* that played as models for the letter *waw*. However, on the one hand, the alphabet letter never shows the typical upper part of the toggle pin (see above, Fig. 5).[33] On the other hand, it bears a strong similarity to the Egyptian hieroglyphs. These facts lead me to believe that behind the letter *w* stands a process of "pictorial translation" of the hieroglyphs into the local Canaanite culture. The final result is a combination of the Egyptian hieroglyph and the concrete Canaanite toggle pin.

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[31] Already Naveh 1997: 27, "peg."

[32] וים = "*wawim*," Rainey 2009: 85.

[33] One possible example may be Inscription 376, first letter on the leftmost column, see drawings in Hamilton 2006: 88 and 378.

3.2 Two Different Hieroglyphs Serve as a Model for a Single Letter

Two hieroglyphs that constitute diverse signs that can never be exchanged for one another in the Egyptian hieroglyphic system often serve as the model for a single letter.

A possible example is the letter *resh* [34]. Here two hieroglyphs may have served as models – D1 and D2. In Egyptian they can never be interchanged. D1 carries the meaning "head" and D2 carries the meaning "face."

A second clear case is the letter *nûn*. Again, two snakes, the Egyptian cobra (I9) and the viper (I10), which have very different meanings in the hieroglyphic script, seemed to serve as model for a single alphabetic letter — *nûn* — (Hamilton 2006: 154). For the inventors, they were simply "snakes."

3.3 "Incorrect" Direction of Writing

Another phenomenon that strongly points to the fact that the inventors did not know how to read hieroglyphs is that in all the alphabetic inscriptions in Sinai the direction of writing is incorrect according to Egyptian rules. In Egyptian, signs that have fronts and backs must all face the beginning of the inscription.[35] (See Fig. 6 and Fig. 7 from an inscription at the mines.)

Written in Egyptian stela form, imitating the Egyptian base lines system, the alphabetic Inscription 349 (Fig. 8) is one of the better examples of the early alphabetic inscriptions.[36] It was found in the entrance

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[34] See (Sinai 364) in Hamilton 2006: 224 (Fig. 2.70), and Sinai 365b, Hamilton 2006: 369.

[35] There is a very rare phenomenon in Egyptian where inscriptions may partially be written in other directions. However, this is a rare, sportive, use.

[36] It seems that the "Canaanite direction" is the direction preferred by the uninitiated who does not know Egyptian rules of reading. Students in my beginner classes almost always try the "Canaanite direction" as the first option for tack-

to Mine L. Yet it clearly shows the *incorrect* direction of writing, according to its proposed decipherment by all Semitists. On line 2 one can read "*rb nqbnm*," "chief (of) miners." The letters are written in the "wrong" direction, according to the Egyptian rules of writing.

3.4 Instability in Directions and Sizes in a Single Inscription

In most inscriptions with more than one word, and when not using base lines as in the example above, the direction of writing can be very confused.[37] This can be seen in what seems to be one of the better examples of the alphabetic inscriptions, the small block statue which carries the inscription, "on behalf of *N-ꜥ-m* chief miner."[38] By virtue of his title and by virtue of the fact that the statuette was found within the temple precinct, one may suggest that its owner was one of the leaders of the Canaanite miners, who had been allowed to place his statue in the temple, close to the goddess' service. I believe it is reasonable to assume that it is a "prestige" Canaanite find. However, in Figs. 9a, 9b one can follow the "winding road" of his inscription on the right side of the statue.

Another phenomenon is letters in *different sizes* that can be detected in the very same inscription (Fig. 10, Inscription 352).

If Hamilton's drawing of Inscription 375a is correct (Fig. 11), we have on the very same line of inscription two letters clearly facing in different *directions*: the bull looks to the right, and the fish looks to the left (Also Sinai Inscription 358).

Another inscription, 357, contains two ʾ*ālep* bulls that look to the left (vertical line), and in the continuing lower horizontal line the same bull sign faces the other direction (Fig. 12).

Such methods of writing would be unthinkable for anybody versed in any standardized writing system of the period.

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ling a row of hieroglyphs.

[37] See already Sass 1988: 107 "All that was required was that the pictograph be identifiable."
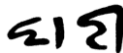
[38] "על נעם רב נקבנ;" see Sass 1988: 15.

4. The Unnecessary Hypothesis of Hieratic Sources

Another major difference between Hamilton's and Darnell's theories and mine is that the other two scholars advocate for a *mixed* source of sign loans, namely, from both hieroglyphic and hieratic sources (Darnell et al. 2005; Hamilton 2006). Such an assumption requires literacy as a precondition. According to Darnell and Hamilton, the inventors must have been versed in hieratic as well as hieroglyphic scripts.

Hieratic signs lost their iconicity in most cases, and individual signs could not be identified iconically by an uninitiated beholder (for an example of hieratic of the 12th Dynasty, see Fig. 13). The hieratic parallels or sources of borrowing suggested by Darnell and Hamilton seem to be *iconically* much more remote from the Proto-Canaanite letters than

hieroglyph models. For example, the hieratic head signs

presented by Darnell[39] as possible models of imitation for the inventors seem to have much less in common with most of the early

alphabet head signs in Sinai   and in Wadi el-Ḥôl

(see Figs. 2a, 2b) than their hieroglyphic coun-

terparts   . The heads of the early alphabet more closely resemble hieroglyphic prototypes or seem to be *idiosyncratic reproductions* of the signifier "head" in a naturalistic, non-specific form such as the

15th century B.C.E. example from Lachish   (Sass 1988: Fig. 140, Lachish Dagger). A case in point is the independent reproduction of a typical Canaanite image of a head, wearing the distinctive Canaanite

"mushroom" coiffure in Wadi el-Ḥôl   . This likeness was already noted by Hamilton, who suggested the comparison to the statue of the early Hyksos ruler from Tell el-Dabᶜa (Fig. 14) (Hamilton 2006: 226–

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[39] Contemporary hieratic signs after Darnell et al. 2005: 76, Fig. 3

227). Does the second head from Wadi el-Ḥôl [glyph] show a heavily-bearded, possibly "Asiatic," man?

The hieratic prototypes presented by Hamilton are not really more fitting as models and are mostly too early or too late in date (e.g., the discussion of the letter *pê*; Hamilton 2006: 190). For example, the alleged hieratic sources of letter *bêt* suggested by Hamilton come either from a hieratic letter of the very beginning of the 12th Dynasty (Upper Egypt), or from a literary papyrus from late Hyksos times. Most examples from the end of the 12th and 13th Dynasties presented by Hamilton (Hamilton 2006: 41) do not resemble the Canaanite *bêt*. The main direction of development of the house [glyph] (O1) sign in hieratic is towards an open basis and not a closed square. A survey of the *bêt* letters that could be identified with certainty in Sinai show a very unstable sign that oscillates between a full square, a square open on the side as well as house plans that are unknown in any Egyptian source of any kind of writing. It is also quite plausible that Canaanites ignorant of Egyptian sometimes used the hieroglyph [glyph] as a prototype, iconically representing a shelter in the field (see discussion below). Yet it is not used iconically (for "house") in the Egyptian source system but is activated as the uniconsonantal *h*. As I have suggested above, Canaanites interacted only with the pictorial meanings of the signs.[40]

In my opinion the hypothesis of hieratic models for the Sinai letters is unnecessary, complicates the discussion and has a much *weaker explanatory power*.

5. Semiotic Analysis of the Invention

In the next chapter I shall present through a few examples a semiotic analysis of hieroglyphic reading vs. alphabetic reading of the same icon.

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[40] See my detailed discussion on the *bêt* and the house hieroglyphs in the Egyptian sources in Goldwasser 2006a: 143–146.

5.1 Why Hieroglyphs and not Simple Pictures?

By choosing pictures from the hieroglyphic system as their models, and not just random pictures of objects, the inventors signal that the marks and pictures they draw on the walls of the mines and around the mines should be treated as "writing."

By mainly using the hardware of the Egyptian script (instead of inventing a new set of pictures), they say to the beholder, "We *write*," "this is an inscription!"

The new, revolutionary semiotic approach of the inventors of the alphabet was lucid, relatively simple and *repetitive. A single semiotic procedure was used in all cases.*

In their first step, the inventor/s selected a *limited* number of pictures from among the hundreds of hieroglyphic images that they saw around them in Egyptian inscriptions at the mines, or on the roads to the mines. In a few cases, they created their own picture, an image of an artifact that was meaningful and important in their own world. In fact, they might not have "selected" a certain number at all – they could have chosen pictures one at a time – without any forethought about creating a "system" – on the basis of concrete need. This might have given rise to a situation in which there were "extras," more than what was strictly necessary for representing phonemes.

Their second step was to establish a new, single semiotic rule for all pictures they used:

They now called the chosen picture (hieroglyph) by its *name* in *their* language, Canaanite;[41] and *as a rule* they took only the initial *"sound"*[42] from this name. Henceforth, they no longer thought of the *meaning* of the *picture*!

Let us take an example:

The Proto-Sinaitic sign $\;$ is the earliest ancestor of the

Old Hebrew $\;$ *rêš*,[43] (later Latin *R*; see below Table 3). It is a Canaan-

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[41] All scholars today agree that the language represented in the early Proto-Sinaitic and Proto-Canaanite inscriptions is a Canaanite dialect.

[42] I believe the term "sound" fits better this reconstruction (Naveh 1997: 23), more than the terms *phone, allophone* or *morpheme*.

[43] *Rosh* is the Modern Hebrew pronunciation. The Canaanite original was prob-

ite variation of a very common and eye-catching hieroglyph , well known in Sinai during the Middle Kingdom period (see Table 2b above, e.g.,). Once a reader has identified the icon of the head, he should call it by its "name" in *Canaanite*, in this case *rʾš*. The next step would be to take only the initial "sound" of the word, i.e., *r.* In this stage the phonetic signified of the head icon in the *alphabetic system* is no longer the *whole* word, but only the *initial sound r*. The sign has now become a mere signifier for a minimal phonetic signified (*r* alone) that holds no *semantic* value of its own, and no longer any connection whatsoever to the original meaning of the *picture*, "head."

The sign is to be read *acrophonically*, by the new rule of the alphabet. Thus the final signified in this process is a *new phonetic signified* emptied of any *meaning*, standing for the sound *r*.

In the original *Egyptian* script, the very same icon is read *tp*.[44] The phonetic signified of this hieroglyph in the original Egyptian system is always the biconsonantal *t-p* (Fig. 1) and it always carries the meaning "head." The sign is never read acrophonically in Egyptian. However, it can be used in two[45] very different ways in the Egyptian script system:

1. The sign can be used as a *logogram* for the word "head" *tp*,[46] and as such be part of a large number of metaphorical derivatives of the word, such as *tpy* *"heady" = "first."

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ably vocalized with an *a-* or *i* – vowel, see Hamilton 2006: 230 with bibliography.

[44] Gardiner 1957: 449 (sign D1). As the Egyptian script presents only consonants, it is difficult to safely reconstruct the vowels that connected the *t* and *p* in the Egyptian word *tp* "head." The word did not survive as such in Coptic.

[45] It seems that the strong iconic identity of the sign stands in the way of its use as a mere phonogram.

[46] *tp* is the earliest word for "head" known from the Egyptian sources. Another noun with the meaning "head" – *ḏꜣḏꜣ*, appears regularly in the Egyptian texts

2. Another major use of the very same sign in the script system is as a *classifier* (See Goldwasser 2002 and 2005) (*determinative*). In this use it appears at the end of the word classifying different words that relate to it metonymically – such as *ḥꜣ* CL[HEAD] "back of the head," "behind," to the superordinate category [HEAD]. When the hieroglyph

 functions as *classifier* it has *no phonetic value* (it is a "mute sign") yet it keeps its full value as an iconic signifier/signified "head," classifying the above word into the category [HEAD].

5.2 The Semiotics of the New Canaanite System – Some Examples

One can identify the iconic signifiers of the following earliest alphabetic letters with a high degree of plausibility. Let us follow the semiotic path taken by the inventors. Each discussion of the Semitic letter will be followed by a discussion of the semiotic procedures of reading of the source hieroglyph in Egyptian.

5.2.1 Head of Bull

New Canaanite system

Proto-Sinaitic sign

Compare Egyptian hieroglyph in Sinai *)*

Stage 1
Choosing the iconic signifier: – [*head of bull*]
Reading in Canaanite: ꜣālep "bull"

Stage 2
Taking only the **initial sound** ꜣ from the full phonetic signified (plosive laryngeal) (See Naveh 1997: 27)

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but only since the Middle Kingdom. It might have carried a somewhat different meaning or more probably belonged to a less canonical, non-written social dialect which surfaced in writing only in the Middle Kingdom.

Final phonetic signified ʾ

Iconic meaning "bull" is *always* discarded.
Only new phonetic signified retained

Used as the letter א

Egyptian system

The hieroglyph (F1)

Iconic signifier – [*head of bull*]
Phonetic signified: *k-ꜣ*.

This metonymic representation is used mostly as *logogram* for "bull." Typical of offering lists e.g., Fig. 15 (inscription on the way to the mines).

Use of in Egyptian:
Logogram – "*bull*" (iconic signified + phonetic signified)

5.2.2 House

New Canaanite system

Proto-Sinaitic signs compare to Egyptian hieroglyphs in Sinai , e.g. . This icon carries a different meaning in Egyptian – "stool." Possibly also real life models of houses were used as prototypes for this letter.

Stage 1
Choosing the iconic signifier: – [*house*] (in the eyes of the Canaanite beholder)
Phonetic signified in Canaanite: *bêt* "house"

Stage 2
Taking only the initial sound from the full phonetic signified.
Final phonetic signified *b*.
Iconic signified "house" is *always* discarded.
Only new phonetic signified retained

Used as the letter ב

Egyptian system

The hieroglyph □ (Q3)

Iconic signifier – [*stool*][47]
Phonetic signified – *p* (see Fig. 1).
Used mainly for representation of the uniconsonantal phoneme *p*.
Wide-spread use in all Egyptian inscriptions in Sinai.

Use of □ in Egyptian:
Phonogram – *p* (phonetic signified only iconic signified discarded)

5.2.2 Note on the Canaanite Letter *bêt* ב:

Note on the Canaanite letter *bêt* ב:

The correct Egyptian hieroglyph for "house" [⊓] looks very different. In more cursive hieroglyphs, and sometimes even in standard hieroglyphic inscription,[48] this sign gets the typical form [⊓] .

No Proto-Canaanite example follows these "correct" Egyptian prototypes. It seems that in some cases (only one such possible example

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[47] Word still known in Coptic – *pŏi*, "bench" (Gardiner 1957: 500, Q3).

[48] Cursive hieroglyphs are known in Middle Kingdom inscriptions in Sinai, e.g., *Sinai* I: Pl. XXVI no. 114 S. edge, lower part. The version [⊓] is well known in Sinai, even in inscriptions around the mines, e.g., *Sinai* I: 47, 48, 53.

exists in Sinai – , Inscription 353) the Egyptian hieroglyph (uniconsonant *h*) served as the *pictorial* model for "house."[49]

It was probably identified pictorially as a "house in the fields" also by an illiterate beholder. Gardiner mentions the fact that this kind of reed-shelter house still exists in Egypt today (Gardiner 1957: 493, O4).

The most interesting phenomenon presented by the *bêt* letter is that in not a few cases writers of the new Canaanite script seem to use real life models they pictured in their minds, such as (compare the minimal house of the pastoral nomads from the Israelite settlement of Izbet Sartah; Finkelstein and Silberman 2001: 108, Fig. 12). Of special interest is the version . Such a hieroglyph for "house" is definitely unknown in the Egyptian script system.

This alphabetic sign might have been triggered by a typical house model (called a "soul house" in Egyptology) known from this period in Egypt[50] (See also Fig. 16).

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[49] In some Egyptian inscriptions from Egypt and also in Sinai we find the hybrid hieroglyph (*Sinai* I: 142, N. edge). This is a "mixed" sign made of the correct hieroglyph for "house" and the hieroglyph which denotes in the Egyptian script system the uniconsonant *h*. However, it seems that for the ancient observer, the looked perfectly like a "house." For a detailed discussion with examples, see Goldwasser 2006a: 143–146.

[50] This option was already suggested by Hamilton 2006: 40.

5.2.3 Fish

New Canaanite system

Proto-Sinaitic sign compare to Egyptian hieroglyphs in Sinai (e.g. *Sinai* I: Mines, 53, line 14, below Fig.)

Stage 1
Choosing the Iconic signifier – [*fish*]
Phonetic signified in Canaanite: **dag* – "fish"
(Hamilton 2006: 74 with discussion of other possible readings)

Stage 2
Taking only the initial sound *d* from the full phonetic signified
Final phonetic signified: *d*.
Iconic signified "fish" is *always* discarded[51]
Only new phonetic signified retained

Used as the letter ד

Egyptian system

The hieroglyph (K1)

Iconic signifier – [*fish*]
Phonetic signified: *in*

Common use in hieroglyphs in Sinai as phonogram – *in* e.g., *Sinai* I: Mines, 54, lines 7–8 (part of the word *int* "valley") yet known also as logogram for "fish."

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[51] It is very probable that at this early stage of the invention, with no standardization or central control, two options for representing *d* existed in the script. Finally the other option the noun **dlt* "door" won the permanent place in history, and the fish name disappeared; see Sass 1988: 113–114, and Hamilton 2006: 61–75. The possibility that this sign refers to the phoneme *s* cannot be discussed here.

Iconic meaning: completely discarded when used as a phonogram *in*, kept when used as a logogram for "fish."

In the Egyptian system this hieroglyph may be used also as a classifier. In these cases it classifies mainly all sorts of fish. In this semiotic role it appears at the end of the word suggesting the generic category [FISH]. In this use it has no **phonetic** signifier/signified. It is a "mute" sign.

In Egyptian may have *three different uses* according to context:
Logogram – "fish" (iconic signified + phonetic signified)
Phonogram – *in* (phonetic signified only iconic signified discarded)
Classifier [FISH] – (iconic signified only phonetic signified discarded)

5.2.4 "Shouting Man"

<u>New Canaanite system</u>

Proto-Sinaitic sign compare to Egyptian hieroglyph in Sinai.

Stage 1
Choosing the iconic signifier – [shouting overseer (?)] in the eyes of the Canaanite beholder
Possible phonetic signified in Canaanite: *hoy*! (or the like)

Stage 2
Taking only the initial sound *h* from the full phonetic signified
Final phonetic signified: *h*.
Iconic signified "shouting man" is *always* discarded
Only new phonetic signified retained

Used as the letter ה

<u>Egyptian system</u>

The hieroglyph (A28)
Iconic signifier – [*man with raised arms*]
phonetic signified – *ḳꜣ*

Used as logogram to write the word *k3* "high." The same hieroglyph is often used as classifier for words related to "being high" (also metaphorically) such as "rejoicing" and "mourning."

In standard Egyptian used in two ways:
Logogram – *high* (iconic signified + phonetic signified)
Classifier [HIGH] – (iconic signified only phonetic signified discarded)

However, this sign appears in a unique use in the Sinai Egyptian inscriptions as *logogram* for an unknown title such as "overseer of workers." Gardiner et al. suggest the tentative translation *Rêis* (Arabic; see above note 22). Hundreds (!) of examples of this special use are known in the Sinai inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom. However, there are also few occurrences in Sinai of the hieroglyph with the standard meaning "high."

Special use of in Egyptian inscriptions in Sinai:
Logogram – *Rêis* (iconic signified + phonetic signified [unknown])

5.3 The role of the Icon in the Early Stages of New Alphabet

In this early alphabet (which endured for more than 600 years, circa 1850-1200 B.C.E.), the *iconic signifier* still plays an important role, even if a limited one, in the reading process. The sign is "motivated," in Saussurian terms. The reader was able to identify the *name* of the sign = letter, through its motivated *icon*. In this early stage there is a motivated connection between the *form* of the letter and the *name* of the letter, unlike the letters of today's alphabets.

Once the *name* of the letter was remembered, the *form* of the letter could always be *reconstructed anew*. This mnemonic device kept the script alive for hundreds of years, with no schools, teachers or institutions. This is probably the reason we find many variations of the *form* of a single letter. "Head" (*rêš* – *r*) can be reproduced as a Canaanite head with a "mushroom hair dress" (Wadi el-Ḥôl), or as an imitation of the Egyptian hieroglyph for head (*tp*, Sinai), rarely also as an

imitation of an "en face" head in Egyptian ⟨image⟩ or as a simple "generic" head ⟨image⟩.

Yet, after reaching the *name* of the letter the reader should extract only the *first sound* from the name. This first *sound* is the final signified that should remain by the end of the process of reading a Proto-Canaanite, early alphabetic, sign. Thus the final signified in this process is a *new phonetic signified* emptied of any *meaning*.

The new phonetic signified (initial "*sound*") can now function as a phonetic "building block" in different ways to create new combinations of sounds that create different *words*. It becomes what we know as a "*letter*."

6. From Periphery to Center—Early Phoenician Script in Canaan?

In three recent publications and in this paper I argue that the invention of the alphabet, one of the greatest media revolutions in history, was not born in any cultural center and was not adopted by any center-repertoire. It was the child of a great mind (or minds) who lived among the Canaanite staff working in the mines in the remote mountains of Serabit el Khadem.

A typically subversive innovation of the cultural and geographical periphery, it remained on the fringes of the canonical script-repertoires of the Ancient Near East for at least 600 years. It was not promoted by any institution, state or group of power holders. The carriers of the invention – soldiers, caravaneers, donkey drivers, miners, all sorts of marginal populations who lived on the fringe of urban societies, roaming outside the towns of the Late Bronze Age in Canaan and Egypt — were not part of the elaborate writing traditions of the centers.

Within the Canaanite city-states of the Middle and Late Bronze Age, Canaanite scribes wrote letters to the pharaohs. These letters were written in a local dialect in the multi-sign cuneiform script.[52] From the 13th century B.C.E. on, this written variety was sometimes used for com-

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[52] The tradition of writing to the pharaoh in cuneiform might have started with the Hyksos kings in Avaris. A small piece of a cuneiform tablet has recently been unearthed in the Hyksos palace; see Bietak 2010a. For the dialect of the Amarna Letters, see Izre'el 1998.

munication among the local Canaanite centers. A new *cuneiform* alphabet (Horowitz et al. 2006) was also rarely used (see Appendix A below).

Egyptian scribes residing in Canaan during the Late Bronze Age and most probably working as envoys of the Egyptian administration also wrote in hieratic at different centers, mainly in the southern part of Canaan.[53] Egyptian stelae and other monumental inscriptions, adorned with Egyptian hieroglyphs, were erected in the Late Bronze Age at a few urban strongholds of the Egyptian administration, such as Jaffa, Lachish, Megiddo, Beth-Shean and, most probably, Gaza.

Carriers of the early pictorial alphabetic script, according to my reconstruction, were part of the mixed segments of populations that resided and roamed regularly on the margins of the towns in Canaan and had a semi-nomadic or nomadic way of life. As Canaanite desert professionals, they surely came in close contact with the local pastoral nomads situated around the urban centers in Canaan. They were not part of the urban society of the towns and its elite knowledge tradition.[54]

The earliest alphabetic inscriptions of the early Iron Age appear on the Judean *Shephelah* (Low Hills Region), on the border areas of urban Canaanite culture. The sites of Beit Shemesh (Naveh 1997: 35–36), Qubur el Walayida (Naveh 1997: 36), Izbet Sartah (Naveh 1997: 37), Qeiyafa (Garfinkel et al. 2010) and Tel Zayit[55] are all border sites of the large urban centers.

Finkelstein describes the Izbet Sartah settlers as "pastoral nomads undergoing a profound transformation" (Finkelstein and Silberman 2001: 112). These pastoral nomads lived in enclosures that were certainly used as shelter for herds as well as living quarters for people (Fig.

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[53] Hieratic ostraca were found at different sites in southern Canaan, which was part of the Egyptian sphere of influence during the 19th–20th Dynasties. This tradition survived into the Iron Age numerals used in Hebrew ostraca; see Goldwasser 1984, 1991; Goldwasser and Wimmer 1999; Sweeney 2004 and Wimmer 2008.

[54] For the difference among the social segments in Canaan during the Bronze Age – city dwellers, highland and desert-fringe pastoralists – see Finkelstein and Silberman 2001: 110–119.

[55] The abecedary from Tel Zayit is somewhat later: see Tappy et al. 2006 and Rollston 2008: 81–83. The Ostracon from Tell aṣ-Ṣāfī (Tel Tzafit/Gath) is also relatively late, see Maeir 2008.

17). The roaming populations, the carriers of the pictorial alphabet, belonged to a similar social milieu and surely were occasionally hosted with their animals in enclosures such as that of Izbet Sartah, as well as in other such settlements.[56]

Only when some segments of the *carriers* of the new script were able to change their political and cultural status and move from the periphery onto the center-stage of history did the alphabetic script become a success in the cultural market in Canaan. They transformed into the people known in history books as Israelites, Moabites and Aramaeans. These carriers, probably a mixture of local Canaanite farmers, pastoral nomads and their roaming associates, met on the edges of the declining urban centers in places such as Izbet Sartah. It seems that sometime in the early Iron Age they began to move into a central position on the Canaanite political stage, carrying with them their "own" script. This alphabetic script meandered in their milieu throughout the Late Bronze Age and was the only script available to them. By the end of the Late Bronze Age, the scribal system of the Canaanite towns had collapsed, and was, in any event, alien to these social groups. A new script may have become a necessary tool and later a building block in the gradual construction of new national identities (Sanders 2004).

The only problem raised by this reconstruction is the 22 letter phenomenon. It has been an accepted notion since Albright's days and since the discovery of the Ugaritic alphabetic script system, that the original pictorial alphabet of the 2nd millennium contained at least 27 letters (Albright 1966; Cross and Lambdin 1960). If the caravaneers transmitted their script to the local Canaanite population in the Shephelah, a 27-letter script should have emerged in the early Iron Age in Canaan.

However, when the Proto-Canaanite alphabet surfaces at the early Iron Age sites (e.g., Izbet Sartah and later at Tel Zayit), it contains only 22 letters, a system that according to Naveh would fit a *Phoenician* Canaanite dialect of the Late Bronze Age (Naveh 1997: 42, 53–57). It does not fit the tradition of the 2nd millennium alphabet, nor does it fit the Canaanite dialect known later as Hebrew, that would require according to its *phonological* repertoire a larger number of letters.

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[56] On the origin of the Israelites in the Canaanite pastoral nomads, with a discussion of Izbet Sartah settlement, see Finkelstein and Silberman 2001: 111–113.

So *where* and *why* was the number of letters used in Canaan reduced to fit a "Phoenician" dialect of only 22 letters?

The 22 letter repertoire prompted most scholars to believe that the pictorial script first moved somehow to "Phoenicia" and was then newly adopted as a system by the "Hebrews."

Where were these "Phoenician" centers in the early Iron Age? And where were the *borders* of the territory in which a Canaanite dialect fitting a 22 letter alphabet was used?

In a recent article, Rollston, following Naveh, insists that all early Iron Age inscriptions found in Canaan (e.g. Kfar Vradim bowl, Izbet Sartah abecedary, Gezer calendar, and Tel Zayit abecedary) are all written in a *paleographical dialect* which he defines as "Phoenician." He concludes his discussion of the Tel Zayit abecedary with "…the evidence suggests that during the 10th century the ancient Israelites continued to use the prestige Phoenician script…" (Rollston 2008: 89).

According to this reconstruction, the fragmented populations that later become Israelites or Moabites, met the script in Phoenicia (where, when and how?) and adopted it from the Phoenicians.

I would like to suggest a somewhat different, albeit more complex, reconstruction. The non-standardized early pictorial alphabet was always known in the social and ethnic environment that later gave birth to the proto-Israelites and other new nations. However, the script was *standardized* by some groups or centers that used a "Phoenician" dialect. This standardized palaeographic and linguistic Phoenician dialect emerges already in the early Izbet Sartah abecedary, i.e., it shows a 22 abecedary and main characteristics of the Phoenician paleographical dialect, as described by Rollston (Rollston 2008).

The clue to this question may reside in the fact that the proto-"Israelites" that were comprised of different Canaanite segments spoke different Canaanite dialects. Some of these components may have spoken a dialect which today fits the description of "Phoenician." Such a component could be, for example, the group called *Asher* in the Bible.

Asher is described as "settled down" in the Galilee and on the seashore, while its border reaches Phoenicia, also known as "Zidon Rabba" (Joshua 19: 28).

In the second half of the 13th century B.C.E., "the ruler of *Asher*," which recalls the biblical name of the Israelite tribe, is mentioned in an

Egyptian literary letter of the Ramesside period in reference to a place near Megiddo.[57] This papyrus includes an illuminating description of Canaan, its towns and people at the end of the Late Bronze Age.[58] The word *Asher* takes the compound classifier of "foreign places" typical of *localities'* names in the papyrus. In the following line, after the mention of *Asher*, the word *Shasu* appears; it is a known Egyptian designation for warlike roaming elements in Canaan, probably known in the Bible as "Shossim" – שוסים. The *Shasu* are described in the papyrus as tough, merciless giants. The word *Shasu* gets a different classifiers combination, that of "foreign people" and not of place, which shows correct knowledge and correct classification by the Egyptian scribe.

If indeed there is a mention of the biblical *Asher* in the Egyptian text, some segments that later were identified as "Israelites" may have originally been local populations living in towns in the Jezreel Valley and by the northern sea-shore (already in the 13th century B.C.E.), probably speaking a dialect that was closer to "Phoenician." Such populations may be the "missing link" between the original script tradition of the 27-letter dialect and a still unknown Canaanite center or centers where the script underwent a process of standardization, ultimately resulting

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[57] *Papyrus Anastasi* I see Fischer-Elfert 1986: 192–193.

[58] Goldwasser 1987. The linguistic register of the geographical description of Canaan includes many identifiable Canaanite words such as *ḏ-b* צבא, "army" inserted into the Egyptian text as a regular lexeme (*pAn* I: 23.9). The loan-word "army" is classified by [FOREIGN] + [PEOPLE] classifier. The [FOREIGN] classifier may already refer here to the classification of the *word* as "foreign" and not to the semantic signified of the word; here compare Allon 2011. The text is so "Canaanized" that it contains two full sentences in a Canaanite dialect: "you are lost as a ram (or lion), pleasant *Maher*" "אבדת כמו איל\ארי מהר נעים" (*pAn* I: 23). The second phrase cites the sarcastic "*Shasu* talk" assessing the low performance of the Egyptian military scribe – "סופר יודע!" (*pAn* I: 17.7–8). In the geographical description of northern Canaan in this Egyptian text there are many toponyms ending with the lexeme *El*. Many such toponyms also exist in the biblical text, describing the land of *Asher*; compare Joshua 24: 3. The mention of *Asher* in the early biblical Song of Deborah is in fact also settlement-related. The tribe is said to have resided on the sea-shore (Judges 5: 18).

in the shorter, 22-letter version of the alphabet today called "Phoenician." Such proto- "Israelite" elements of these northern towns may have been the *agents* that moved the old/new, now standardized "Phoenician" alphabetic script tradition to the settlements of the Judean Shephelah.

One of the best examples of "Phoenician" script in the early Iron Age comes from Kefar Veradim in the Galilee. Rollston (2008: 78–79) describes this find as "…a prestige item of a very high quality from a tomb in the Galilee…. The script of this inscription is stunning, reflecting the consummate work of a fine engraver…. There can be no question about the fact that this inscription is written in the Phoenician script. In fact, it is a superb Phoenician script, and of fundamental importance is the fact that it was discovered in Israel. That is, the Phoenician script is attested in Israel, and this fact cannot be contested."

Thus, it should be noted that the earliest "Phoenician" alphabetic inscriptions are known from Canaan and not the Phoenician (Lebanese) coast.[59] It is difficult to estimate who the Phoenician speaking institutions were that had taken over the script and standardized it. Theoretically it may be postulated that the standardization of the script occurred in a "Phoenician"-speaking town in northern Canaan. Finkelstein recently postulated the existence of new centers in Iron Age I in the Galilee which he dubbed "New Canaan." [60]

7. Cultural and Geographical Periphery as an Intellectual Advantage

I would like to argue that it is precisely the "cultural peripheral" condition of the inventors that made this great intellectual leap possible.[61] Enjoying a superficial, naïve familiarity with the hieroglyphs that sur-

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[59] For a recent list of the finds, see Rollston 2008. To this list one should add the arrowheads of Qubur el- Walayida and a few other arrowheads; see Naveh 1997: 37-40 and Sass 2010.

[60] Finkelstein 2003. Today he prefers to call them "Revived Canaan" as most of them (with the exception of Kinnereth) are revivals of older, Late Bronze II-III cities (Keisan, Megiddo, Rehov, Yokneam etc. (Finkelstein, personal communication.) For the discussion of the possible Phoenician centers see Sass 2010, 65, and Lipinski 2006: 163-164.

[61] For cultural and geographical periphery as an advantage for intellectual innovations, see Yamaguchi 1992 and Rowlands 1987.

rounded them, and not being pre-programmed by any rules or solutions of other script systems of their time, the inventors could *freely renegotiate* the signifiers and signifieds of the pictorial graphemes of the hieroglyphic script, and create a new semiotic system. *They invented a new **single** semiotic process connecting a small number of hieroglyphic pictures they chose – to sounds of the language or languages they spoke*.

In the 19th century B.C.E., when the alphabet was invented according to my reconstruction, each of the prevailing writing systems of the Ancient Near East (hieroglyphic and cuneiform), used hundreds of signs, and long schooling and a familiarity with a complex system of semiotic rules were necessary in order to read and write. These scripts were born and promoted by institutes and states, and the impetus for their naissance and development at the dawn of the 3rd millennium B.C.E. were growing administrative and political needs and a search for ideology and power display by the emerging Sumerian and Egyptian regimes.

On the other hand, the impetus for the invention of the alphabet seems to be *spiritual*. It was the personal urge to communicate with the gods, pray and eternalize one's own name in their presence. All early known texts to date are very short and are comprised mainly of names of gods, personal names and titles, sometimes the word "offering." There is no sign of institutional involvement in this process.

The inventor/s used pictures that were clear and accessible to their own people and culture, e.g. bull (sacred animal of the great god), house, fish, door, toggle pin, lamp's wick, arm, palm, ox-goad, water, snake, human eye, plant,[62] head, bow. They had no interest in the standardized Egyptian *form* or *meaning* of the hieroglyph, only in its *pictorial meaning*, as *they* understood it.

The greatness of the invention lies in the reduction of the many semiotic rules needed to read hieroglyphs to a single steady semiotic process. Moreover, there was a constant mnemonic device that connected the *friendly pictures* to the abstract *sounds* in *Canaanite* that should have been reached.

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[62] The choice of pictures reflects Canaanite pastoral identity. Hamilton suggested a strong influence of "Egyptian Delta culture." The only sign that may carry Egyptian Delta identity is the plant, see below table 2b, no.15. For the "Delta culture" see Arnold 2010.

If indeed Sinai is the site of the invention, there is not a trace in Sinai of any "intrusion" of the Egyptian hieroglyphic system that would be expected had the inventors been versed in hieroglyphs. Not a single rule of the Egyptian writing system is complied with. The "golden chains" of the Egyptian way of thinking did not bind the mind of the inventors.

Appendix A:

A Call from the Center: The Case of the Ugaritic Alphabet

The small corpus of alphabetic inscriptions from 2nd millennium Egypt and Canaan shows affinities to the Sinai corpus in terms of production, social environment and content. They are informal private inscriptions comprising personal names, gods' names and, rarely, a mention of a gift to a god. It seems that the script was not produced too often, and underwent no standardization process by any school or center. At least until the 13th century B.C.E. it keeps its original pictographic nature. No one was really interested in this "ugly" marginal system of the roaming caravaneers and soldiers.

Yet somewhere, sometime in the 13th century B.C.E., the sophisticated scribes of Ugarit on the northern coast of Lebanon discovered the "primitive" alphabet.[63] Speaking a Semitic language, they recognized the genius of the idea. Yet the letters probably looked too unstable and non-standardized to them, as some bad imitation of Egyptian hieroglyphs. They "converted" it to what they regarded as their better, civilized cuneiform sign system.[64] They created a parallel system of cuneiform alphabetic letters, adding at the end a few letters they judged necessary to make the system better.

If this reconstruction is correct, we may witness here a movement of a cultureme from the periphery of a culture to its center. This phenomenon is well known in cultural studies. It can also be considered an example of "cultural interference" through a domestication process. The source product was used as a model for the creation of an original new local product (Even-Zohar 2005).

Yet the success of the new Ugaritic cultureme in the cultural market of the Levant was partial. It spread to Canaan, but being a "center product," it came to an end when the center fell from power and disappeared around the 11th century. The script system disappeared along with its urban carriers, scribes in Ugarit and in the urban centers of Canaan.

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[63] For a discussion of the date of the Ugaritic script, see Pardee 2007.

[64] Sanders suggested that the alphabet was invented to write the Ugaritic national literature; see Sanders 2004.

It is possible that the learned scribes of Ugarit were also the first to create the "alphabet order."[65] They first listed all the signs borrowed from the crude caravaneers' script creating the "order," and then added at the end of the list their own additional letters. For the first letter in

the sequence of the alphabet, they may have chosen the ʾ*ālep*   , the icon of the religiously loaded word, "bull," later to become the Greek *alpha* and Latin *A*. The bull was the sacred animal of the storm god, the champion Canaanite god (Green 2003). It might have been fitting in their eyes to choose this letter to be the first in the order of the alphabet.

Yet, it is also possible that the "order" or "orders" of the alphabet was already forged by its original carriers, the caravaneers, perhaps accompanied by a rhyme (like today's alphabet), to help the uninitiated to remember and recreate the letters.

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[65] There was another alphabet order known in Ugarit, Canaan and possibly Egypt; see Pardee 2007, Horowitz, Oshima, and Sanders 2006: 157–160; Quack 1993; Kammerzell 2001.

Appendix B

An Exodus from Egypt—The Iron Age Canaanite Paleographic Dialect

The main paleographic difference between the two early examples of the alphabet – the inscriptions in Sinai and the inscriptions in Wadi el-Ḥôl in Egypt, lies in the execution of two letters – *bêt* and *mem*.

bêt

The inscriptions in Sinai present a plethora of *bêt* forms that are mainly based on a "closed square with opening" iconic version (see discussion above).[66]

The horizontal inscription of Wadi el-Ḥôl presents a different *bêt* which probably takes after the hieroglyph that was taken by the Canaanites also as ground plan of a "house."

The variation of the Sinai "square" *bêt* can still be found in Canaan on the Gezer sherd (Fig. 18), a non-stratified find dated by most scholars close to the invention time due to the high iconicity of the letters (E.g., Hamilton 2006: 397).

