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Contents

Editor's Introduction

The articles in this edition of Emergence were all presented as papers at the annual GradNet conference held at the University of Southampton on 21st March 2016. The theme of 'Construction and Decay' has been interpreted by these researchers in fascinatingly diverse ways that speak to a number of disciplines, topics, and time periods. Part of the excitement of being involved in GradNet's conference and this journal is seeing the sparks that ignite when our peers respond to a call that we send out.

The first paper explores the post-apocalyptic world depicted in Phillip K. Dick's *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* and further imagined in Ridley Scott's 1982 film, *Blade Runner*. The author, Liam Randles, addresses the difficulty that both the novel and the film raise in determining humanity in a world where increasingly realistic human copies are being manufactured.

The next paper also investigates the nuances that occur when opposites meet, discussing Alfred Schnittke's polystylism as a technique of compositional construction in the music of John Zorn. Exploring the postmodernism of Zorn's music, Daniel-Lewis Fardon argues that boundaries must be broken down in order to be reconstructed.

The next three papers form a group that touches on Jewish heritage, which is a core research focus at the University of Southampton, home of the Parkes' Institute of Jewish and Non-Jewish Relations. Sophie Smith examines images of societal decay in Christopher Isherwood's Goodbye to Berlin, a novel which contrasts the rise of fascism with the decadence of the Weimar Republic.

Maja Hultman moves our focus from Berlin to Stockholm, with an essay that utilises three case studies to challenge the assumption that the Jewish Community in the city was spatially separated according to orthodoxy and affluence. She uses an interesting technique of mapping the routes across the city taken by her subjects to ascertain their affiliations.

A chilling account of representations of Hitler's favoured architect, Albert Speer. Moritz Reiwoldt examines the construction of the past and nostalgia in the televisual and filmic representation of this ambiguous Nazi party member, concluding that what is included in these fictionalised accounts affects how sympathetic or accusative the portrayal may be.

Edoardo Radaelli provides a rigorous archaeological survey of 2nd century wine production in Rome. Analysis of the receptacles found in the building known as the 'Terme di Elagabalo' provide clues to wine production and trade in the period.

An archaeological investigation of a more recent period is the focus of our penultimate article. Coralie Acheson examines heritage attractions in the former industrial landscape of Ironbridge Gorge in Shropshire. Her paper examines how places of cultural interest fall into decay and can be reconstructed to meet the needs of the current local inhabitants.

Our final paper surveys the cultural and linguistic diversity of Algeria, a country that bears the imprint of many invaders and conquerors, from the Romans to the French. Amira Benabdelkader argues that the government's policies on language and education have had a significant impact on the cultural landscape of the country.

Seeing how diversely our authors have interpreted the theme of 'Construction and Decay' shows how innovative current studies in Humanities can be. The articles in this volume interact with each other and demonstrate how the different disciplines within Humanities inspire and stimulate each other to create a truly exciting academic community.

I would like to thank everyone who has been involved in producing this volume, particularly the authors and reviewers. The Humanities Graduate School funds GradNet's activities, including the conference and this journal; none of this would be possible without that support. Special thanks also go to my co-committee members, Sarah Schwarz and Mike Warner, who organised the GradNet conference which inspired this journal. Postgraduate study can be a long and lonely journey and being involved in activities such as this really help to make it the wonderfully rewarding experience that it deserves to be.

Kirsty Bolton
PhD candidate, English
Emergence Editor, 2015-2016

Foreword

The 9th Annual Humanities Graduate Student Society (GradNet) conference held on 21 March 2016 addressed the themes of 'Construction and Decay.' There were twenty-one papers delivered, sixteen from the Faculty of Humanities at Southampton and the remainder from The Universities of East Anglia, Liverpool, and Birmingham. They drew on a range of disciplines and methodologies to reflect on the dichotomous interplay of construction and decay. The essays published here are a selection of edited versions of peer-reviewed papers. They range from archaeological analysis of Roman amphorae (Radaelli) to considerations of a dystopian future in film and literature (Randles).

Their authors are responding to the conference theme in terms of subject content and the process of research itself that involves the creation of new understandings and the interrogation of established views which may result in their eventual decay. Discipline contributions are drawn from Modern Languages, Archaeology, History, Music, English and Film. Innovative methodologies are applied in many of the papers from the utilisation of spatial theory (Hultman) through to polystylism (Fardon) and restorative and reflective nostalgia (Riewoldt).

The student-led conference and the production of the journal are highlights in the annual activities of the GradNet Society. It not only encourages social interaction for doctoral researchers, helping to break down the possible loneliness of research related work, but also fosters postgraduate student enterprise. The initiatives it coordinates in such areas as reading groups and seminars, supported by the Faculty of Humanities Graduate School contribute significantly to the enhancement of the doctoral researcher environment and compliment the professional development activities provided at Faculty and Doctoral College level.

The annual conference and the journal not only embodies the student enterprise undertaken by GradNet, but attests to the strength of collective activity and the community spirit amongst Humanities doctoral students. On behalf of my colleagues, I would like to thank all the contributors and those who have produced this impressive issue of *Emergence*.

Ian Talbot
Professor of British History
Director, Faculty of Humanities Graduate School

Humanities Graduate School Student Network (GradNet)

The Humanities Graduate School Student Network (GradNet) is an inclusive, student-led community for all postgraduates in the Faculty of Humanities. It strives to create an atmosphere in which students are able to connect, both as individuals and as developing professionals.

We aim to:

- Build and maintain a vibrant postgraduate community for students, by students.
- Cultivate identities as academic researchers, both individually and collectively.
- Engage in current academic debate.
- Nurture the acquisition and development of transferable skills for future careers.
- Provide opportunities for social interaction.

In order to achieve these aims, we:

- Offer discussion-based, peer-reviewed seminars led by current students.
- Organise social and cultural events.
- Organise an annual conference.
- Produce an annual journal, *Emergence.*

Emergence

Our most recent conference was held on 21 March 2016. *Emergence* is a peer-reviewed journal that builds upon the achievements of this conference, as all the articles are drawn from papers presented on the day. This year, as it was last year, the Call for Papers was sent out nationwide. This has led to a broad, insightful journal that showcases the research possibilities of the Humanities. The journal helps postgraduate scholars to develop their skills as academic researchers and writers, thus building their academic profiles for the future.

Get Involved

If you are interested in participating in any of the GradNet activities, please email us, comment on our Facebook page, or follow us on Twitter. There is no joining fee, and you are welcome to attend as many or as few of the events as you wish. Alternatively, if you wish to join the GradNet Committee and become involved with organising our next cultural event, conference, or journal edition, please email us: Gradnet@soton.ac.uk.

Humanities Graduate School Student Network:

http://www.southampton.ac.uk/humanities_graduate_school/index.page?
Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/groups/hpgc.soton
Twitter: https://twitter.com/GradNetSoton

Sarah Schwarz
PhD Candidate, Archaeology
Chair of GradNet Committee (2015-2016)

Determining Humanity: Androids, Electric Sheep and Blade Runners

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Introduction

> "We are machines stamped out like bottle caps. It's an illusion that I- I personally exist; I'm just representative of a type."[1]

The epigraph to this piece, an excerpt of dialogue spoken by Rachael Rosen to Rick Deckard in one of the most poignant passages of Philip K. Dick's *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* (1968), can be read as emblematic of the text's central theme of exploring the ways in which humanity itself is determined. Her words form part of a discussion relating to this precise subject, pertaining to personal conceptions of environment and the self, serving as a prelude to a sexual encounter between the two, initiated by Rachael. That Rachael is a Nexus-6 android manufactured by the Rosen Association and Deckard is a police bounty hunter tasked with retiring a rogue group of the same model adds a conflicting layer of narrative complexity to proceedings. Deckard's attraction to the android alludes to a successful passing of the Turing test as a means of gauging the sophistication of a piece of artificial intelligence. However, the basic demands of the test are conversely subverted here through the transcendence of the machine's capabilities beyond simple acts of servitude, as denoted in Rachael's articulation of various metaphysical conceits and in her instigation of intercourse as a method of ensuring her own survival.

[1] Philip K. Dick, *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 143.