However, besides the Gezer sherd, all Late Bronze examples of Proto-Canaanite alphabetic script in Canaan show the "Egyptian" *bêt*. One of the Lachish bowl fragments shows three "Egyptian" *bêt*s on one bowl (See Sass 1988: Fig. 164), which are very close to the Egyptian original hieroglyph (e.g. , and see Fig. 19). The second Lachish bowl shows a version which is already remote from the Egyptian original.[67] Descendents of this *bêt* continue into the Early Iron Age with the El Khader arrowheads (e.g.,) and the Byblos cone . The

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[66] Middle Bronze houses in Tell el-Dabᶜa show in general a side opening; see Bietak 1996: 24, Fig.2.

[67] See Sass 1988: Fig. 166. In this period the letters do not yet show a stable orientation.
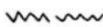
Khirbet Qeiyafa Ostracon [68] as well as the example of Izbet Sartah show similar *bêt*s.

mem
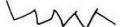
All examples in Sinai consistently show a horizontal *mem* , following the standard Egyptian hieroglyph . However, the horizontal inscription of Wadi el-Ḥôl presents two vertical versions (Fig. 2b; After Darnell et al. 2005: 75 Fig. 2) of the *mem*.[69] The vertical inscription in Wadi el-Ḥôl (Fig 2a) nevertheless shows a standard horizontal *mem* .

The New Kingdom Proto-Canaanite ostracon found in the Valley of the Queens in Egypt continues the *Egyptian-Canaanite* paleographic tradition showing a vertical *mem* as well (Fig. 3a, 3b).

Interestingly, by the end of the Late Bronze and early Iron Age almost all inscriptions from Canaan that contain the letter *mem* show the *vertical* version, e.g., Qubur el-Walaida bowl , Tell Rehov sherd , the Byblos cone A , the *yt'* arrowhead ,[70] The Bronze and the

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[68] Garfinkel, Ganor and Hasel. 2010: 48, with Fig. 7. The Qeiyafa Ostracon shows the same "three dots" division as the 13th century Lachish ewer (Sass 1988: 61, Fig. 156, see also Naveh 1973.). The orientation of the letters in the ostracon is unstable and the letters are actually "rolling around."

[69] For the origins of this variation see Darnell et al. 2005: 78. For a different reconstruction of the source of this *mem* in Egypt, see Goldwasser 2006a: 147 and Fig. 26.

[70] Sass 1988: Fig. 204. On the arrowheads in general with bibliography, see recently Sass 2010.

Azarbaal Inscription ⚡ (Rollston 2008: 73, Fig. 2), and Khirbet Qeiyafa

Ostracon ⚡.[71]

This paleographic peculiarity suggests that the script moved from Sinai probably in two directions. Some carriers moved to Canaan from Sinai as suggested by the Gezer sherd. However, other carriers moved to Egypt desert roads, where they "recreated" the script according to their own memory of the writing, a tradition that might have been moving verbally. Some carriers may have been literate (in alphabetic writing) or partially literate, but none were professional scribes.

It is somewhat surprising that the early Iron Age tradition of Canaan mostly follows the **Egyptian-*Canaanite*** paleographical dialect, and not the original Sinai dialect. It seems that the new alphabetic script wandered to Egypt in the Middle Bronze Age. Some of its carriers may have moved back to Canaan by the end of the Bronze Age. The paleographic dialect that surfaces in Canaan has some strong affinities with the *Egyptian paleographic dialect* – the *bêt* and the *mem*.

However, in Canaan, the paleographic dialect is strictly alphabetic, and the few "contaminations" from the Egyptian hieroglyphic system that are recorded in Wadi el-Ḥôl, such as the possible use of classifiers

(Fig. 20) or a different "Egyptian" version of *kap*, ⌇ did not enter the Iron Age tradition of alphabet in Canaan and the Levant.[72]

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[71] Misgav, Garfinkel, and Ganor 2009, Garfinkel, Ganor, and Hasel 2010. The letter *mem* is not safely identified in the Izbet Sartah Ostracon.

[72] Wimmer suggests the existence of such a *kap* in the problematic inscription from Timna, see Wimmer 2010. This inscription, if indeed an example of an unknown paleographic dialect, also contains the [MALE(HUMAN)] classifier.

Appendix C

If Hebrew were Written in "Hieroglyphs"

Modern and old Hebrew alphabetic writing system presents us with ספר, *s-p-r*, a "naked" root to which the reader must add different vowels to create his chosen signified. The Hebrew letters, unlike the Egyptian hieroglyphs, present the reader with an "unmotivated" signifier, in Saussurian terms.

In modern Hebrew, the word written as ספר represents the abstract skeleton of a combination of three consonants *s+p+r* and could be read *sepher* ("book"), *sappar* ("hairdresser"), *sopher* ("scribe"), *sipper* ("recounted") or *saphar* ("[he] counted"). No vowels are represented by the signifier ספר.

In the Egyptian system, due to the fact that its sign system is motivated (in Saussurian terms), *one specific manifestation* of the root may stand for *all* possible combinations of *root+vowels*. The reader in the Egyptian system faces an additional semiotic task in which he first must "free" the abstract root from its concrete pictorial meaning. In this process the classifier system of the script offers substantial help as the classifier, usually added at the end of the word, is instrumental in the cognitive process of "reference tracking."[73]

Were Modern Hebrew written in a pictorial writing system like Egyptian, all the words built on the root ר-פ-ס *s-p-r* could be written by a single iconic representation of one occurrence of the root, e.g.,

s-p-r   Sepher "book"

ספר

This sign (used in this word as logogram) could be used as written signifier for all the above different signifieds built on the root *s-p-r* even though it semantically represents only *one variation* of the root + certain vowel patterns. The word *sopher* ("scribe") might be written:

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73 For "reference tracking," see Croft 1994 and Goldwasser and Grinevald forthcoming.

s-p-r   CL[MALE]   So*phe*r
                            "scribe"

ספר
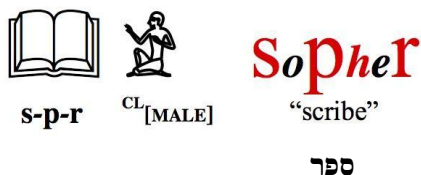
Here the appearance of the [MALE(HUMAN)] classifier directs the reader to the deverbal noun "scribe."

The word *sappar* ("barber") could be written in our invented Hebrew pictorial writing system as:

s-p-r   CL[SCISSORS]   CL[MALE]   Sa*p(p)*a*r*
                                      "barber"

ספר
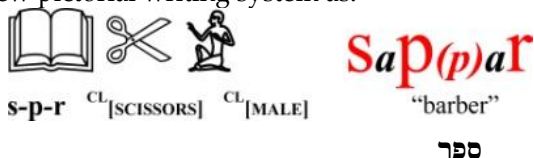
The "modern classifier" [SCISSORS] and then the [MALE(HUMAN)] would direct the reader to extract the root's *sound* skeleton, and leave the signifier/signified "book" behind. It would then direct the reader to the correct signified by the classifiers. The classifiers contain relevant meronymic and taxonomic information, i.e., "central tool" and generic category to which the searched-for signified belongs. In the meantime, the classifiers of the deverbal noun present, in the pictorial alone, the semantic roles of [INSTRUMENT] and [AGENT (NOMINALIZER)]. The classifiers have no *phonetic* signifier/signified; they are not pronounced.

s-p-r   CL[SCISSORS]   CL[ACTION]   Si*p(p)*e*r*
                                        "gave a haircut"

ספר
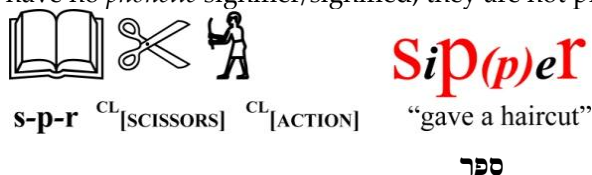
Here the ⚋ human [AGENT] classifier is shown in action, not as the non-active nominalizer ⚌.

In the real Modern Hebrew alphabetic script, the reader is represented only with a "naked" root skeleton and the correct signified can

be realized only through the surrounding context of the written word. The word ספר, if represented alone in Hebrew, shows no clue to which signified it should refer. In our invented hieroglyphic-like Hebrew script presented above, the word could stand alone, and the reader could easily reach the correct signified.

The Hebrew "triconsonantal" root ספר also forms the basis for other nouns built on the root with additions of a consonant prefix and/or suffix, e.g.:

M 📖 A ✂ 🏠 *mi*S*pa*r*a*
"barbershop"
מספרה

m   s-p-r   a   CL[SCISSORS]   CL[HABITAT]
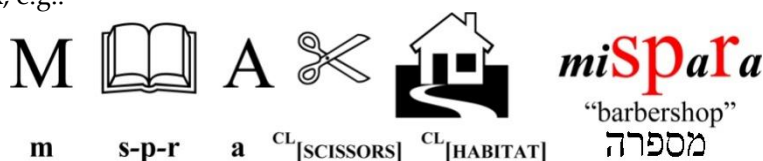
Like the invented Hebrew script, in similar cases in Egyptian,[74] the Egyptian hieroglyphic script would add "uniconsonantals" to the root, creating a new word. See the above example, *m*ꜥ*ḥ*ꜥ*t*, 🦉 📿 ⬜, "tomb."

Acknowledgments

After this article was submitted for publication, I received the book, *The Invention of Hebrew*, by Seth Sanders (2009). Sanders is close to me in his understanding of the alphabetic phenomenon during the early Iron Age.

Of special interest for my thesis is his reading of the Nahal Tabor cuneiform text, which in his opinion "displays a distinctive feature of what would later become Phoenician" (p. 96). This may strengthen my assumption that speakers of the Canaanite dialect called "Phoenician" were indeed present in the *Jezreel* Valley in the early Iron Age.

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[74] Compare here Kammerzell 1995: XXX-XXXIII.

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Figures:

Fig. 1. Examples of uniconsonantal, biconsonantal, and triconsonantal signs

Fig. 2a. Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription 1 (after Darnell 2005, Fig. 2a)
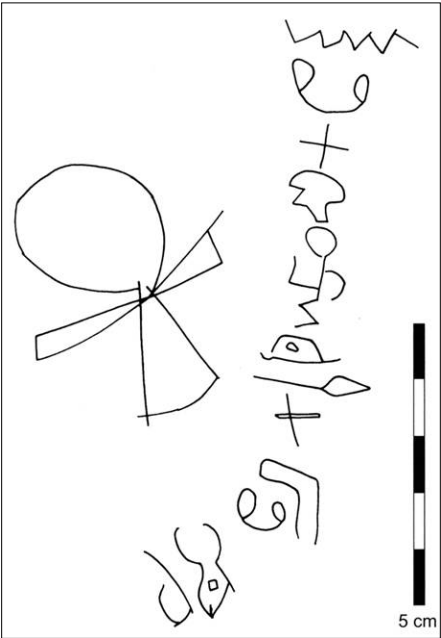
Fig. 2b. Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription 2 (after Darnell 2005, Fig. 16a)
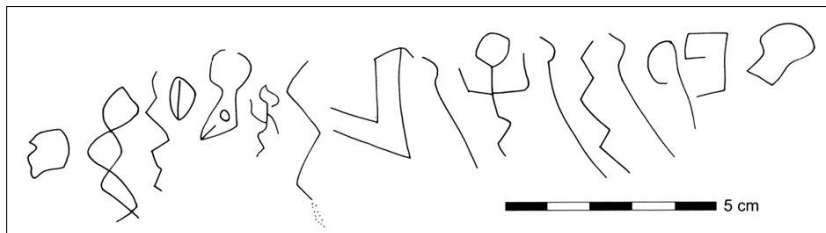
Fig. 3a. Valley of the Queens ostracon (after Sass 1988: 286)
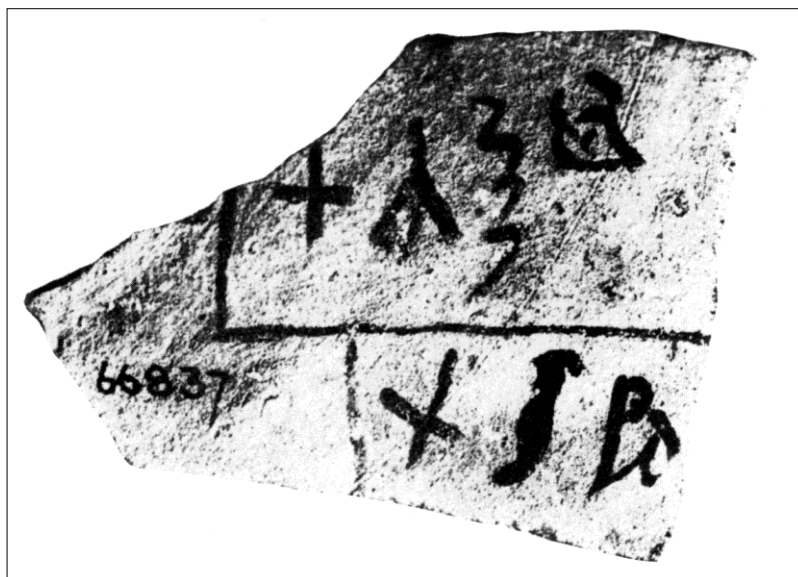
Fig. 3b. Valley of the Queens ostracon (after Leibovich 1940)
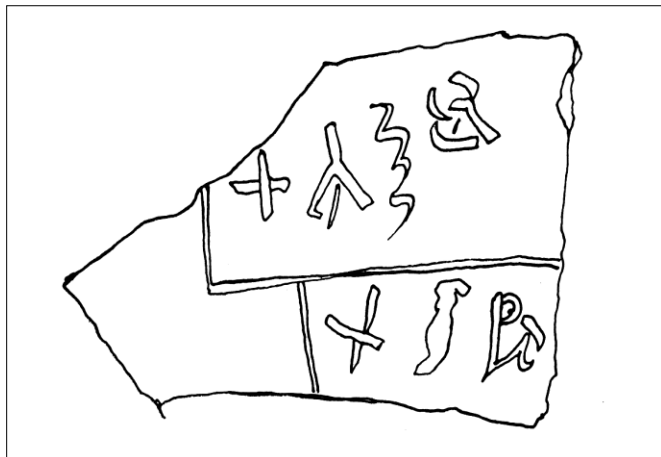
Fig. 4a. Sinai Temple. Stela 92 inscription of Khebeded (after *Sinai I*, pl. XXVII)
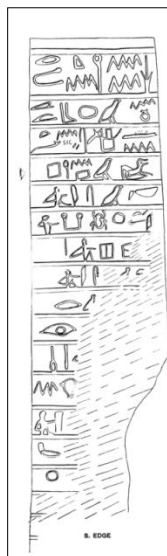
Fig. 4b. Sinai Temple. Stela 92 inscription of Khebeded with marked "house" signs

Fig. 5. Toggle pins from Tell el-Dabᶜa (after Bietak 1968, Fig. 9/340, 343, 375, pl.XXXIII d)
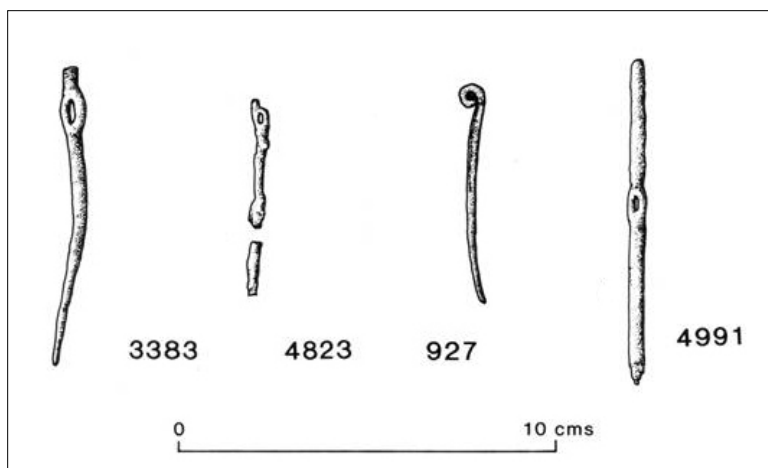
Fig. 6. Directions of writing in Egyptian Hieroglyphs

Fig. 7. Direction of reading in an Egyptian stela (after *Sinai I,* pl. XVII, Serabit, mines 53)

Fig. 8. Direction of reading in a Proto-Sinaitic inscription (after *Sinai I*, 349 Mine L entrance)
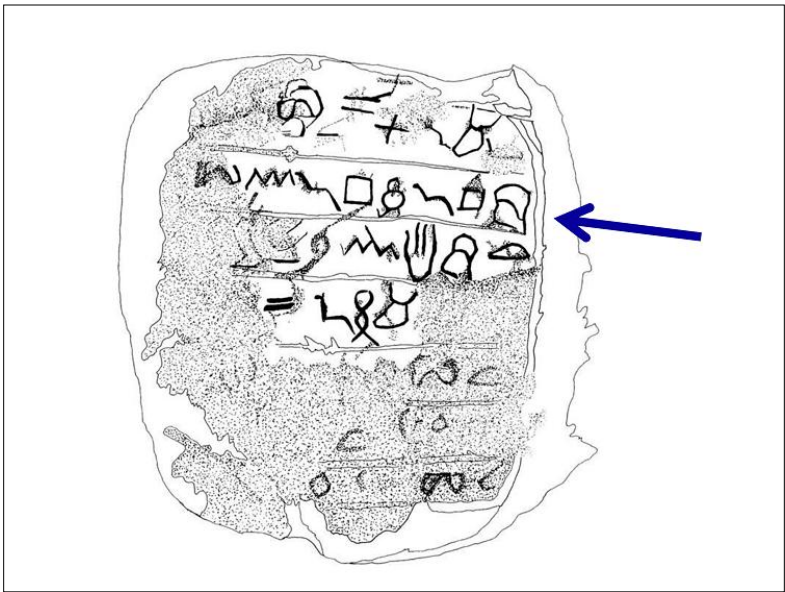
Fig. 9a. The statue of *N-ᶜ-m* arrangement of words (after *Sinai I*, Temple, 346b, right side)
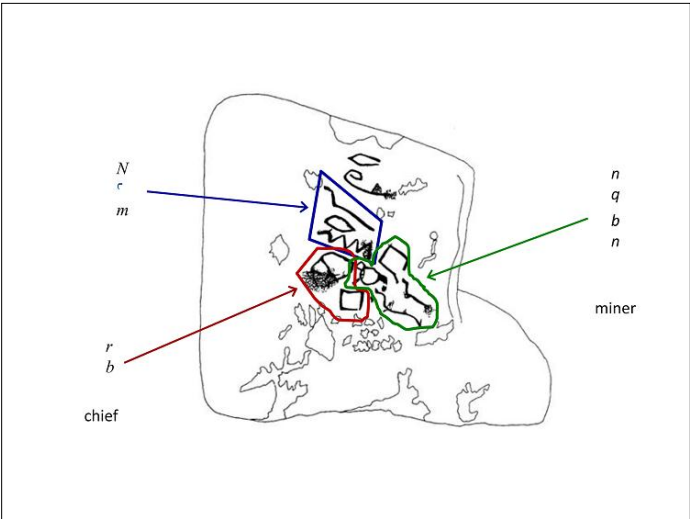
Fig. 9b. The statue of *N-ʿ-m* direction of reading (after *Sinai I*, Temple, 346b, right side)
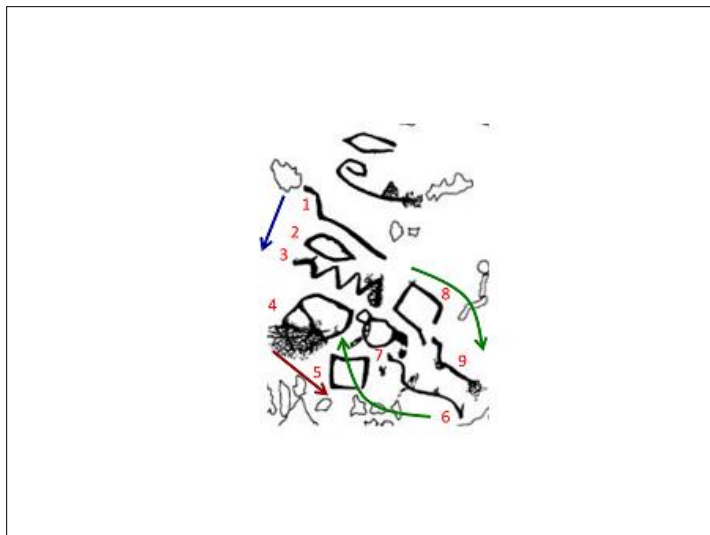
Fig. 10. Letters of different sizes (after *Sinai I,* 352 Mine L)

Fig. 11. Letters facing different directions (after *Sinai I*, 375a Mine M)
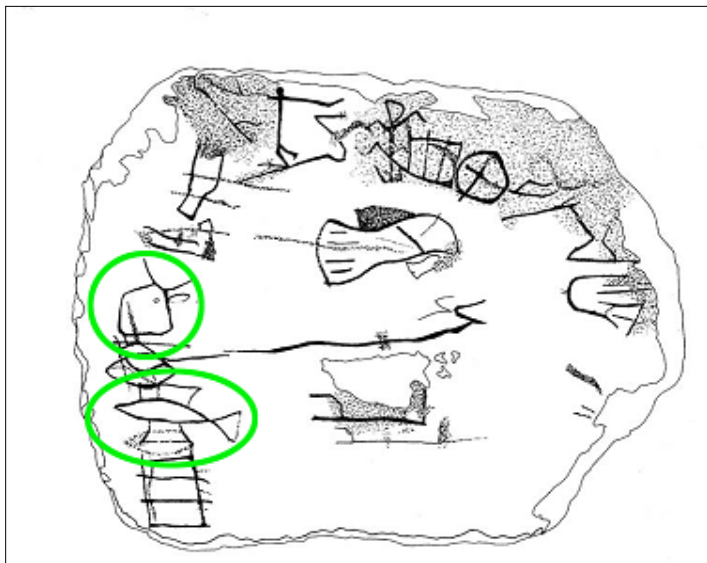
Fig. 12. "Bull" signs facing different directions (after *Sinai I,* 357, after Sass 59, mine L)
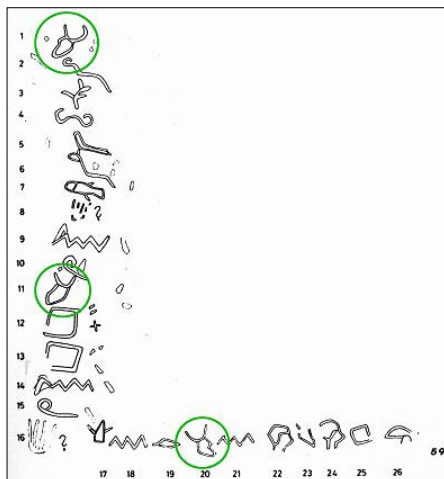
Fig. 13. Hieratic inscription from the 12ᵗʰ Dynasty, after Möller 1927: 20 (Illahun).
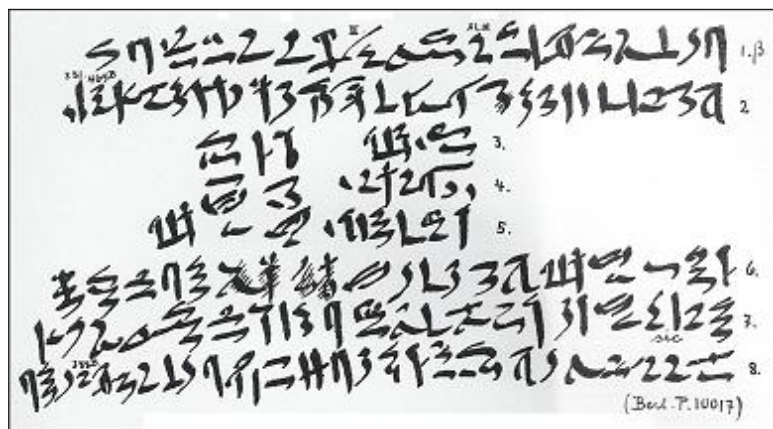
Fig. 14. The Canaanite ruler from Tell el-Dabᶜa (after Bietak 2010b, 148, Fig. 6)
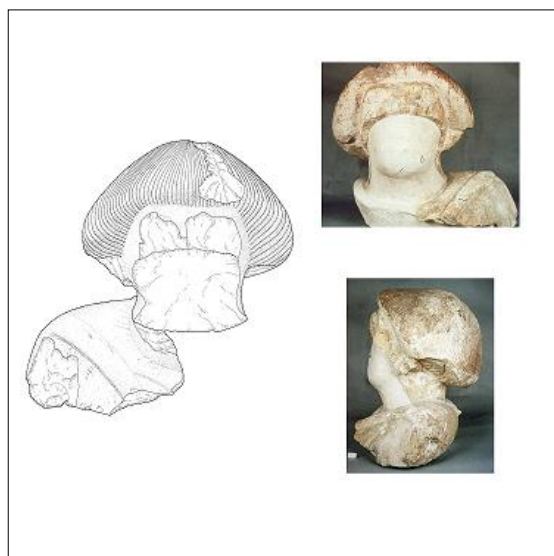
Fig. 15. Bull's head on an offering table from Gebel Magharah (after *Sinai I,* pl LXXXIX no 500)
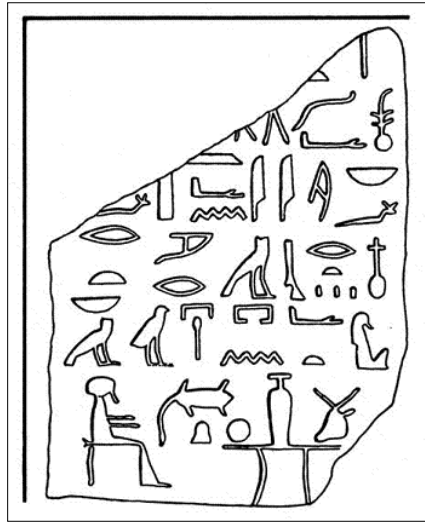
Fig. 16. Clay house model from Egypt (Reference unknown)

Fig. 17. Model of a nomadic enclosure (after Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, 111, Fig. 13)
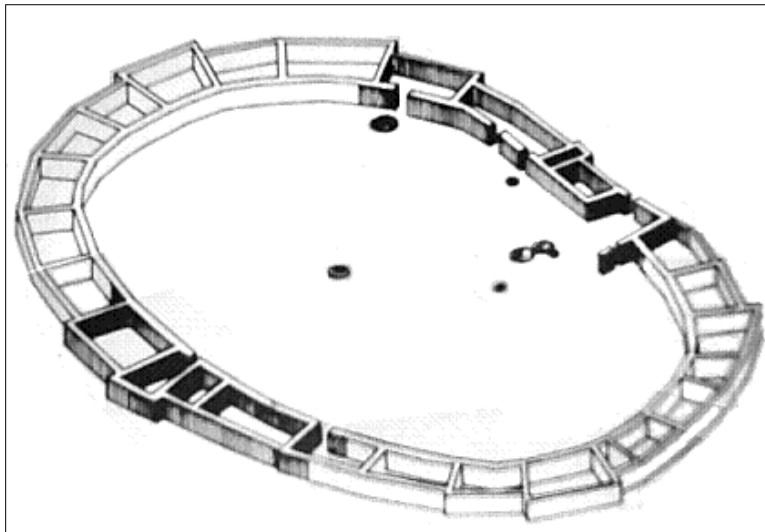
Fig. 18. Gezer sherd (after Sass 1988, Fig. 145)
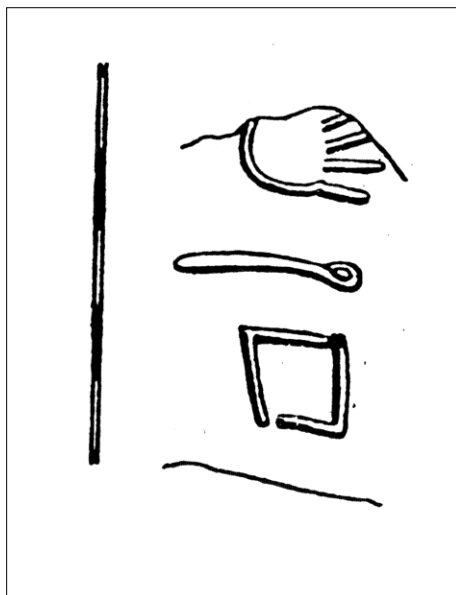
Fig. 19. Lachish bowl fragment (after Sass 1988, Fig. 164)
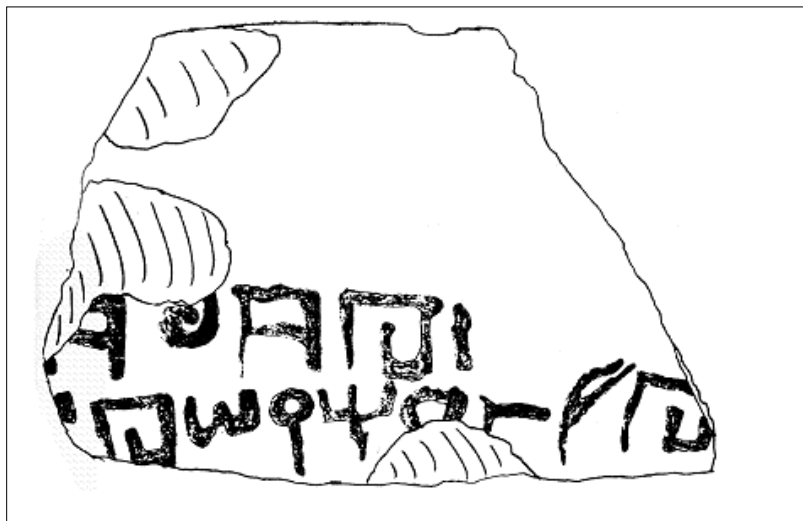
Fig. 20. Optative reading of the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription 1 (Orly Goldwasser)
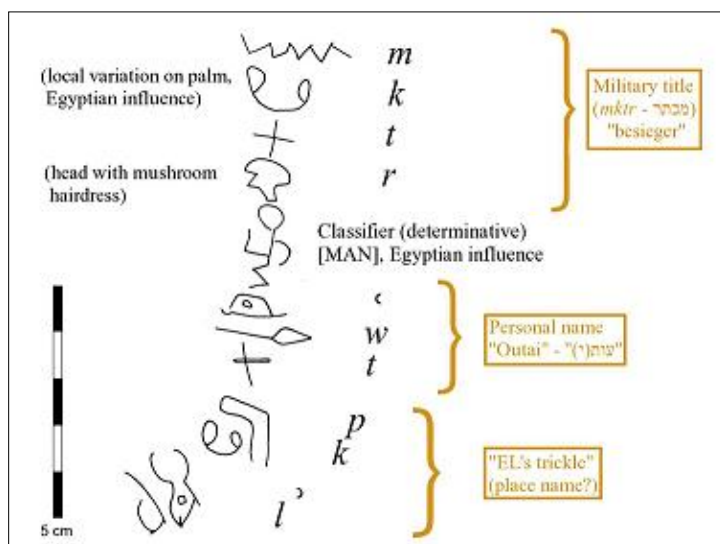
Tables:

Table 1. Uniconsonantal signs in Egyptian (after Gardiner 1957)

THE ALPHABET

SIGN	TRANS-LITERATION	OBJECT DEPICTED	APPROXIMATE SOUND-VALUE	REMARKS
	$\jmath$	Egyptian vulture	the glottal stop heard at the commencement of German words beginning with a vowel, ex. *der Adler*.	corresponds to Hebrew א *'āleph* and to Arabic *'alif hamzatum*.
	i	flowering reed	usually consonantal *y*; at the beginning of words sometimes identical with *ɉ*.	corresponds to Hebrew י *yōdh*, Arabic ي *yā*.
(1) (2) \\	y	(1) two reed-flowers (2) oblique strokes	*y*	used under specific conditions in the last syllable of words, see § 20.
	$ᶜ$	forearm	a guttural sound unknown to English	corresponds to Hebrew ע *ᶜayin*, Arabic ع *ᶜain*.
	w	quail chick	*w*	
	b	foot	*b*	
	p	stool	*p*	
	f	horned viper	*f*	
	m	owl	*m*	
	n	water	*n*	corresponds to Hebrew נ *nūn*, but also to Hebrew ל *lāmedh*.
	r	mouth	*r*	corresponds to Hebrew ר *rēsh*, more rarely to Hebrew ל *lāmedh*.
	h	reed shelter in fields	*h* as in English	corresponds to Hebrew ה *hē*, Arabic ه *hā*.
	$ḥ$	wick of twisted flax	emphatic *h*	corresponds to Arabic ح *ḥā*.
	$ḫ$	placenta (?)	like *ch* in Scotch *loch*	corresponds to Arabic خ *ḫā*.
	$ẖ$	animal's belly with teats	perhaps like *ch* in German *ich*	interchanging early with ḫ, later with ḥ, in certain words.
(1) (2)	s	(1) bolt (2) folded cloth	*s*	originally two separate sounds: (1) z, much like our z; (2) ś, unvoiced s.
	$š$	pool	*sh*	early hardly different from ḥ.
	$ḳ$	hill-slope	backward *k*; rather like our *q* in *queen*	corresponds to Hebrew ק *ḳōph*, Arabic ق *ḳāf*.
	k	basket with handle	*k*	corresponds to Hebrew כ *kaph*, Arabic ك *kāf*. Written in hieratic.
	g	stand for jar	hard *g*	
	t	loaf	*t*	
	$ṯ$	tethering rope	originally *tsh* (č or *tj*)	during Middle Kingdom persists in some words, in others is replaced by *t*.
	d	hand	*d*	
	$ḏ$	snake	originally *dj* and also a dull emphatic *s* (Hebrew צ)	during Middle Kingdom persists in some words, in others is replaced by *d*.

Tables 2a, 2b. The letters of the Protosinaitic alphabet and their presumed correspondents from Middle Kingdom hieroglyphic inscriptions in Sinai (after Goldwasser 2006a). I am grateful to Nicola Math for the help in creating the table.

Table 3. An evolving Alphabet (after Goldwasser 2010a)

THE RISE AND EXPANSION OF COLLOQUIAL EGYPTIAN ARABIC AS A LITERARY LANGUAGE

Gabriel M. Rosenbaum

Preface: A Personal Note

When I came back to Tel Aviv University to do my master's degree at the Department of Arabic, I took several courses at the Department of Literature, most of them with Itamar [Even-Zohar] and some with Gideon [Toury]. At that time, Itamar and his colleagues and students promoted the polysystem theory developed by Itamar (finally shaped and published together with collected articles in Even-Zohar 1990; since then, it is constantly being updated in electronic publications). I was greatly impressed with that theory which could look at and describe not only literature but any activity connected to human behavior. The Polysystem Theory, as well as other studies by Itamar, affected my academic work in years to come as, I am sure, it affected the work of all participants in this workshop. But the greater bonus was getting to know Itamar the person, full not only with wisdom but also with a sense of humor (some of which I documented while sitting in his classes), and always ready to listen and to help with good advice. It was a great honor to participate in the workshop, and I thank the organizing committee for inviting me to take part in it.

1. Introduction

I would like to start my description with a quotation from the Egyptian press. Three weeks before coming to this workshop I came across an article in an Egyptian daily newspaper, whose outset reads as follows:

لغتنا العربية الجميلة هي أفضل لغات العالم، فهي لغة القرآن الكريم، وهي لغة أهل الجنة وهي اللغة التي تجمع بين كلّ الشعوب العربية ويتمنى التحدث بها كل المسلمين في شتى أنحاء العالم حتى لو لم يكونوا عربا.

Our beautiful Arabic language is the best of the world languages, as it is the language of the honorable Quran; it is also the language of the dwellers of Paradise, and it is the language that unites all Arab peoples; all Muslims all over the world wish to speak it even when they are not Arabs (*Al-Aḥrār* 2007).

The article is entitled *Luġatuna al-gamīla* ("Our Beautiful Language"), a title which is also an allusion to a famous radio program dealing with the correct use of Arabic; its outset summarizes the common opinion in the Arab world about Arabic; hundreds, perhaps thousands of articles, convey the same message. Later on, the writer of the article attacks the use of both foreign words and the colloquial in the media, and calls for replacing them with standard Arabic. This call reflects a typical attitude often expressed in Egyptian newspapers in articles and in letters to the editor. One random example is an article entitled *Luġatuna al-gamīla tataʾākal.. al-ʿāmmiyya wal-ʾalfāẓ al-ʾagnabiyya tuhaddid al-ʿarabiyya!!* ("Our Beautiful Language is being Eaten Away; the Colloquial and Foreign Expressions Threaten the Arabic [Language]"). The message is expressed in the title that also contains the collocation "our beautiful language" (Namnam 1998).

The quotation above is taken from an article written by a twelve-year-old girl who won the first prize in a writing competition for children, undoubtedly not only because of its eloquence but also because of the ideas expressed in it, ideas that conform with the ideology maintained by the cultural establishment in Egypt as well as in any Arabic speaking community (the girl's name is not given). In Egypt, however, new norms in written literature nowadays challenge the traditional norms reflected in the twelve-year-old girl's article.

In Egypt the colloquial language has become also a written (see Rosenbaum 2004) and a literary language, in addition to the standard language. This is a revolutionary and so far unique development in Arab culture, obviously contradictory to mainstream Egyptian culture and to Arab culture as well. Texts in colloquial Arabic are being written in other places in the Arab world, but Egypt is the only Arabic-speaking country where this happens on a large scale and where the spoken dialect has become a second written language used in poetry, prose, drama and to an increasing extent in the printed press and on road billboards, too.

2. A Note on the Status of Egyptian Arabic in General and the Dialect of Cairo in Particular

The most prestigious spoken dialect in Egypt is that of Cairo; it is also the main dialect used as a literary language in Egypt. Usually when

one refers to "colloquial Arabic" in Egypt what one means is the Cairene dialect. This dialect is also the main language used in films, on television, in the theater and in songs. Radio and television broadcasters often conduct their interviews in the dialect of Cairo. Egyptian literature written in the colloquial makes use of other dialects as well, mainly for purposes of realistic portrayal of characters or in local and folkloristic poetry, but the dialect of Cairo is the one that is mainly used as a language of literature.

It is worth noting that many of those writing in Cairene Arabic were not born in Cairo, although for many Cairo became their place of residence and work. These writers, who are not native speakers of Cairene Arabic (but more often than not have adopted it as their spoken variety), use it as their language of literature, and imitate its structures, morphology and lexicon.[1] Cairene Arabic has thus become the standard for written Egyptian Arabic and the model to be imitated.

Egyptian Arabic, i.e. the dialect of Cairo, is also the Arabic dialect best understood by non-Egyptian speakers of Arabic; it is understood in varying degrees in other Arab countries due mainly to the influence of Egyptian radio, Egyptian music whose performers enjoy a tremendous popularity throughout the Arab world (for example, there is hardly any native speaker of Arabic who does not know by heart some of the songs of Umm Kulṯūm, the diva of Egyptian as well as of Arab music, and most can even sing or declaim some of the lyrics in Egyptian Arabic), Egyptian cinema and television and also written literature and the press. The dialect of Cairo enjoys great prestige outside of Egypt as well. More than once I heard speakers of non-Egyptian dialects of Arabic saying that the Egyptian (that is, Cairene) dialect is, in their words, "the most beautiful", and some also believe that it is the most "correct" dialect and the closest to standard Arabic. This encourages Egyptian writers who want to use the colloquial, because they assume that the non-Egyptian reader will understand at least some of their Egyptianisms.

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[1] Sometimes elements of non-Cairene dialects penetrate literary and semi-literary works written by non-Cairenes, often for stylistic reasons; see, e.g. Zack 2001 on the style of al-Qaʿīd's *Bird's Milk* (1994).

3. The Change of Norms in Egyptian Literature

Egyptian society, like all Arabic-speaking societies, exists in a state of diglossia (see, e.g., Fergusson 1959; Boussofara-Omar 2006); modern Standard Arabic (*Fuṣḥā*) is used in literature and for official communication, and the dialect (*'Āmmiyya*) is used for personal and non-formal communication. *Fuṣḥā* is more-or-less uniform throughout the Arabic-speaking world, whereas *'Āmmiyya* differs according to geographical location and groups of speakers. Modern *Fuṣḥā* is naturally different from Classical Arabic – its vocabulary absorbed many new words and meanings (some of which may differ from one Arab country to another), but its grammar and morphology have basically remained the same. In scholarly writing the term *'Āmmiyya* refers to any Arabic dialect. Egyptian *'Āmmiyya* is usually referred to as CEA (Colloquial Egyptian Arabic), an acronym used hereafter also to refer to written Egyptian *'Āmmiyya*. Modern Standard Arabic, *Fuṣḥā*, is referred to as MSA in modern scholarly writing, and hereafter I shall use this acronym when referring to modern Standard Arabic in Egypt.

Traditionally, Arabic literature has been, and still is, written in the standard language. Arabic, the language of the Quran and other holy texts, as well as the classical poetry which is a source for pride in Arab culture, is considered the sublime and the most perfect and eloquent language. The colloquial has for fourteen-hundred years been considered an inferior language, not fit for use as a vehicle of "serious" literature. Opposition to using it as a language of literature has deep roots in Arab culture, Egypt included, and is still fierce.

In Arab society there is a constant fear of losing contact with the Arab and Islamic heritage, whose texts are written in *Fuṣḥā*, once *'Āmmiyya* becomes a written language, and today there is also a fear of political fragmentation if the various dialects were to become written languages. The "bad" examples from the Arab point of view are Europe, where the various dialects of Latin that had become written languages promoted the formation of independent political entities each of which uses a language not understood by the others, and Malta, whose spoken Arabic dialect has become a written language using the Latin alphabet, and thus contributed to Christian Malta breaking off from the

Arab world;[2] Malta is also the only Arabic speaking country that does not call its language Arabic but rather Maltese. From a practical point of view, many writers feel that if they want to be read and understood in all Arab countries they should write in Standard Arabic.

Centuries of disparagement toward *ʿĀmmiyyya* in Arab society have led many speakers of Arabic to believe that the variety they speak is inferior and a corrupted form of the sublime *Fuṣḥā*; it is their dream that *ʿĀmmiyya* will disappear and *Fuṣḥā* will become the only language of the Arabs. Arab societies, therefore, refuse to recognize their mother tongues as respectable languages and refuse to make them national languages.

Texts in the colloquial were written in Egypt and in other parts of the Arabic-speaking world already in the nineteenth century and to a more limited extent even earlier, but their cultural status was low and they were not considered worthwhile literature, if considered literature at all. What has changed in Egypt is the scope of writing in the colloquial and the status and prestige of texts written in that variety. The position of writers who wrote in CEA and of texts written in CEA, which have not been appreciated in the past, has changed, too, and now some of them are located in the center of the Egyptian literary system and enjoy high status in Egyptian culture.

Because the few texts written in CEA before the twentieth century were not appreciated they usually were not preserved. Thus, for example, most of the plays written in CEA between the years 1870-1872 by the founder of modern Egyptian theater, Yaʿqūb Ṣanūʿa, have not been preserved; today Ṣanūʿa enjoys high prestige, but most of his work is lost.

Despite opposition to the use of CEA, pressure to write texts in it arose from several directions. One was the influence which the realistic

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[2] The loss of Malta from the perspective of Arab and Islamic culture is reflected in two well-known expressions in Egyptian Arabic, *ʾiddan fī mālṭa* – "called to prayer [in a mosque] in Malta," meaning "a voice calling in the wilderness," since the Maltese are Christians and no one will heed the call to pray in a mosque; and *baʿd-i ḫarāb mālṭa* – "after the destruction of Malta," meaning "it's too late, now you remember?!, there's nothing we can do any more." The Arabic-speaking world fears that if the dialects were to become independent languages, what happened in Malta may recur.

trend in Western literature had on writers who were trying to come up with ways of faithfully representing the language spoken by the characters in literary texts. Another was the flourishing of the theater in Egypt and the increased number of dramatic works intended to be performed on stage. Plays in MSA were not easily comprehensible to a large part of the audience, that until today prefers performances in CEA. It should also be noted that realism had become the dominant trend in drama as well, and that many playwrights also write in other genres in which they use CEA as well.

In the middle of the twentieth century a number of writers and playwrights attempted to find solutions to the problem of the language of dialogue in prose and drama. Some attempts have been made to seek a compromise between CEA and MSA, of which the most famous is Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's experiment in creating a style that he called a "third language" (see, e.g., Somekh 1991: 40-45), but they did not succeed, and CEA ended up becoming the main language in drama (see Rosenbaum 1994). In prose CEA is an option, equal in status to MSA in the dialogue; CEA is penetrating the language of narration as well, but at a slower pace.

A different type of demand to write in CEA comes from some Egyptians who want to culturally detach themselves from the Arab world and to emphasize the unique and separate local, even Pharaonic, identity of Egypt. Such ideas were expressed in the past and to a lesser extent also today, but until now have not received significant support. A few of those who write in CEA would be happy to replace MSA with CEA, but most of them do not necessarily share this feeling and they still regard themselves as part of Arab culture.

The norms of the language of poetry, too, appear to be changing. Theoretically the norm requiring poetry to be written in MSA is still dominant. In practice, however, writing poetry in CEA is flourishing and the number of poetry collections published in the colloquial is tremendous. It is worth noting that the two most prominent poets in Egypt today, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Abnūdī and Aḥmad Fuʾād Nigm, write in CEA and enjoy great prestige in Egyptian culture. However, the debate between the supporters of using CEA in literature and its opponents, in

Egypt as well as elsewhere in the Arabic speaking world, still goes on but is less intense.[3]

CEA has also penetrated semi-literary and non-literary texts. The presence of CEA in the contemporary Egyptian press is amazing (see Rosenbaum, forthcoming). There is a tradition of writing cartoon captions in CEA; also, CEA has been used in humoristic and satirical magazines, but now it is also used in headlines and in articles in "serious" newspapers, thus changing the style of the press, too. In several contemporary newspapers and magazines there are large sections that are being written entirely in CEA or in a mixed style. From time to time there are new weeklies like *Iḍḥak lil-Dunya* ("Laugh to the World" 2005), *al-Rīša* ("The Quill" 2005) and *al-Dabbūr* ("The Wasp" 2008) that appear for several months and use CEA as a dominant language; the two monthlies *Iḥna* ("We") and *Kilmitna* ("Our Word"), that are directed to the younger generation, are written mostly in CEA. CEA is also widely used in advertising, and nowadays it frequently appears on street and road billboards, so texts written in the colloquial are always available for the passers-by (Rosenbaum 2008b).

Egyptian Arabic is found increasingly in non-fiction as well. Texts in CEA are also collected and published by Egyptian scholars who come from the fields of folklore, sociology and anthropology. Some of their studies contain extensive quotations of narrative texts and dialogues in CEA whose style is similar to realistic literary dialogues and narration. Examples of such books are a study of Egyptian anecdotes that contains a section of humorous stories and jokes told in the colloquial (Ša'lān 1993: 265-364); a study that contains many recorded monologues by women from low strata of society (al-Turkī, Ṯaryā, Malik Rušdī and Āmāl Ṭanṭāwī 2006); a book that contains a large section of reports told by informants explaining traditional ways of preparing popular medicines (Ġunaym 2007: 74-154); a study on preparing the bride for the wedding ('Alī n.d.: especially 229-293); most of the book on folktales in al-Daqhaliyya consists of stories in CEA collected from informants (Farag 1975: 87-410).

The last bastion of MSA is the corpus of some non-fictional texts, such as legal, religious and academic ones, in which MSA is still the

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[3] A lot has been written about this debate; two examples are Gully 1997 (in English) and Šārūnī 2007 (in Arabic).

dominant language. But even here there are some exceptions. One significant example is a book entitled "The Present of Culture in Egypt"; one of its chapters is dedicated to the defense of CEA and its use (Qindīl 1999: 303-335). The book is written in MSA except for this one chapter, which is written in CEA; clearly in this chapter the language is the message: non-fiction can indeed be written in CEA.

The wave of writing in CEA is very strong today, and undoubtedly it is changing the structure of the Egyptian literary and cultural systems. But in most cases this is done in an unorganized way. Those who participate in this wave may be regarded as idea-makers or entrepreneurs (as described by Even-Zohar 2005) who change Egyptian culture and consequently Arab culture as well, but there is no doubt that they are not part of a movement but rather a large group of many individuals. There is no organized movement of writers in CEA, but there has been a discernible movement of literature in CEA from the margin toward the center in the Egyptian literary system, where it is now located.

This change in the norms of writing is taking place *de facto*, without the establishment's approval. Works written in CEA are recognized as literature, but are not being taught at school, and there is no academy of CEA, parallel to the Academy of Arabic (i.e. *Fuṣḥā*), that may promote its use; it is doubtful whether such an academy will ever be established. The change of norms has already attracted the attention of some scholars who recognize the fact that CEA is becoming a legitimate vehicle of modern Egyptian literature.[4] Since according to the new norms drama is mostly written in CEA, and poetry may be written in CEA, and since it is already accepted to write the dialogue in prose in either CEA or in MSA, the focus in the description below is on prose narration.

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[4] See, e.g., Somekh 1991; Holes 2004: 373-382; for a short account of literature published in colloquial Egyptian Arabic see Davies 2006: 598-602; Manfred Woidich, a renowned dialectologist of Egyptian Arabic, is constantly using evidence taken from printed Egyptian literature in addition to materials collected from informants, as he did in *Kairenisch-Arabische*, his monumental description of Egyptian Arabic (2006).

4. The Penetration of Egyptian Arabic into Prose

4.1. Mixed Styles

CEA at first was mostly used in prose in the dialogue, and also for *realia*, objects found and used in daily life. By the mid-twentieth century it became acceptable *de facto* to use CEA in the dialogue, but it was also accepted that the narration should be written in MSA only. Gradually, however, CEA also penetrated the narration. Even in the texts of writers who oppose the use of CEA in writing such as Nagīb Maḥfūẓ, the Nobel laureate, elements of CEA can be found in the language of the narration, albeit concealed at times (see, e.g., Somekh 1993). In the writings of authors who support writing in CEA such elements are obviously much more common.

Today the use of CEA side by side with MSA is not only tolerated by Egyptian writers but in many cases is sought for and desired. This is clearly manifested in two types of style.

One type is a style that I have called *Fuṣḥāmmiyya*. In an article published some years ago (Rosenbaum 2000), I described a certain style of texts in which MSA and CEA are used alternately; for example, parallelisms and hendiadys are created by using elements taken from both varieties. This style is employed by writers who support or have no objection to the use of CEA in written literature.

Another type is created by changing the point of view through the use of CEA, a technique now employed by many Egyptian writers. In many cases this change is brought about through "free indirect discourse" (or "free indirect style", *style indirect libre*) and using the interior monologue (*monologue interieur*), often written in either overt or disguised CEA. This stylistic device is used not only by writers who are in favor of using the colloquial in literary texts, like Yūsuf Idrīs, but also by writers who believe that literature should be written in MSA only, like Nagīb Maḥfūẓ. Both kinds of writers thus contribute to the spread of the mixed style and the use of CEA inside narration written in MSA (for examples see Rosenbaum 2008a).

The penetration of elements of CEA into texts written in MSA, or into the language of narration which is predominantly MSA, has considerably increased in the last decade. Two recent best-sellers of that kind are the prose collections "A Cup of Coffee" (ʿĀṣī 2007) and "What the Sick Person Has Done to the Dead Person" (Faḍl 2008); both contain

short stories that include CEA in the narration. This style is also common in non-fiction prose, especially satirical or critical texts of Egyptian society; some recent examples are Nigm 2008; al-Bīsī 2009; ʿAbd al-Salām 2008; ʿUmar Ṭāhir 2005 and 2007; all of these collections of prose contain extensive passages in CEA, in both the dialogue and the narration. Many writers of both fiction and non-fiction no longer hesitate to insert CEA into their prose. The poet Aḥmad Fuʾād Nigm, who belongs to the older generation, may add narration in CEA to a poetry collection as in Nigm 1995, or write prose in a mixed style as in Nigm n.d. This style reflects a novel situation in Egyptian literature: writers now can choose items out of a broader stock to be used in their repertoire, and may even create stylistic contrasts using the two varieties, an option that is not available for writers in MSA only.

4.2. Mixed Styles as a Translation Problem

In addition to the array of problems facing any translator, translators of modern Egyptian literature also face the difficulty of identifying the elements of CEA in the text, particularly when these are disguised and integrated within MSA. The task of identification is made more difficult by the fact that both languages utilize the same alphabetical signs (some of which have different functions in the two varieties; see Rosenbaum 2004). A translator (and a reader as well) who is proficient in Egyptian Arabic will usually distinguish these elements without any trouble. However, one who is not, even one whose native language is another dialect of Arabic, may experience difficulties in understanding the text and interpret elements of CEA as those of MSA. This problem occasionally results in inadequate translations of Egyptian literature (for some examples see Rosenbaum 2001).

4.3. Books and Texts Written Entirely in Egyptian Arabic

A remarkable rarity which until toward the end of the twentieth century was limited to non-canonical literature but which has penetrated into canonical literature today is the writing of whole prose texts, novels or short stories, entirely in the colloquial.

    This kind of writing eliminates the stylistic differentiation between the language of narration and the language of dialogue that has been possible due to the use of MSA and CEA for different purposes in one

text. Consequently, in such texts the situation has become similar to that which exists in literature written in MSA only, in which also no stylistic differentiation exists between the language of narration and the language of dialogue. The decision to write in this way constitutes in fact an act of defiance against both the claim that CEA is unfit to serve as a language of literature, and the claim that when it is used in literature it should be confined to writing dialogues only, as it is not fit for writing narration.

A few texts of this kind were written in the first half of the twentieth century. Some of them were *muḏakkirāt* ("memoirs") written in the first person and thus bypassing the narration obstacle (although narrative sections may be reported by the narrator in the first person); one example is al-Nuṣṣ 1930. These texts, however, were written by authors whose cultural status was marginal (and who occasionally also used pseudonyms), and the cultural establishment ignored them. Today prose written entirely in CEA is the only kind of literature in which the use of the colloquial *per se* can still arouse the indignation of critics.

The year 1965 was significant as it witnessed the publication of three novels written entirely in CEA. One of the better-known attempts to write such a novel in Egypt, still in the *memoirs* style, was undertaken by Luwīs ʿAwaḍ in 1942, after returning from England where he had been studying. He wrote an autobiographical novel in which he described his travels and studies (ʿAwaḍ 1965). The novel was rejected for publication by the censor, at first because it was written in CEA, and was eventually published in 1965.[5] Ṣabrī wrote a novel in the first person; his novel was preceded by a long introduction by the author about writing in CEA. Mušarrafa wrote a novel from the third-person omniscient narrator point of view; an interesting feature of this novel is that many of its interior monologues are printed in boldface.

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[5] In the introduction to his book ʿAwaḍ describes in detail his discussions with the censors about his book and tells the story of its publication (ʿAwaḍ 1965: 7-21). The book was published by the Rūz al-yūsuf institute in its prestigious series *al-kitāb al-ḏahabī* ("The Golden Book"); more poetic justice to this book was done years later when it was published again in different editions by two other prestigious publishing houses, the state-owned al-Hayʾa al-miṣriyya al-ʿāmma lil-kitāb in 1991, and Dār al-hilāl in 2001.

Prose written entirely in CEA before the 1990s, however, was scarce, and most of it was written from the first-person point of view. One device to avoid the challenge of dealing with narration was to write prose that contained dialogues only. A famous attempt was made by Bayram al-Tūnisī in 1923 followed by a sequel in 1925 (al-Tūnisī n.d.). These two volumes contain dialogues between husband and wife only, without even a single word of narration.[6]

An interesting experiment on contending with the problem of writing narration was undertaken by Rušdī (1955) in one of his short stories. In this story there is dialogue only, but only the first interlocutor is heard while his partner is implied and the information he supplies is reconstructed through the words of the first one. From time to time there have been sporadic attempts to write prose that mostly relies on dialogues and contains extensive passages in CEA, as in ʿAfīfī 1961 and al-Ḫamīsī 2006.

The years 1993-1994 mark a turning point in the status of prose written entirely in CEA, with the publication of two books by prominent and prestigious writers.

Aḥmad Fuʾād Nigm (1993), who writes poetry in CEA only, published two volumes of his memoirs. The two volumes proved very popular among readers and were sold out in a short time. Another edition appeared in 2001, by another publisher, in one volume and with an added chapter which was not included in the first edition.

Yūsuf al-Qaʿīd, a prominent prose writer in Egypt, published a fiction novel in CEA (1994).[7] It is worth noting that the publisher himself had reservations about writing prose fiction in the colloquial; these reservations appeared on the back of the last page. It is possible that had this novel been written by someone of lesser status in Egyptian culture the publisher would have rejected the book, and that it was only the writer's prestige that persuaded the publisher to accept it. Indeed, it was the very fact that the author was one with such a solid cultural standing that prompted critical attacks on the book's language, in Egypt as well as elsewhere in the Arab world.

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[6] On Bayram al-Tūnisī and his work see Booth 1990; on this book see ibid, 313-339.

[7] See above, note 1.

Al-Qaʿīd's novel was the last novel in CEA that was severely attacked because of its language. Novels written in CEA and published a few years later faced no criticism of their language; criticism of the use of CEA in literature has not completely disappeared, but considerably weakened and became a marginal ritual, not necessarily connected to the appearance of a particular book. At the end of the1990s and in the first decade of the twenty-first cetury the flow of books in CEA, novels or collections of short stories, fiction and non-fiction (some of which written entirely or nearly entirely in CEA) by a new and young generation of writers, has encountered hardly any criticism or opposition, despite the increasing number of publications. Some examples are ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm 2005; ʿAbd al-Munʿim 2005; ʿAlī 2000; Farag 1999. One of the books in that style was recently published by Yūsuf Maʿāṭī who often writes in a mixed style; his last prose collection (2009) is his first prose work that is written entirely in CEA. Al-ʿAssāl 2002-2003 is another example of memoirs written entirely in CEA.

A new phenomenon in Egypt is publishing books that at first appeared on the internet (see below). Short stories written in CEA also appear in newspapers and magazines. One example is a short story by ʿAbd al-Bāqī (1994) published in the weekly *Ṣabāḥ al-ḫēr*.[8] This story is written from the third-person omniscient narrator point of view and does not reflect any distinction between the languages of narration and dialogue.

5. A Note on the Contribution of Electronic Communications to the Expansion of Egyptian Arabic

Egyptian Arabic is widely used in various electronic means of communication, such as blogs, e-mail letters, chat sites and cellular telephone messages (SMS: "short message service"). When these methods were still new, a large part of this writing activity was done in Latin transcription, because software in Arabic was not yet widely available. Now most electronic communication in Egyptian Arabic is being done in Arabic letters. Many blogs and other texts now appear in various

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[8] This story later appeared in ʿAbd al-Bāqī's collection of poetry and short stories, together with other stories written in the same style, under the title *Mōt is-Sayyid ʾafandi* ("The Death of Mr. Sayyid": ʿAbd al-Bāqī 1999: 394-399).

sites on the internet in Egyptian Arabic; a noteworthy one is the new version of Wikipedia, the famous online encyclopedia, completely written in Egyptian Arabic (*Wikipedia [Egyptian] 2009*); this version of Wikipedia, separate from the standard Arabic one, strongly emphasizes the Egyptian aspects of Egypt and its people, culture and language (versus the Arabic ones), and is becoming a large source for non-fiction texts in Egyptian Arabic. Many other Egyptian sites are now written entirely in CEA.

The internet is now also bringing about an acceleration in the publication of literature in Egyptian Arabic. Several books written entirely or partly in Egyptian Arabic and published in recent years, started in blogs; their popularity attracted publishers who took it upon themselves to publish them in book versions, some of which have become best-sellers in Egypt. A known example is the prose collection *I Want to Get Married* by Ġāda ʿAbd al-ʿĀl, written entirely in CEA; the first edition appeared in 2008, and by the time this paper was being prepared for print (May 2009) there were already five editions.[9] The book was printed by one of the biggest and most prestigious publishing houses in Egypt, Dār al-šurūq, in its new series *Mudawwanat al-šurūq* ("al-Šurūq's blog"). Thus, the internet as a whole is becoming another entrepreneur that promotes writing in Egyptian Arabic.

Another type of books which originated in the internet is anthologies of short texts written by various writers that appeared on the internet and were subsequently collected and published in book form. For example, Al-Basyūnī 2009 and al-Būhī 2008.

6. Concluding Remarks

From time to time a writer or an intellectual calls for replacing MSA with CEA; CEA in their opinion should become the official language of Egypt. The fact that Egyptian Arabic is understood or partly understood by most of the Arabs strengthens their point.

Those who call for replacing MSA with CEA, however, are not the leading figures in the Egyptian cultural system. In the first half of the twentieth century there were some distinguished intellectuals, for ex-

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[9] On the style of this book see now Rosenbaum 2010; there are now (2011) already nine editions.

ample Salāma Mūsā and Luwīs ʿAwaḍ, who called for taking such a step, but they themselves seldom used CEA, and their own style usually conformed with the prevailing norms of writing in MSA (see, e.g., Suleiman 2003: 180-190, 197-204); their call usually remained unanswered. Nowadays there are not many loud voices calling for writing in CEA, but there are many, both central and marginal figures, who write in CEA, without connecting this action to ideology.

A possible explanation is that in the first half of the twentieth century Egypt was still looking for its identity. The idea of a Western Egypt or a Pharaonic Egypt was accepted by some thinkers, or at least not totally rejected, and using CEA seemed one way of maintaining an independent identity, unconnected to the rest of the Arab world. However, although Egyptians as a whole are proud of their Pharaonic past and often proudly indicate that they have seven thousand years' history of culture behind them, and although some of them still have questions about their own identity, Egypt as a political community has taken the decision to define itself as an Arab and Islamic entity. Politically, the call for CEA is not popular; artistically, there is a broad tendency to write in the Egyptian version of Arabic. Most writers who nowadays use CEA do not bother themselves with ideological questions. They simply feel that writing in CEA can serve their artistic and stylistic goals, and it is by the work of many writers, central and marginal, that the norms have changed and that Egyptian literature as well as Egyptian press seems so different from their counterparts in the rest of the Arab world. I do not foresee that in the visible future there will be an Academy for Egyptian Arabic or that Egyptian Arabic will be taught in Egyptian schools, but its central position in Egyptian writing has become a fact.

The extensive use of CEA by culturally prominent writers has given legitimacy to this use. Today more and more authors write in CEA, and more publishers are ready to publish CEA texts. The status of CEA in Egypt has in many cases become equal to that of MSA and in the genre of drama it has even exceeded it; in the latter case, that means that a playwright who wants his plays to be performed and to occupy a significant place in Egyptian culture will write them in CEA.

Some writers in Egypt prefer writing prose texts in CEA only, but many prefer using both MSA and CEA. Doing so extends the spectrum

of stylistic options available to these writers, in comparison to writers who insist on using only MSA or only CEA.

In my opinion, the mixed styles like *Fuṣḥāmmiyya* and free indirect style written in CEA, which arouse less opposition than texts written entirely in CEA, contribute more to the legitimacy of CEA as a literary language, because in such texts its status is equal to that of MSA.

The status of CEA is being determined *de facto*, without any official institution to support it. There is still some opposition to the use of CEA in literary and semi-literary texts in Egypt, especially texts written entirely in CEA, but the severe attacks on its use have weakened. Every now and then there is an article in the newspaper or a letter to the editor whose authors complain about the spreading use of CEA and warn of its danger. But in the current situation these voices can no longer stop the express train of CEA. The rise and expansion of Egyptian Arabic as a literary language is a first case of its kind and a revolutionary change in the history of Arabic literature and culture in general, and in Egyptian culture in particular, a change which is still taking place right now.

Postscript

Since the workshop took place, in 2008, the writing and publication of books in or with Colloquial Egyptian Arabic increased tremendously each year. Writing in the colloquial on the net during that period expanded, too, and further accelerated the publication of books based on texts published on the net.

The January 2011 Revolution in Egypt that toppled President Mubarak and his regime, was organized and launched mainly by internet users in Egypt through the social networks, the same milieu which many writers and consumers of literature in Colloaquial Egyptian Arabic come from.

Egypt is now in a transitional phase, and it is not clear where it is going, politically and culturally. Currently (June 2011), however, writing and publishing in the colloquial are flourishing more than ever.

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[12] Translated into English as: Khaled Al Khamissi. 2008. *Taxi*. Trans. Jonathan Wright. Laverstock (UK): Aflame Books.

[13] The year of publication is according to Sakkut 2000, vol. 3: 1312.

[14] Is-Sit, "The Lady", is one of the popular nicknames of the singer Umm Kulṯūm.

[15] *Al-Ahli* is one of the two most popular football (soccer) teams in Egypt, the rival of *al-Zamālik*.

[16] *Kalām Garāyid* (lit.: "Words of Newspapers") is an expression meaning "worthless words, words that do not have anything behind them".

[17] *Laban il-ʿAṣfūr* (lit.: "Bird's Milk") means "something impossible".

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[18] An identical edition has been published by Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C.

[19] This *maktabat miṣr* edition of the two volumes in one book, which is a revised edition of the first 1923 and 1925 editions, is still being reprinted and on sale in Egypt.

THE INVENTION OF A FOUR-SEASON MODEL FOR MODERN HEBREW CULTURE

Gideon Toury

1. Time Models to Organize Life

The way we perceive it, time has two complementary facets: it moves both **sequentially** and **cyclically**. Anything that may occur along the linear dimension is unique, but the model also allows for repetitions and duplications. Thus, in many societies, the point of one's birth lends itself to commemoration, even celebration, at fixed points along the cyclic contour of the model. This, however, is far from implying that unique points as such, let alone the acts they mark, will ever come again.

The main function of temporal models used by the members of a cultural group is to **give a form to reality and human life within it**, be it on the individual or the societal level. The principles themselves that underlie an organization of time do not enforce themselves on the group in question in any direct way, certainly not in a way which could be presented as "natural". Rather, they are mediated by factors of the culture itself for whose usage the model will have been established.

Life in a group may be governed by time models of various types. What they all share is the quality of **hierarchical order**, being regulated by two complementary principles:

(1) bottom-up **accumulation** (i.e., the combination of a number of units on a certain level to form one higher-level entity) and

(2) top-down **subdivision** (i.e., having an entity sliced into a number of lower-level ones).

To be sure, even if the people-in-a-culture appear to be using seemingly "natural" features to mark their accumulation / subdivision, which they often do, the way these features are put to work, and hence the resulting model as a whole, are **culture-bound** by their very nature, as the key operations involve selection and adoption. There is little wonder then that the organization of time tends to differ across cultures, the more so when the culture one focuses on has not been in touch with any other culture.

One possible move, which has indeed been realized in different ways, is to start with a "year", however this notion might be conceived, and subdivide it consecutively into a number of shorter, lower-level time units, e.g. "seasons", "months", "weeks"). Whatever the principles of the subdivision of a year to seasons, a basic condition is that the number of seasons per year will always be **higher than one** (otherwise wherefore the need for a category in between the "year" and the "month"?). On the other hand, the number of seasons will always be smaller than the number of months, although one or more than one of the seasons (but never all of them at once!) may indeed be one month long.

Whenever recourse to seasons is deemed necessary or useful for a culture, a number of attributes is selected from a potentially infinite reservoir and tied up with the seasons themselves, or with transition points from one season to another.[1] Though basically a **conceptual** kind of map, such a model is tangible enough to allow transfer from generation to generation as a piece of cultural heirloom, transfer which often leads to the sustenance of a particular organizational model of life even when reality itself may have changed, forgotten, or replaced by another one.

In what follows, the behavior of one culture vis-à-vis the concept of season will be sketched under changing historical conditions, involving, among other things, changing contacts with alternative ways of dividing time. Emphasized will be the implications of the juxtaposition of different mappings of "reality" and the role played therein by entrepreneurship and planning; issues which have become central to Itamar's outlook of the dynamics of culture. The main discussion will apply to modern Hebrew culture, and an attempt will be made to show that the historical process amounted to no less than the **invention of a**

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[1] Professor Harish Trivedi of Delhi tells me that the Indian/Sanskrit tradition has as many as six seasons. Included are two winters but only one summer. They are called *Greeshma* (summer; May-June), *Varshaa* (rains; July-August-September), *Sharada* (autumn, but with very positive connotations; October-November), *Hemanta* (winter; December-January), *Shishir* (late winter, January-February) and *Vasanta* (spring; March-April). (The English equivalents are Trivedi's and only approximate.)

new kind of model for a culture that had had little knowledge, and even less use for such a model in its past.

2. The Old Hebrews And Their Two-Term Model

As reflected by the very few documents that have come down to us from biblical times, first and foremost the Old Testament itself, to the extent that the old Hebrews did entertain an abstract notion of "season" (possibly with no one superordinate), the division which had the strongest organizing capacity for their life made use of a **climatological opposition**; namely, between having and not having rain (or, at least, a higher vs. lower probability of rainfall); which is quite understandable in view of the central role agriculture played in their lives and their absolute dependence on precipitations. Whether the opposition underlying the distinction between חורף [*Xoreph*] and קיץ [*Qayīç*], as the two seasons were called in the Bible, was understood as polar or graded, there is very little doubt that the model the old Hebrews employed was a **two-term** one. This division changes very little if other binary oppositions are added, most notably between "cold" and "hot", as done in the quotation from Genesis 8:22 below. After all, in the local climate, these different principles and the times they can be expected to operate are strongly correlated.

On the whole, references to seasons and seasonal distinctions are not very common in the Bible. The clearest ones are those where *Qayīç* and *Xoreph* are presented as both contradictory and complementary enities, two parts of one unit. These are the three clearest quotations:

קַיִץ וָחֹרֶף אַתָּה יְצַרְתָּם (תהלים עד 17)
[you created [both] Qayīç and Xoreph (Proverbs 74:17)

וְקֹר וַחֹם וְקַיִץ וַחֹרֶף (בראשית ח 22)
[cold and heat and Qayīç and Xoreph (Genesis 8:22)

בַּקַּיִץ וּבַחֹרֶף יִהְיֶה (זכריה יד 8)
[it will happen in the Qayīç as in the Xoreph (Zechariah 14:8)

Important is also a third word which is used just once; namely, סתיו [Staw]:

כִּי-הִנֵּה הַסְּתָו עָבַר, הַגֶּשֶׁם חָלַף הָלַךְ לוֹ (שיר השירים ב 11)
[for lo, the Staw is past, the rain is over and gone.] (Song of Songs 2:11)

If – as tradition has it – *Staw* is taken as a synonym of *Xoreph*, then we have three **name**s which correspond to a set of two **entities**. However –

as the parallelism may also suggest – *Staw* could well have been synonymous to *gešem* [rain], in which case it would apply to the main feature of *Xoreph* rather than to its status as a seasonal entity.

In addition to the two (or three) season names, the Bible also uses an array of words to denote a variety of natural or agricultural phenomena, recurring systematically along the annual cycle, which have been associated with stretches of time shorter than the season; for instance, אביב [*'Avīv*], בציר [*Baçīr*], קציר [*Kaçīr*], אסיף [*'Asīph*]. To be sure, one of the two basic season words themselves, *Qayīç*, is found to still be used in this capacity as well: It often denotes not the summer as a particular season but certain fruits which are ripe and ready for harvesting, especially figs (e.g. 2 Samuel 16:1, Jeremiah 40:12). This may suggest that thinking in abstract terms of "seasons" has not yet been fully consolidated in those early days. This claim is corroborated by the famous "Gezer Calendar" of ca. 925 BC, found in 1908 in archeological excavations at Tell Gezer (near Kibbutz Gezer today), where different agricultural chores are coupled and correlated with individual months or pairs thereof. The result is a twelve-month year with a parallel division into eight interim periods, maybe something like pre-seasons. (For a detailed discussion of the Gezer Calendar see Talmon 1963.)

The division of the Jewish year into two seasons was still in force in the *Mishna*, a religious compilation edited around 200 C.E. If anything, the underlying principle has been made even clearer as the two seasons were now called *Yemot ha-Xama* [literally: days of sun-shine] and *Yemot ha-Gešamim* [days of rain]. Another important thing we now learn with regard to the two-term model is the definition of a point in time when rain is supposed to have started if winter is to be regarded as normal. Thus, a special "prayer for rain" was added to the daily service as of the 7th day of Marxešwan, the second month of the Assyrian (and later Jewish) lunar calendar, though originally the 8th month of the year, as indicated by its name [*warxu šamanu*]. [The scribe must have confused the M and W, which look very much alike in the Assyrian writing system.]

In spite of the fact that the year was so neatly divided in two, there is no need for the two seasons to be of the same length. In fact, contrary to common beliefs, if the condition for *Xoreph* is a minimum of one rainy day, then the *Xoreph* would have been potentially the longer of

the two. Thus – taking our cue from today's measurements (I will be using *Statistical abstract of Israel*, 2006) – then seven out of twelve or thirteen months (October to April, approximately) – abide by this criterion. On the other hand, the average number of rainy days (in today's Tel Aviv) is as low as 46.8 per year, and even the rainiest month of the year, which is usually January, only has 10.6 rain days on the average. So maybe in the people-in-the-culture's consciousness it was the *Qayīç* that was felt to be the more significant of the two seasons? It certainly seems to be the case today! Or maybe the relative length of the two seasons gave room for fluctuations?

Later Talmudic literature does have a number of indications of acquaintance with an alternative, four-seasonal model, probably of Hellenistic origin. However, this acquaintance seems to have had very little influence on life within the Jewish society. Above all, it was **months** that were still counted and they were associated with the word תקופה [*Tequpha*], one of several ways of denoting rather lengthy periods of time, which did not necessarily overlap today's "season" (Hebrew: ‹*Ona*), and which was never again suggested as a hypernym in this connection.

Here is an example where the division into four has been acknowledged. In this case, the name given to each time unit was the name of the first in a series of three consecutive months comprising that unit. Four of the names thus designate both a particular month and a three-month season-like entity: *Nisan*, *Tamuz*, *Tišre* and *Tevet*:

שנים עשר חודש בשנה, וארבע תקופות בשנה:
תקופת ניסן – שלושה חודשים: ניסן, אייר, סיוון;
תקופת תמוז – שלושה חודשים: תמוז, אב, אלול;
תקופת תשרי – שלושה חודשים: תשרי, מרחשוון, כסלו;
תקופת טבת – שלושה חודשים: טבת, שבט, אדר. (מדרש תהילים לפרק יט)

3. Getting in Touch with European Models

When in exile, especially in the European context, other ways of organizing the year and having it subdivided came to the attention of the Jews. Most significant for their future life proved to be their encounter with one particular **four-term temporal model**, which was based on intricate astronomical and mathematical calculations of the relative length of day and night along the annual cycle. The implication is by no means that the fact itself that days were getting shorter (or longer) with

the passage of time had not been realized by the old Hebrews, because there is evidence it had (e.g. in the following quotation from the *Jerusalem Talmud*):

באחד בתקופת ניסן ובאחד בתקופת תשרי היום והלילה שווים. (מסכת ברכות א:א)

[on the first day of the Nisan season and on the first day of the Tishre season day and night are of the same length]

It is only that, until that point, they failed to be adopted as a yardstick for anything.

To be sure, Jews living in Europe did not entirely give up the dual model which we found documented time and again in their writings. Rather, it was still kept and used as part of their cultural tool kit. As a result, they now had at their disposal **two competing ways of organizing the year** (which was not the same either)**,** the original two-term model and an adapted four-term one.

For hundreds of years it was not much of a problem, because each model was resorted to under different circumstances. *Grosso modo*, immediate issues in time and place (that is, local and contemporary issues) tended to be handled within the European four-term system. Also, they were normally addressed in the vernacular or in a Jewish language such as Judeo-German (known as *Yiddish* since the 19th Century). By contrast, the inherited Hebrew pair of terms was used to refer mainly to quasi-biblical realities, especially in the religious domain. (Hebrew medieval poetry reveals a slightly more complex picture as it is not always clear what "realities" it wished to refer to, and in view of its close contacts with Arabic models and norms it warrants a separate treatment.)

A major change occurred in the mid-18th century, with the advent of the Enlightenment [*Haskalah*] movement, first in Germany, then in Eastern Europe. At that time, there was a new and growing pressure to use Hebrew for tackling issues occurring in the immediate vicinity as well. The incongruity between the two models thus made itself noticed.

A major problem was the **lack of agreed upon lexicon** to refer to the European seasonal division and its four members. The original season words *Qayīç* and *Xoreph* were used consistently to replace German (and Yiddish) *Sommer* and *Winter*, respectively, even though, when local realities were addressed, they could no longer carry the exact meaning they had in the past (for which reason they will henceforth be referred

to as *Qayīç₁* and *Xoreph₁*, respectively). By contrast, the other two season names, German *Frühling* and *Herbst*, had no accepted Hebrew substitutes to fall on.