'More Human than Human' [2] is the slogan of the Tyrell Corporation- the screen representation of the Rosen Association- in Ridley Scott's film adaptation *Blade Runner* (1982) and it is this very sentiment which underpins both pieces of work; shifting conceptions of what it is to be human away from a simple surface-based definition towards one encompassing emotions and interpersonal interaction. Central to this depiction of humanity are a number of primal instincts- sexual desire and self-preservation being two referenced examples- that are implicit in the make-up of Dick's androids and Scott's replicants to blur lines of distinction between the real and the artificial. From this, the question can be posed as to whether a distinction can even be made when not only are these entities indistinguishable in terms of appearance, but also possess the same ingrained faculties and similarly have the capacity to manipulate emotions for personal benefit.

San Francisco, 1992.

Typical of Dick's literature, and certainly present at the outset of *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?*, is a significance placed on setting and its entailing cultural demands as a catalyst in the development of various existential crises. Invariably, these constructed settings are tied to the contemporary concerns of the time of Dick's writing; the Cold War, Red Scare paranoia, and intrusive mass media systems all at one time or other providing influence for his novels' dystopian backdrops.[3] In *Androids*, we find all of these elements at play in the construction of a dystopic depiction of San Francisco in 1992. Soviet tensions spectrally lurk in the background of the novel set in the aftermath of 'World War

[2] Ridley Scott, *Blade Runner: The Final Cut* (Warner Bros., 2007).
[3] Notable examples include *Eye in the Sky* (1957) and *Flow My Tears, The Policeman Said* (1970).

Terminus', a nuclear conflict which has left long-lasting damage on the planet due to the lingering presence of radioactive dust. Prompted by this situation, the UN have become advocates of large-scale emigration to off-world colonies with personal androids used as an incentive for people to participate in such a scheme. As is commonplace in Dick's work, all of this is presented with a nonchalant tone indicative of a prevailing sense of normality; these societal demands are in place from the opening page, all conveyed to the reader via the daily routine of the central protagonist: in this case "[a] merry little surge of electricity piped by automatic alarm from the mood organ beside his bed awakened Rick Deckard" reads the novel's opening line, denoting this sentiment.[4] Deckard's status as a jaded everyman dissatisfied in both his marriage and his work are evident in this section via a terse response to his wife's depressed mood:

> "'I notice you've never had any hesitation as to spending the bounty money I bring home on whatever momentarily attracts your attention.' He rose, strode to the console of his mood organ. 'Instead of saving,' he said, 'so we could buy a real sheep, to replace that fake electric one upstairs. A mere electric animal, and me earning all that I've worked my way up to through the years.' At his console he hesitated between dialling for a thalamic suppressant (which would abolish his mood of rage) or a thalamic stimulant (which would make him irked enough to win the argument)."[5]

Beyond a simple example of domestic discord, however, the facets of this particular dystopia are outlined. Along with the potential to manipulate human emotional reactions, referenced is an existing culture of rampant consumerism. The manner in

[4] Dick, *Androids*, 7.
[5] Dick, *Androids*, 7-8.

which this unfolds is a hallmark of Dick's fiction, as observed by Lejla Kucukalic in her assessment that much of his intrigue as a writer comes from his penchant for fusing realist elements and apparent mundanities with a sense of the possible or the imagined.[6] Aligning consumerism with emotional response is crucial in establishing a societal framework for the text, shedding further light on the extent of the damage caused by nuclear fallout from World War Terminus, which has seen vast swathes of the planet's animal population completely wiped out. Consequently, mass-produced electronic animals have filled this void- a significant trope in the novel emphasising the commodification of nostalgia via cynical exploitation of longing- with the few remaining living animals retailing for significantly higher sums. Through Deckard's occupation, we discover that empathy is used as the sole measure in determining whether an individual is human or android, and it is via this standardising of the emotion and its imposition onto artificial representations of previously living entities that an overarching hierarchical structure is detectable. This is alluded to on Deckard's leaving for work, in a conversation with his neighbour encapsulating the very notion of 'keeping up with the Joneses' ("Rick said quietly, 'I don't want a domestic pet. I want what I originally had, a large animal. A sheep or if I can get the money a cow or a steer or what have you; a horse.'"[7]). Social hierarchy is implicit in the nature of consumer culture through the linking of perceptions concerning individual self-worth and success with material accumulation, permeating even seemingly disparate elements of Dick's dystopia such as religious worship. Featured in the text is a religion known as 'Mercerism'; the name itself evoking connotations of a defunct automobile manufacturer, along with its derivation from the trade of merchant. The religion deals fundamentally with imparting empathy

[6] Lejla Kucukalic, *Philip K. Dick: Canonical Writers of the Digital Age* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 19.
[7] Dick, *Androids*, 15.

on account of its founding on the martyrdom of an individual named Wilber Mercer, whose own experience of being pelted with stones while climbing a hill chimes with the selfless suffering of Biblical tradition. The importance placed on mood organs in this religion in their capacity to alter human emotional response, to dispense empathetic feelings further signifies the insidiousness of consumerism in the text, underpinning virtually all internal processing pertaining to the basic concept of humanity.

Bounty Hunters, Chickenheads and Androids.

It is through the subversion of emotion that a controlling hierarchy is able to be propagated in so many public spheres in the text, enforcing a status quo typified by 'haves' and 'have nots', by an elite living in off-world colonies and a subclass remaining on Earth. While Deckard's occupation demands his presence on Earth, serving to reinforce his feelings of self-loathing, this overt depiction of hierarchy manifests in a subplot of the novel as the existence of a mentally impaired man named JR Isidore is documented. Disdainfully referred to as a 'chickenhead'- a slur highlighting a major contradiction in the sacrosanct treatment of animals- we find Isidore to be an embodiment of the lower class experience: a menial worker and a slavish devotee of ubiquitous entertainment personality, Buster Friendly. "'I d-d-don't like to be c-c-called a chickenhead. I mean, the d-d-dust has d-d-done a lot to you, too, physically. Although maybe n-n-not your brain, as in my case'," [8] Isidore protests in response to verbal abuse from his work colleagues, drawing attention to this post-nuclear hierarchy structured along the lines of physical and mental capabilities, along with its subsequent isolating

[8] Dick, *Androids*, 63.

facets on account of various interpersonal divisions derived from preoccupation with status as defined by individual deficiencies, occupations and possessions. His burgeoning friendship with one of the fugitive androids, Pris Stratton, which eventually sees him form close bonds with the other rogue models Deckard is charged with retiring, strengthens this presentation through the detail afforded to the relationship between a protagonist from the lower tiers of this society and those automatically deemed as less worthy of existence than human beings, also illustrating the folly of using empathy as a sole determiner of said worth.

To empathise is itself a subjective response, as evident in a passage in the text in which Deckard administers the Voigt-Kampff test to a fellow bounty hunter named Phil Resch, who is indeed deemed human, albeit someone with a particularly callous personality.[9] That these androids possess the emotional sophistication to forge and develop close interpersonal relationships suggests inherent qualities that we unequivocally define as being of the essence of humanity. This is something that Deckard becomes acquainted with first hand in his romantic dalliance with Rachael. In this passage, we see Rachael depicted at potentially her most vulnerable and, as such, human; reflected in instances such as getting drunk,[10] declaring love for Deckard[11]- an act which is reciprocated- and in feeling physical pain.[12] However, the deterioration of their relationship following these admissions of love and the ensuing act of consummation again denotes the problems in attempting to impose a uniform standard in human behaviour. Rachael's survivalist mentality channelled here through her sexuality is an undoubted attribute of any sentient being, while Deckard's clinical retiring of Pris- a physically identical model

[9] Dick, *Androids*, 108.
[10] Dick, *Androids*, 144.
[11] Dick, *Androids*, 147.
[12] Dick, *Androids*, 152.

to Rachael- implies the presence of a cold streak that is at odds with these arbitrary human standards.[13] Deckard's mercenary status is also enhanced following this action, which sees him secure the record for number of android kills in one day and with it a hefty paycheque.

Los Angeles, 2019.

In adapting *Androids* for the screen, Ridley Scott not only utilised the full capabilities of the cinematic medium to convey these themes and metaphysical musings to the audience, but also managed to create a piece of work that stands up in its right. Transposing the action to Los Angeles 2019, the setting of a neon-tinged metropolis serves as backdrop against which classic noir themes can be imposed. The cat and mouse elements of Dick's novel are more pronounced on screen for purposes of narrative acceleration, establishing parallels with the Californian-set hardboiled detective fiction of Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett. The looming shadow of consumerism, in turn, comes to be represented by the numerous ethereal billboards advertising brands such as Coca-Cola and TDK interspersed throughout the city. Although Dick passed away before *Blade Runner* was released in June 1982, these were simple truths he was fully aware of relating to the task of adapting for cinema, reacting positively to a twenty minute screening of the film's special effects:

> "The book had about sixteen plots going through it and they would have had to make a movie lasting sixteen hours. And it would have been impossible. And this is not how you make a movie out of a book. You don't go scene by scene… Because

[13] Dick, *Androids*, 167.

a lot of the book contains long conversations. A movie moves and a book talks, and that's the difference, you see."[14]

As with the visual crucial in capturing the presence of consumerism, we see the social hierarchy depicted along racial lines, with a high proportion of those left behind on Earth of Far Eastern extraction and working in the tertiary industry. Although JR Isidore doesn't feature in the film, the presence of the mentally and physically impaired in this societal tier is alluded to in the comparable form of JF Sebastian (William Sanderson), a subcontracted genetic designer for the replicant (the film's term for androids) manufacturing Tyrell Corporation. An intelligent figure and gifted designer, Sebastian nevertheless suffers from a premature aging condition dubbed 'Methuselah syndrome', which makes him appear significantly older than his twenty-five years. The notion of the perceived 'lesser' forming the basis of this underclass left behind on Earth functions as an integral plot device which enables the isolating reality of Scott's interpretation of this dystopia to be explored. Sebastian's lonely existence in a dilapidated high-rise is highlighted when he invites Pris Stratton (Daryl Hannah) up to his apartment and a small group of mechanical toys greet his return home with excitement. "They're my friends- I made them," Sebastian informs Pris.[15] Along with the rogue replicants' leader Roy Batty's (Rutger Hauer) suggestion that Sebastian should assist them in their quest for a longer lifespan on account of his own impending death, such a declaration goes some way in ascertaining the exact nature of their relationship. The survivalist Machiavellian tendencies exhibited by Rachael Rosen in *Androids* are discernible in the character construct of these rogue replicants, exploiting Sebastian's desire for companionship to

[14] Jason P. Vest, *Future Imperfect: Philip K. Dick at the Movies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 6.
[15] Scott, *Blade Runner*.

get them closer to their creator Eldon Tyrell (Joe Turkel). "We're not computers, Sebastian- we're physical,"[16] is what Roy tells him, the key insinuation here being that it was a folly for him to mistake equating the act of creation with companionship and an implied obedience on account of being human and therefore higher in a societal structure.

Though Roy's killing of Tyrell is one of the film's most brutal scenes, similarly his mistreatment and part in the death of an unquestionably sympathetic character such as Sebastian a lamentable moment, the vigour with which he pursues the feasibility of extended life is akin to the human spirit's capacity to endure, its willingness to survive at all costs. While Roy exhibits little sympathy to human figures, the opposite could be said of his treatment of fellow replicants. His mission can be seen as a selfless one, acting for the benefit of a collective. Such an interpretation exposes the flaws in using empathy as a sole determiner of humanity within a hierarchical structure emblematic of and, ultimately, divided by this perceived sense of 'otherness'.

Deckard, Rachael, and Roy.

The entire concept of defining humanity and the inherent dilemmas in standardising such matters is implicit in the character of Harrison Ford's sullenly played Rick Deckard; arguably more so than even in Dick's novel. In an early scene in the film, in which the mission is outlined to Deckard by his former supervisor, Bryant (M. Emmet Walsh), he is given little choice in resuming his duties as a Blade Runner (the film's term for the bounty hunter profession outlined in *Androids*) because "If you're not a cop, you're little people."[17] Not only is Deckard depicted as something of a bureaucratic slave with little

[16] Scott, *Blade Runner*.
[17] Scott, *Blade Runner*.

in the way of free will in this instance, but the oppressive realities of the existent hierarchy are also directly referenced. Aiding this representation in the same scene is Bryant's disparaging referencing of replicants as 'skinjobs'; a term that reaffirms the notion of hierarchy via the evocation of the institutional racism often associated with establishment bodies. On account of his status as a former Blade Runner, there is little to suggest that Deckard's views are different to that of Bryant's. In meeting Rachael (Sean Young) at the Tyrell Corporation, however, do we see the genesis of a shift in attitude. From routinely referring to replicants in third person and gender neutral pronouns, he remarks- potentially involuntarily- "*She's* a replicant, isn't she?"[18] His initial marvelling at the sophistication of Rachael as a model- for whom it took over a hundred questions of the Voight-Kampff test (spelt differently in Scott's film) before determining her a replicant- quickly subsides however as he immediately reverts back to his original descriptive terminology.[19]

Both Deckard and Rachael's personal isolations are emphasised following the administration of the test; her difficulty in accepting herself as a replicant, and that all of her memories are merely implants taken from Tyrell's niece, is accentuated. A number of shots show Deckard living alone in drab quarters, spending portions of his time daydreaming and indulging an implied drinking problem. The roots of these separate melancholic states can be found in the futility concerning their own situations; an element of inescapable pre-determinism fundamental in the make-up and fates of both characters. Their eventual romantic entwinement stems directly from an acute isolation

[18] Scott, *Blade Runner*
[19] Timothy Shanahan, *Philosophy and Blade Runner* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 43.

that is itself derived from the instructions and identity imposed upon them by those a step up in the hierarchical structure.

An intriguing development of *Blade Runner* absent from *Androids* comes in the dilemma relating to Deckard's true identity. Unquestionably human in Dick's novel, the theatrical version of the film treats the same issue with a degree of ambiguity. However, Scott's final cut, released in 2007, points to Deckard's true existence as a replicant without any equivocation. This is conveyed to the viewer at the conclusion of the film, when Deckard, fleeing with Rachael, discovers a paper unicorn outside his apartment left by his partner, Gaff (Edward James Olmos), correlating with an earlier daydream of a galloping white unicorn. Although this itself is a point of contention for some involved in the making of the film, including one of the screenwriters Hampton Fancher and Ford himself, Scott reaffirmed his view of Deckard's status as a replicant in the 2002 BBC documentary 'On the Edge of *Blade Runner*'.[20] The implications of Scott's claim are far-reaching in terms of analysis of not only Rick Deckard as a protagonist, but also in regard to interpretation of the film's espoused philosophical themes. This, coupled with Rachael's existential anguish, renders Rene Descarte's famous and oft-quoted maxim of "I think therefore I am" as positive verification for one's existence problematic and flawed. Deckard and Rachael's whole construct, their reliance on perceptions, particularly in the case of the latter's implanted memories as a cushion for plausibility of emotional response, become compromised as viable points of certainty. When placed contextually in the framework of oppressive hierarchy, the various internal methods we use as determiners both of ourselves and the wider world cannot help but be called into question.

[20] Justine Kimball, 'Was Deckard a replicant in *Blade Runner*?', revised February 2011 (Accessed: https://www.quora.com/Was-Deckard-a-replicant-in-Blade-Runner. 20 April 2016).

The revelations pertaining to Deckard and Rachael in the film also have repercussions for two of Roy Batty's final acts before his demise. Saving Deckard from falling to his death appears out of character when compared to the scorn and outright revulsion he reserves for humans in the film, yet when analysed alongside his empathetic treatment of fellow replicants, there appears to be a modicum of consistency. Although this interpretation hinges on Roy- programmed with genius level intellect, after all- realising that Deckard himself is a replicant, it would explain his actions in the wake of their fierce battle. It is a reading which also adds further intrigue to Roy's characterisation in the film. If valid, it would appear to affirm him as a truly selfless being, constantly prioritising the needs of the collective and aligning his own demands in accordance. Likewise, the featuring of implanted memories also proposes a different interpretation of Roy's final act and perhaps the film's most iconic moment; his 'Tears in the Rain' monologue: "I've seen things you people wouldn't believe- attack ships on fire off the shoulder of Orion. I watched C-beams glitter in the dark near the Tannhauser gate. All these moments will be lost in time… like tears in the rain."[21] An evocative eulogy to the precious finiteness of memories denoting Roy's capacity to process both immense destruction and awesome beauty and perversely draw parallels between the two, the reliability of this monologue becomes subject to scrutiny. If these memories are in fact artificial, is his emotional response negated? Is this outpouring genuinely rooted in emotion, or is it merely a product of his own programming?