Following an ideological dictate accepted by the proponents of the *Haskalah*, the Bible was accepted as the only source of legitimacy for Hebrew forms, both lexemes (words and phrases) and rules for their combination. Hebrew writers encountering a lexical-semantic gap thus turned to the Book to look for candidates to fill it in with. Preferred were forms that were relatively free of previous semantic load and which could therefore be associated with new meanings with relative ease; first and foremost so-called *hapax legomena*, of which there are over 2,000 in the Old Testament. As already mentioned, *Staw* was such a word, which made it a central player in the creation of neologisms in the season field.

Appeal to the Bible in search of words thus became a leading strategy shared by all writers. However, in this general framework, each individual felt, and in a sense was, free to follow the dictate in his own ways. And, indeed, at the beginning of the Enlightenment period, each individual came up with their own Hebrew replacements. As might have been expected, most of the would-be season words were taken from one selection group: the limited list of words referring to agricultural activities which were associated with specific, relatively short stretches of time (see supra).

At first, it was mainly two types of texts that served as carriers of new forms and meanings: text-books for learners of Hebrew (both children and adults) and anthologies of basic readings. These two types shared one important thing which greatly enhanced their suitability as sources of novelties; namely, a claim for **authority**. This rendered the whole operation an act of **planning**. Somewhat later, literary texts were also added to the reservoir and started being used in that capacity. Of special importance here were **translations** into Hebrew, mostly from the German. After all, the very encounter with an existing text in another language – whichever way the need to translate was supposed to be realized – presented the writers with very concrete problems of lexical replacement and made lexical and semantic gaps stand out.

An important question is how a new word, which was offered by an individual writer as a season name, could be accepted as what it was

intended to be? And how was one to decide what its "correct" reading would be in spite of the fact that it may never have been in use before? – The most solid basis for answering these crucial questions was the German situation, since the books as well as the individual texts included in them, even if not translated directly from a German text, were largely modeled on German prototypes.

Thus, in many cases, the Hebrew word which was put forward was accompanied by a German season name and/or a sentence enumerating [some of] the features of the season it was intended to cover. **Always in the European context,** to be sure, which the prponents of the *Haskalah* people were more and more interested in writing about in Hebrew.

Let us have a look at a small selection of examples. The first quote is quoted from אַבְטַלְיוֹן [*Avtalyon*], Aharon Wolffsohn-Halle's reader published in 1790. It reads as follows:

אַרְבָּעָה מוֹעֲדִים בְּשָׁנָה: הָאָבִיב הַקַּיִץ הַבָּצִיר וְהַחֹרֶף.

[the year has four units of time: the 'Avīv, the Qayīç₁, the Baçīr and the Xoreph₁]

Like most Hebrew writers of the time, Wolffsohn-Halle starts his account of the year with 'Avīv, i.e., around April, in keeping with the ancient Hebrew calendar in use before the adoption of the Assyrian calendar, in the 5th century BC or so. This will soon change, with the intensification of the contacts with the German culture and its growing interference into the older Hebrew culture. By contrast, you will have noticed that each one of the names given to a seasonal entity [here referred to by the superordinate *Mo‹adim*] is preceded by a definite article, as would have been required from a German list of nouns but which was never that common in a Hebrew name list.

Most interesting of all are the words allotted to *Frühling* and *Herbst*, '*Avīv* and *Baçīr*:

 (1) These two words form a kind of a pair: they share a semantic nucleus, referring as both do to stages of ripening (of green ears of corn and grapes, respectively), as well as a morphologic pattern [N₁aN₂īN₃].

(2) The selection of *Baçīr* was probably enhanced by its strong phonetic similarity to the German prototype *Herbst* (/heRBST/–/BaTSiR/), which must have lent the Hebrew word a mnemonic quality for speakers of German and Yiddish and made it – for them – into something of a "justified" Hebrew replacement. (To be sure, recourse to a "phonetic

transposition" of this kind was quite common in that period in both the coining of new words and the establishment of individual translation replacements; see e.g. Toury 1990.)

Nine years later, in his book *Mishle Agor [The Fables of Agor]*, the writer Shalom ha-Cohen came up with an alternative version of the same basic sentence. In fact, the two Hebrew quotes share only the two non-problematic words *Qayīç1* and *Xoreph1*. Thus, in his 1799 book, ha-Cohen tells of a dispute which arose one day between אַרְבָּעָה עִתּוֹתֵי הַשָּׁנָה [the four seasons of the year], which are presented in the poem's title as follows:

<div dir="rtl">

קַיִץ וָחֹרֶף, עֵת הַזָּמִיר וְהַבָּצִיר
</div>

[Qayīç1 and Xoreph1 and the times of Zamīr and Baçīr]

Each season is then given a lengthy stanza to characterize itself and argue for its superiority.

It is important to note that it is not the words *Zamīr* and *Baçīr* as such which were introduced as season names. What made them into ones was the addition of the noun *'et* [another generic word for a period of time], a technique which follows in the footsteps of several biblical examples:

(1) *'et ha-Zamīr* appears as a phrase in the Bible itself (Song of Songs 2:12). The meaning which was traditionally associated with it is the pruning of grape wines.

(2) Then again, there are several other instances where the word *'et* is coupled with another noun, justifying its adoption as a productive way of coining new Hebrew phrases. In this case it is *'et ha-Baçīr*, referring to the harvesting of grapes.

It thus turns out that, from all possible time markers, ha-Cohen chose to adopt two points in the cycle of life of one particular species: vineyards, which was of great importance in the realities of both Palestine and central Europe.

The order in which the seasons have been presented in Ha-Cohen's text, itself a piece of literature where the seasons have been personified, adds some confusion. Were it not for the explicit mentioning of the number four, the times of the *Zamīr* and the *Baçīr* could easily have passed as synonyms for *Qayīç* and *Xoreph*. As it actually is, it may indicate that the relatively obscure realities behind *Zamīr* and *Baçīr* were intended to indicate subdivisions of the more commonly known and

used *Qayīç* and *Xoreph*, respectively, or that they are inferior to them in some other way. However, for anybody living in the German cultural domain in the 18th century the picture was totally clear.

   Mishle Agor is a bilingual book, Hebrew–German (in Hebrew characters) in facing pages. Even though ha-Cohen claims to have written the Hebrew version first, it is clear that German models dominated the composition of the text. Thus, in the German context, our quote is absolutely normal. Its title is "Die vier Jahreszeiten", and the first line reads:

Der Sommer und der Winter, der Frühling und der Herbst, gerithen einstmahls untereinander in einem Streit

In the very same year, 1799, the same poet, Shalom Ha-Cohen, published (in the first Hebrew periodical *ha-Me'asef*) another poem entitled "*ha-Baçīr*", which situates the time of grape harvesting as an agricultural chore rather than dealing with the Autumn, or any other particular segment of the annual cycle:

עָבַר קַיִץ עִתּוֹתֵי חֶמֶד כָּלוּ –
עָבִים יִסְעוּ יִתְקַדְּרוּ פְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם,
עָלִים נוֹבְלוֹת דֶּשֶׁא וְחָצִיר יְמוֹלָלוּ ...
הֵן יַשֵּׁב הָרוּחַ וּמוֹלִיד הַקֶּרַח

   [summer is over, times of delight have reached their end, clouds are on the move and the sky darkens, withered leaves rub grass and hay ... the wind blows and creates frost]

The next example comes from the first volume of Yehuda Löb Ben-Zeev's reader בית הספר [*Bet ha-Sefer*] of 1812. The quotation reads:

אַרְבָּעָה עִתִּים שׁוֹנִים בְּשָׁנָה: אָבִיב וְקַיִץ וְחֹרֶף וּסְתָיו.

   [[there are] four different seasons in a year: `Avīv and Qayīç₁ and Xoreph₂ and Staw]

The most striking decision here is the use the Hebrew word *Xoreph* to replace the German *Herbst* (hence the use of *Xoreph*₂ in the gloss) and let *Staw* stand for *Winter*. (You may recall that in the Bible *Staw* and *Xoreph* referred to one and the same season!) The list of "newly-learnt words" which was appended to the book says the same things, which makes it clear that this is by no means slip of the pen. Moreover, a little later in the book, in a Section bearing the German title (in Hebrew characters) "פֿאָם רעגען אונד וועטערן" [vom Regen und Wettern, i.e. about the rain and kinds of weather], we get two characterizations of all four seasons, the

first one very brief, the other one rather detailed. This is what the short characterization says:

[Wärme]	ווערמע		בַּאֲבִיבוֹם
[Hitze]	הִיטצע	חֹרֶב	בַּקַּיִץ
[Kälte]	קעלטע		בַּחֹרֶף קָר
[Frost]	פְּרָאסְט	קֶרַח	וּבַסְּתָיו

Interestingly enough, this succinct characterization looks like an attempt to stretch the original dual model and adapt it to a four-term mode of organization, relying on the secondary feature of relative heat. Thus, each term of the opposition between "heat" and "cold" is divided into two: two degrees of the one ('warmth' and 'heat') and two degrees of the other ('cold' and 'frost').

The presence or absence of precipitations comes to the fore again in the longer of the two characterizations, together with some other features of the different seasons in the European context:

בַּקַּיִץ גֶּשֶׁם מְעַט וּלְעִתִּים יִהְיוּ עִם הַגֶּשֶׁם חֲזִיזִים וְיֵרְדוּ בְרָקִים וְנִשְׁמַע קוֹל רַעַם חָזָק וְנוֹרָא גַם נִרְאֶה קֶשֶׁת בֶּעָנָן: בַּחֹרֶף גֶּשֶׁם רַב, וּבַסְּתָיו יֵרֵד הַשֶּׁלֶג וְיִקְפְּאוּ הַנְּחָלִים וִיכַסֶּה עֲלֵיהֶם קֶרַח קִפָּאוֹן.

[In the Qayīç there is little rain, and the rain would sometimes be accompanied by lightnings and a terribly strong thunder will be heard and an occasional rainbow will appear; in the Xoreph [there is] a lot of rain, and in the Staw snow falls and the rivers freeze and get covered with frost and ice]

Interestingly, 'Avīv was given no characerization. perhaps there was none which could be tied up with precipitations.

In the same year, 1812, Moses Ben Zwi Bock, in the Hebrew version of his reader מוֹדָע לְיַלְדֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [Moda le-yalde bne Yisrael], made yet another choice:

הַשָּׁנָה לְאַרְבָּעָה עִתִּים תֵּחָלֵק, הָאָבִיב (דער פריהלינג), עֵת אֲשֶׁר הַנִּצָּנִים נִרְאוּ בָאָרֶץ, הַקַּיִץ (דער זָאמּמער), יְמֵי בְכּוּרֵי תְבוּאוֹת הַשָּׂדֶה, גַּם יִקְצְרוּ בָעֵת הַהִיא, הָאָסִיף (דער הערבסט), יְמֵי אֲסִיפַת הַפֵּרוֹת וְיִבְצְרוּ הַכְּרָמִים, הַחוֹרֶף (דער ווינטער), יְמֵי הַשֶּׁלֶג וְהַקּוֹר. (עמ' קמו)

This reader also has a German version, *Israelitischer Kinderfreund* [A Jewish Child Companion], which was prepared by the same person and published by the same educational institute, Chevrat Chinuch Ne'arim. This book, which preceded the Hebrew reader in a few months, has a very close formulation, with an explicit emphasis of the local context: "Bei uns [not under universal observation, that is, but

locally, in Central Europe] hat das Jahr 4 **Jahreszeiten**" [the year comprises of four seasons:]

> Sie heißen: der **Frühling**, oder die Zeit der Blüthe; der **Sommer**, oder die Zeit der ersten Früchte und der Korn-Ernte; der **Herbst**, oder die Zeit der Obst-Ernte und der Weinlese; der **Winter**, oder die Zeit des Frostes und Schnees. (p. 130)

These examples (and there are more to supplement them with) also shed some light on the road to the establishment of an institutionalized Hebrew superordinate, i.e., a generic term for "season". Again, the German model was made use of, and it was different mirror images of the German word *Jahreszeiten* in its plural form which were first suggested: מוֹעֲדִים בְּשָׁנָה [*Mo`adim be-Šana*] (Wolffsohn-Halle), עִתּוֹתֵי הַשָּׁנָה [*'Itote ha-Šana*] (Ha-Cohen) and עִתִּים בְּשָׁנָה [*'Itim be-Šana*] (Ben-Zeev). A form in the singular was slower to appear, and – most striking of all – the word which was to become standard use in the 20th century, עוֹנָה [*`Ona*], was the last to be suggested. One obstacle for its adoption was no doubt its sexual overtones in traditional Jewish parlance; namely, its use in the written marital contract to denote the sexual duties of the husband to his wife.

Little by little, a Hebrew terminology of seasons and seasonal divisions was consolidated, and the four-term model came to dominate the field. In its final form, this model consisted of the following words: סתיו [*Staw*], חורף [*Xoreph*], אביב [*'Avīv*] and קיץ [*Qayīç*].

4. Back to the Land of Israel

As long as it was European reality that was mediated by the model, there was no real dissonance. However, the seemingly peaceful neighborhood of the two systems was not to last very long. There soon evolved a desire to extend the use of Hebrew to embrace non-local realities as well, most notably what was going on in the Land of Israel (then Ottoman-ruled Palestine). The situation became crucial when Hebrew started being adopted as first language and was elevated to the status of mother tongue for a growing number of Jewish communities and individuals.

In principle, it might have been possible to simply go back to the binary model which had been pushed to the margin but was never totally abandoned and give up all other distinctions and markers, which were

not easy to identify and apply in the old (and now new) cultural context. In other words, it would have been possible to "back-translate" accounts which the speakers of Hebrew had got used to making in the framework of the four-term system into statements that were based on either *Qayīç* or *Xoreph*, with the possible addition of certain modifiers such as *Rešit ha-Qayīç* [the beginning of summer] or *Sof ha-Xoreph* [the end of winter], to make references clearer. This however would have resulted in the obliteration of distinctions which had become relevant to the speakers of Hebrew irrespective of the surrounding realities. This would have counted in **cultural impoverishment** which the speakers would understandably have resented.[2]

Be that as it may, the fact is that the dual model was not called back and made operative again. Rather, its continued use went on being reduced to very specific circumstances, where the point was precisely to emphasize **differences** between the better-known Europe and the more obscure realities of Palestine of the day. Most notable among those were guidebooks for the Hebrew traveler in the Near East, of which there was a growing selection. The main way out of the dilemma, though, seems to have been to try and retain both principles of division**,** and have them collapsed into one combined system.

To be sure, there was more to this practice than a mechanical division of the old *Qayīç* and *Xoreph*, or *Yemot ha-Xama* and *Yemot ha-Gešamim*, into two seasons each. Thus, it was not as if the new *Staw* and '*Avīv* simply took upon themselves half of the old *Xoreph* and half of the old *Qayīç* (or even a quarter of the *Xoreph* and a quarter of the *Qayīç* each). Rather, new, local meanings **were assigned to all four terms** in another intricate act of planning. The act was performed – as so usually is the case – by a relatively small number of culture entrepreneurs, mostly writers and teachers, often embodied in one and the same person. Many of those can still be identified by name.

Thus, it was realized that in order for the plan to come up well, it was necessary to **select a number of local features and to impose on them the role of "season markers"**. Most popular among the would-be markers (which were not, and could not have been a mere reflection of

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[2] In this connection, see what Lotman (1976) has to say about the implications of the translation of texts from a language "with a large alphabet" into a language "with a small alphabet".

those that had their function in the European context) were local plants and animals which could be presented as "typical" of one or another season or mark the transition from one season to the next. As is normally the case, there was nothing really new about the phenomena themselves that were picked up now. They had always been part of the scenery, only they had so far not been assigned any marking function in the division of the year. Such a function was now imposed on them rather arbitrarily (in the sense that many other markers could have been selected just as well).

For example, for the transition from *Qayīç* to *Staw*, it was mainly **the blossoming of three kinds of flowers** which was taken up: *Urginea maritima* (English: Maritime Squill), *Colchicum stevenii* (Crocus) and *Scilla autumnalis* (Autumnal Squill). To enhance their marking capacity, these flowers were interconnected through the names that were given to them, thus creating the impression that they formed "one happy family": חָצָב מָצוּי [*Xaçav Maçuy*], סִתְוָנִית הַיּוֹרֶה [*Sitvanit ha-Yore*] and בֶּן-חָצָב סִתְוָנִי [*Ben Xaçav Sitvani*], respectively. (By the way, the name *Sitvanit*, derived directly from the season name *Staw* and literally meaning "the lady-flower of autumn", had not been given to the flower in question until as late as 1929, when *Staw* was already functioning as an established season.)

Another natural phenomenon which has been given the role of a marker of the approach of *Staw* was **bird migration** , and the massive presence of flocks of one species in particular, so-called נחליאלי [*Naxali'eli*] (Wagtail in English).

Interestingly enough, even this seemingly simple act of planning did not go all that smoothly, as the accepted association wouldn't always fully fit the "time-table of reality". A small example: the blossoming of the almond tree – שקדייה [*Šqediyya*] in Hebrew – was selected as a marker of the approaching ´A*vīv*. At the same time, it was also associated with the so-called "New Year of the Trees", which is celebrated two, sometimes three months before Passover, that is, nominally, in the middle of the *Xoreph.*

The difficulty does not seem to have become any smaller since. On the contrary, in the last few decades, the connection between many of the selected features and their seasonal marking function has been dissolving, the main reason being that the natural phenomena themselves

have become less and less known to people brought up in today's urbanized culture, who constitute a growing majority of the population. Thus, while the symbolic meaning of these phenomena is still being taught in Israeli kindergartens and elementary schools, they themselves are hardly present in the immediate context to be truly active in the organization of life.

5. *Staw* as a Case in Point

These incongruities are not only felt by the members of the culture. They are also verbalized by them, in sentences such as "there is no real *Staw* in Israel". Despite this, the four-term model has become deeply rooted in the Israeli culture. It seems that the main reason for its sustained life has been a predominant wish to be as close as possible to the "rest of the world". That part of it that seems to matter, that is: first Europe, later on America.

To illustrate what has been going on in this cultural area, let me tell you about an informal experiment I conducted in the nineteen-eighties. A short questionnaire was distributed to 166 students at Tel Aviv University, who were asked to react to it as quickly as possible. One of the questions required that the subjects write down the first five things that came into their minds when they thought of *Staw*. The findings are so striking that the informality of the experiment seems to matter very little. Interesting are both the responses that occupied the first places and those that hardly came up at all.

Thus, if each response, irrespective of its position on the list, is given one point, then the wagtail receives a meager number of 20 points (hardly an eighth of the possible 166). *Xaçav* fares even worse (17 points), *Sitvanit* gets as little as 2 points and *Ben Haçav* does not appear on the list at all (0 points). On the other hand, the non-controversial first place is taken by a series of words and phrases belonging to the field of "falling leaves" (158 points, that is, almost as many as we had respondents!). Next in line comes a selection of words which are connected with "grayness", be it physical or mental, including many explicit expressions of melancholy and gloomy mood (112 points, or 124, if indications of "the end of life" or of "death" are also included in this group, which seems highly justified. To be sure, quite often a list has in

it two or even three representatives of the same category, which adds extra weight to the findings.

The findings are even more striking if a variable scoring system is adopted; for instance, if 5 points are given to the first response, 4 to the second one, and so on. According to this system, the category "falling leaves" receives 634 out of 2490 possible points (166 X 5 + 166 X 4 + 166 X 3 + 166 X 2 + 166 X 1), an average of almost 4 (that is, second place throughout). "Melancholy", "grayness", "sadness", "depression" and "death" now receive 332 points. By contrast, the wagtail is given 60 points and the *xaçav* only 56.

As it turns out, there is an overriding tendency to make a **habitual, almost an automatic connection between *Staw* and falling leaves**; an association which has been originally imported from the European context. Its heavy cultural load helped it catch up in Israel too, despite the fact that local realities did not support it very well. In fact, of the native trees of the area only a small minority shed their leaves, to begin with, and most of those that do, do so in the *Xoreph* rather than the *Staw*. Then, again, Israeli falling leaves, when they are visible, do not look half as striking as European or North American ones, so that the connection is almost wholly a culturally acquired one. Rare are precisely the yellow, the orange, and especially the red colours which are normally associated with "falling leaves" in European cultures.

Interestingly enough from the dynamic cultural point of view, the picture has been on the change in the last decades, by virtue of yet another act of importation; namely, of quite a number of non-native trees which do shed their leaves, some of them indeed in the *Staw*. This change in the flora made Israeli *Staw* come closer to European (or North American, or East Asian) autumn, as did the annexation of the Golan Heights to the country – a territory which is much more European like than the rest of the country.

And what about gloom and melancholy and their centrality as markers of *Staw*? On the face of it, we are dealing here with individual moods, and many Israelis indeed argue that they are literally "sad" in the autumn, definitely sadder than in any other part of the year, and nothing would convince them otherwise. Some of them would even refuse to acknowledge the emotion they are feeling as a factor inculcated in the culture. However, historically speaking, it is clear that melan-

choly became habitually associated with autumn not in Israel, but in some parts of Europe, through a long tradition of myth, folklore, art and literature. Jews who had been leading their lives in those places for centuries felt reluctant to dissociate *Staw* from the "moody" attributes it had accumulated, which had in fact become part and parcel of the season as a cultural entity. They brought the result over with them to the land of Israel, where they made efforts to preserve it.

The association of *Staw* with melancholy was perpetuated, probably even enhanced in the coming generations, most notably in literature and popular music. (For an extensive account see Ben-Porat 1989 and 1991.) Indeed, the culmination of the "autumnal" attributes in Israeli Hebrew is probably the phrase "שלכת בלב" [*šalexet ba-lev*, literally: falling leaves in the heart], probably on the basis of the rhyming pair "*lev–ke'ev*" reflecting the German pair "*Herz–Schmerz*" [heart–pain], which was already common in Hebrew poetry of the Enlightenment period. It can be claimed that, *šalexet ba-lev* has become a fixed metaphor for melancholy in general, and not only in direct connection with *Staw*.

An interesting anecdote in this last connection: On September 30 2007, the results of a poll were made public on the internet, where subjects were asked to name the "ultimate autumn songs" in Hebrew. The results amounted to a 60 title list (URL: http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3451823,00.html), many of which look more like series of stanzas comprising one long text… In quite a number of the 60 "winners" the connection between *šalexet* and *lev* is indeed made, one way or another.

At the same time, *Staw* has been losing part of its "negative" implications lately, for instance, as it started serving as a (more and more common) first name for both girls and boys, which is something that happened earlier to '*Aviv*, but not to either *Qayīç* or *Xoreph*).

6. Secondary Evolution: Derived Seasons

Whichever way we look at it, the four-term model has had the upper hand. At the same time, it is clear that – except for the official calendar and weather reports – we do not have four seasons of an identical length, as the four-term model originally had them. Those who entertain this model are mostly content with the combination of two "full-size" and two "shorter" seasons, or even two "genuine" and two "tran-

sitional" seasons, without however resorting to phrases such as the French *demi saison* [literally, half a season]. Thus, for instance, in marketing, there are normally only two "sales" per year (actually standing for "end season sales"), not four. What the relative length of the different seasons is, in the Israeli cultural consciousness, is not very clear, but it is no doubt a way of bringing the model closer to reality and making it easier to live with.

By the same token, the Israeli Electric Corporation has established an ameliorated season system of its own. It does use the four terms which have become habitual, including the seasons' names, but, for its specific purposes, the markers made use of are only so-called dates. Thus, *Xoreph* is defined as the time from December 1st to March 31st (4 months), '*Aviv* as the three months between April 1st and June 30th, *Qayīç* – as the three months between July 1st and September 30th, and *Staw* – as the remaining two months (November 1st to February 28th). A third example of modifying the concept of season would be the period of time that car lights should be on at any time (which, in today's Israel, comprises the 5 months between November 1st and March 31st). Here, a two-term model is used again, but it is not fully congruent with the *Xoreph* of the clothing business. There are no doubt more instances of this kind, designed to mitigate the incongruity that is still being felt.

One thing needs to be made very clear: it is far from me to make the simplistic point that "Israel does not sustain a four-way division of the year", as the claim is often made. Of course it does. However, it does so only because a **decision** was made at some point to actually **adopt** such a division. A mechanism was then **borrowed** for the realization of that division, with the ensuing four seasons. Terms were then coined for each season as well as the overall concept of 'season' itself, and those finally won agreement. A concept has thus been invented for this culture.

This is not to say that today's situation is devoid of hurdles. I, for one, would claim that it is not merely that the picture is still rather fluid, but that things have actually become more uncertain than they had been only a few decades ago. Thus, although everybody in the culture is aware of the four seasons in their Israeli-Hebrew version, for some their existence is much less of a fact than for others. This uncertainty has many manifestations, of very different nature, not least the fact that

– judging from a search I conducted – up to the very near past Israel hadn't had a single hotel bearing the name "The Four Seasons Hotel", which is one of the most current hotel names in the world. Israeli culture seems to be still on the move, then, which is an encouraging thought.

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WHY SO MANY MATERNAL UNCLES IN SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGES?[*]

Panchanan Mohanty

Maternal uncle is the dearest kin in the Indian society as he helps his sister and her children in all possible ways. There is a separate word for it in all languages belonging to the four language families of India, i.e. Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Munda, and Tibeto-Burman. Interestingly, the tiger, the moon, the sun, the jackal, the mouse, the monkey, and the policeman are also addressed as maternal uncle in various Indian languages. So I intend to discuss the following three major points in this paper on the basis of evidence taken from these languages:

(i) Why maternal uncle became the dearest kin term even for the speakers of Indo-Aryan, a branch of the patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal Indo-European people.

(ii) Why the tiger, the moon, the sun, the jackal, the mouse, the monkey, and the policeman are called maternal uncle.

(iii) Why Kamsa, maternal uncle of the Indian mythological hero Krishna, was the latter's arch enemy.

1. Introduction

By 'other maternal uncles' I mean those human or non-human beings that are designated as maternal uncles. Data from various Indian languages reveal that the term 'maternal uncle' is used for the tiger, the moon, the sun, the jackal, the mouse, monkey, and the policeman. Apparently it looks quite strange, because there does not seem to be any similarity among these seven entities, and there is also no reason why they should be called maternal uncle. I intend to discuss this problem and give a plausible explanation for it in this paper. But we must have a clear idea about the term for maternal uncle used in various Indian languages and his role in the social life of the Indians in order to under-

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[*] In this paper [T, Th, D, R, N, L, S] have been used for the voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop, voiceless aspirated retroflex stop, voiced unaspirated retroflex stop, unaspirated retroflex flap, retroflex nasal, retroflex lateral, and retroflex sibilant respectively.

stand the problem in its proper perspective. So I will first deal with these things, and then come to the central problem in what follows.

2. The 'Maternal Uncle' in Indian Languages

It is well known that kinship terms are resistant to change and so are kinship systems. For this reason, languages like Hindi and English show striking similarities with respect to the consanguinal kin terms, i.e. father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc. though their predecessors got separated almost four thousand years ago. But there are noticeable differences in the affinal kin terms between the said languages. One can ask a question here as to why there are such differences. To answer such a question we will have to take the changes in the societies which have taken place during these four thousand years into consideration. First, let us have a look at the proto-Indo-European (PIE) kinship structure which was "patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal," (Friedrich 1979: 207). Again, after having analysed the PIE social structure Friedrich (1979: 229) has concluded: "Bride-capture, bride-wealth, polygyny, dominance of the husband, concunbinage, and the 'appointed daughter status', all articulate functionally with the patrilocal family and patrilineal descent." Not only that, these people also practised exogamy and each member was supposed to marry a stranger from another society. Again, after marriage the married woman ceased to be a member of her family and was treated as a member of her husband's family. These are the reasons for which we find a lot of variations in the affinal kin terms in the Indo-European languages. The most significant example is PIE */awos/ which exhibits wide semantic variations, i.e. from 'grandfather' to 'mother's brother'. In Latin, it is retained as /avus/ 'grandfather', and mother's brother in this language is /avunculus/ which is the diminutive of /avus/. Scholars have tried to explain that /avus/ originally meant 'maternal grandfather', and that is why maternal uncle was called /avunculus/. But Benveniste (1973: 182-3) rejects this position as there is no evidence to show that /avus/ refers to 'maternal grandfather', rather all of them connect it with the paternal lineage on the one hand; and a specific expression like /avus maternus/ is used to designate maternal uncle. A piece of supporting evidence comes from Hittite which uses /huhhaś/ (< *awos) for paternal grandfather only. Again, he argues that in a classificatory kinship system, like

that of PIE, mother's father must not get any special importance. His contention is that in agnatic relationship father and father's father are significant whereas in uterine relationship mother's brother is taken into account. So he envisages that a man's father's father is also his mother's mother's brother due to cross-cousin marriage, and this is how he resolves the problem in Latin. Other scholars have also tried to account for this problem in different ways. But as it is not really concerned with this paper, I will not dwell upon it here.

However, Sanskrit uses /ma:tula/ for mother's brother and it is different from both /ma:ta:maha/ 'maternal grandfather' and /pita:maha/ 'paternal grandfather'. Greek has /me:tro:s/ for 'mother's brother' which is an analogical creation after /pa'tro:s/ 'father's brother'. According to Benveniste (1973: 212), Sanskrit /ma:tula/ and Greek /me:tro:s/ "are recent substitutes for an Indo-European designation which disappeared when the mother's brother ceased to have a privileged position with respect to the father." It is significant and interesting to note that in the Indian society, mother's brother is the dearest kin for all people and he is the one who always helps his sister's children at the time of the latter's needs. Krishna's bringing up of his sister Subhadra's son, Abhimanyu in the great Indian epic *Maha:bha:rata* is a good example of it. So it can be argued that the cordial relationship between mother's brother and sister's son is at least as old as the *Maha:bha:rata.* It should be taken note of here that on this account the society represented by Sanskrit is different from the societies represented by other Indo-European languages. In other words, it is an innovation in the Indo-Aryan society. But the question that one can ask is: What is the source of this innovation? We will get the answer if we look at the words for mother's brother in other Indian languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda stocks. These languages normally use /ma:ma:/ or its variants for mother's brother. Let us take examples from two languages of each group.

Indo-Aryan Dravidian Munda
Oriya: ma:mu Telugu: ma:ma Bonda: ma:mu, ma:mun
Hindi: ma:ma: Tamil: ma:ma:, Kharia: ma:mu
ma:man

Among the Tibeto-Burman group of languages, some use the term derived from /ma:ma:/ whereas others use different terms. For example,

Bodo uses /ma:y/, obviously due to its close contact with Assamese; but Aka, spoken in Arunachal Pradesh, uses /as/ for maternal uncle. What is interesting is that except Indo-Aryan, in all other stocks, the word for mother's brother also denotes "father's sister's husband". Only in Dravidian it refers to 'spouse's father' alongwith 'mother's brother' and 'father's sister's husband'. Thus, a hierarchy can be established among these stocks with reference to the meanings of the above said word.

Dravidian Munda/Tibeto-Burman Indo-Aryan
mother's brother= mother's brother= mother's brother
father's sister's husband father's sister's husband
= spouse's father

In other words, the Dravidian society allows exchange of sisters and cross-cousin marriage; which can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

FaSi <------ Fa <--------> Mo ------> MoBr

X <------> Y
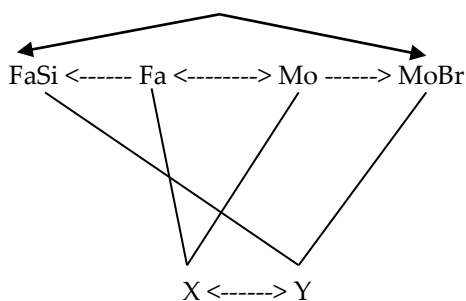
The Munda and the Tibeto-Burman societies allow only the exchange of sisters. Thus they form a part of the Dravidian system, and it can be schematized as follows:

FaSi <---------- Fa <-----------> Mo -------> MoBr
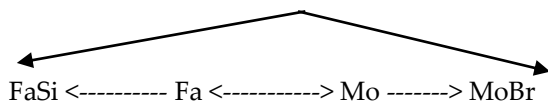
Finally, the Indo-Aryan society allows neither of these.

It will not be out of place to discuss an important aspect of the practice of marriage among the Dravidians. Even though a Dravidian male has an option to marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, the former is invariably preferred. The question is: Why is it so? We all know that giving a daughter in marriage is

considered to be an act of religious merit for her parents or those who officiate on their behalf. This is popularly known as *kanya:-da:na* or 'bride-gift' which was originally practised by the Brahmins only and its sole motive was to earn *dharma* or piety. Later it spread to other castes through the brahminisation process. Thus, it is clearly a religious gift and "… the bride's people must accept nothing in return; the slightest gift from the groom's side would be construed as the "price" of the daughter, to accept which would constitute sale. The groom and his people can expect gifts, hospitality, and acts of deference from the bride's people, but must not reciprocate. … The groom's party are the superiors and benefactors of the bride's." (Trautman 1995: 292). For this reason, it is considered unethical and irreligious on the part of the bride-givers to accept anything from the bride-takers. Many bride-givers do not drink water in the bridge-groom's house even to-day. On the other hand, they regularly keep sending gifts and presents to the latter and treat him and his family members with humility and respect. In fact, "The idiom of *kanya:da:na* is the patrilineal idiom of complete dissimilation of the bride from her family of birth and her complete assimilation to that of her husband" (Trautman 1995: 291). Though it is a typical Indo-European custom inherited by the Indo-Aryans, it is prevalent especially among the upper caste Hindus all over India in-cluding the Dravidians. Actually, as pointed out by Trautmann (1979: 170), the root of preference for mother's brother's daughter over father's sister's daughter lies here. Because after one's sister is given in marriage to another person, presents and hospitality always flow from the for-mer to the latter. Then, if the former's son marries the latter's daughter the flow has to be reversed; and this will lead to a conflict of interests. On the other hand, if one marries one's mother's brother's daughter the question of such a conflict does not arise as the flow of presents and respect which was coming from the latter for his sister earlier will flow to his daughter. This is the most obvious reason for which the Dravidi-an males prefer to marry their mothers' brothers' daughters to their fathers' sisters' daughters.

The other point to be noted here is that all the Dravidian languages use /ma:ma:/ or its variants. The present Indo-Aryan languages also use the same instead of the Sanskrit /ma:tula/ or any term derived from it.

So it can be argued that Indo-Aryan has taken the term for maternal uncle from Dravidian, and this indicates that a deeper cultural convergence has taken place in this subcontinent over the millenia.

3. Relationship between Brother and Sister

A comparison between brother and his married sister among the Aryan and Dravidian stocks shows that there is a marked difference. Following the line of the Indo-Europeans, the Indo-Aryans treat the married sister as an outsider as she is transplanted in her husband's family by breaking away from her natal kins upon marriage. But the scene is different among the Dravidians where sister acts as a binding force between her brother's and husband's families. However, whether an Indo-Aryan or a Dravidian, a brother has to send gifts and presents to his sister and her son(s) at the time of festivals and convivial occasions. It is both amazing and interesting that though usually a brother fights with another brother for a share in the paternal property, he gives gifts to his sister and her son(s) on his own regularly. Let us try to determine its cause now.

There are two words to denote 'sister' in Sanskrit, i.e. /swasa:/ and /bhagini:/. The former is inherited whereas the latter is an innovation in this language. For this reason cognates for /swasa:/ are found in other Indo-European languages, like *soror* in Latin, *heor ~ eor* in Greek, *sestra* in Old Slavonic, *siur* in Old Irish, and in Old High German, etc. But amazingly this inherited term went out of use right in the Middle Indo-Aryan stage, and the other term /bhagini:/ took over after that. This is the reason for which Neo Indo-Aryan languages show only the terms derived from /bhagini:/. For example:

MIA : sasa:, bhagini:, bahini:, bhaini:
Assamese : bhani
Bengali : bon
Gujarati : ben
Hindi : bahan
Kashmiri : benni:
Marathi : bahi:N
Nepali : bahini
Oriya : bhauNi
Panjabi : paiN
Sindhi : bheNi:

Now the question is: What is the source of Sanskrit /bhagini:/? And also what is the possible cause of its retention in the New Indo-Aryan languages? Scholars are of the view that the PIE *swesor consisted of swe- 'own' and sor 'woman'. Thus, it was a classificatory term denoting 'own woman' or 'a woman of one's own clan', e.g. sister or any patrilateral female cousin (Friedrich 1979: 212, Benvineste 1973: 173-174). So the Indo-Aryans preferred a more concrete and definitive term /bhagini:/ which consists of bhag+in+ŋi:p (Wilson 1979: 528). The meanings of /bhag/ are good fortune, happiness, welfare, prosperity among others (Monier-Williams 1976: 743). In other words, /bhagini:/ was an embodiment of fortune, welfare and prosperity. It is significant to point out here that in the ancient Indian society, both brother and sister had an equal claim over the paternal property (Karve 1965: 355). Even Manu, the law-maker of ancient India, had declared that "according to law the right of inheritance belongs to both children (the son and the daughter) without any distinction (whatsoever)" (Sarup 1967: 40). This is most probably the reason for which prosperity and fortune have been associated with /bhagini:/. Not only that, in those days, after sister's death her son was entitled to inherit the paternal property due to her (Karve 1965: 355). So it is not at all surprising that a man would send gifts and presents to his married sister and her son in order to please them so that he can enjoy the property on which they have a claim. For this reason, right from the olden days, we notice a very cordial relationship between maternal uncles and their nephews or sisters' sons. For example, in the *Maha:bha:rata* the advisor of the Kauravas is their maternal uncle Shakuni. On the other hand, in the absence of maternal uncle, his son Krishna has acted as the advisor to the Pandavas. Not only that he has looked after his sister Subhadra and her son Abhimanyu when the Pandavas were in exile for twelve years. I strongly believe Ram, the crown-prince of Ayodhya and the son of Kaushalya who hailed from Koshala, decided to come to Central India on being banished from his kingdom simply because it was the land of his maternal uncle. This must be one of the major reasons for which he got an overwhelming support from the masses while in exile. This is something not peculiar to India. In many other societies, the relationship between maternal uncle and his nephew is very intimate and cordial. In fact, this relationship is so close that on the basis of his study of the peoples in South

Africa and Polynesia, Radcliffe-Brown (1952: 19) described maternal uncle as a "male mother". A discussion from this perspective will make it clear as to why the tiger, the moon, the sun, the jackal, the mouse, the monkey, and the policeman are addressed as the maternal uncle.