Conclusion

Referring back to Philip K. Dick's enthused response to the twenty-minute screening of *Blade Runner*'s special effects prior to his death, he also spoke about the process of

[21] Scott, *Blade Runner*.

adaptation: "The book and the movie do *not* fight each other. They *reinforce* each other…"[22] Perhaps more so than in any other novel adapted for the screen, we see this sentiment validated in the dual cases of *Androids* and *Blade Runner*. The complex philosophical and metaphysical musings, the oblique commentary on society, systems and hierarchy that serve as hallmarks of Dick's writings are transferred expertly onto the screen by Scott; the content enriched by the medium rather than diminished. If the Tyrell Corporation slogan of 'More Human than Human' hints at the inherent complications in determining the true nature of our own humanity, Scott's own words on seeing a first assembly of *Blade Runner* footage in 1981 potentially capture such complexities even more bluntly: "God, it's marvellous. What the fuck does it all mean?"[23]

[22] Vest, *Future Imperfect*, 27.
[23] Paul M. Sammon, *Future Noir: The Making of Blade Runner* (New York: HarperPrism, 1996) 268

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Alfred Schnittke's polystylism as a technique of compositional construction in the music of John Zorn

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The creative process of musical composition is one of great scope and multiplicity, and as we traverse further into the twenty-first century, the artistic domain continues to widen. With a rich historical offering at the fingertips of artists today, looking at the way in which our past music can be subsumed provides insights into the construction of new compositional methods and designs. This paper investigates how the conscious employment of our musical past by composers impacts our musical future, through the lens of Alfred Schnittke's 'polystylism', in relation to the work of American avant-garde composer John Zorn.

'Polystylism' is commonly defined in simple terms as the employment of multiple styles and techniques within art—generally fitting under the umbrella of postmodernism—and is predominantly discussed and referred to in relation to musical works. The term principally originates as a compositional technique, posited by Soviet and Russian composer Alfred Schnittke (1934-1998) in his 1971 essay 'Polystylistic Tendencies in Modern Music', which is part of a collection of essays that went unpublished until 2002.[1] In it, Schnittke describes the polystylistic method as 'not merely the "collage wave" in contemporary music, but also more subtle ways of using elements of another's style.'[2]

[1] Schnittke Alfred, *A Schnittke Reader,* trans. John Goodliffe, ed. Alexander Ivashkin (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002).
[2] Schnittke, Alfred, 'Polystylistic Tendencies in Modern Music, c. 1971', in *A Schnittke Reader* trans. John Goodliffe, ed. Alexander Ivashkin (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002), 87.

Although often used as a blanket term to describe music that is stylistically polyphonic, Schnittke, and many later composers, use such techniques and processes as a way to create certain subtexts in their music, often expressing Schnittke's philosophical idea of highlighting the 'links between the ages.'[3] In addition to this, an important component of polystylism that will be explored here concerns a significant aim by multifarious artists to draw connections between 'high' and 'low' art forms, perhaps resulting in a musical democratisation that can succeed in reaching wider and more diverse audiences of contemporary music.

Schnittke, although commonly labelled as a Russian composer, was the son of a German mother, and a German-born Jewish father. Despite not having 'a drop of Russian blood', he spent his whole life working in Russia, and unsurprisingly became a composer born out of the Soviet regime. [4] Being ethnically Jewish and audibly Russian meant that Schnittke became a 'foreigner everywhere', and this formed an important foundation for his direction as an artist during the second half of the twentieth-century.[5] In 1932, the Union of Soviet Composers (USC) was set up, which put the orientation of music under the authority of the Communist Party, resulting in a rejection of Western liberalism, and a veneration of Stalin and the Soviet regime's proletariat audience. After the heavily suppressed likes of Shostakovich and Prokofiev, and subsequently with the death of Stalin, Schnittke played an important role in the latter development of 'Soviet' music, instead beginning to challenge socialist realism and subverting the entrenched artistic models and doctrines. This perhaps evolved out of, and took further, what has been described by Alexander Ivashkin (Schnittke's close friend and biographer), as 'double

[3] Schnittke, 'Polystylistic Tendencies', 90.
[4] Schnittke, *A Schnittke Reader,* 21.
[5] Ivashkin, Alexander, *Alfred Schnittke* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1996), 10.

recycling' in musical terms, where the composer 'recycles the content of Soviet rubbish bins: garbage already used by the Soviet propaganda machine which, in its turn, had recycled many classical clichés.'[6] This form of musical recycling signals the beginning of an attempt by Schnittke to infuse the reality and culture of everyday life—described by the composer as the 'mud'[7]—into his serious compositions.

Later theorised by the composer as the 'polystylistic method',[8] Schnittke asserts that 'the breakthrough of the polystylistic method proper originated in the particular development in European music of a tendency to widen musical space',[9] which in turn created a broader artistic domain and with it the emergence of a democratisation of styles. During his lifetime, Schnittke produced a huge number of works, in a diverse range of genres and styles, also becoming one of Russia's foremost film composers, which resulted in a striking interplay and relationship between his varied forms of work. His highly polystylistic works, such as the *First Symphony (1974)*, challenged and expanded established systems, paving a progressive path for future composers, performers, and musicologists to chart.

Since the work of Schnittke, 'polystylism' as a term has become to some extent misplaced as a recognised technique of composition. It is customarily referred to either in relation to the sole works of Schnittke, or as a literal explanation of any music that is somewhat eclectic in its stylistic approach. Further to this—as mentioned above—it is often

[6] Ivashkin, Alexander. 'Who's afraid of Socialist Realism?' *The Slavonic and East European Review* Vol.92 No.3 (July, 2014): 442.
[7] Schmelz, Peter J. *Such Freedom, If Only Musical: Unofficial Soviet Music During the Thaw* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 306.
[8] Schnittke, *A Schnittke Reader,* 17.
[9] Schnittke, 'Polystylistic Tendencies', 89.

grouped under the umbrella of postmodernism, which can be difficult to substantiate, due to inconsistencies between conflicting postmodern theories, and the uncomfortable placement of consciously polystylistic music within them. This has perhaps led to a slight avoidance of the term on the musicological compass, with it appearing anomalous to the more common methods of academic analysis of more traditionally monolithic musical entities. If polystylistic works were to follow many popular postmodernist theories, for example that of Fredric Jameson, of indulging in a 'somber mockery of historicity in general […], as in the worst kinds of dreams', they would not contain the musical meanings that they often attempt to elucidate.[10] It could, therefore, be reasoned that perceptive uses of polystylism do not fit comfortably into many postmodernist ideals, and potentially offer new approaches into modern artistic practices. Perhaps a more pertinent characterisation of what polystylism offers to this music is closer to the theories of Lawrence Kramer: 'Musical meaning is understood, both in practice and in analytical reflection, not by translating music as a virtual utterance or depiction, but by grasping the dynamic relations between musical experience and its contexts'.[11] The 'experience' and its 'context' are inextricably linked, and understanding the connotations that a musical utterance might be trying to express beneath its face value, allows us to construe the underlying meaning(s).

Since Schnittke's initial research into stylistic polyphony and synthesis, the techniques and processes laid out by the composer have continued to develop and expand throughout the roots of contemporary classical music. In 'Polystylistic Tendencies in

[10] Jameson Fredric, *POSTMODERNISM, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 25.
[11] Kramer, Lawrence, *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History (*California: University of California Press, 2002), 7.

Modern Music',[12] Schnittke cited a number of various composers of whom he connected to the technique, including notably: Stravinsky, Stockhausen, Berio, Webern and Pärt,[13] and in conversation with Ivashkin, names American composer Charles Ives as one of the 'first twentieth-century composers to make use of it.'[14] Since then, stylistic synthesis has become more prevalent, and has branched out into numerous diverging strands. One of its contemporary proponents, John Zorn, has a distinctive way of engaging with dialogues between disparate genres as a creative tool to invoke cultural, societal and political meaning in his music, through his own approach to polystylism.