4. The Other Maternal Uncles

4.1. The Tiger

First, let us consider the tiger. It is called maternal uncle in the states of Orissa, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh, and Nepal. What needs to be mentioned here is that there are very strong Tibeto-Burman and Munda sub-strata in West Bengal and Orissa (Chatterji 1970, Mohanty 1997, 1999). It is reflected in the facts that West Bengal has eight Tibeto-Burman and six Munda languages each of which are spoken by more than one thousand speakers whereas out of a total of about twelve Munda languages ten are spoken in Orissa. The reason for mentioning all these is that the tiger has an important role to play in the lives of the peoples belonging to the Tibeto-Burman and Munda stocks. To be specific, it is treated as a god in Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. For example, we find folk-tales regarding the origin of tiger among the Adi, Tagin, and Tangam Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. It is the son of the god Kaddong Battey and goddess Peddong for the Adis. The Tagins believes that the supreme lord and creator Abotani is the ancestor of both men and tigers. The Tangams consider it a son of the mythical mother Pedong Nane. When a tiger is killed they perform certain rituals with a moral teaching to the tiger at the end which is as follows: "you have been killed because you have been bad and have done wrong to us and so you should not take it ill. Now go back to your home in the jungle and try to live a good life. Do not harm anybody and nobody will harm you."(Ghosh and Ghosh 1998a:58). According to the Angami and Rengma Nagas, the man and the tiger (along with the spirit) are the sons of the same mother, but the Konyak Nagas treat them as friends and kinsmen. (Ghosh and Ghosh 1998b). In Manipur the people "…put a high premium on the role of tigers in folk tales and literature, and analogies. The tiger is always compared with a brave man. … It is considered as a dangerous animal." (Singh 1993:49). The Lakhers of Mizoram are quite superstitious about the tiger as it "… has the power to cause sickness or ill luck. Therefore, when a tiger has been

killed, a special ceremony called chakei ia is performed where laughter is forbidden." (Chattopadhyay 1978: 235). There are quite a few Naga tribes like the Mara:ms, Quoirengs, and Kabuis for whom to see a tiger "…means an attack of sickness due to some evil spirit." (Hodson 1974: 130-131). About the Sema Nagas, Hutton (1968: 77) reports as follows: "The dead body (of a tiger) is treated much as that of an enemy, at any rate in many parts of the Sema country, the head being taken back with the village and hung up outside it where the heads of enemies are hung." Also "Eclipses are said to be caused by a tiger eating the sun or the moon, as the case may be, and in the case of the former they foretell the death of some great man within a year." Thus, the speakers of the Tibeto-Burman languages accept the tiger as a god, a kin, and a friend; and at the same time they are also very much afraid of this dangerous animal. A similar trend can also be noticed among the Munda tribes. For example, the Soras call it *kinnasum* or tiger-god, and at the same time they are mortally afraid of it. The following statement of Elwin (1955: 525) proves this point: "It is further taboo to speak or make any kind of noise throughout the rites for someone killed by a tiger." There is a group of Santals who also worship it when "… in Ra:mgarh only those who have suffered loss through that animal's ferocity conscend to adore him. If a Santa:l is carried off by a tiger, the head of his family deems it necessary to propitiate the 'Ba:gh Bhu:t' (tiger devil)" (Dalton 1973: 214). Though tiger is the *va:hana* or vehicle of Goddess Durga, the embodiment of power in Hindu mythology, there is little doubt that it was the most dangerous among all the animals in the olden days. For this reason the compound 'man-eater' refers to the tiger only, and not to any other animal. Again, the forests of the North-Eastern and Eastern India were full of tigers. In fact, fear for the tiger is so deep in the minds of the people of North-Eastern and Eastern India that 'tiger-clubs' are found in the villages of Manipur, a North-Eastern state, to protect people from its attack and the fifth day in the dark fortnight of the Hindu month of *Bha:drava* (August-September) is observed as the *RakSa:pancami:* 'protection fifth-day' in Orissa. In the evening of this day the Oriya people worship Lord Shiva and his sons Kartikeya and Ganesha; write a mantra, which is a prayer for protection, on a palm-leaf and put it at the main entrance of the house, and shut the door after throwing out a portion of the food offered to the abovesaid gods for

the tiger. It is clear that the purpose of all these is just to please the tiger by giving it food so that it will not kill them and also to pray to Lord Shiva and his sons to protect if and when the tiger attacks them.[1] Not only that, expressions like tiger-like strength, tiger-like ants, tiger-like bee, tiger-like flies, and tiger-like moustaches are noticed in day-to-day conversation of the people in these areas. No other animal has the privilege and distinction of being used like the tiger in the above expressions. In Himachal Pradesh, people use /ba:gh/ 'tiger' for the wolf. Its name is a taboo and it is not uttered in the evenings because it is believed to bring bad luck during night, especially a death news. Children are also dissuaded from behaving in a cranky manner by taking its name. It is so dreadful an animal for the people of Himachal Pradesh that they call it /ma:ma:/ just to meliorise its frightening effect. Though its voice is very harsh, they refer to it as /ku:kNewa:Li:/ literally 'cuckoo'.[2] The point to be noted here is that /ku:kNewa:Li:/ is feminine, which means that it is transformed into feminine in the process of meliorisation. So I want to argue that the reason for addressing the tiger as maternal uncle lies here. In other words, love and respect on the one hand and fear on the other hand have elevated the tiger to the status of maternal uncle. It has been discussed above how the tiger is loved and respected as a kin and as a god. So it is quite natural if an endearing term is used for it. Let us now consider the evidence wherein an endearing kinship term is used out of fear. This kind of evidence can be adduced from folk-tales and also from the *Ja:taka* stories, which are supposed to have been written in Eastern India. In a Bengali folk tale entitled 'The boy with the moon on his forehead', the boy met a gigantic demon while going to his uncle's place in the north of a forest, and addressed him as uncle. In return, the demon said, "… I would have swallowed you outright, had you not called me uncle, and had you not said that your aunt had sent you to me"(Day 1969:422). It is also reported that in Nepal "… neither gun, bow, or spear, had ever been raised against him (tiger). In return for this forbearance, it is said, he never preyed on man: or if he seized one would, on being entreated

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[1] I owe gratitude to Prof. K.K. Mishra, University of Hyderabad for this information.

[2] I am thankful Dr. Kaushalya Verma, Himachal Pradesh University for this information.

with the endearing epithet of "uncle", let go his hold" (Crooke 1993: 324). There are quite a few tribes in India belonging to different linguistic stocks, e.g. the Dravidian Oraons and the Tibeto-Burman Nagas who claim their descent from the tiger. In a Manipuri folk-tale entitled 'The tiger and the heron' when the tiger threatened to eat an old man, he said, "Grandpa, what good in eating me. I am too weak.", and the tiger went away. The old man's son also saved himself from the tiger addressing it as 'grandpa' (Singh 1993: 17). It should be pointed out that most tribes in the North-Eastern India have relatively less kinship terms. So they tend to use one term, which is classificatory in nature, to express a number of relationships. So the term 'grandpa' here actually does not mean either father's father or mother's father, but all male relatives. To take an example, in Purum, spoken by an old Kuki tribe of Manipur, *kapu* means father's father, all male agnates belonging to and above his generation, and all male members of mother's father's and wife's father's families including mother's brother, his son, wife's elder brother, and his son (Das 1945: 142). But 'grandpa' has been used in the translated text because he is the eldest male resident in a house-hold. If we take the *Ja:taka* stories, in the *Baka Ja:taka*, the crab calls the crane maternal uncle in order to get mercy when it comes to know that the latter has an intention of killing it. Again, in the *Ga:maNicaNDa Ja:taka*, Ga:maNicaNDa is addressed as maternal uncle by a horse-keeper, by the village headman and by a prostitute so that he would do favours to each one of them. Then, after coming face to face with the tiger in *Di:pi Ja:taka*, the lamb decides to convey its mother's regards to the former and tries to establish a relationship with the former by calling it maternal uncle.

It is widely known today that the Egyptians universally observed animal worship, and these animals were either the most benevolent or the most malevolent. The same is also true of India, though there is a difference in degree: "Every living creature that can be supposed capable of effecting good or evil in the smallest degree, has become a sort of divinity and is entitled to adoration and sacrifice" (Dubois 1817: 445-446). So I want to argue that the tiger, that is very dear and at the same time has potentials of causing harm to others, was addressed as maternal uncle so that this address would soften its heart when it tries to cause harm and as a result, it would not do so. This was the reason for

using the term maternal uncle for the tiger. It is interesting to note that its seed lies in the Tibeto-Burman and Munda stocks which had a close contact with each other in the pre-historic times. (Bhattacharya 1976, Dalton 1978). Oriya and Bengali have appropriated it from these languages and developed it in a way which is Dravidian.

4.2. The Moon

The moon is called maternal uncle for a very similar reason. But before discussing that I must mention that the moon, according to the Hindu mythology, was born from the churning of the milk-ocean along with Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. Since Lakshmi is worshipped as the mother-goddess by the Hindus, one may argue that the moon, being her brother, automatically becomes maternal uncle. But such an argument is not at all convincing, because if it is accepted then what will follow is that all the other things or beings like the stars, the Uccaiśrava: horse, the Kaustubha gem, and Dhanvantari, the heavenly doctor, who were born from the said churning, should have also been addressed as maternal uncle. Actually the case is not so. The moon is considered a source of life as it refreshes the vegetable and animal kingdoms at night. Again, there are a lot of folk-songs and folk-tales found in various Indian languages in praise of the moon because of its soothing light. Not only that, there is a festival in Orissa called *Kuma:rapu:rNima:*, which is observed by the unmarried girls for a fortnight and it culminates on the full moon day of the Hindu month *Ka:rtika* (October-November). The main aim of observing this festival is to request the moon-god to get them grooms who are very handsome, rich, and good.

It is also well known that the waning moon in the dark fortnight is considered inauspicious and harmful by various peoples. This is the cause for which words for the moon have changed from time to time in different languages. For example, the early Greek word for the moon, i.e. *me:ne:*, which was there as an inheritance from the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) parent, became obsolete very quickly, and *sele:ne:*, occupied its place. It should be noted that *sele:ne:*, literally meaning 'radiant', was derived from *śelas* 'radiance'. Interestingly, this substitute also fell under taboo in course of time, and was replaced by *phenga'ri* which literally meant 'that which shines'. Latin, another Indo-European lan-

guage, has retained the said PIE word only in the word for 'month', i.e. *me:nsis*. For the moon, it uses *lu:na* which literally means 'that which glitters'. Sanskrit, the other cognate Indo-European language, has dropped the said PIE word altogether. The most commonly used word for the moon in it is /candra/ which literally means 'shining'. It is derived from the verb root /cand-/ 'to shine' and has cognates like *candeo, candidus, incendo* in Latin. Again, English words candid, candle, cinder, etc. have also come from the same source. However, /candra/ of Sanskrit has been inherited by many Neo Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, and Marathi, etc. But some other Neo Indo-Aryan languages, such as Oriya, Assamese and Nepali use /jahna/, /jonba:i/ and /ju:n/ respectively, not the words derived from /candra/. There is little doubt that these words have been derived from /jyotsna:/ 'moonlight', and these languages have opted for a replacement obviously due to the tabooing of /candra/.

It should be pointed out that /candra/ has also been subjected to taboo partly in Sanskrit in course of time. It is evidenced by the Hindu tradition that no one should look at the moon on the *Vina:yaka-caturthi:* day, which falls some time in late August or early September. Not only that there is even a ritual of /candra-darśana/ 'looking at the moon', observed by the traditional Hindus, on the day following the /ama:ba:sya:/ or the no-moon day. The Sema Nagas believe that even "Seeds sown at the wane of the moon do not sprout" (Hutton 1968: 220). Further, "There is a widespread belief that the light of the full moon turns humans who are so disposed into were-wolves and causes lunacy if one sleeps in its beams. Very common in Europe and America is the idea that, during the night of the full moon, more crimes are committed, more children are born, and more patients committed to mental hospitals than at other times" (Eliade 1987: 90). So I want to contend here that because of the love discussed above and the fear that it will be harmful unless its bad effects are warded off, the moon is addressed as the maternal uncle in many Indian languages, the only exceptions being Assamese from the Indo-Aryan stock, and the Munda and the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is certainly surprising and interesting that when other NIA languages treat the moon as the maternal uncle, Assamese does not do so. As has been mentioned above Assamese uses /jonba:i/ for the moon and it means 'moon-sister'. In other

words, the moon is female in Assamese, and therefore, there is no scope for it to become maternal uncle.[3] The same is found in the Munda languages. All these languages treat the sun as their Supreme Deity or His visible symbol. Further, in most of them the moon is the sun's wife (Das 1945: 33; Elwin 1955: 80, 96; Dalton 1973: 186). But it is treated the sun's sister by the Bonda speakers (Elwin 1950: 141) and as the sun's younger brother by the Pa:uRi Bhũiya:s (Roy 1935: 279). On the other hand, there is a chaos in the Tibeto-Burman languages, which surround Assamese, regarding the relationship between the sun and the moon. For the Purums, the sun or *Ni* is the wife of the moon called *Hla* (Das 1945: 200). According to the Khasi and Jaintia tribes, the sun (*Ka Sngi*), water (*Ka Um*), and fire (*Ka Ding*) were three sisters; and the moon (*U Bymai*) is their younger brother (Barkataki 1970:149). In Adi, the sun (*Donyi*) and the moon (*Polo*) were identical and both had equal light and heat (Ghosh and Ghosh 1988a: 85). Similarly, the ballad of *Nu:mit Ka:ppa* tells us that long ago there were two sun gods in Manipur (Hodson 1975: 111). But in all these languages, the moon has been portrayed as a wicked character. For example, in the Khasi and Jaintia folk-tales, the moon tried to make love to his sister, the sun, who in turn threw ashes on his face and he became pale.[4] The Adi community decided to kill the moon so that they could have night to rest. The Lepchas of Sikkim also have a similar tale. (Stocks 1925: 363-365). In Meitei, the Moon-God Pakhangba is reported to have three hundred names, the most frequent ones of which are "*Harava* (destroyer), *Leithingai* (trouble-maker), *Leinung longa* (one who hides in a place)" (Singh 1993: 201). From all these, it is clear that there was a negative attitude towards the moon among the Tibeto-Burman people. These are the most probable reasons for which the moon is not addressed as maternal uncle in Assamese and in the Munda and Tibeto-Burman languages.

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[3] In some parts of Bengal, the moon is also treated as a mother who gives food and life-span (See Bhattacharya 1962: 178). Again, the tantric and yogic texts, according to which yoga is the unification of the sun and the moon, treat the sun as the eater as well as the father's seed and the moon as the food as well as the mother's ovum (see Dasgupta 1962: 235-236).

[4] Tyler (1964) reports that a very similar tale exists in the Polar regions.

4.3. The Sun

The sun is addressed as maternal uncle only in Bengal though it is not as frequent and popular as the moon. The reason for it seems to be that there is a long tradition of sun-worship in Bengal (Bhattacharya 1977) which may be ascribed to the Tibeto-Burman and Munda influence on the Bengali society. Then, according to the tradition mentioned above, the moon and the sun are treated one and the same. So as the former is called 'maternal uncle', the latter automatically becomes another 'maternal uncle'.

4.4. The Jackal

 The jackal is also called /ma:ma:/, i.e. /śeya:l-ma:ma:/ or 'jackal-maternal uncle' in Bengal. Indian folk-tales and folk-lore are full of incidents which attest that the jackal is the most shrewd among all animals. In Manipur, Assam, and West Bengal, it is portrayed as a wise and learned animal. It is called /śeya:l paNDit/ 'jackal, the learned one' in Bengali and Assamese. It also helps and assists others at the time of their troubles. In Bengali folk-lore, it is the most significant of all animals. It is portrayed as a teacher as well as a match-maker. For example, let us take the following rhyme (Bhattacharya 1963: 47):

> ek je chilo śeya:l,
> ta:r ba:p diyeche deya:l,
> śe karechilo pa:Thśa:la:,
> paRto śetha:y a:Rśula:.

> (There was a jackal.
> His father constructed a wall.
> He started a school.
> The cockroach used to study there.)

Here the jackal is portrayed as a teacher who educates other animals. The cockroach is just symbolic and it has found a place here most probably due to the demand of rhyming with /pa:Thśa:la:/ 'school'. Regarding match-making, there is a tale "The match-making jackal" in which the jackal with the help of its intelligence marries a very poor weaver with a princess (Day 1969: 407-413). As discussed above, under the Dravidian influence, the maternal uncle is the dearest and the most important kin in Eastern India and this is what he normally does for his

nephew. So it is quite natural for the Bengalis to honour the jackal by addressing it as maternal uncle.

4.5. The Mouse

The mouse is called maternal uncle mainly in the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat. It is clear from the use of the expressions like /undirma:ma:/ and /undarma:ma:/ 'mouse-maternal uncle' by the Marathi and Gujarati speakers respectively. The reason for which the Marathi and Gujarati speakers do so is similar to that of the tiger among the Eastern Indians. The mouse is the vehicle of Ganesha, the god with an elephant head, who is the most popular god of Maharashtra. There are also some Marathi folk-tales in which the mouse is portrayed as an intelligent animal. For example, in the folk-tale entitled "His tail for a song," a mouse makes a fool of five persons, i.e. a carpenter, a potter, a gardener, a herdsman, and an oil-merchant. At the end, it buys a drum and two sticks and sings the whole story in the form of a song (Dexter 1938: 70-76)[5]. At the same time we know that a mouse can consume so much of food grains in a day that it is enough for a meal for six people. Thus, the mice cause the greatest harm to people by creating shortage of food. Sen states that "…mu:Saka has been derived from the Sanskrit word Mu:Ska denoting 'the stealthy one' or destroyer…" and "It is the destroying habit of the rat which brought the animal in contact with GaNeśa, the 'Vighnara:ja' and turned it in to his mount. … Even Manu advises the kings not to select 'Mahidurga', a fort which was made with brick-ramparts around as it is infested with rats or mice. Such was the dread associated with the creative among the ancient people who considered it as a 'vighna' or trouble"(Sen 1972: 26).[6] So my contention is that the Marathi and Gujarati speaking people have established the relationship of maternal uncle with the mouse so that it would not cause any *vighna* or trouble to them. Most probably this is the reason for addressing the mouse as the maternal uncle in Marathi and Gujara-

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[5] For a similar tale where the rat has been replaced by a monkey see 'Monkey losing the tail' in Seethalakshmi (1969).

[6] For a comparison see Frazer (1954: 530-531) who mentions about an ancient Greek treatise on farming that contains a piece of advice to farmers as to how to propitiate the mice and rid their lands of them.

ti. It will not be out of place to mention here that mouse-worship is prevalent in the western parts of India.

Another important point to be noted here is that the Dravidian speakers including the Dravidian tribals normally use /ma:ma:/ for an elderly and respectable male stranger. Clearly under this influence a stranger is also called /ma:ma:/ in rural Maharashtra and in parts of Gujarat; though throughout North India, the supposedly abode of the Indo-Aryans, /ca:ca:/ 'father's brother' is used for such a person. In the urban areas of Maharashtra and Gujarat those people who do not employ the English word 'uncle' prefer /ka:ka:/ 'father's brother' to /ma:ma:/; and it is essentially due to a process which we can call 'secondary aryanization' or the influence of the New North Indo-Aryan languages, particularly Hindi. However, coming back to the main point, the elderly and respectable men in rural Maharashtra are addressed as /ma:ma:/ in contradistinction to /ca:ca:/ in North India (For example, /ca:ca:/ Nehru is used for Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India). The village people, during difficult times, go to them for help; and the latter oblige the former. There are also a few important persons in Maharashtra for whom the Marathi speakers have used /ma:ma:/ out of love and respect, e.g. Shelar *ma:ma:*, *ma:ma:* Varerkar, and *ma:ma:* Kane. Shelar was a contemporary of the great Maratha Shivaji, and the people of his area sought his advice when there was a necessity. For this reason, all those people including Shivaji used to call him /ma:ma:/. On the other hand, Varerkar was a socially committed dramatist whose plays were very popular among the masses of Maharashtra during the first half of the 20th century, and Kane was a pioneer of the hotel-industry in Maharashtra. Kane's hotel in Bombay was quite famous for serving people with home-made type food. It is said that even Sardar Ballabhabhai Patel, the veteran freedom-fighter and the first home minister of independent India, was a frequent visitor to Kane's hotel. People liked Kane's food so much that they called him /ma:ma:/ out of affection and endearment.[7]

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[7] Thanks are due to Professors Padmakar Dadegaonkar, University of Hyderabad and Bharati Modi, M. S. University of Baroda; and Dr. G. Uma Maheshwara Rao, University of Hyderabad for these pieces of information about Marathi, Gujarati, and Dravidian languages respectively.

4.6. The Monkey

 Regarding the monkey, it is called /ma:ma:/ mainly in the Bhojpuri-speaking areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.[8] In every version of the *Ra:ma:yaNa* it is Hanuman, the chief of the monkey-army, that helped Rama in each step when the latter was in exile. It should be mentioned here that Rama is worshipped in almost every household in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, and being his greatest devotee, Hanuman is also worshipped along with him. But Wolcott (1977: 657) has pointed out that "Stories about Hanuma:n's adventure and prowess, rather than about his service to Ra:ma, appeal to Bhojpuri men." Not only that, "When men gather to share pipe, tobacco, and the prepared betel leaf preparation called *pa:n*, they are most likely to discuss not the feats of Ra:ma or LakSmaN, but those of Hanuma:n." (Wolcott 1977: 657). It is because for them "Hanuma:n is a doorway to God" (Wolcott 1977: 655) and "Hanuma:n is important as a protector" (Wolcott 1977: 656). For this reason, he is called *sankaT-mocan* 'danger-shield' and many men wear a "protective medallion" carrying the Hanuma:n image round their necks. They believe, "…strength of limb and body and virility are dependent on Hanuma:n-*pu:ja:* (worship of Hanuma:n); safety and well-being in this life are dependent on Hanuma:n-*sm ti* (remembrance of Hanuma:n)" (Wolcott 1977: 658). Again, in certain areas, e.g. in Ranchi, men seek Hanuman's grace and blessings by invoking his name during the traditional Indian sports like "bowmanship, swordsmanship, stick-fighting, and wrestling" (Narula 1991: 23). Women also worship him for "the cure of barrenness", though its importance is secondary.

On the other hand, in Bihar, if a monkey is killed somewhere, it is believed that nobody can live there. "His bones are exceedingly unlucky, and a special class of exorcisers in Biha:r make it their business to ascertain that his bones do not pollute the ground on which a house is about to be erected"(Crooke 1993: 53). Also in the Mirzapur area of Uttar Pradesh, though seeing his face is considered to be lucky it is a common belief that taking his name "…in the morning brings starvation for the rest of the day" (Crooke 1993: 215). So people call it /hanuma:n/ euphemistically in the morning. Most probably due to the-

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[8] This fact was brought to my notice by Drs. Kamal Swroop, Azamgarh (Uttar Pradesh) and Maheshwar Mishra, Barauni (Bihar).

se reasons the monkey is referred to as the maternal uncle in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

4.7. The Policeman

The reason for addressing the policeman as maternal uncle is not very different, and it is a late 19th century or early 20th century phenomenon. The word 'policeman' gained currency in India only after the advent of the British. A cursory glance on the administrative systems of India in the past as well as at present reveals that the policemen were and still are extremely powerful and capable of causing all kinds of problems. Prior to independence, Indians were mortally afraid of them, because they could put anybody behind the bars and also torture him in various ways. The situation is not very different after almost five decades of independence. However educated, influential or rich one may be, nobody wants to go the police-station or get involved in a police case unless it is absolutely necessary even to-day. From all these, it follows that the fear the people have for a policeman is no less than that for a tiger and he is no less harmful than a mouse. In fact, this fear for the policeman and his mischief potentials have prompted people to make an effort to lead a peaceful life by addressing him as maternal uncle. It is also true that a person having a policeman as a relative gets respect from others because of the latter. Thus, this is the most probable reason for calling a policeman as the maternal uncle. Actually the policemen lost the respect they used to get from the masses only after they started misusing their power and became thoroughly corrupt; and for this reason people started making fun of them. Oriya uses /polisma:mu/ only to indicate contempt for the policemen; and this is the reason for which in some other languages, like Gujarati and Marathi, /ma:ma:/ is also used in a derogatory sense. However, this disrespect for the policemen in general and the use of /ma:ma:/ in a derogatory sense, have nothing to do with the maternal uncle status of the policeman.

5. The Kamsa Episode: an Exception

Kamsa, the maternal uncle of Krishna, is the most popular metaphor for maternal uncle in the Indian tradition. Though I have argued above that the relationship between maternal uncle and his nephew is very close and the former is like a 'male mother', Kamsa was Krishna's arch

enemy and he tried his best to kill the latter by all means. So the Kamsa episode demands an explanation so that the hypothesis put forward in this paper is not at stake.

The Kamsa episode has been described in detail in *Maha:bha:rata, Harivamśa* and *Śri:madbha:gavata.* But interestingly each description is different from others in certain ways, and these differences hold the clue as to why Kamsa was so cruel to Krishna. According to *Śri:madbha:gavata,* Kamsa is the brother of Krishna's mother, Devaki. But as per the descriptions of the *A:diparva* in *Maha:bha:rata,* Ugrasena and Devaka are brothers; and Kamsa is the former's son whereas Devaki is the latter's daughter. In other words, here Kamsa is Devaki's cousin, not brother. Again, according to the same description, Kamsa is not the real son of Ugrasena. He was born after a demon had forcibly enjoyed Ugrasena's wife, Pavanarekha. *Harivamśa* has also portrayed him as an illegal child of Ugrasena. There are two important things which have to be taken note of in these descriptions. Firstly, Kamsa was not Devaki's real brother; and he was made the latter's brother at a later period. Secondly, he was a demon, not a normal human being. It is further corroborated by the facts that the well-known demon Ja-rasandha was his father-in-law and Shishupala was his bosom friend. Therefore, it is highly unusual to expect human-like behaviour from him; and there is nothing surprising if he tried to kill Krishna instead of being affectionate towards him. There is also another reason for which Kamsa had a strained relationship with Krishna. Krishna's father Vasudeva was King Ugrasena's prime minister. After growing up, Kamsa started opposing his father in every step. But on such occasions Vasudeva always used to support Ugrasena and in this process in-curred Kamsa's wrath. So it is quite natural on Kamsa's part to be re-vengeful on Vasudeva's son, Krishna.

6. Conclusion

From what has been discussed above, the following conclusions can be drawn: (i) Maternal uncle was not an important kin for the Indo-Europeans. That he is quite important in the Indo-Aryan kinship sys-tem makes it clear that they have converged with the non-Aryans, or the Dravidians to be specific through contact and convergence. It is ev-idenced by the fact that they use the term that the Dravidians do.

Speakers of the Munda family also use the same term which is indicative of convergence of Munda with Dravidian. (ii) The relationship between maternal uncle and his nephew is very close in Indian society. (iii) The *Ja:taka* stories provide evidence for the argument that alongwith the people who help at the time of need, those who have the potentials to harm and those whom people are afraid of are addressed as maternal uncle in Indian languages. In the latter case, people try to soften the potentially harmful person's heart and establish kinship with him by elevating him to the status of maternal uncle. This is the reason for which the tiger, the moon, the sun, the jackal, the mouse, the monkey, and the policeman are called maternal uncle in Indian languages. (iv) Kamsa is not a representative maternal uncle in the Indian tradition and there are obvious reasons for which he was so cruel towards his nephew, Krishna.

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Urbanity in Transit: Catalan Contributions to the Architectural Repertoire of Moderen Uruguay

Thomas S. Harrington

When most of us think of the formation of Latin American culture, we think of how two relatively impoverished and under-populated nations, Spain and Portugal, momentarily possessed by extraordinary levels of vital energy and marginal advantages in technology, conquered much of the American landmass between 1492 and 1550. As a result of this conquest, and the subsequent miscegenation with the native inhabitants, and the slaves brought from Africa to work the land, a new and vast cultural system was forged.

Insofar as it goes, this narrative of the Latin American *Genesis* is fairly accurate. However, when we begin to look more closely at this rendering of events, a number of interpretive problems emerge. The first, which has rightly been a concern of specialists in the area over the last several decades, is the way in which this narrative has tended to crudely attenuate the mid-bogglingly diverse cultural reality of the American indigenous populations and the imported African slaves who are, in numerical terms at least, the true protagonists of this terrible yet simultaneously regenerative cultural drama. Though there is still a very long way to go, this systematic underestimation of the region's non-European reality, is slowly but surely being remedied by dedicated scholars of the continent's indigenous and trans-African pasts.

A less immediately evident analytical issue revolves around the historiographical representation of the Iberians in this cultural clash. Just above, I spoke of the centrality of Spain and Portugal in the colonization process. To speak in this way is, again, to be factually accurate on one level. That is, as long as we assume the juridically-constituted state to be the fundamental building block in the creation of new collective identities, a supposition that has been widely assumed to be true during much of the past 150 years.

The reason for this conceptual predominance is clear: the institution of national history as we know it is part and parcel of the nineteenth

century drive by governmental elites and their attendant bureaucracies to homogenize, and submit to centralized rule, the ethnically and linguistically diverse populations under their control. In other words, the "socio-semiotic entrepreneurs" of the would-be European nation-states, aware of the implied desires of those in power, generated narratives that tended to elide past fissures within the body politic in the hope of consolidating a more coherent sense of the collective's present and future mission.

In the case of the Portugal, one of the more long-established and ethnically homogenous states in Europe, this 19th-century rewrite of the past did not require a terribly large amounts of what Jo Labanyi refers to as "strategic forgetting" (Labanyi 1994: 132).

In regard to Spain, however, things were different and a good deal more complex. There, for the reasons mentioned above, official(ist) historians tended to gloss over the fact that it was not the new unified Spain they were inventing in their writings, but only one of its two co-equal royal entities, Castile, which had led the effort to impose European culture on indigenous Americans in the 16th and 17th centuries. Left largely unsaid was the fact that the other major pillar of the Spanish kingdom, Aragon, whose true engine was the prosperous and commercially advanced Catalan-speaking territories along the northern Mediterranean coast of the Peninsula, had virtually no stake in the colonial game during the foundational period.

This false assignation of Catalan colonial protagonism is, however, only one part of the story. Far more interesting and consequential, in my view, is a related, if seemingly paradoxical phenomenon: the generalized failure of the same Spanish historiographical establishment to register and examine the very real Aragonese, which is to say, Catalan contributions to the construction of Latin American life in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

In 1778, the reform minded King Carlos III of Spain, lifted the nearly three-century ban on Catalan participation in the trans-Atlantic enterprise. The results of this decision would be immediate and dramatic. Over the next half-century, a relatively small cohort of Catalans, possessing generally superior educational and vocational skills (Nieto-Galán and Roca-Rosell 2006: 273-288) and a deeply-rooted proclivity for

preserving and expanding wealth through strategic intermarriage[1], insinuated themselves into the most influential sectors of colonial and postcolonial life in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay[2].

Greatly aiding their advance in the last three countries mentioned (Argentina, Chile and Uruguay) were two other important factors. The first was the relative absence of a Spanish colonial infrastructure in these places. The lands of the Southern Cone, so central to any notion we might have today of Latin American wealth and social development, were viewed by the Spanish as being largely peripheral to the colonial enterprise until the middle of the 18th century. This meant that when the Catalans finally did arrive in these places in search of markets in the years following 1778, their struggles with the "dead hand" of the imperial administration tended to be much less than it would have been in other parts of the realm. The second was the Catalans own ambivalence toward Spanish state prerogative and overt demonstrations of Spanish national identity. When the countries of the Southern Cone finally achieved independence from Spain during the 1820s, the creole elites sought, understandably, to avoid entanglements with their former colonial masters. Toward this end, they passed laws prohibiting

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[1] Edward C. Hanson translates *pairalisme* as "allegiance to paternal house". (Hansen 1969, 221). He then explains the full extent of its enormous importance within Catalan society. "Yet, its social meaning was not simple primogeniture. It was clearly understood that the first-born child should administer the fixed assets of the father to capitalize the business interests of his younger siblings…that is, to provide business or professional backing for his brothers, or to arrange an advantageous marriage for his sisters. Mobility was thus a familial, as opposed to individual matter…" (222) In a more recent study on national identity Josep Llobera (Llobera 2004, 50-63) underscores the absolute centrality of *pairalisme* to the creation of a recognizably Catalan concept of social identity.

[2] Key to the success of this system was placing family members (linked by blood and/or marriage) in "branch offices" in strategically chosen cities of the Atlantic basin. Often these networks would exist wholly within the framework of the Spanish overseas empire (e.g. Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Havana and, of course Barcelona). But as time progressed, Catalan merchant families sought to establish outposts in London, Rio de Janeiro and New Orleans as hedges against geopolitical instability and as places of personal refuge during turbulent times.

and/or curtailing commerce with the former mother country. At the same time however, they did not wish to give up their many affective and material connections to peninsular life.

Into the breach stepped numerous Catalan traders and mariners. Having spent the previous half-century establishing family-managed networks of commerce with branch offices in numerous European and Latin American countries, they were in an enviable position to blur the true origin of certain Spanish products, and in this way, facilitate their delivery to places where they were officially banned. Catalan mariners took a similarly pragmatic approach to the identification and licensure of their ships, regularly lowering the Spanish flag replacing it with a Uruguayan or an Argentine insignia when entering into the harbors of Montevideo or Buenos Aires.[3]

By the 1850s, this well-honed brand of pragmatism had delivered Catalans to positions of great influence within the fledgling nations of the Southern Cone. Nowhere was this more true than in Uruguay. When one reviews lists of "movers and shakers" from mid and late-nineteenth century Uruguayan life, compiled from almanacs, commemorative publications, lists of board members at prominent cultural and social institutions and more recent studies on Uruguay's "Spaniards", the incidence of Catalan surnames is simply staggering (Valls and Moragues 1918, Uruguay-España 1952: 2-67 and Reyes Abadie 2000: 151-234). We can gain some idea of their prominence when we consider that the country's most important and enduring political dynasty (the Batlles), three of its Foreign Ministers between 1828 and 1843 (Giró, Llambi and Vidal), its first archbishop (Soler), its most important 19th-century financiers (Cibils and Reus), some of its more important

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[3] In 1835, Captain Joan Mirambell entered the port of Montevideo with a ship registered in Barcelona but flying Brazilian colors. When his subterfuge was discovered by Uruguayan officials, he was promptly jailed in preparation for a summary execution. But while in the brig, he told his captors that he and his fellow Catalans were in their country for purely peaceful commercial purposes. Convinced by his sincerity, the Uruguayan President Rivera not only freed him but provided him with a document which said that from this time onward Spanish ships would be allowed to trade freely in Uruguayan waters provided did so under a Uruguayan flag. The result was a strengthening of Barcelona's already privileged pre-Independence position of the main point of Peninsular contact with Uruguay.

late 19th century artists and art educators (Jaume y Bosch, Blanes Viale), a number of its more important trading companies (Carrau, Buxareo), the co-founder of its wine industry (Vidiella), many of its more important 19th century doctors (Villardebó, Sunyer i Capdevila, Fiol de Perera), almost half of the 5-7 most important patriarchs of the country's absolutely essential meatpacking industry (Ferrés, Argentó, Sero, Illa, Cibils) and the country's most important turn of the century intellectual (Rodó) were all first or second generation Catalan immigrants to the country. And this does not even include the small army of elite Catalan educators (Català i Codina, Calabuig. Forteza, Giralt, Claramunt, Ferrer i Barceló, Pedralbes, Compte Riqué, Araujo and a very long etc.), that made their way to the country beginning in the early 1800s and were responsible for building core institutions[4] and implementing key reforms in this country which, it could be strongly argued, places a higher premium on public instruction than any other in Latin America. Nor does include the still smaller numbers of Catalans that made their way to the country in the twentieth century and were absolutely fundamental influences in the plastic arts (Torres-Garcia), opera (Jose Soler, Juanita Capella), theater (Margarida Xirgu) and journalism (Torrendell, Fors, Torres Cladera, Fleches y Florit, Bernat, Vidal, Gillimón and Sabat Fargas, Roxlo) just to name a few.

After hearing all this, you are probably saying to yourself "Well, even if Spanish historians have trouble recognizing the contributions of these wayward sons of the Mediterranean to the construction of Spanish America in general, and the former "Switzerland of America" in particular, their Uruguayan counterparts must have surely examined this legacy with great care".

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[4] As anonymous Uruguayan put it in 1925: "En épocas pretéritas, catalán era símbolo de laboriosidad, honradez, arte, cultura, y, en una palabra, significaba acometividad creadora. La veracidad de este aserto se encuentra demostrada en la vida nacional uruguaya, donde hay miles ejemplos que colocan a la Colonia Catalana en un pedestal sólido. Catedráticos, profesores, medicos, abogados, ingenieros, arquitectos, maestros de escuela y de música han producido los mejores discípulos orientales. Pocos son los uruguayos de dos generaciones acá que tengan carreras o esudios superiores que no guarden en su alma un algo de la espiritualidad de Cataluña porque casi todos han recibido lecciones de algún catedratico, profesor o maestro de escuela catalana" (Los catalanes 1925, 434-435**).**

Unfortunately, nothing could be further from the truth. Some four years ago, a new book (Arocena and Aguiar 2007), was launched to great fanfare in Montevideo. Its avowed aim is to reverse the country's deeply ingrained tendency to suppress rather than highlight its rich multiethnic past. The text contains 11 chapters on groups such as Russians, Jews , Lebanese, Italians, Swiss, Armenians, Afro-uruguayans, Charrúas, Peruvians, and even the Basques. Nary a word, however, on the Catalans. This invisibility is mirrored in the otherwise abundant bibliography on contemporary Uruguayan immigration. As of today, not a single monograph has been produced which examines the extraordinary role of the Catalans in the construction of modern Uruguay. How can this be explained?

This invisibility would appear to have a number of sources. The first and most obvious is the issue of 19th and early 20th century historiography outlined briefly above. Owing to the fact that Uruguay was founded in the nineteenth century when culturally homogenizing, statist conceptions of the nation were at the height of their appeal, Uruguayan historians have, if anything, been even more subject than their Spanish colleagues to an implied need to obviate the existence of minority voices within their nation's narrative of upward progress. This need to speak in unitary terms about the raw human material of the nation was reinforced by the early Uruguayan elite's strong embrace enlightenment-style contractualism, with its marked indifference to the idea of cultural specificity as the foremost ideal of social cohesion.

Compounding the issue is a somewhat understandable aversion to acknowledging the considerable influence of the former colonial master's culture in the formation of the country's cultural matrix. Much like early 20th Galician nationalists, who seized upon fairly scant anthropological evidence to generate an all embracing mythology of cultural kinship between their country in Ireland, late 19th and early 20th century Uruguayan scholarship greatly exaggerated the influence of French immigrants to their fledgling republic, and in this way, generated the idea – which is still widely believed and repeated – that Paris (rather than Madrid, Barcelona, Palermo or Naples) was far and away the prime source for the Uruguay's most widely subscribed aesthetic and political ideals.[5]

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[5] I believe this exaggerated discourse of French influence also goes a long way

On the relatively few occasions when Uruguayan scholars have taken on the Iberian "elephant in the room", they have done so in ways that not so much as respond to the complex contours of Spanish life and the highly variegated immigration it generated, but that reify their own culturally constructed idea of what a nation is, that is, a place where one can assume an extremely high degree of congruence between a citizen's cultural and juridical identities. This has engendered a surprisingly high level of tone deafness when it comes to parsing very real cultural, linguistic and sociological differences between making the immigrant contributions of people raised in Barcelona, Santiago and Madrid. Emblematic of this one size fits all approach is the use of the term "gallego" – literally someone born in Galicia – to refer to any and all immigrants born in Spain. This would be roughly akin to having North Americans regularly and colloquially refer to all immigrants from Great Britain as Welshmen or Scottish Highlanders.

This leads us, in turn, to still yet another probable reason for the seeming Uruguayan blindness toward the considerable influence of Catalan culture on the development of their country: class.

As we have seen, anxiety about encroachments by the former mother country-which was, not coincidentally, also THE prime source of much needed "white" demographic reinforcements-was a constant element of early Uruguayan life. By using the "Gallego" to refer to all Spaniards, that is to say, employing the name of the Spanish subgroup

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toward explaining the surprising (in the context of the Catalan absence) presence of the Basques in Arrocena and Aguiar's recent study (above) on Uruguayan multiculturalism. When building the trope of French-Uruguayan cultural interpenetration, historians would often point to the statistical upsurge in French immigration between 1830 and 1850. The clear implication was that small but important numbers of Frenchmen exercised a decisive influence on the development of national culture during the country's foundational period. Left unsaid at the time was the fact that these bearers of French passports were not, in the main, educated denizens of Paris, Lyon or even Marseille, but peasants from the upper altitudes of the Bearn and Pays Basque, regions where the language of Voltaire was still very sparsely spoken and read. But, rather than give up the privileged place in the national conversation originally awarded to them as result of their alleged Frenchness, these descendants of *Iparralde* have retooled their discourse of collective identity, placing an ever-increasing emphasis on the Basque part of the Basque-French binomial.

that was widely acknowledged to possess the very lowest level of cultural and economic wealth, Uruguayans were able to carry out a much-desired act of psychic one-upsmanship vis-à-vis their peninsular cousins. Though an obvious exaggeration, this labeling scheme possessed enough verisimilitude to be popularly credible. However, we can quickly see the preposterousness of trying to place the Catalans, who had for the most part emigrated to Uruguay with levels of culture and education that were superior to that of the existing Creole elites and who, for this reason, often quickly insinuated themselves into the very highest level of the new nation's leadership class, within this frame of reference. Faced with the choice of admitting this salient fact and the set of uncomfortable inquiries it would inevitably provoke about the national ontology or simply "disappearing" the issue of Catalan prerogative in Uruguay under the overly broad and "safely" disdainful label of "gallego", it appears that Uruguayan scholars have overwhelmingly opted for the latter.

Finally, there's the issue of identitary "performance" among Catalans themselves. As heirs to what is in the modern Western European context, a uniquely "unstable", or if one prefers, "flexible" concept of linguistic and national identity, Catalans have long been accustomed – and here we see the vaunted tendency toward pragmatism alluded to earlier on – donning the identitary mask deemed most likely to efficiently further their immediate career and family goals. In the Latin American context, this generally meant performing in public as "Spanish" or after, a generation or two, as generically Cuban, Argentinian or Uruguayan. What generally has not been seen, or recognized was the fact that many of these same people continued to speak Catalan at home and/or to adhere to long-established and identifiably Catalan patterns of inheritance, intermarriage and transnational cultural commerce, designed, more than anything else, to safeguard and expand concentrations of cultural and pecuniary wealth.

With these theoretical considerations in mind, I will now turn to the particular case history concerning the role Catalan architects within Uruguayan culture.

One of the more striking things for anyone who has observed both Catalan and Uruguayan society up close, it is their shared obsession with the aesthetics of the built environment. Or to frame the issue in

polysystemic terms, there are a few other places where urbanists, architects and the spaces they create occupy such a central place in the repertoire of cultural exemplarity. On a more anecdotal, but perhaps equally revealing, level, Barcelona and Montevideo are the only two major cities in the world where the unquestioned point of social-spatial focus is not a plaza or square but a promenade referred to as a "Rambla", a term which is apparently linked to the Catalan language and the specific geo-climatic realities of Iberia's northern Mediterranean coast. Finally, there is the fact that at least 800 Catalan names and/or surnames have been identified in the toponymy of Uruguay's capital city (La vida catalana a l'uruguai 1992-1993**: 192-196).**

The question, as always, in studies of inter-systemic cultural commerce is whether these observed realities pertain to the province of mere coincidence or the realm structurally explainable phenomena.

Owing in all probability to the hispanophobia I spoke of earlier on, architectural historians from the Plata region, have produced surprisingly little work on the role played by Spaniards (understood here in the juridical/passport bearing sense) in designing and building the physical spaces inhabit.

In an effort to remedy a gaping hole in existing scholarship, Chebaratoff and Loustau, recently published an extensive study of the influence of the Iberian peninsula on the development of Uruguayan architecture and urbanism (Chebataroff and Loustau 2003). In it, they delineate the many links between Spain and the built environment of their country over the last 250 years. They conclude their book with a set of profiles on "Outstanding 'Peninsulars' who worked in our country after 1830". Of the six architects singled out, five were born in Catalonia. And the sixth was the Madrid-born son of one of the aforementioned group of five. More recently still, CEDODAL (*Centro de Documentación de Arquitectura Latinoamericana*), an architectural study center in Buenos Aires published what is, to my knowledge, the first attempt to comprehensively catalog the contributions of these Spanish architects to the physical patrimony of Argentina and Uruguay **(**Gutiérrez and Méndez 2006). Like the aforementioned Uruguayan scholars, they also conclude their study with a roster of outstanding Spanish architectural contributors to the Plata Region. Of the 75 creators profiled, 31 are listed straight away as having been born in the Catalan-speaking terri-

tories. However, there are a number of cases where the place of birth is not listed or figures simply as Spain. Faced with this gap of information, the survey was re-calibrated in terms of place of birth AND the presence of recognizably Catalan surnames. When this last factor is added to the mix, the number of Catalans among the register of esteemed Spanish architects in the Plata rises to 49 out of 75. Perhaps more remarkable still, neither Chebaratoff and Loustau nor Ramón Gutiérrez, the editor and prologue writer of the CEDODAL study, mention this extraordinary coincidence of geographical and cultural origin! When we collate the two studies for those "Spanish" architects (a term that for the authors of both studies includes not only Spanish-born professionals but those heavily influenced by time in Spain or very direct Spanish tutelage) that spent their professional life working often if not primarily in Uruguay, a roster of some 16 names emerges: Elezeario Boix, Emilio Boix, Antonio Bonet, Cayetano Buigas Antonio Casanova, José Claret, Antonio Fongibell, Juan Lladó, Vicente Mayol, Francisco Matosas i Amat, Manuel Milláns, Andres Millé, Ignacio Pedralbes Francisco Roca i Simó Jose Torres Argullol y Julio Villamajó.[6] Of these creators, all are either Catalan born or (12) first-generation descendents of Catalans (4).

The contributions of all of these figures to Uruguayan society are significant. However, a limited number of them stand out for their highly visible contributions to the Uruguayan physical patrimony and/or the ways in which they forcefully transported the esthetic and social ideals on their homeland into the Uruguayan context. Let us now turn to the history of some of the more important and remarkable members of this cohort.

During the long siege of Montevideo (1843-1851), Oribe, the commander of the encroaching *Blanco* army, understood that the success of his battle plan hinged heavily on his ability to insure the efficient flow of goods from the interior to foreign markets. Doing so required not only the development of an alternative port, *El Buceo*, but also a full service city capable of attracting and retaining citizens loyal to his cause. At this moment in the late 1840s, a young Catalan architect

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[6] This list is by no means complete. Missing, for example, are architects such as Federico Purcalla Grau and Juan Saldías, both of whom enjoyed successful careers in Uruguay after emigrating from Catalonia.

named Antoni Fongivell (it also often appears as Fongibell) was work-
ing within the area of the city controlled the *Colorado* forces under the
leadership of General Rivera. However, while there, he received word
from a Catalan who had recently arrived from Oribe's encampment
that the General of the *Blancos* wished to begin building a more perma-
nent base for his troops and their families. Sensing an opportunity,
Fongivell crossed territorial lines with his countryman and assistant,
Vicente Mayol. Upon entering into the territory of the besieging army
they were imprisoned under the suspicion of espionage. However, they
were released after outlining for their captors the plans they had de-
vised for the construction of the much-desired alternative city. In two
years of feverish work that beginning 1847, the two Catalans largely
made good on their promises, laying the groundwork for a new urban
concentration called *La Restauración* (and after 1851, *La Unión*). As the
scars of the long civil war started to heal, the structures designed by
Fongivell under intense time pressure in this "new" city turned into
important axes of the now reunited Montevideo. For example, the
building he constructed as a school for the children of the besieging
army (the *Colegio Oriental* run by the Valencian schoolmaster Cayetano
Ribas), became the *Seminario Nacional* and later the *Universidad Menor de
la República*. Today, it houses the *Hospital Pasteur*, one of the more im-
portant public health centers of the Uruguayan capital. Contemporary
observers underscore Fongivell's unique technical skills, abilities root-
ed in a long-standing and widely recognized specialty (the ceiling
vault) of the Catalan architectural tradition: "No tenía el constructor
catalán ningún competidor en la construcción de bóvedas salvo Mayol
.... Había levantado muchas iglesias en el país, y esto hizo que el direc-
torio lo eligiera para la obra ciclópea (he is referring to the construction
of Uruguay's first bull ring), que debía tener real mérito, precisamente
por sus 36 bóvedas de calificadísima resistencia" (Chebataroff and
Loustau 2003: 371).

During the last decades of the 19th century, the liberal intellectual
elites of Spanish-speaking countries began to abandon the churches
which had served them and their families – in greater or lesser degree –
places of collective deliberation. This increasing disavowal of the role
of the church in their lives did not, however, vitiate the need to try and
transcend space and time in the company of others. It was in this con-

text that Atheneums, the new secular temples of intellectual life, sprung up all across the Hispanic world. In Uruguay, where the debates about the need to secularize public life had been especially intense, el *Ateneo* of the city took on an exceptional degree of social importance.[7] When, after years of holding meeting in one temporary headquarters or another, the *Ateneo*'s Board of Directors finally raised the funds to build a grand temple to rational inquiry, they turned to two Catalan architects, Emilio Boix and José Claret. The building, completed in 1900, became not only the physical embodiment of the country's prime socio-semiotic entrepreneurs at what is arguably the apogee of the country's intellectual arc, but also one of the cornerstones of the city's extremely frenetic turn-of-the-century downtown development.

In addition to his work on the *Ateneo*, Boix designed and oversaw the construction of the *Cementerio del Buceo*, analogous in the Uruguayan context to *La Recoleta* in Buenos Aires or *Montjuic* in Barcelona in its function as a resting place for the city's more famous and influential residents. He also designed a very notable complement of some 20 monumental private homes in the city center, roughly half of which were built for clients with unmistakably Catalan surnames.

Today when the name Buigas is mentioned in the context of architectural design, most think of Carles Buigas, the creator of the famous lighted fountains of Montjüic for the Barcelona World's Fair of 1929. But that Buigas was, in fact, the son of a very important Catalan architect, Gaità or Cayetano Buigas y Monrava (1853-1919), a man with a very solid architectural trajectory in Catalonia who, along with two architects working in Argentina, Julián García Nuñez Francisco Roca i Simó, translated the esthetics of Catalan architectural *modernisme* into the Latin American context. After studying under Elías Rogent (an essential pre-cursor to the era dominated by Gaudí Domènech and Puig i Cadafalch), Büigas worked as the municipal architect of several Catalan localities before winning (in all likelihood with some help from Rogent who was the chief architect of the 1888 World's Fair of which the commission was part) the privilege of building the monument to Christopher Columbus at the foot of the Ramblas. Thanks to the notoriety he

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[7] For example, the life and times of José Enrique Rodó, a son of catalans and the father of Uruguayan modernism and one of the earliest theorists of a Latin-American identity, is virtually inseparable from this institution.

gained through the execution of this iconic element of the international celebration, he obtained numerous important commissions. Among these are the Comellas Palace in Vic, the Public Market and the Municipal Slaughterhouse in Sitges and the Spa of Vichy Catalán in Caldes de Malavella.

In 1903, he emigrated to Argentina and then on to Uruguay in late 1905 or early 1906. His first project in that country was the *Banco Popular* of Montevideo. The building is described by Ramón Gutiérrez as an eclectic work marked nonetheless by a clear devotion to the canons of Catalan *modernisme*, in its use of surface ornamentation (Gutiérrez et al. 2005: 65). His second important Uruguayan project, the *Teatro Lavalleja*, located in the mountain city of Minas is similarly evocative of Catalonia, especially, as the Uruguayan architect María Luz Morosoli makes clear (Morosoli de Mazzoni, María Luz s.d.), in its evident imitation of the balcony system used at the famous *Liceu* opera house in Barcelona.

However, the most important contribution of Buigas to the Uruguayan architectural patrimony – both in terms of esthetics and its social centrality – is his design for Show Pavilions of Asociación Rural del Uruguay (ARU) in Montevideo (1912). At the beginning of the 20th century, the ARU was arguably the most important and powerful social institution of any type in the country. In submitting his proposal for the job, the most logical thing for Buigas to have done, it would seem, would have been to generate a plan that would, in some way be evocative of the then-important idiom of the Gauchesque with its *a posteriori* glorification of the free-herder's life on the pampas. But instead, after a South American trajectory that Francesc Fontbona has described as essentially eclectic (Fontbona 1992: 246), it is here – at an institution which lies at the very center of Uruguay's elite power structure – that Buigas decides to compose a no holds barred love letter to Catalan *modernisme*, with building after build replete with curvaceous forms covered in *trencadís* (broken glass shards) of the type made famous by Gaudí in contemporaneous works.

Francesc Matosas i Amat was born in Badalona near Barcelona in 1886 and moved to Premià de Dalt (known then as Saint Pere de Premià) in 1901 following the death of his father. He began working in the granite mines near the town. During the first months of 1909, Matosas, who like an increasing number working class Catalans of the

time, had become convinced of the merits of Anarchism, fled to Améri-
ca to escape conscription to the Morroccan Wars. He did so mere
months before the Anarchist-led ant-war protests which would pro-
voke the famous Tragic Week, an event of enormous importance in the
history of both Catalanism and the evolution of modern Spanish au-
thoritarianism. The Catalan quarryman and bricklayer worked for a
few months in Buenos Aires, quite possibly on the building of the
Teatro Colón,[8] before heading north to Santiago de Estero. He stayed
there until 1916 when the financial problems of national government
(which had financed an ambitious public works program in the city)
and the very favorable immigration laws promulgated by Batlle y
Ordóñez, induced him to move to Mercedes, the capital of Soriano
province in Uruguay.

There is very good reason to belief that the presence of fellow Cata-
lans in the area had something to do with the choice of this destina-
tion.[9] Once established there as a baker, bricklayer (he was famous for
his work ethic) Matosas began building an extraordinary monument to
creativity (some 28 houses, mostly for family members and friends)
which reveal both a strong desire to express his own idiosyncratic view
of the world and pay homage to the esthetic ideals and design tech-
niques of his native Catalonia. Upon seeing these buildings which are,
for the most part, densely concentrated in the center of the city, the ob-
server is struck by their plastic exuberance and bright shining colors,
traits which are immediately evocative of Catalan *modernisme*. Howev-

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[8] For a more exhaustive account of the life and works of Matosas, see Morales
2007.

[9] Earlier on, I mentioned that Barcelona and Montevideo are the only *major* cit-
ies that have a *Rambla* as the major axis of socio-spatial orientation. There are,
however   two less populous cities that possess this same characteristic. One is
Palma de Mallorca. Another is Mercedes, Uruguay. Indeed, as the dean of local
historians in the city made clear to me (Harrington 2007), the Rambla there,
which runs along the shores of the Rio Negro, was the brainchild of the first
intendente of Mercedes, the Catalan immigrant Manuel Miláns. In my fieldwork,
I also found an original sculpture by Josep Llimona, the most important plastic
artist of Catalan *noucentisme*, in the gardens of the city's Chopitea orphanage!
In short, it appears that as Matosas headed for Mercedes, he did so knowing
that there was already a network of Catalans in the city who would be able to
aid him in his adaptation should the need arise.

er, on closer inspection we see how Matosas has carefully adapted his Catalan vision to the Uruguayan reality. For example, we see that the surfaces that at first appear to be made of *trencadís* are in fact made of the area's abundant coarse gravel which, according to Matosas's long-time assistant, Humberto Nazabay, the Catalan designer and builder carefully hand-sorted and colored (in private and with techniques he would never divulge to anyone) to achieve the plastic effect being sought. Something similar occurs on the iconographic level. Upon visiting the complex of houses which includes his own residence on la Calle Castro y Carreaga, the eyes are immediately drawn to the Gaudi-like way in which the builder seeks to recreate the forms of nature. However, as the process of observation advances, it becomes clear any attempt to describe his work purely in terms of Gaudinian mimetism cannot be sustained. Beside the sculptured plants and animals, we find elements from the serene classicism of *modernisme*'s successor esthetic, *noucentisme*, scenes from the old and new testament, motifs from Freemasonry and Rosacrucianism and, among other wholly *sui generis* items, an oversized relief of Luis Tuya, the Uruguayan aviator that died defending the Republic during the Spanish Civil War.

Catalan *modernisme* and *noucentisme* were both undeniably urban forms of expression. And for the most part, Matosas worked within the compact urban core of Mercedes. However, his largest and arguably most impressive work is the Estancia Carolina located on the rolling and largely treeless pampa some 20 kilometers outside he city. For the most part, the arquitecture of Uruguayan cattle ranches is fairly unremarkable, low utilitarian building with next to nothing in the way of ornamentation. One can thus imagine the effect of coming across a full-blown neo-Gaudinian palace, in the midst of this landscape. For the many Uruguayan I asked directions from in trying to find it, it was variously described as strange, odd and different. What none was able (even when I prompted them) to do, as they would undoubtedly been able to do with a similarly derivative work of an Italian or German immigrant designer, was to place it in the context of another very distinct national tradition. For them, Matosas was simply the Spaniard with an extravagantly lively sense of color and imagination.

In an article from 1953, Oriol Bohigas wrote "El profesor de la teoría del Arte de la Universidad de Montevideo empieza cada año su curso

recordando que la arquitectura moderna del Uruguay se debe precisa-
mente a un catalán Anonio Bonet i Castellana. Ese catalán no sólo ha
triunfado en América sino ha logrado imponer su ejemplo a toda una
gneración" (Bohigas 1999: 228). The esthetic and social vision of Bonet,
which, according to Bohigas has had such a profound effect on the de-
velopment of Uruguayan architecture, was forged in the Spanish Se-
cond Republic (1931-1939). While still a university student, he became
friends with Josep Luis Sert and Josep Torres Clavé, the two most fer-
vent interpreters of Le Corbusier in the Iberian Peninsula. For the three
young men, the Swiss creator's socially inclusive concept of urban de-
sign came to be seen as the perfect complement to their cosmopolitan
and interclass version of Catalanism. Working in the context of the fa-
mous GATCPAC (Grup d'Arquitectes i Técnics Catalans per el Progres
de la Arquitectura Contemporànea) and the first International Con-
gresses of Modern Achitecture (CIAM), they turned Barcelona into a
key node of the self-named Modern architectural movement. In 1936,
Sert invited Bonet to work with him in Paris on the Pavillion of the
Spanish Republic for the Paris World's Fair of 1937. While there, he also
worked in Le Corbusier's studio where he met two people who would
become essential collaborators during his years in America: Jorge Fer-
rari Hardoy and Juan Kurchan. In 1938, Bonet leaves Paris for Buenos
Aires where he and the two aforementioned Argentines form the *Grupo
Austral*, an organizational concept that derived from the example of the
GATCPAC. The firm, which is perhaps best known for its BFK chair,
would wield great influence in the world of Latin American design and
urbanism over the ensuing decades.

   In 1945, Bonet wins a commission to develop a forested piece of
land located in the lee of Punta Ballena (just east of Punta del Este) in
Uruguay. From that moment until 1948, Bonet would live on the site,
supervising the execution of the project that Bohigas would describe
shortly thereafter as: "el conjunto urbanístico más importante del
mundo" (228). According to Bohigas, Bonet's project achieved several
important goals. The first was to build an entire community without
disturbing the fertile rolling terrain of the area. The second was to gen-
erate structures, the most notable of which was the *Casa Solana*, which
seek to eliminate the idea of an inside space existing in opposition to an
outside one, echoing in this way, Frank Lloyd Wright's *Falling Water*

(1936-39) and anticipating, if only slightly, Philip Johnson's *Glass House* (1949). The third is his ability to integrate elements of traditional artisanry – such as the use of traditional "bovedas catalanas" in the Casa Berlinghieri – in a plan of otherwise wholly modern and cosmopolitan pretensions.

Since the late eighteenth century, small cadres of Catalans have played extremely important roles in the construction of a number of Latin American cultures. Nowhere is this Catalan cultural influence more palpable than in Uruguay. However, owing to the structure of institutionalized historiographical conventions in both Spain and the small republic of the Plata region, this reality has passed largely unnoticed. I have sought to provide some of the general reasons for this glaring case of omission while simultaneously examining the particular, and heretofore largely unreported case of Catalan contributions to architectural creation in Uruguay. I sincerely hope it will provide us with some reason for further discussion.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSLATION STUDIES INTO A DISCIPLINE IN CHINA

Chang Nam Fung

It is the purpose of this paper to give an account of the development of translation studies into a separate academic discipline in China as a result of transfer, that is, "the process whereby imported goods are integrated into a home repertoire, and the consequences generated by this integration" (Even-Zohar 1997a: 358-359), of Western translation theories in spite of active resistance. Before we proceed, however, it is necessary to trace the development of translation studies into a discipline in the West, so that comparison can be made in later sections.

1. The Development of Translation Studies in the West

According to the accounts of James S. Holmes, in his part of the world, for centuries there was only "incidental and desultory attention" to the subject "from a scattering of authors, philologists, and literary scholars, plus here and there a theologian or an idiosyncratic linguist" (Holmes 1988: 67); "they all too often erred in mistaking their personal, national, or period norms for general translation laws. And they all too frequently substituted impressionism for methodology" (Holmes 1988: 99-100).

After the Second World War, the subject of translation enjoyed a marked and constant increase in interest, mainly on the part of linguists, Holmes (1988: 67-68, 100) conceded, but he was unimpressed by their work:

> They have, by and large, moved down a different road, one that has turned out to be a dead end. Accepting the basic self-imposed restrictions of structural and/or transformational linguistics, they have labeled "equivalent" target-language glosses for source-language words, groups of words, and/or (at best) sentences considered out of context. (Holmes 1988: 100)

Echoing Holmes, Theo Hermans dismissed the traditional approach for being "unsystematic, essayistic and practice-oriented" and the linguistic approach for "treat[ing] translation merely in terms of differences between language systems" (Hermans 1999: 21).

Explaining the emergence of translation studies as a discipline, Holmes observes that when researchers from an adjacent area bring with them the paradigms and models that have proved fruitful in their own field to bear on a new problem that has just come into view in the world of learning, they will legitimately annex the problem as a branch of their discipline "if the problem proves amenable to explicitation, analysis, explication, and at least partial solution within the bounds of one of their paradigms or models"; however, the linguistic approach to the study of translation has failed to "produce sufficient results" (Holmes 1988: 67). This is because, from the point of view of Holmes and others, treating translation as purely or primarily a matter of linguistic operation is a perspective too narrow for "the complex of problems clustered round the phenomenon" (Holmes 1988: 67), and because the linguistic paradigms have provided no theoretical tools for the description of translational norms without value judgements (Toury 2000: 279). As a result, another type of situation happened: as tension grew between researchers who were trying to use established methods to investigate the perceived new problem and those who felt a need for "new methods", the second type of researchers gradually established "new channels of communication" and developed "a new disciplinary utopia, that is, a new sense of a shared interest in a common set of problems, approaches, and objectives" (Holmes 1988: 67).

This new discipline was given a name and a structure by Holmes in his seminal paper "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (Holmes 1988: 67-80). Perhaps more importantly, it was equipped with a tool for real research–in contrast to criticism–in the form of polysystem theory, which has provided the theoretical foundation for Gideon Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies, and has inspired a number of other scholars such as André Lefèvere, Theo Hermans, Susan Bassnett and José Lambert. Together they formed a group later to be known as the "Manipulation School" or "Translation Studies School", whose members share some of the basic tenets of the theory, such as systems thinking and descriptivism, although they are not all polysystemists.

Looking back at the development of translation studies from today's vantage point, we may perhaps make a fairer assessment of the pioneering role played by the linguistic approach. Although Eugene A. Nida uses "equivalence" as a key word in his practice-oriented *Toward*

a Science of Translating (1964), he is concerned with the functioning of the text in culture, not just with "glosses" of words or sentences. J. C. Catford's *A linguistic Theory of Translation* (1965) is focused on language differences, but it gives a systematic, descriptive analysis of what may happen linguistically in translation. Both works have substituted methodology for impressionism, representing a step forward in scholarship if compared to the traditional approach. It is not surprising that their approach "appealed" to Toury, showing to him that "translation really is a subject in its own right" (Toury 2000: 278-279). Indeed, one may even wonder whether translation studies would have developed to the present state without this linguistic phase.

Nevertheless, it is no coincidence that the linguistic turn of the 1960s, in spite of all its achievements, has not led to the growth of translation studies into a separate academic discipline.

Traditionally, translation has been looked down upon as a secondary and second-rate activity, and "the social sciences tend to select their objects of study on the basis of cultural prestige, rather than intrinsic interest" (Delabastita 1990: 97). Meanwhile, in the humanities application-oriented research has all along been regarded as less academic than pure research. The study of translation used therefore to be at a double disadvantage in academia. Although the linguistic approach raised the level of sophistication of the study of translation, what it did had led to little change to the double disadvantage of the field as the primacy of the original was upheld and application was still the main concern. The subject still occupied a peripheral position, though slightly improved. Instead of upgrading it to the status of a discipline, the use of linguistic paradigms and models in the investigation of translation represents an attempt to annex this adjacent field. For some linguists such an attempt may not have been intentional, but some others have claimed the subject as a branch of (applied, or contrastive) linguistics.

The credit for establishing the discipline goes first to Holmes's paper and Even-Zohar's polysystem theory. The name "translation studies" has enabled the field to gain an identity in distinction with comparative literature and linguistics (cf. Ulrych & Bosinelli 1999: 225), and to acquire a disciplinary status as no existing names could have done, such as the homely and vague term "translation", or Eugene A. Nida's

"science of translating", or Peter Newmark's "translation theory". It is no exaggeration to say that Holmes's paper "constitutes Translation Studies' declaration of independence" (Hermans 1999: 30). Furthermore, the structure of the discipline that Holmes suggests, comprising as its main body a "pure" branch subdivided into the "theoretical" and the "descriptive" branches, has won for it academic respectability.

The contribution of polysystem theory is three-fold. First, as a theory for description it has given substance to Holmes's Pure Translation Studies. While the traditional type of translation criticism and, to a lesser extent, the linguistic approach had exhausted their potential and lost their appeal where research was concerned, polysystem theory showed its vitality by widening the field: it is not only that what had previously been excluded as objects of study, such as the so-called quasi-translation, pseudo-translation or even non-translation, were now included, but also that, instead of focusing on the texts alone, the researcher was now encouraged to step back and take a panoramic view of the cultures in which translation takes place. Thanks to polysystem theory, "all kinds of questions could now be asked that had previously not seemed to be of significance" (Bassnett 1993: 142). It "dominated thinking" in the 1980s (Bassnett 1998a: 128), and led to a dramatic change in direction and a boom in research activities, as Hermans observes:

> It offered a comprehensive and ambitious framework, something researchers could turn to when looking for explanations and contexts of actual behaviour. A significant amount of empirical and historical work on translation, and especially on literary translation, is directly or indirectly indebted to polysystem theory. (Hermans 1999: 102)

Polysystem theory has thus led the discipline away from the application orientation and paved the way to the cultural turn.

Secondly, its target-oriented approach has mounted "an offensive against the dominance of the original and the consequent relegation of translation to a position of subservience" (Bassnett 1993: 141), and case studies conducted in its framework have proved the vital role of translations in the shaping of cultures, thus "bringing translations in from the margins where they could be properly considered alongside all other texts within a literary system" (Bassnett 1998b: 108).

Thirdly, contrary to the elitism of traditional literary studies in "confin[ing] itself to the so-called 'masterpieces'", it rejects "value judgements as criteria for an *a priori* selection of the objects of study" (Even-Zohar 1990: 13), and gives equal treatments to central and peripheral systems. This is in effect an ideological stance that elevates directly the cultural status of translation and, indirectly, the academic status of translation studies as well.

On the whole, the work of Holmes and Even-Zohar has brought about a revolution. All the key terms, such as translation, translation theory, translation research and translation studies, have been radically redefined.

2. Traditional Chinese Discourse on Translation

The development of translation studies in China has taken a similar but more tortuous path.

Being an old and established one, Chinese culture used to be independent and self-sufficient most of the time, developing within its own sphere. It was a central polysystem in the macro-polysystem of the region, interfering rather than interfered with, and seldom felt much need for foreign repertoires. Consequently, there was little translation activity except occasional interpreting in dealings with neighbouring nations and tribes, translation of Buddhist scriptures and, around the sixteenth century, translation of science works initiated by Christian missionaries. It is only natural that under such circumstances scholarly attention to translation problems was at least as "incidental and desultory" as that in the West, if not more so.

It is towards the end of the nineteenth century, when China was repeatedly defeated and invaded by various powers that Chinese culture started a centrifugal movement in the polysystem of the world, with which it had been forced to come into contact. As a strong sense of what Even-Zohar calls "weakness" – I prefer to call it "self-insufficiency" – arose in the nation as a whole, the old central political and ideological systems collapsed, and foreign repertoires were acquired and transferred by sending students abroad, by translating texts in the domains of natural and social sciences, theology, philosophy and literature, and by importing material, in order to reshape nearly every aspect of the culture.

It is in this period that translation became a central system for the first time, and that what is sometimes regarded as the first Chinese translation theory was born, in the form of "*xin*, *da* and *ya*" (faithfulness, comprehensibility and elegance), put forward as "the three difficulties in translation" by Yan Fu (1901/1933), the pioneering translator of Western works on social sciences. The theory was soon revered as the only guide for translators and the only yardstick for translation critics (see Luo 1984: 593). Decades passed before it was seriously challenged by some (such as Zhu 1944/1984: 448-449, Zhao 1967/1984: 726). Later, there were attempts to reinterpret or modify it (such as Liu Zhongde 1994: 9; also see Chen 1992: 411-418). But, according to Luo Xinzhang (1984: 595-596), the three criteria have not been successfully refuted, and none of those who have probed into the question of translation criteria, Yan's exponents and critics alike, have ever gone beyond their shadow.

Yan's theory has dominated Chinese discourse on translation until the 1980s. It was innovative in terms of the level of theorization when it appeared, but has hampered the development of translation theory for a century (Chu 2000: 12-13) – in recent years there are still attempts to uphold it as the "gold standard" in order to keep out foreign theories (Liu Airong 2001; also see Zhang Jinghao 2006: 59-60). This is a case in which an innovative, primary model, after its perpetuation, has become a secondary one, effecting a new kind of conservatism (see Even-Zohar 1990: 21). Tan Zaixi (2000: 17) attributes this perpetuation to the tendency to hold the ancients and authorities in high esteem that exists in the Chinese tradition of scholarship.

However, the influence of Yan's theory on translation practice might have been over-estimated. His three criteria, especially "elegance", were proposed to justify his extremely target-oriented strategies, which were the norm in a time when the Chinese linguistic-literary polysystem was still stable. Two decades later, as the total culture was in a crisis, source-oriented strategies gradually prevailed, especially in left-wing literary circles. Lu Xun, the leading revolutionary writer cum translator of the time, advocated "faithfulness rather than smoothness" in translation as a means to import not only new ideas but also new ways of expression in order to cure the "impreciseness" of the Chinese language (Lu 1931/1984: 275-276). What with his literary and

political status and the support of Mao Zedong (see Chen 1992: 383), Lu's discourse on translation has been canonized and has continued to influence translators for over half a century, while the systemic position of translation has become less central (Chang 2005: 61, 70-71). This phenomenon may be described as perpetuation of a norm crystallized in an earlier phase.

Centred on the "literal versus free" controversy, Chinese discourse on translation until the 1980s has also been "unsystematic, essayistic and practice-oriented". What makes it somewhat unique is its preoccupation with the search and establishment of a universal translation criterion. This is illustrated by Fan Shouyi who, after a survey of the various criteria proposed since Yan Fu, sums up the common concern of many translation theorists and practitioners in China: "we need one set of criteria as a common measure for translators to abide by. It could be Yan Fu's 'xin, da and ya' or any other set which is unanimously accepted" (Fan 1992: 155).

Moreover, Chinese writings on translation are mostly very short. For example, Yan Fu's theory, which Zhang Jinghao (2006: 59-60) claims to be no less profound than that of Alexander Tytler, is expounded in about 1000 characters, in contrast to Tytler's treatise *Essay on the Principle of Translation*, written a century earlier, which is around 50,000 words in length.

The study of translation in China used to be an amateurish activity, in the sense that there were very few (if any at all) full-time theorists or researchers. The subject, given its practice orientation and low level of theorization, stayed at the very periphery of the polysystem of scholarship. Yet it seemed to be content with the status quo: it remained in a state of self-sufficiency vis-à-vis foreign repertoires much longer than Chinese culture as a whole and some adjacent disciplines such as linguistics, as traditionalists maintained that Chinese translation theory "has its distinctive characteristics" and "constitutes a system of its own" (Luo 1984: 588).

3. Two Waves of Westernization

The first wave of westernization took place in the early 1980s. After the Cultural Revolution, there was a crisis or vacuum in Chinese culture as people were generally dissatisfied with established repertoires, while

the government started to implement the policy of "reform and open-ing to the outside world". As Western repertoires were transferred on an extensive scale, translation participated in reshaping the culture. These cultural conditions kindled an interest not only in the study of translation but also in foreign models. A number of scholars in main-land China, mainly junior ones, began to introduce Western translation theories, mostly by linguists, such as Eugene A. Nida, J. C. Catford and Wolfram Wilss. These foreign repertoires, transferred via the periph-ery, produced a great impact on Chinese translation studies.

These theories functioned as primary models in China, but by the time of their transference their innovative role in the source systems had been taken over by other theories, such as Skopos theory, polysys-tem theory and other cultural theories of translation.

The primarization of models after crossing cultural borders is not rare (Even-Zohar 1990: 92). Given the state of translation studies in China at that time, either linguistic or cultural theories would in all likelihood have played a primary role if transferred. What determined the transference of the former was not just their accessibility, that is, "the possibility of getting hold of a source", but ultimately their availa-bility, that is, "the legitimacy of implementing what the state of acces-sibility can offer" (Even-Zohar 1990: 93).[1] The main concerns of most translation scholars in China were still practical matters such as trans-lating, translation criticism and translator training, as the distinction between applied and pure research was not yet made. Attaching im-portance to reader response, Nida's theory is more egalitarian than the Chinese socio-cultural norm of "loyalty" of the inferior to the superior, and therefore it served as a mild antidote to the predominant concept of primacy of the original, which was out-dated as the systemic posi-tion of translation was no longer as central as in Lu Xun's time. Its ef-fect is reflected by the fact that most criticisms directed against it are made on the ground that it pays too much attention to reader response at the expense of the author (such as Liu Ching-chih 1986, Liu Yingkai 1997). Besides, its principle of equivalent effect gave the hope of put-

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[1] In Even-Zohar's later writings (such as 1997b: 21) "(legitimately) usable" is used to refer to what he formerly meant by "available", while "available" just means "accessible".

ting an end to the age-old "literal versus free" controversy, and its methodology had the appeal of scientificity and academicality.

Nida's theory, introduced separately but almost simultaneously through the work of two scholars (Jin & Nida 1984, Tan 1984), was an instant hit. It assumed a central position and remained there for over a decade. However, it has not brought about a revolution. Although it has taken the reader into consideration, it is still focused on the comparison of the source and the target text. It is politically safe as the external factors of translation, such as power and ideology, are left untouched. Similar to traditional discourse on translation, it is prescriptive, aiming at setting a criterion based on faithfulness. Its relation with Chinese discourse is one of competition and complicity. While taking over the central position from the latter, it has reinforced the practice-orientation of Chinese translation studies and the value system of Chinese culture.

The second wave of westernization was initiated by junior scholars in Hong Kong in the 1990s. Although translation programmes began to be offered at degree and sub-degree levels in Hong Kong in the 1970s and proliferated in the 1980s following the rapid expansion of the tertiary education sector, there was very little research in those days for three reasons: neither a doctoral degree nor research ability was essential for a position in all colleges and universities; academic status could be gained through translating, translation criticism, creative writing, and teaching; and research output in adjacent areas recognized as translation studies was not yet an established field. In the 1980s the most popular theories were those of Nida and Peter Newmark, especially after Hong Kong and mainland China began to have academic exchanges, in which Hong Kong had a "trade deficit" in translation discourse in the sense that works by mainland Chinese scholars were read and adopted as teaching material in Hong Kong much more than the other way round.

In the 1990s, as universities in Hong Kong entered the consolidation phase, research was given more importance, and a trend was started to require university teachers new and old to have a doctoral degree. Meanwhile, some scholars felt that prescriptive theories, both the philological and the linguistic type, had failed to "produce sufficient results". Therefore, in their research papers and/or Ph.D. theses they

turned to descriptive models, such as polysystem theory, (Toury's) Descriptive Translation Studies and Hans J. Vermeer's Skopos theory, and later also to other culture theories, such as post-colonialism. In a few years most of the relatively active translation researchers in Hong Kong have taken the cultural turn. Or rather, it is the cultural theories that have enabled them to have new ideas and new findings, and consequently to be more productive.

These theories were introduced to mainland China mainly by Hong Kong scholars through journal papers, translations, conference presentations and guest lectures. It took a much longer time for them than linguistic theories of translation to be tolerated and accepted due to their incompatibility with the traditional value system and the underlying concept of translation of Chinese culture.