Born in New York City in 1953, Zorn grew up in a family with interests in a range of contrasting musical palates, including jazz, classical, world, country, and rock. He began composing from an early age, and his childhood environment forged the hugely diverse output that has led him to become one of the most important, prolific, and label-defying living American artists. As a composer, multi-instrumentalist, improviser, record label founder, and club owner, he has been described as doing 'more to support and sustain an entire generation of musicians in the downtown New York scene than anybody else'.[15] His work is often described as polystylistic, and Zorn has taken the practice of genre blending to radical heights. In doing so, he has developed a musical democratisation whereby detached musical styles can coalesce and conceivably succeed in reaching new and unconventional audiences of classical music. Zorn has cited composer Charles Ives as a long time influence of his, and, in the 2004 documentary *In A Bookshelf On Top of the*

[12] See Schnittke's 1971 Essay: 'Polystylistic Tendencies' in *A Schnittke Reader,* 87-90.
[13] Schnittke, 'Polystylistic Tendencies', 87 & 88.
[14] Schnittke, *A Schnittke Reader,* 17.
[15] Tom Service, 'A Guide to John Zorn's Music', [Accessed: http://www.theguardian.com/music/tomserviceblog/2012/may/21/contemporary-composers-guide-john-zorn 8th April 2016].

Sky, expresses that Ives displays 'a level playing field for every genre to coexist in, no style or practice is used in a way to imply elitism or division between low art and high art.'[16] There is a notable significance here, as Ives was also cited by Schnittke as being one of the first twentieth-century composers to make use of polystylism, and in addition to this, chimes with the overarching philosophy of Schnittke's ambition to unify art forms:

> *"One of my life's goals is to overcome the gap between 'E' (Ernstmusik, serious music) and 'U' (Unterhaltung, music for entertainment), even if I break my neck in doing so!"* [17] *(Schnittke)*

In terms of musicology and traditional analysis, Zorn appears to escape the more familiar academic field of contemporary classical music. The possible reasons for this are informative, because although a huge figure, he is an artist quite difficult to define in perhaps the same way as one might with other leading American composers. [18] Conceivably, by adopting a multifaceted output—including classical, jazz, klezmer, hardcore, rock, film, and improvisation—Zorn becomes almost label-less, and thus subverts the accustomed academic understanding we find in relation to less eclectic composers. A large amount of literary work in relation to Zorn's music often comes in informal approaches instead: from journalists, friends, and performers—including interviews and discussions—that are frequently concerned with primary or experiential sources that have more practice-based attentions. Along with other artists who have similarly crossed not only genres but also divergent and hierarchical art forms since the 1970s, the written process in which new music is documented and historicised may in

[16] Claudia Heuermann, 'A Bookshelf on Top of the Sky: 12 Stories About John Zorn' (US: Tzadik, 2004).
[17] Schnittke, *A Schnittke Reader,* xiv.
[18] Steve Reich, Phillip Glass, John Adams, etc.

parallel be further crossing disciplines and widening its resource.[19] One such example of this comes in the form of Zorn's own acclaimed 'Arcana' book series,[20] which is currently on its seventh instalment, constructed around musicians on music: 'Arcana illuminates via personal vision and experience through the words of the practitioners themselves.'[21] Whereas musicology has perhaps traditionally begun at the point at which composition ends, we are finding more often that the line between the two is becoming blurred; with practical composers and musicians also being worthy of documenting, historicising, and analysing, which has additionally extended into practice-based academia.[22]

To explore how the compositional use of multiple styles can illuminate the way in which we interpret a work, we can look at two works by Zorn that, whilst stylistically different, both carry a similar aesthetic and ideology related to 'time', and employ a conscious use of polystylism as expressed by Schnittke. These works are: *Carny (1989)* for solo piano, and the studio album *Grand Guignol (1992)*. Within these, Zorn's approach to musical construction provides a listener with a host of conceptual ideas and associations to be freely interpreted, linking to a wider cultural movement. This is a movement directed at disassembling hierarchies: a practice that subverts outmoded traditions and challenges the classification of modern classical music. In these two works, Zorn finds a way of utilising the music of the past as a way to add significance—through the use of connection and dismantlement—to the music of the present.

[19] Numerous composers have experimented with interdisciplinary work including: film, television, performance art, installation art, electronic music, dance, etc.
[20] Zorn, John ed., *Arcana VII: Musicians on Music,* (New York: Hips Road/Tzadik: 2014).
[21] Zorn, John ed., *Arcana VII: Musicians on Music.*
[22] Practice-led PhD research by performers and composers is becoming more accepted in academic faculties, raising new questions and debates of what constitutes 'research' in a practical sense.

Carny, written for pianist Stephen Drury, makes use of a vast array of disparate styles, genres, and musical forms in the space of just twelve minutes; so densely woven one cannot initially categorise an overarching musical shape apart from apparent randomness. Drury himself described the work as 'an implosion of references in which the meaning of each gesture collides with both the image of its source in the listener's memory and its juxtapositions in the piece as a whole',[23] and this very much forms the underlying idea of the work: a study into fascinating and inconceivable connections between the likes of Mozart and Boulez, as well as bebop and boogie-woogie. Whilst in simple terms this range of styles might fit neatly into the criticisms of Fredric Jameson, as 'the complacent eclecticism of postmodern architecture, which randomly and without principle but with gusto cannibalizes all the architectural styles of the past',[24] *Carny* does more to explore various notions surrounding autonomy in art, and the coexistence of the world and the work. For Zorn, this kind of music can be seen as being built out of blocks, and these blocks can just as well be whole sections of disparate musical genres, as 'exposition' and 'recapitulation' sections can be seen as 'blocks' in traditional sonata form. The potential meaning of such music can be derived from the sum of its components, and so the choice for one component to be in the style of Fats Waller, and another to be that of Morton Feldman's, is what creates a wider significance and value. By considering why such choices have been made, and what they may or may not illuminate, a listener can effectively become engaged with a concept in relation to their own milieu. Inspired by the facets of modern technology, it is in one way suggestive of television 'channel flipping' and disposable media consumption, but perhaps also expresses quite different tone: the

[23] Drury, Stephen. 'A View from the Piano Bench or Playing John Zorn's Carny for Fun and Profit' *Perspectives of New Music* 32:1 (Winter, 1994): 196.
[24] Jameson Frederic, *POSTMODERNISM, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 18.

sentimental; a homage to the composers considered by Zorn as the greats, through the use of quotation. The result is that a mindful approach of assimilating and juxtaposing what at first may seem to be incongruent musical units—recognisable or otherwise—allows an active perception from the listener to interpret the music and follow a pertinent trajectory.

Comparing *Carny* with the later studio album *Grand Guignol,* the polystylistic process becomes even broader, by drawing connections not only between coalescing styles, but also by reframing and magnifying them through instrumentation, orchestration, and texture. Inspired by the Grand Guignol theatre in Paris—a low form of public entertainment using grotesque violence to depict murder, rape, mutilation and torture—the album takes the listener on a journey from subtle impressionism through to hardcore miniatures. The first track on the album, *'Grand Guignol'* itself, is dark and menacing, lasting a whole seventeen minutes, and leaves one unprepared for the following seven tracks, which consist of sensitive and creative arrangements of Renaissance, late Romantic, and early twentieth-century French music. Debussy, Scriabin, Lassus, Ives, and Messiaen all share the same instrumental treatment, and in turn become framed in a new and synchronised style that strongly highlights how these past musics can interact with avant-garde and electronic sound worlds. Debussy's *La Cathédrale Engloutie* becomes akin to ambient Brian Eno, and Messiaen's *Louange à l'éternité de Jésus* suddenly parallels with an aesthetic akin to Radiohead—who are also themselves hugely inspired by the work of Messiaen. These connections craft an affiliation between high modernism and alternative rock and electronic sound worlds. Considering the low form of public entertainment in the Grand Guignol, which incidentally was active around the same time as the creation of French Impressionism, perhaps the political undertone becomes a

cultural contradiction, which modifies aspects of the classical, and subverts its standing next to divergent forms of modernist art, through the medium of a retrospective 1990s perspective. The remaining thirty-two tracks on the album consist of intense, short, hardcore miniatures, ranging in length from ten seconds, to one minute and fourteen seconds. This remaining section of the album is merciless music, to the extent that it becomes merciful in its own way—a kind of peculiar occurrence in Zorn's music when irony subverts its own identity and becomes profound in the process.