In the new millennium the importation of foreign theories has been taken over by scholars and publishers in mainland China. The *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker 1998) is being translated into Chinese, and a large number of English books in translation studies have been made available in China in low-price editions.

On the whole, translation studies in China are now very much westernised, with cultural theories at the centre. In recent years, polysystem theory seemed to be particularly popular among Ph.D. candidates, which has led to a distinguished scholar wondering: "Nowadays every thesis in translation studies talks about 'polysystem theory'. Are there no other theories?" (See Lü 2006) According to Zhang Jinghao (2006: 59), among the articles published in 2005 in *Chinese Translators Journal*, the top journal in mainland China specialized in translation, 69.16% have recourse to foreign translation theories or translators. In this context "foreign" means the West, because translation theories have been imported from no other parts than Europe and North America.

4. The Effect of Westernization

The most significant effect of westernization is the establishment of translation studies as an independent discipline. As Western theories ushered in a boom time for the study of translation, new disciplinary utopias began to take shape in the 1980s, in Hong Kong and mainland China separately, and the two joined forces in the 1990s.

Translation studies have become an independent discipline in Hong Kong by all standards. Among the nine universities, there are at present two departments of translation, two research centres for translation, and a few chair professors of translation. Altogether they offer six B.A. and five M.A. programmes that have "translation" in the title, and many of them began to admit Ph.D. students in translation studies in the mid or late 1990s. Moreover, there are two academic journals that specialize in translation studies. Perhaps the most important indicator is that translation is listed as a discipline in the Research Assessment Exercise conducted by the University Grants Committee of Hong Kong (University Grants Committee of Hong Kong 2007).

This course of events has apparently been rather natural, given the great demand on translation programmes at all levels. However, if the large number of translation teachers who came from adjacent areas had not taken the "translational turn" but continued to do research in their original field, or if translation studies had remained practice-oriented, there would not have been Ph. D. programmes or much research output in the discipline, as was the case before the mid 1990s. Then it might well have been annexed by some other disciplines.

The situation in China has been more complicated. There were calls in 1987 for the establishment of translation studies (or translatology) as a discipline (see Mu 1995: 31-33), especially by Tan Zaixi, one of the importers of Nida's theory (Tan 1987). The ways to achieve this goal were discussed, and what most people had in mind was an applied discipline based on some linguistic theories, such as Nida's socio-semiotics (see Mu 1995: 33). Eight years later another call was made in a journal article (Chang 1995). Suggesting that the discipline should be founded on the descriptive branch according to Holmes's conception of translation studies, it provoked a strong reaction from Lao Long (1996). These two articles "raised a storm" (Sun Huijun & Zhang Boran 2002: 4) in mainland China, stirring up heated debates among translation scholars on the disciplinary status of translation studies, first in 1996-1997 and on a larger scale in 1999-2001. The minority view was that translation studies had not become an academic discipline even in the West, and could hardly ever hope to do so (Lao 1996, Zhang Jinghao 1999), while the majority argued that it should and it could, and, in the second round of debate, that it had, even in China. Mu Lei (2000) has

provided data concerning academic bodies, journals, teaching from undergraduate to doctoral levels, departments of translation, etc., which strongly indicate that translation studies has indeed become a discipline in its own right in mainland China.

At present, mainland China and Hong Kong seem to be the only regions in the Far East where translation studies is an active research area and is widely recognized as a serious academic discipline, thanks to the contribution of Western theories, while Taiwan is fast catching up in recent years. In other Far Eastern countries translation studies seems to remain largely practice-oriented, with pure translation studies being the pursuit of just a few idiosyncratic scholars.

Another consequence of the influx of western theories is that it has brought the originally stand-alone system of Chinese translation studies into the polysystem of international translation studies, occupying a peripheral position there. Beginning from the late 1990s the flow of translation discourse is no longer unidirectional, as Chinese discourse on translation – past and present – is introduced to the West through translation studies journals and anthologies of Chinese writings on translation. As a result, that position has become slightly less peripheral, but it remains to be seen whether Chinese translation studies will become a source of repertoire transfer.

5. Resistance

New translation theories and the endeavour to establish translation studies as a discipline have met with what Even-Zohar calls passive resistance at most in the West: "people do not engage themselves with working covertly against the new options. They simply ignore them" (Even-Zohar 2002: 48). Occasionally one may hear a linguist or a philologist complaining about the cultural turn, but there seems to be no need to argue either for or against the establishment of the discipline. In contrast, they have met with active resistance in mainland China, in the sense that there are people who "engage themselves in a more or less overt and straightforward struggle against the planned repertoire" (Even-Zohar 2002: 48).

The most prominent form of resistance is the claim that Chinese theories are good enough while foreign ones are nothing new or better. During the first wave of westernization, Luo Xinzhang, a veteran trans-

lation scholar, without making much reference to foreign theories, asserted that Chinese translation theories had formed "a system of its own", which is unique in the world, and therefore that there was no need to be "unduly humble" (Luo 1984: 588, 603). In the new millennium, when virtually all Western theories have become widely known, there are suggestions that they do not compare favourably with existing Chinese theories. For example, what Nida means by "dynamic equivalence" was already said by Ma Jianzhong at the turn of the twentieth century although in different wording: "a good translation is that from which readers may draw the same benefits as from the original"; Venuti's "foreignization" versus "domestication" are not substantially different from "literal translation" versus "free translation" (Zhang Jinghao 2006: 60); and polysystem theory's prediction of translational norms shifting with the position of translation is nothing new, since Yan Fu has formulated a translation method of "addition, reduction and alteration" (Liu Airong 2001: 43) – apparently meaning that Yan had been able to formulate target-orineted strategies long before polysystem theory was there to tell him what to do.

In recent years a renowned professor cum translator, Xu Yuanchong, declares that the "literary translation theories of Chinese school [*sic*] are the most advanced in the world of the 20th century", on the ground that "only the Chinese school has solved the difficult problems" in translating between the two major languages of the world – Chinese and English (Xu 2003: 52, 54). By "the theories of the Chinese school" he actually means his own, which he claims to have guided him to "produce the largest quantity of literary translations with the highest quality in the world" (Xu 2003: 54).

Zhang Jinghao (2006: 60) blames foreign theories not only for their inability to guide translation practice, but also for bringing Chinese discourse on translation from a state where there is an authority (that is, Yan Fu's theory) to a state where there is none, which he considers "a retrogression".

Those who take the strongest objection to foreign theories are more or less the same people who assert that translation studies can hardly hope to become an academic discipline, which a growing number of academics have been endeavouring to establish with the help of Western theories. Their argument, however, is not always consistent. On the

one hand, attacking the conception of a practice-oriented discipline, they argue that since there are no translational laws to be found that may guide translators to solve practical problems, translation studies as a discipline can only be "descriptive", which means subjecting all translational phenomena to analysis and theoretical explanation without formulating any laws (Zhang Jinghao 2001: 63; also Xu 2001: 19); on the other, they are of the opinion that "it is futile and worthless for pure theories to create 'translatology' out of thin air" (Zhang Jinghao 1999: 44, Xu 2001: 19). Besides, there is the statement that "since translation was not a discipline 5000 years ago when it first appeared, it is certainly not a discipline today" (Zhang Jinghao 2001: 64), which is made apparently through what Hermans (1991: 166) describes as "a fatal confusion between the discipline's object-level (translational phenomena) and its meta-level (the scholarly discourse about translational phenomena)". And there is the assertion that translation studies is not yet widely recognized as a discipline in the West, mainly on the basis that the commonly used term is the prudent "translation studies" while the term "translatology" is nowhere to be found in dictionaries of English (Zhang Jinghao 1999: 35, 2006: 59).

A moderate form of resistance is the call for the establishment of "Chinese translation studies", or a "translation studies with Chinese characteristics"[2], with the argument that since Western theories are concerned only with translation between European languages, which belong to the same language family, they are bound to be inapplicable to translation into or from the Chinese language, which is very different from European languages (such as Gui 1986, Zhang Boran & Jiang Qiuxia 1997, Sun Zhili 1997).

It seems that what lies at the root of Western translation theories meeting with active resistance is a clash between two traditions in three respects at least. First, academic research is very much a Western tradition. Although the whole modern education system in China and most other Asian countries, including the university, is modelled on that of

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[2] It should be noted that the term "translation studies with Chinese characteristics" has a political and nationalistic undertone as it draws on the slogan "socialism with Chinese characteristics", which Deng Xiaoping invented in the 1980s to defend his economic reforms from accusations that he was switching from socialism to capitalism.

the West, some of the basic academic values have not yet been accepted or even understood by all people. Traditional Chinese scholarship is very utilitarian, believing that learning should in one way or another bring immediate benefits to society. In the old times the aim of learning was cultivation of one's own self, leading to harmony within one's family, regulation of the kingdom, and ultimately pacification of the world. Traditional Chinese intellectuals are therefore prone to make value judgements, and they have little affinity for concepts such as detachment, neutrality and descriptivism. After China was repeatedly defeated by foreign powers, technological advancement and economic growth became major concerns. This may explain why most people on either side of the debate over the disciplinary status of translation studies have been talking about a discipline that is application-oriented in nature. Even today, in certain quarters applied research tends to be prioritized over academic research for its own sake. In 2001 a scholar opined:

> The theories we now need are those that can guide translation practice. Since in today's China there are too many things waiting to be translated and translation expertise is too much in demand, pure theoretical translation studies is not urgent for us. That is what Western translation theorists are interested in because the aim of their research is hardly to guide practice. (Liu Airong 2001: 44)

Moreover, as traditional Chinese scholarship tends to value insights and daring hypotheses (or conjectures, or even assertions) more than in-depth analysis and careful proving with hard evidence, methodology and theorization have hardly any place there. These traits are very much present in the writings of those who take objection to Western translation theories.

Secondly, in Chinese culture, as in most Eastern cultures, cohesion of the entity and conformity to dominant norms are emphasized at the expense of individual rights and competition. As Benedict Stavis observes, traditional Chinese culture does not share "Western religion's idea of equality in the eyes of God", and "the political ruler had as much right to rule his nation as a father had to rule his family", which is indicated by the fact that the Chinese word for "country" (*guojia*) includes the character for "family" (*jia*) (Stavis 1988: 67-69). Obedience rather than independent thinking is encouraged. Given these values,

the dethronement of the original, as advocated by Skopos theory and the "Manipulation School", is regarded as heresy, not only by traditionalists but even by some of those who endorse Nida's theory, and the dethronement of Yan Fu's theory without a replacement, as a consequence of the emergence of so many theories, is blamed for creating chaos.

The third source of clash is internationalism versus nationalism, which is to a great extent a product of the second factor. When cohesion is of paramount importance in a social entity, national identity will overrides all other identities. The high sensitiveness in Chinese culture to national identities results in a tendency to use nationality as the first criterion for the classification of not only people but also cultural products. Hence the distinction between "Chinese" and "foreign" theories.[3]

As mentioned above, Chinese culture used to be the central system in the macro-polysystem of the region, and seldom felt much need for foreign repertoires. Naturally it had a sense of superiority, which was so strong that it may be aptly described as Sinocentrism: The Chinese called themselves "the Central Nation" (*Zhongguo*) because they truly believed they were at the centre of the world.[4] After China was defeated by Western powers and Japan, it was not only relegated to the periphery in the polysystem of the world, but it also lost its central position in the region of East Asia. A sense of inferiority arose, but the old sense of superiority lingered on, so that for the culture as a whole there

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[3] Nationality is sometimes used even to sub-classify foreign theories. For example, a "Series of Translation Studies Outside China" were published in mainland China in 2000-2001, comprising *Contemporary Translation Studies in UK*, *Contemporary Translation Studies in France*, *Contemporary Translation Studies in USA*, and *Translation Studies in USSR* .(A more literal translation of the Chinese titles would be *Contemporary British Translation Theories*, etc.) Such a way of classifying translation theories seems to be academically untenable since the body of theories thus grouped together (see Liao Qiyi 2001: 302-328) may not function as a system vis-à-vis another body, and the views of a theorist (such as Hermans) may not be treated in isolation to those of another one belonging to another nation (such as Even-Zohar).

[4] For example, a map of the world brought to China by the Christian missionary Matteo Ricci in the sixteenth century had to be redesigned to make China appear right in the centre instead of at a corner in order "to win the good will of the Chinese" (Ricci 1953: 166-167; also see Wang 2006: 43).

has been a superiority-inferiority complex, which is responsible for its mixed attitude to foreign repertoires.

Although nationalism has seldom been overtly invoked as a weapon to repel foreign repertoires in translation studies as it has been in some other realms such as politics and show business,[5] it is very much present in the rhetoric of the most adamant opponents of Western theories such as Zhang Jinghao, who ridicule the *Chinese Translators' Journal* for publishing too many articles that have recourse to foreign translation theories or translators, suggesting that it has actually become a "Foreign Translators Journal" (Zhang Jinghao 2006: 59).

The effect of nationalism is usually more insidious. For instance, one of the justifications for the establishment of 'Chinese translation studies' is that China needs its own set of translation criteria because "Chinese culture has a long history and (therefore) a remarkable capacity to accept and assimilate heterogeneous items" (Zhang Boran & Jiang Qiuxia 1997: 9). This is the kind of politically correct statements that national or nationalistic feelings tend to produce, and such statements usually go unchallenged. One may see from a polysystemic perspective that the two qualities – having a long history and a capacity to assimilate heterogeneous items – do not usually go together. The fact is that until it lost its central position, Chinese culture was generally not receptive to heterogeneous items (Buddhism being an exception).

6. Reflections on the Present State of Affairs

I would like to reflect upon two questions concerning the present state of affairs. The first is: of all countries in the Far East, why is it China where translation studies has been established as an academic discipline?

There is no doubt that Western translation theories, especially the cultural ones, have made the difference. But then why is China the only one that seems to be receptive to cultural theories of translation? Hong

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[5] Zhang Guoli, a movie star in mainland China, for instance, called the media that programmed many Korean TV series "traitors to China" (*Hanjian*) and the watching of such series "a treasonable act". Faced with such criticisms, the State Administration of Radio Film and Television said in 2006 that the programming of Korean TV series might be reduced by half (Ettoday 2006).

Kong translation scholars, who had much better access to these theories, must have played a role in initiating the import of cultural theories, but their efforts would not have resulted in the transfer of these theories without the support of their mainland colleagues and official blessing in mainland China. Cultural theories may have been introduced earlier into Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, where polysystem theory was known in the 1980s, but they do not seem to have caught on there, at least not in translation studies. As these places have been in closer contact with the West, what with their better access to information, and political and ideological affinity between the two parts, one may assume that it is they that are more likely to accept Western repertoires, but apparently it is not. Before more research is done, my answer to this question can only be tentative.

It seems that the difference between China and the rest of the Far Eastern region lies mainly in the readiness to accept foreign repertoires. The cultures of the latter places have each gone through a westernization phase, during which they were eager to take in Western repertoires, but they have become more or less stabilized. Although they also assume peripheral positions in the world to different extents, for some decades there has not been a general sense of self-insufficiency. In contrast, in Chinese culture there has been a strong sense of self-insufficiency since the late 1970s, which is reflected in China's urge to modernize, and to do so by learning from the West. As cultural theories of translation happened to emerge in the West in such a moment in history, it was no surprise that it is China that has been more receptive to them.

The second question is the so-called Eurocentrism in academic circles in general and in translation studies in particular. Some mainland Chinese scholars have cited the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker 1998) as an example. Observing that in the *Encyclopedia* the translation histories and traditions of European countries receive much more attention than those of African, Latin American and Asian countries, and "the whole picture of international theoretical translation studies is represented by the theories of a few developed Western countries", they conclude: "The power of discourse is in the hands of the academic elite in Britain, America and other developed countries, while theorists in the majority of countries suffer from 'aphasia' in the

international forum on translation studies" (Sun Huijun & Zhang Boran 2002: 5).

Western models are no doubt in the centre of Chinese, let alone international, translation studies, but this state of affairs has been determined primarily by factors that are internal to the academic polysystem, while external factors, such as political, ideological or economic ones, have played only a secondary role. Unlike the importation of Christianity and opium, which was initiated by powerful outside agents, the transfer of Western translation theories to China was undertaken by peripheral agents from within to fill a perceived vacuum, to serve as theoretical frameworks – which are lacking in China – for the description and explanation of Chinese phenomena. They have fulfilled that function. In terms of inter-systemic struggle, in mainland China the discipline of translation studies has become much less heteronomous, and in Hong Kong it is even more autonomous than in many parts of Europe as there are now more teachers specializing in both the pure and the applied branch of translation studies. In terms of scholarship, the understanding of Chinese translation phenomena is now much wider and deeper than in the pre-disciplinary stage. For example, Yan Fu's translation practice was often criticised out of context by traditional theorists for deviating too much from the original and for using Classical instead of Modern Chinese (such as Han 1969: 13-14; Liu Zhongde 1994: 7), but from a polysystemic perspective it can be seen that his acceptability-oriented strategies were determined by the fact that he translated for the literati and officialdom in a time when Classical Chinese (including its language and literature) was still firmly in the centre (see Chang 1998: 34-35). It has also been argued (and hopefully demonstrated) that, with minor modifications, some Western models, such as Dirk Delabastita's typology of pun translation (see Chang 2003) and Javier Franco Aixelá's typology of strategies for translating culture-specific items (see Chang 2004), may provide better guidance than their Chinese counterparts not only to research but also to translation practice in the Chinese context because they are descriptive, sophisticated and non-language-specific. The Westernization of translation studies in China can therefore be seen as a classic case in which a polysystem borrows repertoires from others to fulfill certain

self-perceived needs, saving the effort of inventing them entirely by itself.[6]

There has been a strong desire in China for dialogue between the East and the West[7] on an equal footing. It seems that as far as translation studies is concerned, this desire is based on a simplistic division of the world into two uni-sysytems. One should bear in mind that what is called the West is a polysystem consisting of its own centres and peripheries. Moreover, most of the models that are making most of the running in translation studies originated from the peripheries – from a group of junior scholars, most of them working in non-prestigious universities at the margin of Europe, with English as their second language. If some of them are from Great Britain or the United States, they are not in Yale, Harvard, Cambridge or Oxford, where there is not such a humble discipline as translation studies. If they constitute the "elite" today, with the "power of discourse" in their hands, it is because their theories have satisfied an academic need. It is not that their theories dominate the discipline because they are the elite in the first place. It is a double irony that their models are on the one hand snubbed by the very centres of Europe and on the other regarded as the source of Eurocentrism by peripheral nations that have benefited from them.

Returning to the encyclopaedia in question, while any cultural product is bound to be circumscribed by its milieu, I wonder what the poor editor could have done in the mid 1990s to increase the representation of the so-called Third World countries. It seems doubtful whether there was much research into the translation histories and traditions of these countries, or any translation theory there that was comparable to, say, polysystem theory or Skopos theory, in terms of uniqueness and academic depth. Even if there was, information was lacking in English, the lingua franca of the world.

The inequality that most Chinese scholars are suffering from in international translation studies lies mainly not in the lack of cultural

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[6] I am indebted for this remark to Itamar Even-Zohar, who commented on my paper at the "Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures" workshop.

[7] In this dichotomy the word "East" (*dongfang*) in Chinese usage usually means China alone. Another commonly used dichotomy is "China and the West" (*Zhongxi*).

prestige but in the command of linguistic and economic resources. There is very little one can do about it except work harder.

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THE RECEPTION OF GREEK MYTHOLOGY IN MODERN HEBREW CULTURE

Yaacov Shavit

The pagan divinities served as a vehicle for ideas so profound and so tenacious that it would have been impossible for them to perish. (Jean Senzec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, 147.)

The intention of this article is to describe the process by which Greek mythology was accepted and received into modern Hebrew culture. I present a comparison between the familiarity and use of motifs from Greek mythology in the literature of the Sages and Jewish culture in late antiquity on the one hand, and motifs in Hebrew literature and modern Jewish culture from the 19th century onward on the other hand. Such comparison is relevant since familiarity with mythology can be found in both these periods, although the nature of its reception and usage differ. Although the literature of the Sages does not indicate the true extent of this familiarity, which was not fully reflected in the *midrashim*, in both the periods under discussion there has been a greater familiarity with the mythological repertoire than in other periods in Jewish history.[1]

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[1] By "familiarity" I refer to knowledge based on contact, which does not necessarily signify cultural openness, for even between foreign and hostile cultures familiarity may exist; there are also diverse types and levels of familiarity: e.g. familiarity based on fortuitous, random and partial reception differs from that based on systematic study and broad knowledge; there is also a difference between the reception of mythological motifs from an oral culture and that based on the translation of books that contain mythological stories. By "usage" I refer to mythological motifs internalized in one way or another into the receiving culture and which may serve different functions than those they filled in the original culture. No less important is the fundamental difference between use of a mythological motif as an allusion and its direct and overt use; between its use as an image and its use as an archetype; between an implicit reference to motifs and names and the repetition of an entire mythological narrative. By "motif' I refer to the name or the core of a story, while a "narrative" refers to a complete story.

The survival of the world of Greek gods and heroes in Western history even after the demise of the Hellenistic-Roman world has always aroused astonishment.

> Though we have broken their statues,
> Though we have driven them out of their temples,
> the gods did not die because of this alldead.
> (Cavafy, "Inonian Song")

And almost a hundred years before Cavafy, Heinrich Heine asked the rhetorical question: 'How long and under what conditions was the Greek world of legends (*griechische Fabelwelt*) preserved in Europe?' (Heine 1964: 45).[2] Time and again Heine wondered what kept the pagan gods and heroes and the stories of pagan mythology alive and even vital through the long "dark" period of Christian rule; what were the reasons behind the persistent existence of Greek (pagan) mythology in European culture; what were the different ways it was kept – or kept itself – alive; and what were the prospects of the gods surviving or being resurrected in the modern period: will the ancient gods one day die and disappear forever?

This *Fabelwelt* had never been an integral part of Jewish cultural heritage and was discovered, or rather rediscovered, by it only during the last two centuries. This rediscovery was not the result of a new reading of the Sages; on the contrary, it provided an impetus for such a new reading, in order to determine their familiarity with the mythology of the peoples around them and ascertain the nature of the authentic Talmudic *agada* [myth]. In this article I will describe how Greek mythological motifs and the Greek world of legends were discovered by modern Jewish (Hebrew) culture and received into it. I will deal here only with patent allusions to Greek mythological motifs and not with real or imagined mythological parallels or with Jewish mythological motifs which may – or may not – have been created under the influence of Greek mythology.

At the outset of this discussion two points should be clarified: 1) '... Greek mythology in the sense of a homogeneous system of myths did not exist ... This system was fabricated in the modern period by the sci-

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[2] But Heine also lamented the disappearance of the "gods of Greece", who are now 'abandoned Gods, dead shades, wandering at eight as insubstantial as mists which the wind disperses' (Heine 1986: 78-82).

ence that arose to explain Greek myth' (Edmunds 1990: 2).[3] It was "fabricated" and "invented" by a long line of writers and adaptors who retold Greek myths and published "canonical" versions of the mythological narratives; 2) a clear distinction must be made between mythological narratives or names of mythological heroes, on the one hand, and mythic conceptual motifs or mystic ideas, on the other (Mondi 1990: 150). The Jewish world of thought may have possessed distinct elements of mythic thought (mythical conceptions) – similar to Greek mythic thought – without one finding stories from Greek mythology, or even allusions to these stories, in Jewish literature.

From a broad historical perspective, the "discovery" of the existence of mythological layers in Jewish literature is very significant for an understanding of the history of Judaism and of its *Traditionsgeschichte* (history of traditions).

It raised questions such as: Is this mythology "genuinely Jewish" or was it borrowed and then "Judaized"? What was the scope and content of this borrowing, and the nature of the Judaization, and what were the functions of these Judaized motifs within the new (Jewish) cultural system? Within this wide perspective the story of the presence and use of Greek mythology in Jewish-Hebrew culture is just one element in the complex history of the cultural interaction between Judaism and Hellenism during the Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine period, as well as between modern Hebrew culture and the classical heritage in European culture since the beginning of the 19th century. It is part of the history of cultural borrowing by the Hebrews, first directly, and later through the European languages from the Greeks. Since Greek mythology was considered – and is still considered – an expression of paganism, that is, a cultural phenomenon totally alien to Jewish culture, the fact that Jewish culture adopted certain elements of it can be regarded as one of the more radical expressions of this process.

This borrowing process took place because Jewish culture – from biblical times onward – was part of the surrounding culture, and thus open to its cultural influences, including its mythological world. Any resistance to these influences met with two great obstacles: first, mytho-

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[3] On the formation of Greek mythology, see Dowden 1992:13-17. On the "science of mythology" since the end of the 17th century, see Feldman and Richardson 1972.

logical motifs always tend to be transferred quite easily from one cul-ture to another, and therefore it is not at all surprising to find "foreign" ("oriental") mythological elements in Hebrew literature. Second, my-thology fills important and vital needs in human existence and world view, and has important functions in literature and art. Myths are, 'on the one hand good stories, and on the other hand bearers of important messages about life in general and life-within-society in particular' (Kirk 1975: 29). Therefore no culture can exist without myths, which it can either invent, or borrow from available sources.

The Bible reveals very few traces of Greek mythological motifs or names (the name Japheth may derive from that of the titan Yapthus, and the titans may be the counterparts of the nefilim, the giants in the book of Genesis, for example)[4] If, for the purpose of this discussion, we accept the view that ancient cultural contacts existed between the Jews and Greeks and that there are parallels between Hesiod, Homer and the Bible,[5] then the fact that the Bible reveals no direct use of Greek mytho-logical motifs is all the more striking. The situation during the Second Temple (Hellenistic-Roman) period is, of course, different.

Philo of Alexandria, presumably referring to Plato's condemnation of mythology, regards mythology as opposed to "truth" and "wisdom", and as a cunning artificial invention. However, he himself uses Greek myth in order to illustrate some of his ideas and had, so writes Wolfson, no objection to the use of mythological references for the pur-pose of illustrating a certain scriptural verse, even though he beireved that scriptural myths differ from Greek myths since they contain an underlying meaning which can be elicited by the allegorical method (Woffson 1948: 32-34). Philo was well aquainted with Greek mytholo-gy, while Second Temple literature was far less familiar with it.

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[4] However, the nefilim exist "outside" of the Creation, since they are not the sons of the first man.

[5] Theories about the affinity between Greek mythology and biblical literature have been current for many years, and are not relevant here. On the nefilim and the bne Elohim, see van Seters 1988: 5-9. There is a similarity, for example, be-tween the story of Jephtha's daughter and the story about the king of Crete, Idomeneus. Here one can argue that this is a motif common to cultures of the ancient East.

Sectarian works such as the Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, the Sibylline Oracles and others, reveal traces of familiarity with mythology, references to it and the use of its motifs. However, here too the allusions do not reveal the true extent of this familiarity.[6]

The situation is different in the literature of the Sages, for several reasons. First, there is no doubt that in late antiquity, at least in Palestine, the Jews' familiarity with the Greek world of mythology is an historical fact, while the extent of this familiarity in the Second Temple period is a matter for speculation. There is also no question that the Sages were much more familiar with Greek literature than one might conclude from their own literature. The mythological tales and their heroes were not foreign to the Jews who, during the Hellenistic-Roman period, could have become familiar with Greek mythological narratives through various means. Even if they had never read Hesiod or Homer or Apollodorus (1st century C.E.), they could – mainly in Palestine – have become acquainted with part of the mythological repertoire. 'Greek mythologies in the sense of a homogeneous system of myths did not exist', but it was 'a shared fund of motifs and ideas ordered into a shared repertoire of stories' (Dowden 1992: 8). Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that quite a few Jews shared in part of this fund, which was itself part of a richer fund of fables, biographical legends etc., all familiar to the Sages as well to the "ordinary" Jews.

Second, in late antiquity (3rd to 6th centuries C.E.), one can find a strong presence of mythical (cosmological and cosmogonical) thinking in Jewish literature, along with different elements of "popular oral culture" shared with the surrounding culture. In light of the distinction suggested above between mythological narratives (or stories) and mythical thinking, we may argue that there was a large gap in the Sages' literature between the mythic world of thought (mythical conceptions)" (Urbach 1986: 161-189) and mythological traditions or motifs that underwent a process of mythologization and demythologization (Yassif 1994: 129) on the one hand, and the explicit use of elements from Greek mythology on the other (Urbach 1986: 188-189, 201-205; Mack 1989: 71-74).

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[6] In Ben-Sira (14:17-19) there is a nearly direct quotation from the *Iliad* VI, 146-150.

Lieberman writes that the content of the books of Homer [Sifre ha-miros or Sifre miros) 'was well known in certain Jewish circles in Pales-tine, and some Jews enjoyed the charm of Homer's style and plots. However, he affirms, 'it is very hard to prove that the Rabbis made di-rect use of the *Odyssey* or the *Iliad*,' even in order to laugh at them (Lieberman 1994: 100-114; Lieberman 1994a: 115-127). A. A. Halewy, on the other hand, found a series of parallels and allusions (Halewy 1963: 229-250; id. 1972: 18-36). But what is involved is frequently an external similarity, not a quotation or explicit repetition of the mythological sto-ry.

The question one should ask is why more complete details from the mythology – other than isolated mentions of the Centaur monster and the sirens (in *Genesis Rabba* 23,6) and a few other allusions – were not incorporated into the frame of Jewish mythic thought. Why is there this disparity between the positive attitude (and widespread use) of the Greek parable literature and the negative attitude to mythology? The Sages' contempt for idolatry cannot serve as a full explanation, as Lieberman suggests, since the mythological tales were not necessarily connected with idol worship and could, of course, be interpreted meta-phorically or allegorically[7] or even receive a euhemeristic interpreta-tion. The scant use of elements from Greek mythology is even more surprising when one considers that the Sages could have considered many mythological stories simply as folk tales *(Märchen)*[8] or could even have accepted their "historicized" (euhemeristic) interpretation. From the Sages' point of view, the world of Greek mythology could thus have been seen as a rich world of folktales belonging to the realm of the literature and popular culture of their surrounding culture. The mytho-logical literature would have enriched the world of the Sages, not only

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[7] Stroumsa 1987: 309-321; on the growth, development and influence of the Ne-oplatonist allegorical reading of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, see Lamberton 1989. One can argue that the biblical stories about Tubal-Cain and Jubal and the later Jew-ish legends on the origin of culture derive from Greek-Hellenistic sources or are at least parallel to them.

[8] 'A myth aims at being a false tale, resembling a true one ... A myth is but a picture and image of a tale'. Plutarch, "On the Fame of the Athenians", in A/ora//a, 1993: 348.

with tales about gods and goddesses, but also with stories about the exploits of human heroes.

And there is another point to be considered. The literature of the Sages, by its very nature, expanded the scope of biblical and post-biblical literature. It dealt with a wide range of subjects and topics, and used different literary genres; its world was very wide, complex and diverse and it reflected almost a totality of cultural and social life. This is a literature of legends, fantasy, biographical tales, fables and folk-stories, and therefore would seem to be characterized by openness to the influence of the folk culture of its period. Under the inspiration of various borrowed motifs one could expand upon the plot or give new interpretation to a biblical story (or biblical myth), in the same way that the legend of Pandora elaborates on the story of Eve and the apple in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan,* which, in the words of Rabbi Shimon Bar Yochai, tells about a man who gave his wife all of his worldly goods, but forbade her to open one barrel; when she disobeyed him and opened it, the scorpion inside the barrel stung her. Eve behaved in the same way in the Garden of Eden, bringing great catastrophe upon all human-kind.[9] Another example is the legend of the children of God and the 'rebellion against the Heavens' (in *Genesis Rabba* 26:7) which may have been inspired by the gigantomacies, or the image in *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* VI: 'The sun is riding on a chariot and rises with a crown as a bridegroom ...'. However, in all these instances, despite the familiarity they reveal with the myth, no interest is shown in repeating or telling the original narrative, and we have no way of knowing whether the contemporary listeners were aware of the allusion.

The literature of the *agadot* had intertextual relations with Greek mythopeoism, and the Sages, as we have seen, introduced a few mythological motifs into their literature and harmonized them with their biblical exegeses and imaginative speculation; but the fact remains that allusions to Greek mythological motifs appeared only sporadically in the *midrashim.* Their appearance indicates that the Sages related to these

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[9] Aval de-Rabbi Natan, A. Schechter edition, 56:1, 6; Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer. Another allusion is found in Nedarim 9, which quotes a story by Shimon HaT-zadik about a 'monk from the south', which is reminiscent of the legend about Narcissus, but in the Talmud the handsome monk does not succumb to the temptation.

motifs (as they did to parables and other genres) as part of the common literary property of the period, and it is not the mythological images but the mythological concepts that reveal the nature and content of the world-view of the Sages and their audience.

Can we explain this sporadic use of Greek mythological motifs, which were thematically and narratively undeveloped, as being due to the Rabbis' prohibitions against idolatry? According to one source the Sages regarded Greek mythological stories as no more than "idle reading":

R. Akiba says: 'Also he who reads the extra-canonical books such as the books of Ben Sira and the books of Ben La'ana [has no share in the world to come], but he who reads the books of Homer and all other books that were written beyond that is considered like one who is reading a secular document ...' (*Sanhedrin* X. 1,28a.).

The sages expressed different views, however, concerning the use of figurative art, and Rabbi Yohanan and Rabbi Alun even permitted the portrayal of human figures. But nowhere can we find permission to portray those mythological scenes or mythological figurative motifs in art which do appear in Jewish material culture, including in synagogues and cemeteries, of the 4th to the 7th centuries (the examples from Bet Shearim, Bet Alpha, Bet Shean, Zipori and other places are well known) (Ovadiah 1993: 76-82; Nezer and Weiss 1992: 75-80; *id.* 1992a: 36-43). The appearance of such mythological scenes and symbols in Jewish art has given rise to three interpretations:[10] A) The first, and prevailing one, is that the Jews "neutralized" the pagan religious meaning of the mythological heroes and events. Bickerman, for example, considers each mythological symbol as capable of fulfilling diverse functions and bearing diverse messages. Thus when Jewish artists painted Orpheus or a biblical figure in the guise of Orpheus, they were not alluding to "Orpheus" but to the biblical figure. Furthermore, Orpheus could symbolize the figure of a musician or music itself, not necessarily the Orphic mysteries, and Hercules could symbolize not only a muscular hero, but also a wise man who restrains his desires and defends the oppressed. In other words, writes Bickerman, there is a difference between an *idol* and an *image*, or, as is the case in modern He-

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[10] There is a vast literature on this subject but a long list of references is not necessary here.

brew literature, the pagan heroes became heroes with a universal message (Bickerman 1986: 235). So when a Jew uses a mythological story for artistic purposes, such as the story of Dionysus (or Hercules or Odysseus), this does not suggest that he has read Nonnus' 48 books of the *Dionysiaca* (mid-5th century C.E.), accepted the status of Dionysus as the preeminent pagan god in late antiquity, or taken part in the Dionysian cult. For such Jewish artists Dionysus is no more than a folk hero, the protagonist of entertaining stories, while they remain indifferent to the moral implications.

Nevertheless, even if we accept this interpretation the question still remains: why use pagan symbols and not intrinsically Jewish ones? What had Hercules to do in the tents of Shem? Why was it that Jewish artists could not find in their own literary heritage the heroes or events they needed as symbols? Why Hercules and not Samson, Dionysus and not Noah?

The second interpretation held that in late antiquity – in Palestine and to a greater degree in Babylonia – there was no longer any reason to be concerned about the danger that pagan art depicting gods and heroes would impart to its viewers and users the values it symbolized. Thus, Jewish society at large, including the Rabbis, developed a "liberal" or "indifferent" attitude towards the mythological repertoire. They regarded mythological scenes as marvelous and entertaining stories and saw no harm in reproducing them, distinguishing between the artistic-aesthetic form of the image and its ritual significance (Tsafrir 1984: 214-219). Like the Church Fathers, they could distinguish between pagan religion and mythology (Weitzmann 1951). However, one may wonder if they were 'liberal' enough to regard the sciences that grew from the myth of Dionysus as mere entertainment, or even as a myth on the origins of culture, while closing their eyes to the "amoral" nature of these sciences?

The third, more "radical" interpretation, was that a large portion of Jewish life was conducted "outside the circle of rabbinic authority", and therefore the Jews saw no harm in using pagan symbols and disregarded the Rabbis' warnings, even perceiving their use of the mythological repertoire as a manifestation of their acculturation.

Lieberman suggests that the reason we have no definite traces of Homer's mythology in Rabbinic literature, even though some of the

Jews probably read him, is because the Bible contains no material about Greek mythology, and thus the Rabbis 'found no occasion to utilize Homer' (Lieberman 1994a: 126-127). However, a mythological motif did not necessarily have to appear in the Talmudic literature only in the form of a biblical *midrash* (exegesis); it could also have appeared, for example, in the framework of a story. Therefore, it seems correct to claim that since literature has a much higher status than art in Jewish culture, it was far easier to utilize mythological motifs in art while religious and cultural prohibitions prevented their use in literature. With the exception of a few instances, there was no effort in Rabbinic literature to harmonize Jewish tradition with Greek mythology, unlike the case in Byzantine Christian art.

In the post-Talmudic period Jewish readers were no longer aware of the meaning or origins of mythic allusions. Only a few explicit Greek mythological motifs continued to survive in the Jewish literature of the Middle Ages and only a few learned Jews were familiar with parts of Greek mythology through various and unknown legends. This was a result of the decline in pagan culture, and of the fact that the Jews were now unable to learn about Greek myths through the agency of popular oral culture: the street, the marketplace, the theatre and art, because they were unable to read Greek, and primarily because in medieval Muslim culture – as F. Franz Rosenthal has shown – very few literary books were known (Rosenthal 1975: 256-266). The appearance of mythological motifs and their use in works by Jewish authors in the Middle Ages can only testify to familarity through some means, but cannot show that the contemporary reader could, as the modern interpreter can, have identified the source and the manner in which it was used (Idel 1990-91: 119-127; Idel 1992: 7-16).

Thus, the appearance of certain Greek mythological motifs was not a result of the rediscovery of the mythological layers in the Talmud but a clear result of the Jewish response to European culture.

The learned Jews in the Italian Renaissance and after, who perceived the Jewish heritage as a distinguished part of the classical tradition, did not read Greek and relied on translations into Latin or Italian[11]. Thus, they were able to absorb mythological motifs, mainly

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[11] Although Greek mythology took on diverse forms in European and Christian culture, its revival in the Renaissance is not a simple continuation of remnants

through the *Manuals* of the 16th and 17th centuries, 'which had their place in the library of every man of letters' (Seznec 1972: 279), and through literature and art (just as the Sages had acquired a second-hand familiarity with Greek mythological motifs). From the time of the Renaissance, European literature and art became rich in allusions to.Greek mythology (Turner 1981: 77-134). Under the influence of their Christian cultural environment they also understood myth as allegories and metaphors, even as "history".