Further to this, Kevin McNeilly takes a view that '[t]he politics of Zorn's music, its affective thrust, emerges from within the formal manifestations of a parodic, technocratically-saturated postmodernism in general. In its parodies of genre and received form, as well as its antagonistic postures, Zorn's music assumes a political force.'[25] Ostensibly, when art music becomes openly nihilistic, the result can be one of authenticity and true independence, surpassing the confines of theory and in this case magnifying the mutuality of the 'high' and 'low' to an intense degree. This turns musical form on its head, creating a new perception, which politicises and experiments with the auditory hierarchy, demanding participation from all involved—the players, spectators, and Zorn himself. What *Carny* and *Grand Guignol* have in common is a deep connection with an interactive polystylism, and a way of not only drawing associations between disparate musical materials, but also putting forward these components to form new perspectives. In the inside cover of *Grand Guignol,* Zorn provides a kind of philosophy, where he mentions how artists and writers can be concerned with 'humanity's taboos and phobias', in order to underline the human attraction with 'fear, terror and evil', which 'knows no

[25] McNeilly, Kevin. 'Ugly Beauty: John Zorn and the Politics of Postmodern Music' *Postmodern Culture* 5:2 (January, 1995), [section 2].

racial, cultural, or religious barriers'.[26] This collective fascination, mentioned by the composer as also being explored by the likes of Aristotle, Shakespeare, and Goya, forms the basis for Zorn's thinking: 'It resides in our collective unconscious, binding us together with ropes we try, but are ultimately unable to sever. Only through violent trauma, or the convulsive viscera of artistic vision does it rise to the surface, reminding us that it has, in truth, been there all along'.[27]

In a 2012 paper on John Zorn in AVANT, entitled *The Function of The Work: "Truth" and "Beauty",* John Lowell Brackett argues that '[f]or Zorn, the avant-garde isn't a lifestyle but a label he conveniently adopts when it suits him. There is nothing shocking about a romanticized avant-garde'.[28] This is significant, as Brackett is suggesting that in order for art to really fit into a philosophy of the 'avant-garde' as posited by theorists such as Peter Bürger, it needs to be connected to the real world, and not seen as purely autonomous and transcendental in the more romantic sense. Zorn often combines an interpretation of the romanticised view of a 'work' with the label of 'avant-garde', which arguably may seem at odds with itself, and as mentioned above, 'romanticized avant-garde' perhaps negates itself. Whereas Brackett mentions the use of 'buried borrowings from past masters' as not actually serving any focus towards a meaning of the work outside of the 'work itself', perhaps this very connection with history is what is most important. It is thus viable that not only the artist need explicate how their music may or may not connect with various socio-political factors, but also the audience, listener, and musicologist, who

[26] John Zorn & Naked City, *Grand Guignol* (Avant Japan: 1992), inside booklet.
[27] John Zorn & Naked City, *Grand Guignol,* inside booklet.
[28] Brackett, J. Lowell. 'Zorn: Avant/Après/Passé' *AVANT: Trends in Interdisciplinary Studies* Vol.3 (T/2012): 322.

are just as involved in the process of understanding and interpreting the connections as the composer.

Carny and *Grand Guignol* are engaging the listener on numerous fronts, both musically and cerebrally. On one hand, these works by default have an individuality of their own through the singularity of the musical 'work' as a recognised art form, but on the other, seem to destabilise the traditional models of uniform musical 'masterpieces'. It is through this very dichotomy that Zorn attempts to critique conventional ideas related to the construction of 'new music', and the manifestation of its relationship with history and culture. These bonds between music and context are integral, and this kind of communicative art succeeds in drawing new listeners in, offering a tangible and fluid experience, which holds no prejudices. Zorn is continually challenging and reimagining this autonomy, by allowing and acknowledging the coexistence of the musical work and the outside world, which in turn furthers the accessibility and equality of new music; an awareness that is perhaps always in welcome need of continuation. Whilst many works of art may show signs of eclecticism and historic heterogeneity, identifiably polystylistic works emerge to have an innate concern towards the development of new dialogues and perspectives, with their boundaries in contemporary-classical fields becoming increasingly obsolete.

Politically, Zorn has caused many people in contemporary music fields to rethink the classification of the 'composer', and what such a title may embody today. This is through his continuous effort to abolish musical elitism and provide a declassification of traditional roles that in turn become progressive for modern music—be it in the concert hall, the jazz clubs, or the opera house. Since the genesis of Schnittke's philosophy, many

other artists alongside Zorn are employing and diffusing the techniques and processes of compositional polystylism as a way to confront and expunge various preconceptions in classical music today.

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‘Berlin is a city with two centres’: Images of societal decay in Christopher Isherwood’s *Goodbye to Berlin*

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In his bleak closing chapter of his 1939 semi-autobiographical novella, *Goodbye to Berlin*, Christopher Isherwood presents 1930s Berlin as ‘a skeleton which aches in the cold’, a deathly spectre of emotional privation which physically embodies an age in crisis in the aftermath of the First World War.[1] Humiliated by defeat, forced to accept war guilt, and financially crippled by hyper-inflation and 132 billion marks of reparations to the Allies, Isherwood’s text explores the state of Germany at a pivotal historical crossroads, as it stands on the edge of a precipice, torn between the competing promises of two very different futures.

Based on his own experiences as a socialist, homosexual, and British Émigré travelling to Berlin on a voyage of self-discovery, keen to embrace the liberality and sexual progressivism of the Weimar Republic (1919-1933), Isherwood charts the fall of Weimar and the rise of Nazism and the Third Reich (1933-1945) through the eyes of his own fictionalised Christopher Isherwood, chronicling the impact of these events on those groups and individuals most vulnerable to this drastic political change.[2] Focusing on Isherwood’s representation of this change, this article will argue that, though Isherwood portrays Berlin as a ‘city with two centres’ and two potential futures, he presents the failure of the Weimar Republic and rise of Nazism as inescapable.[3] Analysing Isherwood’s

[1] Christopher Isherwood, *Goodbye to Berlin (vintage Crucial Classics)* (United Kingdom: Book Club Associates, 2003) 230
[2] Originally entitled ‘The Lost’, the novella is a collection of short, inter-linking stories focusing on marginalised groups including the working-class Nowaks, the Jewish Landauers, and more widely on fellow socialists, émigrés and homosexuals.
[3] Isherwood, *Berlin,* 253

representation of the historical circumstances and German character, this article will argue that Isherwood's text presents neither the modernity of Weimar, nor the regressionism of Nazism, as viable solutions for regeneration. Instead, both are ironically subverted in their attempts at social reconstruction and presented as catalysts for further destruction, exacerbating underlying tensions, and ensuring that the Second World War became an unavoidable and inevitable consequence of the First.

Weimar and the Problems of Modernity

On the surface, and in the initial chapters of the text, Berlin appears as a place of bright lights and opportunity, seeking to rebuild society through embracing progress and modernity despite the widening poverty gap. Amongst the cabarets, Christopher's Weimar Berlin is presented as one of glamour, decadence, and sexual liberation, a place where 'social approval has ceased to exist' and conservative morals have 'been discarded as bourgeois prejudice.'[4] Indeed, sexuality, and particularly 'queer' sexuality and transvestism, is presented as almost prolific, and advertised so openly that it becomes a headline for many of the cabarets.[5] Whilst this provides Isherwood's main motivation for travelling to Berlin, as 'Berlin meant boys' and the opportunity to freely practice his sexuality, towards the end of the novella it has lost much of its credibility.[6] Presented as a cheap, tawdry entertainment for the benefit of tourists, the number of 'stage lesbians' and young men prostituting themselves suggest an underlying cynicism in which sexual

[4] Peter Edgerly Firchow, *Strange Meetings: Anglo-German Literary Encounters from 1910 to 1960* (United States: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008). 151
[5] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 238
[6] R. Gefter Wondrich, "'Berlin Is a Skeleton which Aches in the Cold': The City as Fictional Autobiography in Christopher Isherwood's Goodbye to Berlin," 2003, accessed December 14, 2015, https://www.openstarts.units.it/dspace/.../1/Gefter_Wondrich_PX.pdf. 131

liberation has become adopted as a cheap gimmick, designed to titillate the more jaded and dilettante of visitors.[7]

Given that sex is so heavily aligned with service and money throughout the text, particularly amongst the male escorts of the cabarets, sexuality is far less free than it first appears, and instead becomes restricted to a form of commerce and exploitation.[8] This is perhaps best encapsulated in the character of Sally Bowles, a fellow British Émigré and 'would-be-demi-mondaine' travelling the continent in pursuit of the limelight and her next sexual affair.[9] Though ostensibly pursuing sexual liberation as a means of self-fulfilment, her sexual liaisons are less expressions of her belief in free love, but rather a series of disastrous contractual relationships underpinned by avarice, where she becomes a commodified object.[10] Given the frequency with which she is abandoned without a backward glance, the behaviour of her numerous lovers suggests that she is viewed ultimately not as a person with feelings, but solely as a means of gratification to be consumed and disposed of for the correct price, often the settling of a few debts. In this way, Isherwood's representation of sexuality suggests that, rather than functioning as a form of progressivism that may cure societal malaise, Weimar's sexual freedom only exacerbates the prevalent sense of fragmentation and isolation that Isherwood depicts. As Christopher notes, the majority of the characters, both German and English, feel 'lost', caught up in a 'strange sense of unreality' as a result of the pervading melancholia in the aftermath of the war, where they no longer feel they have either a sense of self or a sense of community.[11] Although characters, including Christopher and Sally, gravitate towards

[7] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 237
[8] Stephen Wade, *Christopher Isherwood* (London: Macmillan Education, 1991). 52
[9] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 38
[10] Isherwood, Berlin, 44
[11] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 222

the sexual decadence of Weimar Berlin in order to achieve a sense of inclusivity, the environment of the cabarets fosters little more than commodified self-indulgence. As a result of this, the relationships he depicts are emotionally void, centred on a short term form of self-gratification that ultimately offer nothing tangible or lasting, echoing fears of the post-war landscape as an Eliotian Wasteland.

Indeed, in presenting the potential Wasteland, Isherwood even reflects a Nazified concept of Weimar as a source of decay in providing a climate that fosters 'modern political danger' of the 'urban and unmaternal' women.[12] In presenting the ease with which Sally has an abortion, Isherwood demonstrates how Weimar is able to remove the responsibility of motherhood and the subsequent social role. From a conservative perspective, this not only fragments society by removing the purpose associated with the role of mother, but also demonstrates how Weimar enables a licentiousness which literally kills the future of society in preventing the birth of future generations. Consequently, though Weimar attempts to achieve social construction through progressivism, Isherwood presents the promise of Weimar Berlin as an 'illusion', which has 'nothing to give' beyond exacerbating the existing climate of fragmentation and isolation.[13]

The Empty Promise of Communism

In order to combat this sense of alienation, two political solutions began to emerge in the form of Nazism, and the Weimar associated communism. Though poles apart politically, the emergence of both stresses a psychological need in German society for a reinforced sense of community. As a socialist himself, Isherwood appears to valorise communism

[12] Linda Mizejewski, *Divine Decadence- Fascism, Female Spectacle, and the Makings of Sally Bowles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). 5
[13] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 231

as having the greatest potential for change, stating that 'the real masters of Berlin are not the Police, not the Army, and certainly not the Nazis. The masters of Berlin are the workers.'[14] Although on the surface communism offers the more obvious creation of community, and despite its initial success, Isherwood presents how it fails to capture the hearts and minds of society at large the way Nazism eventually does. The failure of communism here becomes explicitly tied up in the failings of the Weimar Republic itself; it becomes too self-indulgent and performative to be perceived as legitimate or effective. As Frau Nowak, the voice of the 'everyman' within the text, believes, 'the communists are all good for nothing lazy bones', suggesting that communism is perceived as too weak and self-centred to effectively contribute towards reconstructing society.[15] The photos in the communist club reinforce this: they feature boys 'all taken with the camera tilted upwards, from beneath, so that they look like epic giants', aiming to present an aura of strength and sincerity, but underlined by a pretentious affectation.[16] This implies that communism has become a self-aggrandising parody of any serious political intention. The homoerotic undertones of these pictures and the 'heroic semi-nudity' suggest that it has become instead another facet of Weimar's decadence, deliberately dissident and tied up in 'religious or erotic ritual', full of posturing and self-indulgence, but lacking any substantial depth or definitive action. Much like his other depictions of homosexuality, the unification of communism and homoerotic imagery here suggest that, under Weimar, both have become performative to the extent that the dedication of communism, much like professed sexuality of the cabaret boys who prostitute themselves for money, is ultimately insincere.

[14] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 249
[15] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 139
[16] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 244

This, and the pervasive theatricality of its main advocators, suggests an image of communism as politics at play; though characters like Martin attempt to be taken seriously, declaring that he spends 'most of my time now making bombs', his efforts cannot be taken seriously as either a threat or a resolution due to the child-like associations of spectacle over substance.[17] In attempting to achieve a legitimacy through violence, the lines become blurred with the violent tactics of Nazism. His actions and attempts to mobilise revolution are discredited as embarrassing and 'insane', alienating the support of Isherwood and other pacifist intellectuals within the text.[18] As such, Isherwood suggests that this breed of communism offers no stable or effective political solution to societal decay. Instead, it is tainted by the same narcissism and violence of Nazism, but without Nazism's power to create a folk community, to inspire political action or national pride.

Going Backwards Going Forward

It is this very ability to create a sense of community, when exacerbated by the historical circumstances and national character, which Isherwood appears to attribute to the ultimate and inevitable success of the Third Reich's rise to power. Given the failure of Weimar's sexual liberalism and of communism to create legitimate and meaningful forms of social cohesion, the modernity they represent becomes connotative of a 'kind of badness, a disease' one character describes as 'infecting the world today', that encapsulates the pervading sense of trauma which allowed Nazism to flourish.[19] In offering a sense of order social unity, Nazism in the text is able to become symbolic of 'the

[17] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 240
[18] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 240
[19] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 243

human intervention that would redeem the nation and rescue the West from imminent collapse.'[20]

In rejecting the modernity that Weimar Berlin stood for, Nazism instead looked back in order to look forward, seeking a restoration of values.[21] In its preoccupation with a strict sexual morality and political conservatism, Nazism appears to advocate a retreat to the end of the Nineteenth Century, which represented the height of German industrial and imperial prominence. In seeking this 'restoration', Nazism sought to legitimise itself in establishing a 'fake authenticity' of tradition, national prestige, and moral authority, offering a sense of reassurance and stability that had otherwise been lost in the decadence and alienation of Weimar Berlin.[22] In doing so, Isherwood shows how Nazism attempted to fashion the solution to societal decay in an idealised regression in order to foster progression.

Nazism in the text, then, seeks to reconstruct a lost and alienated society through the order and regimentation of militarism, which Isherwood presents as appealing in two ways. Firstly, the militarism of Nazism allowed 'ordinary people to transform themselves into heroes via rituals' after the disgrace of the First World War and the humiliating acceptance of dubious war guilt.[23] Isherwood illustrates this impact most vividly when discussing the people on Ruegen Island as promoting Nazism imagery, with 'each chair flying a little flag'.[24] In doing so, they utilise the symbols of Nazism in order to re-purpose the German image, and advertise a sense of defiant communal identity to oppose their