I will mention only two examples: Abraham ben Samuel Mordecai Zacuto (1452-1515), the author of *Sefer Yuchasin (Book of Genealogies)*, was familiar with Greek mythology and in the parts of his book dealing with the time of the Patriarchs and the First and Second Temple periods, he interposed names from Greek mythology and history for the purpose of chronological synchronization. Another example is David de Bene (d. 1635), a Jewish-Italian rabbinical author and preacher in Mantua, who, 'earlier in life, had shown an excessive tendency to use in his sermons mythological motifs' and caused bitter dispute."(Kaufman 1896: 513-524).

However, there is a great difference between the appearance of a few mythological motifs in writings of limited circulation and their appearance within the broad cultural discourse. Thus, only in the modem period did "enlightened" Jews rediscover, or rather discover, Greek literature and mythology. This was mainly a result of the fact that during the 18th and the 19th centuries the classical heritage, including the pagan gods, became an integral part of European culture. Jewish readers learned about pagan deities and became acquainted with mythological stories through European literature, drama and art, as well as through popular culture. They could also read translations of classical literature into different European languages and adaptations of mythological stories which became very popular in Western literature – for adults as well as for children (and met with moralistic resistance).[12]

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of traditions and the revitalization of these vestiges, but rather a rediscovery and a different use of mythology.

[12] Briiggeman 1987: 93-116; Doderer 1977: 526-529. Heine, ironically, wondered why Pallas Athene, with her shield and wisdom, was unable to prevent the destruction of the gods ("Die Götter Griechnlandes").

A Hebrew reader in the second half of the 19th century and after could also become familiar with Greek mythology through popular history books such as *Divre yeme olam* by Kalman Schulman (ViIna, 1867) and later on other popular history books, which included information about the religions and mythologies of the ancient world. However, it is interesting to note that only from the beginning of the 20th century could the Hebrew reader read in Hebrew popular adaptations of Greek mythology, which first appeared in Warsaw (1909, 1921) and then in Palestine (1916). The first, *Greek Legends – A Selection of Greek Mythological Stories,* was adapted by I.D. Rosenstein, and the second, *Greek Legends*, was adapted by A. Mitlopolitanski (based on a Polish text). The text was deliberately translated in a biblical style in order to create a parallel between the Greek mythology and the biblical story of Creation. Earlier, in 1901, *Hasaga bezahav (The Golden Quest: A Legend based on Mythology)* was published in Berdichev, an adaptation by M. Zablotzki of the story of the *Golden Fleece.* In 1916 Yehuda Gur-Grazowsky published a book entitled *From the Legends of the Greeks*, based on the *Argonauts* (1899) by the Polish writer Eliza Orzeszkowa. Another adaptation (from the German) by Mordechai Ha-Ezrachi, was published in Tel-Aviv in 1923/4, while Asher Baras adapted the Odyssey legends for the Mitzpe Publishing House (an illustrated children's library, 1927/8). The most popular books in Hebrew were probably Moshe Ben-Eliezer's translation of Charles Kingsley's *The Heroes, or Greek Legends* (1856), which appeared in 1934 and was printed in several editions, and Edith Hamilton's *Mythology* was published in 1967.

In 1888 Aaron Kaminka (1866-1950), a rabbi, scholar and translator, published a collection of translations entitled *Zemorot nokhriyot (Alien Sprigs).* Tchernichowsky began to publish his translations in the early 1920s and made the most valuable contribution to the translation of classical literary works into Hebrew in the first half of the 20th century.

As a result, the basic repertoire of Greek mythology became quite familiar to a growing body of educated readers among the Jewish public. As was the case in late antiquity, Jews did not need to read Homer in order to know something about the Homeric heroes, but it is clear that many of them became acquainted with a large body of classical literature through translations and adaptations The knowledge of Greek mythology became part of the cultural world of the modem He-

brew reader even though it was not an integral part of his education and cultural world as it was for the educated European public.

What is no less important is that this time an ideological justification was required for this familiarity, and even more – for the new process of reception. This is mainly because the reception and use of mythological motifs by and in Hebrew culture was seen as a radical manifestation of acculturation.

In Byron's epic *Don Juan*, Don Juan's tutors have some hesitation in teaching classical works:

> ... for their Aeneids, Illiads, and Odyssey,
> [they] were forced to make an odd sort of apology,
> For Donna Inez (his mother) dreaded the mythology (I. 326-328).

Donna Inez has many Jewish counterparts. The discovery of classical heritage by Jewish men of letters was also the discovery of mythology and, as a result, there were those, already at the dawn of the Jewish Enlightenment, who recognized the danger; and since they identified classical literature with mythology and idolatry, they did their best to combat it and to prevent the introduction of Greek mythology to the Hebrew reader and its penetration into Hebrew literature.

In the introduction to the first issue of *Ha-me'assef*, the organ of the Berlin *Haskala* [the Jewish enlightenment] in 1783, Naphtali Herz Wessely warned the writers of modem Hebrew poetry against being carried away by the prevailing fashion in contemporary European poetry: '... in translating the poems and songs do not mention the names of the ancient gods that the Greeks and Romans referred to in their poems and ethics, and to which all the European poets of our times are drawn, for Jacob supped not of things like these. They should not be heard from your mouths'.

The writers of *Ha-me'assef* did not accept Wessely's warning; they wrote songs of nature, drinking songs, as well as "songs of debauchery", and even interspersed mythological motifs in their writing.

From the outset the *Haskala* had revealed a trend of introducing – at an unhurried pace – the "literature of Japheth" into the tents of Shem. As a result, here and there mythological motifs and names of deities were interspersed into Hebrew literature or excerpts of classical works were translated. I will mention only a few examples:

David Zamosc (1789-1864) dared to mention Mars, the god of war, in the same breath as King David, in the collection *Resise hamelitza* (1821); J. L. Gordon (1830-1892) translated a poem by Anacreon; and the poet Micha Joseph Lebensohn (1828-1856) at the age of 19 translated, from Schiller's German version, 97 lines of the *Aeneid,* book ii (a translation that established his reputation in Vilna's literary world). In 1868, Israel Rail (1838-1893) published in Odessa the first collection in Hebrew called *Shire Romi (Roman Poetry)* in which he drew a distinction between Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura.* In the *Metamorphoses* he discerned a deep-seated link to the cosmogony of the Holy Scriptures, for in both books the act of creation is described as the work of a constitutive god.

Modern Hebrew literature, however, did not easily accept mythological motifs into its midst. A deeply internalized traditional cultural barrier inhibited, delayed and obstructed the transfer of Greek and Roman literature into the Hebrew language. Classical literature was perceived as literature which, in its entirety and by its very nature, was charged with dangerous pagan values. This called for endless apologetics on the part of translators and editors.

Isaac Baer. Levinsohn, the central figure in the *Haskala* movement in Eastern Europe in the mid-19th century, was the first to give the most articulated and sophisticated legitimization not only to the knowledge of Greek mythology but also to its use. He himself even chose to begin his book *Te'udah beYisrael* (1823) with a quotation from Virgil, and also to preface the first section with a short poem he wrote, called "To Wisdom" *(Pallas Athene),* in which he called upon the goddess to disseminate wisdom among the Jews (Abramson 1990: 237-256; Ben-Porat 1979: 34-43).

Levinsohn saw nothing wrong in using the Greek metaphors merely because they were anchored in Greek mythology. In his (and not only his) opinion, the "Greek wisdom" forbidden by the Sages was Greek mythology, but he believed there was no longer any connection between the signified and the signifier. If that were not the case, he writes with barbed irony, Jews could not mention, for instance, the names of the continents "Europe" and "Asia" – 'for these are the names of gods' – or the names of certain towns and cities, the months of the year and the days of the week.

Levinsohn believes Jews may use mythological symbols because there is no longer any significance or substance to the names and they no longer attest to 'any authority or divinity'. The Hebrew writer is permitted not only to acknowledge the mythological heroes as non-divine, but also to make use of mythological metaphors and allegory without any fear of apostasy. Based on this view, mythology is but a repertoire of symbols representing various concrete things. For him, as for other Jewish writers in the course of the 19th century and after, mythology became not a *philosophia moralis* or fables with hidden meaning, but simply part of the repertoire of symbols and names which were the common property of culture. Its use was a manifestation of cultural change and openness to Western culture and its heritage.

In modern Hebrew literature mythological motifs have become a set of archetypes and a sub-text. For the first time, Jewish authors are not only alluding to Greek mythology but using it explicitly The mythological heritage of Greece has become part of the culture of educated Jews who see nothing wrong with adopting motifs from classical literature, even mythological motifs, into Hebrew culture. This is an expression of the new scope of their (European) cultural orbit. But what was an act of challenging traditional conservatism and conservative orthodoxy, from a radical enlightenment point of view, has become an expression of revolt in radical Hebraism.

In her article "Hellenism Revisited: The Use of Greek Myth in Modern Hebrew Literature" (Zur 1922/1988: 138), Glenda Abramson correctly writes that 'The use of Greek myth by twentieth-century Hebrew poets does not constitute a trend but features sporadically in works from the Yishuv period to modern Israel'. However, this use of mythological motifs in the broad cultural discourse is an expression of several trends and needs of modern Hebrew culture at large. It is an expression, often a radical expression, of a revolt or protest against traditional Judaism and traditional values (Greek gods and Greek heroes, for example, were regarded as representing "beauty", "spontaneity", "natural feeling toward nature", "courage" etc., compared to the Jewish symbolic system which presumably lacked means of expressing these qualities). In using mythological symbols the modern Hebrew writers are expressing the new openness of Hebrew literature, and more than that – the belief that there is a common world of symbols which represent a

general human truth and a common denominator of humanity and of the human condition, which is shared by both Jews and non-Jews. The use of mythological motifs symbolizes the wish not to be dependent on Jewish literary tradition only, but to be part of the "general" European culture.

The use of Greek mythological motifs also reveals the belief that Greek mythology is a rich domain in which one can find universal human symbols that are missing in Jewish heritage ('Greek mythology', wrote Goethe, 'is an exhaustless treasury of divine and human symbols').

From this point of view, Jewish traditional literature has been seen as lacking symbols which could express the modem human condition.

Thus, in contrast to Philo, modern Jews, following the European understanding of Greek mythology, accept the view that Greek mythologies are not merely invented pretty stories, which only serve the purpose of illustrating certain scriptural myths, and have also adopted the view that they contain an inner universal truth. Thus, the lack of a mythological repertoire that could carry this universal truth is considered a lacuna in modem Jewish culture. The modem Jew finds in the mythological world of symbols primary allegories representing the inner life, the existential stand and the nature of modem man: a skeptic, a wanderer, a man struggling against his fate and destiny, an eternal pilgrim in time and place, a tragic hero etc. Prometheus, to take just one example, became a symbol for the young pioneer in Palestine who willingly bound himself to the rock (in this case, the rocks of the Galilee). 'To me', wrote a young pioneer in the early 20th century, 'all of our people are like Prometheus, chained to the rock cliff, where an eagle devoured his liver. And where is the redeeming Hercules who will cut our bonds and release us from our suffering?'[13]

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[13] As I was preparing this article for publication, I read in a newspaper a political parable which tells the story of Theseus and the minotaur; its moral was that in Israel there are heroes capable of overpowering monsters, but they lack Ariadne's thread to lead them out of the labyrinth. (Yaron London, *Yedioth Aharonoth*, July 25, 1995.) However, the writer did not feel he could rely on his readers' knowledge; instead of merely alluding to the image, he found it necessary to briefly relate the story.

From approximately the 1930s onwards there was also no longer any need for legitimation. The use of motifs from Greek mythology was taken for granted since they were regarded as part of Western culture – actually as universal motifs – so that no importance was attached to the religious-cultural context in which they had first appeared. The quotations and the use became direct, without any need of disguise or apologetics. Greek mythology can be found in almost every part of the cultural discourse: the modern educated Jew's repertoire of symbols includes stories and heroes such as Pandora, Tantalus, Sisyphus, Penelope, Orpheus, Ariadne, the Trojan heroes, the Argonauts and others.[14] These, and others, do not present pagan-mythical conceptions on the nature of the creation, but are stories representing different kinds of social and political situations.

While the Jew in the Talmudic era had limited access to the surrounding culture, the modern Jew has no such restraints, and he is a consumer of mythological symbols not only from mosaics or mime performances, but from a broad range of cultural elements. Greek mythology exists in its own right and the knowledge or lack of knowledge of it is a function of education or ignorance, not of any cultural limitations.

Paradoxically, the fact that mythology is almost "everywhere" around us makes its existence self-evident and "normal", divesting it of its previous revolutionary (and provocative) nature, as well as its claim to present a non-traditional world-view. However, the main question that remains is whether the educated Israeli reader is sufficiently well-versed in mythology to understand the mythological allusions or concepts without an interpretative intermediary. The appearance of mythology in Hebrew literature, immeasurably more limited in scope than in European literature, does not seem to suggest that the world of mythology is an integral part of the cultural world of the Hebrew reader. The radical development in modern Hebrew culture was probably not

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[14] In 1922, the congregation of a Tel-Aviv synagogue complained about the decoration of a house in that city with statues in the Greek style. They suggested that houses should be embellished with decorations of a "Jewish" nature, such as vines, flowers, and the like. However, the attempt to censor figurative sculpture failed. On the other hand, in 1995, the idea of placing a copy of Michelangelo's David in Jerusalem was rejected on the grounds that it is a "pagan sculpture".

the use of the mythological repertoire of symbols, but the new reading of the Jewish traditional sources. While the rabbinic *midrash* drew its hermeneutic methods from the Homeric commentary (Alexander 1990), modern Jewish culture began to use biblical (and midrashic) stories as a font of allegories and metaphors for the condition of modern man, and to look for mythical layers in Jewish intellectual tradition. The main question concerning the new Jewish culture is therefore, not the frequent and open use of Greek mythological motifs in literature or in the public discourse, but rather how this openness to mythology reflects the nature of the modern Jewish world-view.

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TRANSLATION, THE PURSUIT OF INVENTIVE-NESS AND OTTOMAN POETICS: A SYSTEMIC APPROACH [1]

Saliha Paker

Why talk about sixteenth century Ottoman poetry and translation in the twenty-first century? The reason may well lie in the fascination that world translation history holds for those of us who care to reach out beyond the customary borders of cultural interest to provoke comparative thinking, an inclination that seems to be gaining ground, especially among young scholars.

Twenty-five years ago, Ottoman translation history was considered a novelty, perhaps somewhat exotic too, when introduced in the predominantly European context of the International Comparative Literature Association Congress held in Paris (1985). I discussed the first translations of European literature into Ottoman Turkish in the second half of the nineteenth century (Paker 1986), which I analysed in a "polysystemic" framework (Even-Zohar 1978; 1979). Read in the light of the polysystem theory, the interrelationship between indigenous developments in Ottoman literature and translations from overtly "foreign" works of more or less the same century (which began to shape a modern poetics that served as the foundation of the later west-oriented Turkish literature) became clearer than ever when approached from a systemic perspective. In the process, Turkish secondary sources such as literary histories written in the early republican times, grew in importance, for me, as critical loci which needed to be explored and challenged. Since then, I have continued, albeit sporadically, to study Ottoman translation history from the same perspective but moving back to the fourteenth century: a different and more revealing point of departure. There was an important reason for this. When asked, in the early 1990s, to write an article on the "Turkish tradition" for the

Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies (1998), I discovered an enigmatic approach in the secondary sources concerning translation practice: an evasion of the issue of literary transfer from Perso-Arabic in terms of "translation," a veiling, almost a concealment, of the practice that had governed literary production for more than four hundred years. The present paper is an attempt to draw attention to sixteenth century Ottoman poetic practice by addressing issues raised in important secondary sources that support the arguments I have been pursuing thus far.

Introduction

In this paper, I shall (a) describe Ottoman *Divan* poetics as one of "resemblance" (Foucault 1977: 17); (b) explain how translation as *terceme* (repetition), the fundamental means of literary production in the order of resemblance, is disrupted by creative interventions, thus ensuring the survival of the Ottoman poetics of resemblance for at least four hundred years, from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries; and (c) suggest that *telif*, an equivocal term used in modern Turkish scholarship to describe the literary status of a work elevated above that of *terceme*, does *not* signify "originality" but creative mediation, an inventive form of translation. I had initially intended to propose also a polysystemic approach for a comprehensive historiographical study of connections and interactions between what may be hypothesised as a central system (the "intercultural" system of the *Divan* tradition) and co-systems in various historical periods; this would be aiming for a fuller picture of the dynamics of Ottoman literature, instead of static, compartmentalised and disconnected accounts of different historical genres and literary practices. For Ottoman literature did not only consist of *Divan* poetry at a presumed centre: its peripheries extended into the popular-mystical, the popular-heroic, popular romances, the oral tradition, etc., all of which need to be investigated in a general theoretical framework. However, given the limits of time and space, that discussion will have to be taken up later.

The Ottoman poetics that I will discuss here pertains to the *Divan* (Court) tradition that developed from Persian, following varieties of the metric verse, *aruz*, based on the Arabic tradition. It reflects the literary practices of Ottoman "poet-translators" in a hypothesised "central

intercultural system" (taking shape from the middle of the fifteenth century), in which both so-called source and target coexisted (Paker 2002 a), as I shall explain below. Boundaries were not clear; source and target overlapped in both language and literary tradition.

1. What Fuzûlî Said, What Foucault Echoed

In a recent book on *Divan* poetry as "a lost paradigm in a world transformed", Kemal Kahramanoğlu (2006: 1) draws attention to some statements by Fuzûlî (1480?–1556), considered to be "the greatest of classical Ottoman poets" (Köprülü [1947]1989: 554–580). Born in Karbala, near Baghdad, Fuzûlî spent his whole life in the same region, without a single visit to the Ottoman capital and at a remove from the patronage of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. His work survived in three separate collections (called *divan*) which he himself put together in (Azerî) Turkish, Persian and Arabic, each of which were considered in his time to be the "distinguished languages" of the Ottoman intercultural domain. In the preface to his Persian *Divan*, Fuzûlî states that he seems to fail no matter how hard he tries as a poet to compose a *mazmun* (conceit) that is considered satisfactory. "This is a strange situation," he says. "It is not acceptable to write something that has been said before, because it has *already* found expression; nor is it acceptable to write something that has *not* been said before, because it *hasn't* already found voice in the poetry of others" (Fuzûlî in Tarlan, quoted by Kahramanoğlu 2006: 1).

In Kahramanoğlu's view, Fuzûlî was the only Ottoman poet who articulated clearly the poetics of his time: the tradition's critical straightjacket which forced poets into an almost impossible position, representing the dilemma that appeared to block the way for poetic inventiveness (2006: 2). This issue seems remarkably relevant to the conclusions I have been able to draw from my own research in the Ottoman translation tradition. Would such statements as those by Fuzûlî provide some justification for E.J.W. Gibb (1857–1901), the renowned Orientalist, to argue that the Ottomans were "a singularly uninventive people" and that their literary works imitated, first, Persian poetry and, later, French literature? (1901; 1901/2002: 12-14.)

Despite his pejorative opinion of Ottoman poetry, Gibb nevertheless found it worthwhile to translate it into English in no fewer than six

volumes (1900–1909). His views exerted great influence both on European and Turkish scholars. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü ([1913]1989: 22), the founder of modern literary-historical scholarship in Ottoman, was both challenged by and critical of Gibb's work and set out to uncover and even "create" (as Walter Andrews argued in 2002) an authentic canon of Turkish poetry that was uncontaminated by Persian and Arabic and that reflected the true Turkish literary spirit. As I attempted to show in a previous essay (Paker 2007), Köprülü's students and followers of his research paradigm were driven by an ideal to remove the stigma of absolute imitativeness which attached itself to Ottoman poetry. In this paper, I would like to focus on some fresh approaches, like Kahramanoğlu's, to Ottoman poetry and poetics and see how they tie in with my own research in literary translation history. Therefore, I would like to examine a few more observations made by Kahramanoğlu, whose book illuminates the epistemic roots of the Ottoman *Divan* poetic system. This book complements the arguments proposed by Walter Andrews, in which the existence of a "Perso-Ottoman epistemic domain" is hypothesised and elaborated: "an epistemic domain, the domain of a certain regime of knowledge (or, in Foucault's sense, of certain conditions of knowledge), which creates itself in a poetic idiom that does not imply a territorial boundary between Turkic and Persian" (2002: 18)

Returning to Kahramanoğlu, we find that there are striking similarities that he has noted between the epistemic particularities of the Renaissance as articulated by Foucault in his *Order of Things* (1977) and those pertaining to the order of Ottoman *Divan* poetry. This indicates a paralellism that is much too important to overlook; for the Ottoman sixteenth century, like the European Renaissance, seems to have been governed by an episteme of resemblance (Kahramanoğlu 2006: 27). Kahramanoğlu also notes that the Ottoman resemblance episteme lasted longer than the European one by two hundred years; it started to dissolve in the second half of the nineteenth century with the *Tanzimat* which marks the beginnings of Ottoman "enlightenment", reflecting the emergence of what Foucault described as the "Classical" episteme (Kahramanoğlu 2006: 33 ff.; Foucault 1977: 44 ff.). Kahramanoğlu points out that it was the intellectuals of the *Tanzimat* who first expressed their

criticism of *Divan* poetry as they attacked obscure figures of thought that derived from resemblance as irrational.

Foucault's categories: *convenientia*, *aemulatio*, *analogy* and *sympathies* – the four central similitudes governing the episteme of resemblance in the European Renaissance (Foucault 1977:17–25) – have led Kahramanoğlu to find meaningful correspondences in *Divan* poetry, which is the most explicit manifestation of the Ottoman renaissance.

Before continuing with Kahramanoğlu's arguments, I would like to point out that the notion of an Ottoman renaissance is granted much wider scope in *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (2005) by Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı. This is a groundbreaking study in which the scholars focus on the sixteenth-century love poetry of the Ottomans and the Europeans in an unparalleled comparative analysis that transcends the conventional boundaries set between pre-modern Eastern and Western aesthetics.

At the beginning of their chapter on "Renaissance, Renaissances, and the Age of Beloveds," Andrews and Kalpaklı write:

> Historically, the discussion of Ottoman literary culture has focused on obvious continuities with Arab and Persian literature, on the esteem with which Persian predecessors were regarded, and on the apparent reluctance of the Ottomans to depart from traditional literary norms. What has been missing is even the slightest suggestion that the Ottoman experience may have been a renaissance – comparable to the European Renaissance – of Middle Eastern, Islamic culture, **a revitalization of traditional forms and themes** and not just the last gasp of a moribund tradition. After all, the dominant literary culture of the late Renaissance in Europe could, on the basis of ample evidence, be described as a sterile imitation of classical Greek and Roman models as mediated through the unique genius of Petrarch, an unimaginative succession of idealized beloveds, of ancient gods and goddesses, of amorous shepherds and shepherdesses, all given the barest semblance of life by the literary genius of Italian poets, authors, and playwrights severely limited by Bemboist vernacular neoclassicism. This is, in fact, how Ottoman literary culture has been described – just replace the Greek and Roman models with Arabic and Persian models, Petrarch with Hafez, the classical gods, goddesses, and shepherds with the Leylas and Mejnuns, the Husrevs and Shirins, of the Islamic tradition (2005: 329, my emphasis in boldface).

These words cannot but remind us of E.J.W. Gibbs' verdict on Ottoman poetry. They constitute one more reason to look at Ottoman poetics in the light of Foucault's theory of resemblance, based on the European Renaissance.

And now, to quote Foucault:

> **Up to the end of the sixteenth century**, resemblance played a constructive role in the knowledge of Western culture. It was resemblance that largely guided exegesis and the interpretation of texts; it was resemblance that organized the play of symbols, made possible knowledge of things visible and invisible, and controlled the art of representing them. The universe was folded in upon itself: the earth echoing the sky, faces seeing themselves reflected in the stars, and plants holding within their stems the secrets that were of use to man. Painting imitated space. And **representation – whether in the service of pleasure or of knowledge – was posited as a form of repetition**: the theatre of life or the mirror of nature, that was the claim made by all language, its manner of declaring its existence and of formulating its right of speech (Foucault 1977: 17, my emphasis).

"Repetition" is a key term here that is to be associated with translation as *terceme*, "saying again." The *Qur'an*, for instance, although deemed 'untranslatable' because of its absolute, divine wording, was transmitted in countless exegeses and commentaries. So were verse and prose rewritings and reinterpretations of mystical or profane love stories as well as books of advice for rulers, i.e. "mirrors for princes." In the sixteenth century alone, no fewer than sixteen retellings of the pre-islamic love story of Leyla and Mecnun were composed (Toska 2007a: 33), the most famous of which is by Fuzûlî. There was also an abundance of versions in Persian and Arabic (*Kalilah wa Dimnah*) of fables involving two jackals and other beasts, which can be traced back to Sanskrit and which were made popular in the form of mirrors for princes also in Turkish (Paker and Toska 1997). To insert a telling remark about the transmission of the latter: a sixteenth century Ottoman version of the book of fables, *Hümayunname,* dedicated to Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent himself and composed in the exalted tradition of *Divan* poetry in which meanings lay hidden in conceits, brought honour and wealth to Ali Çelebi, the poet-translator. However, its nineteenth century version, *Hülasa-i Hümayunname,* which was commissioned by Sultan Abdülhamid II to Ahmed Midhat Efendi, the most prolific writer of the

period, in order that the renowned book of fables and advice for rulers would be read and understood more clearly in prose, turned out to reveal criticism of despotic sovereigns when rewritten in plain discourse (with personal interventions by Ahmed Midhat Efendi); this displeased the Sultan who had it burnt and banned from publication (Toska 2007b). This serves as an excellent example of the implications of the shift from the discourse of resemblance to that of criticism, the dominant feature of "classical" episteme (Foucault 1977: 79-80).

To return to Foucault's propositions as quoted above, Kahramanoğlu provides us with plenty of illustrations of correspondence with elements of Ottoman *Divan* poetry: the constant "play of symbols" exhibited in the *gazel* (love lyric), such as rosebud for lips, sun or moon for the face, rose or tulip for the cheek, stars for the eyes, pearls for teeth and tears (Kahramanoğlu 2006: 27). Such symbols also appear in emulative and analogical relationships: the tulip or the rose appears less radiant compared with the beloved's cheek, the darkness of night appears pale beside the beloved's hair, the stars fail to match the brightness of his/her eyes, the pearl is worthless compared to the beloved's teeth (Kahramanoğlu 2006: 29). From the perpective of the present paper, the most significant correspondence involves *mazmun* (conceit) (Kahramanoğlu 2006: 101-109): resemblance that "made possible knowledge of things visible and invisible and controlled the art of representing them". As noted above, the elaborate, polysemic, multilayered rhetorical art of composing *mazmun* was the poet Fuzûlî's chief concern. *Mazmun* was the art of concealing meaning and concept in couplets of implicit significations, that is, of translating the implied invisible into the explicitly visible. According to İskender Pala (2007: 403–408), a leading authority on the subject, *mazmun* signified the highest form of poetry, an art in itself, beyond that of the rhetorical use of simile and metaphor. It was meant to create an extensive web of associations in the mind of perceptive readers, to puzzle, excite and delight those who could decipher the symbols or clues offered by the poet, to lead them to explore and discover hidden meanings. Pala observes that the classical Ottoman tradition was far more involved in the use of *mazmun* than Persian poetry and that by the sixteenth century it had become the highest ideal of poets (like Fuzûlî) to construct the *bikr-i mazmun* (virgin conceit), which Pala translates (into modern Turkish) as

özgünlük (originality) (Pala 2007: 407). I elaborate below on the terms signifying originality and invention.

2. Disrupting Terceme/Repetition: Means of Literary Survival in the Order of Resemblance

At the beginning of his article on translation and transmission in Ottoman poetry (2002), Andrews states that composing *nazire*, a genre of parallel or emulative poems, is the only form of translating in the "Perso-Ottoman-Urdu" context that is of interest to him because it rests on a "creative" (not "substitutive") act and that such poems "are translated and translate in an attitude of universalizing similarity" (Andrews 2002: 36). It seems important also to note that in the very attempt to be creative, in the composition of his *mazmuns*, for instance, the *nazire* poet was trying to break the cycle of clichéd repetition.

The sixteenth century saw the appearance of *tezkire* writers, literary biographers of past and contemporary poets like themselves; they evaluated some of their works and commented on them, often critically. Harun Tolasa, a specialist in the field, has remarked that in their assessment of a poet's work the biographers took the practice of *terceme* (translation) as their principal point of reference, particularly in narrative poetry (Tolasa 1983: 322). In other words, they acted on the assumption of resemblance, repetition (cf. "assumed translation" Toury 1995) in order to locate, identify and judge what was *not* or "should *not* be regarded as *terceme*" (Paker 2009). Such evaluative notes by the biographers may be considered a form of "authenticating" (Hermans 2007: 22, 23-25) the claim made by poets in their prefatory statements (in the case of romance narratives called *mesnevi*) regarding the extent to which they followed their sources and what differences they introduced. If, as a result of biographers' investigation, the work turned out to have been composed contrary to what was expected or what the poets had stated in their prefaces, they were accused of theft, exposed and condemned (Tolasa, ibid.).

Tolasa states that the first three principal biographers (of the sixteenth century) who were the object of his study "did not object to *terceme*" (ibid.). However, as poets themselves, they were obviously keen to determine whether a certain poet's claims to (let me provisionally say) "originality" were justified and to evaluate his work accord-

ingly. For poets *did* claim to make inventions of their own. And, upon recognition of their inventiveness, creative ability (*icad, ibda, ihtira* in Tolasa 1983: 216) and sometimes even of their genius, they were applauded. To secure recognition, patronage or financial reward and to ensure the survival of his work and signature in the vast literary "repertoire" (cf. Even-Zohar 2002) of repetition, a poet of the sixteenth century, for example, might opt to rewrite or reinterpret a classical Persian romance of the tenth century. In his preface, the poet would generally name the Persian source, sometimes referring to more than one, bearing in mind the multiple renditions, reinterpretations of the source by his predecessors and even by his contemporaries. He might substitute mystical love for physical love and introduce aspects of his own time and social mores, and his own aesthetic preferences in terms of structure and poetic composition. The plot and the sequence of episodes might be reorganised or remain the same or similar, but the poetry would bear the mark of his individual inventions. Such a poet would ideally be expected to excel in composing *mazmun*s but *not* to create a work of art that was entirely new or that did not resemble any previous work.

Yet, we understand from Fuzûlî's dilemma that to achieve poetic inventiveness or innovation was extremely difficult or nigh impossible. As I have argued above, the reasons are to be found in the epistemic foundations of the system of resemblance, within which repeating or reinterpreting appear to have been generically representative of literary production, and only a limited degree of variation and innovation seems to have been possible.

From the angle of the arguments presented in this paper, what seems telling about the biographers' critical concern is that "equivalence" to the source text(s) (indicated by the poet in his preface) was not a necessity. In fact, good poets were not expected to maintain strict equivalence to their sources.

Given the order of resemblance and repetition, the biographers would assume poet X's source text to have existed not as ST1 but as STn, since such a text (STn) could only be expected to be a previous interpretation or *re*interpretation (TTn) of an earlier (or even of a contemporaneous) text. The expected relationship of STn with poet X's text in question seems to have been the biographers' starting point in as-

suming that there had to be *some* similarity or resemblance relationship between the two texts and in comparing them, as guided by their own concept(s) of similarity and difference.

The historical evaluation process hypothesized here points to the significance of Gideon Toury's three relationship postulates for equivalence, which lie at the root of his concept of "assumed translation" (Toury 1995: 32-33) and which are not only valid but also extremely useful in rethinking the critical activity of the Ottoman literary biographers, who not only assumed (naturally, within the given order of resemblance) that there had to be a source for the derived text, but also sought to examine the scope and extent of the transfer and textual similarity-difference relationships, comparing at least the two texts, if not more. This represents a significant historical example of the time- and culture-bound nature of what appear to be norms that led critics to determine the extent and nature of "equivalence". But it must also be said that herein lies a paradox from Toury's perspective: the context for all this activity was not established by two distinct source and target systems but by a central "intercultural system" (Paker 2002) ("a universe folded in upon itself", see above), where source and target *coexisted*. Even in the late nineteenth century, the transitional period between the pre-modern and the modern, as the Perso-Ottoman intercultural system began to dissolve and separate source systems gradually emerged as a result of translating explicitly foreign sources, the order of resemblance, and *terceme* (repetition) as its main feature, continued to a certain extent to dominate. This is best observed in the translation of prose works, in the multiple designations writer-translators chose to identify the products of their transfer practices (e.g. *iktibas* = borrowing, *hülasa* = summary), which implied an Ottomanising intervention with their source texts (Demircioğlu 2009). Closer diachronic comparative studies of how European works were translated in the second half of the nineteenth century and later would, no doubt, help clarify how translating the "foreign," with its representation of difference, served not to perpetuate the episteme of resemblance but to disrupt it and usher in the discourse of criticism.

3. *Terceme* and *Telif*: Friends or Foes?

In a recent paper, I claimed that the term and concept of *telif*, signifying a practice (to be explained below) which is closely connected to the practice of *nakl* (transfer) in the Ottoman literary context, should be considered among the variety of transfer activities correlated to the broader concept of *terceme* (Paker 2009). *Telif* is an Ottoman term that still exists (not as a verb but a noun and an adjective) in modern Turkish and means "original" in opposition to "translation". In two previous studies (Paker forthcoming and 2009), I attempted to draw attention to the strong probability that *telif* was *not* taken to signify "original" (in binary opposition to "translation") in the earlier Ottoman context. My argument was that in Ottoman usage this term was closer to its etymological root in Arabic (Turkicised as *ülfet*) meaning a harmonising or reconciling of differences, and that it did not signify the practice of creating an "original" in the sense in which we use it nowadays. My supporting argument was that the meaning of *telif* must have shifted towards "original" when Ottomans, as of the nineteenth century, became familiar with this concept of European Romanticism. This is what can be traced in the transitional discourse (from the traditional to the modern) of Köprülü, arguably the leading authority in Ottoman literary scholarship in the twentieth century, who used the term to describe and judge a creatively mediated version of a Persian source text (Paker 2007). It was Köprülü's (and his followers') use of *telif* to elevate a text above what he regarded as a mere repetition or imitation that did not bear the mark of the poet's creativity that must have been instrumental (at least in Ottoman literary scholarship) in establishing the apparent opposition between *telif* as original and *terceme* as translation. In fact, Köprülü followed the earlier literary biographers in seeking and praising inventiveness or originality, but he introduced an artificial divide or opposition between practices that were not oppositionally different to each other.

In view of additional and supporting hypothetical evidence derived from Foucault's theory regarding pre-modern resemblance episteme, my previous arguments seem to have gained a surer footing. For in the order of resemblance, the existence of only one hypothetical "primary Text" may be assumed (Foucault 1977: 79): a Source Text which may have been repeatedly reinterpreted for hundreds of years as an act of

terceme. Even the *Qur'an*, the only Islamic text considered original, and unrepeatable except in its Arabic words and syntax that represent the words of Allah as revealed to his prophet Muhammed, was the object of continuous exegetical interpretation (cf. Fatani 2006).

4. Conclusions

In this paper I have attempted to reach some conclusions with regard to a synthesis of certain arguments that I have been pursuing in my research in Ottoman translation history for the last ten years. The impetus or inspiration for my present endeavour came from Kahraman-oğlu's research and the connections he established between Foucault's theory of resemblance and Ottoman poetics. What was missing in his analysis was any reference to the practice of *terceme*, the fundamental means of perpetuating resemblance – what Foucault seems to have meant by: "representation … was posited as a form of repetition". This gap could be filled with arguments from my research on *terceme* as an Ottoman interculture-bound practice and concept (2002), based on my reading of Toury's concept of "interculture" (1995: 28) and of Anthony Pym's (1998: 177; 2000: 5): the latter having developed from a challenging criticism of the former (Pym 1998: 180). Pym's notion of "interculture" appeared to be highly applicable to Andrews' mapping of a "Perso-Ottoman epistemic domain" in his seminal analysis of the practice of *nazire* as creative translation (Andrews 2002: 19; Paker 2002: 136). From a systemic analytical perpective (suggested as an improbability by Toury), it was possible for me to argue that the notion of "Ottoman interculture" could be theorised as a "central intercultural system" of a hybrid Perso-Arabic and Turkish composition (Paker 2002: 139). Parallel to such arguments ran my research on perceptions of such terms as *terceme*, *taklid* and *telif* in the Turkish secondary sources of modern literary historical discourse. At the end of the nineteenth century, there was a shift of focus particularly in perceptions of *terceme* as writers and critics struggled with how to think about translations of distinctly foreign (European) provenance, which were not from the familiar epistemic domain which they had stopped thinking of as "foreign" (Paker 2006). *Taklid* (imitation) was *terceme*'s natural companion, and together they became a central concern in "influence" studies which were taken up pervasively by Köprülü and the followers of his research paradigm

(Paker 2007). Surprisingly, the notion of *telif* never, to my knowledge, became an issue; it was taken for granted as an attribution of originality and superiority, as opposed to *terceme*, again following Köprülü. What is even more significant, is that in scholarship it helped to conceal or veil the fact of *terceme* inherent in compositions that also bore the mark of the superior artist (Paker 2007: 272). What may be regarded as a conclusive argument is that if, in literary historical scholarship, we assume that the order of resemblance prevailed for over four hundred years, then we must also assume that the practice that kept literary production alive was the constant struggle or conflict between repetition and creative intervention. It is this kind of conflict that is voiced by the poet Fuzûlî on the difficulty of composing laudable *mazmun*s. In fact, Fuzûlî's statements encapsulate the fundamental dynamics underlying what I would now call the Ottoman *poetics of resemblance*. *Terceme* (repetition) was the fundamental practice that ensured its survival for so many hundreds of years; call them *taklid*, *nazire* or *telif*, related channels of poetic transmission intervened in the flow, releasing creative energy that challenged or broke (as institutionally approved, cf. Hermans 2007: 24) "equivalence" relationships to (not "into") what was regarded as clichéd sources. It was the dynamics of intervention as inventive, innovative "options" (Even-Zohar 2002: 169; 2000: 47) that fed and expanded the literary "repertoire" of the hypothesised central Ottoman intercultural system and gave birth to "its best works [as] part of a canon of 'great literature' in a polyglot empire of poetry" (Andrews 2002: 37).

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