[20] Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism [electronic Resource]; The Sense of a New Beginning Under Mussolini and Hitler* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). 6
[21] Griffin, *Modernism*, 26
[22] Antony Shuttleworth, "In a Populous City," in *The Isherwood century: Essays of the life and work of Christopher Isherwood*, ed. James J. Berg and Chris Freeman, by Armistead Maupin (Madison, Wisconsin, USA: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001). 160
[23] Judy Suh, "Christopher Isherwood and Virginia Woolf: Diaries and Fleeting Impressions of Fascism," *Modern Language Studies* 38.1 (2008). 54
[24] Isherwood, *Berlin,* 110

international presentation as humiliated and humbled adversaries. Unlike the 'disconnected' crowds of Berlin, who are 'reduced to isolated units', the people here are united by their swastikas from the terrors of the isolation of modernity's melancholia, sharing a clear sense of cohesion and purpose.[25] As the little boy marching with the swastika suggests, Nazism has re-branded the defeated German image, reduced to shame by war, into a source of pride and strength. In publically valorising the nation and a Nazified vision of national culture in this way, Nazism and its adopters seek to defy the alienation and decay caused by trauma, refashioning themselves as a superior 'new breed of human beings' within a new social order.[26] Secondly, he also highlights how it satisfies another psychological need within the national character. He uses the otherwise ideologically opposed voices of the unnamed Nazi doctor and the Jewish businessman, Bernhard Landauer, to argue that society desperately needs 'discipline' and 'self-control' in order to reconstruct, rather than the self-indulgence of Weimar's permissiveness.[27] Indeed, Isherwood utilises the voice of the urbane and intellectual Landauer to argue that 'we poor barbarians need the stiffness of a uniform to keep us standing upright.'[28] Isherwood then reinforces this view in repeated suggestions, from the Germans themselves, that their instinct for freedom is never strong and very easily lost, implying that they instinctively seek direction in forms of discipline and control that are crucially outside the self. In this way, Isherwood is able to rationalise the ascendency of Nazism over the liberality of Weimar. In repeating this view across the social spectrum, Isherwood enforces the idea that the Germans themselves have an essential, if ironic,

[25] Gefter Wondrich, *Berlin*,132; David P. Thomas, "'Goodbye to Berlin': Refocusing Isherwood's Camera," *Contemporary Literature* 13, no. 1 (1972), doi:10.2307/1207419. 48
[26] Griffin, *Modernism*, 6
[27] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 199
[28] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 199

need to limit personal freedom in order to progress, lest they sink from the upright into the animalistic.

This fixation with approved 'order' legitimises a desire for 'a general Berlin clean-up' which ultimately promotes violent destruction.[29] With the purpose of enforcing the 'new rules' of behaviour, Nazi society becomes dominated by 'new punishments' in order to purge and control the 'degenerate types' who oppose the Nazi moral order.[30] This consequently leads to chaos and violence through its promotion of vigilante policing: men 'patrolling up and down' enact random scenes of violence against an 'anti-Nordic menace', ever ready to 'lynch' or 'torture' people at the slightest provocation.[31] In vocalising the Nazi's seemingly unappeasable desire that 'blood must flow', Isherwood demonstrates how these discourses, behind the façade of conservative morality, are primarily used to legitimise a desire to punish and dominate.[32] Though it creates a longed for community, it does so by providing a nationalistic, racialized outlet for a violent rejection of, and reaction against, the alienation and trauma of post-war society.

Victims of Circumstance?

Isherwood is somewhat sympathetic, it seems, not to Nazism, but to the conditions which fostered it. He presents their emergence as inevitable by illustrating how national character is exacerbated by historical circumstances. The extent of disillusionment and, for characters such as the Nowaks, the economic deprivation due to the hyperinflation caused by reparation payments, creates a paralysis and stagnation within German society

[29] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 237
[30] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 251, 115
[31] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 236, 246, 255
[32] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 243

that inevitably negates resistance.[33] Though Isherwood initially presents Nazism as a radicalised cult with 'all kinds of silly ideas', and how 'people laugh at them', he demonstrates how they nevertheless achieve a meteoric rise to power due to a longing for unity and prestige unfulfilled by Weimar's deeply unstable political and economic environment.[34] This fake authenticity that Nazism provides creates a sense of power and purpose after the humiliation and poverty caused by post-war financial sanctions and hyper-inflation. It is this that fosters the blind allegiance in spite of the obvious abuses, and becomes the text's 'certainly depressing' 'political moral'.[35] As Isherwood states the German people 'could be made to believe in anybody or anything', and will grasp on to anyone strong enough to provide a sense of construction and unity.[36] He particularly emphasises this in radical shift of the politics of Frau Schroeder: within the space of a year she moves from voting communist to 'reverently' praising Hitler.[37] As Isherwood himself said of the novel, no one is willing to 'accept a belief until one urgently needs it'.[38] Indeed, he presents it as natural, stating that that Frau Schroeder, like many others, is 'merely acclimatizing herself in accordance with a natural law' of self-interest and self-preservation.[39]

Thus, in presenting this drastic shift of values, Isherwood demonstrates that the German people had been so damaged by trauma that they became willing to overcome their scruples, if it meant gaining a strong leader who could instil the necessary discipline and order to rebuild Germany. Nazism provided the power and purpose necessary to both

[33] As a result of repaying the 132 billion marks in reparations to the Allies, the Weimar government attempted to solve the problem by producing increasing amounts of money, rendering it useless. Because of this, the value of bread increased from 1 mark in 1919, to 100 million marks in 1923.
[34] Isherwood, *Berlin,* 139, 221
[35] Isherwood, *Berlin,* 235
[36] Isherwood, *Berlin,* 235
[37] Isherwood, *Berlin,* 255
[38] Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind, 1929-1939* (London: Methuen Publishing, 1977). 306
[39] Isherwood, *Berlin,* 255

rebuild and revenge themselves against post-war reparations. In doing so, he establishes how 'monsters are made when history itself becomes monstrous,' questioning Britain's own culpability in contributing to this and suggesting how Nazism became seen as the only viable means of seizing a future.[40]

The Inevitable End

Consequently, the historical outcome he continually foreshadows is presented as all but inevitable. In doing so, Isherwood creates a profoundly bleak rendering of Germany's political state, which serves as 'gesture of commitment to a loss rather than its cure', but one that nevertheless acts as a record, so that events become 'developed, carefully printed, fixed' for posterity.[41] As 'The Lost' of his original title, Isherwood enforces the idea that these people are 'ultimately doomed' in an unresolvable cycle of chaos that cannot be redeemed, and is ultimately exacerbated by both Weimar and Nazism.[42] Though both are initially presented as being received as viable solutions to form societal reconstruction, both are presented as false idols in order to illustrate how the political situation of Berlin in the 1930s acts 'the dress-rehearsal of a disaster… the last night of an epoch'.[43] Unable to escape the traumatic legacy of the past, or the inevitable horror of its present and future, Isherwood's Berlin is thus irrevocably damned.

[40] *Berlin is a skeleton*, 135
[41] Tamás Tukacs, "'I am a camera': Melancholia in Christopher Isherwood's Goodbye to Berlin.," *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 14:1 (2008) 269; Isherwood, *Berlin,* 9
[42] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 219
[43] Isherwood, *Berlin*, 219

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A Trio of Case Studies Challenging the Assumption that the Jewish Community in Stockholm was Spatially Separated, 1933-1940s

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Many scholars value the 1964 publication of historian Hugo Valentin's revised *Judarna i Sverige* as the standard source on Jewish life in Sweden.[1] In his work, Valentin describes the Jewish post-1870 community in Stockholm as fragmented, divided into two major groups: the established, assimilated, German-descendant 'Swedish-Jews', and the Eastern European, poor and orthodox, known by contemporaries as 'Poles'.[2] These two groups are hence after scholarly perceived to have inhabited two distinct areas of the Swedish capital: the economically and culturally integrated group living in the northern part of the city, and the traditional group living in the southern and western industrial slum suburbs. Apart from historian Carl Henrik Carlsson's suggestion that the Jewish family Ettlinger did not fit into this polarised notion, no study has critically approached the theme.[3] Using three case studies of individual, everyday movements through Stockholm, this article will challenge the idea of two spatially separate groups within Stockholm's Jewish community.

Spatial theory, the study of physical and imaginary spaces and places, provides a methodology that focuses on everyday people and their daily life in open landscapes.[4] By following, investigating, and analysing people's movements in an urban environment, it

[1] Carl Henrik Carlsson, Introduction to *Judarna i Sverige*, by Hugo Valentin (Stockholm: Bonniers, 2013), 7.
[2] Hugo Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige*, 142-146.
[3] Carl Henrik Carlsson, 'Judiska invandrare i Sverige under första världskriget: Fyra fallstudier', in *Första världskriget i svenska arkiv*, ed. Carl Henrik Carlsson (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 2014), 168-171.
[4] Barbara E. Mann, *Space and Place in Jewish Studies* (London: Rutgers University Press, 2012); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

is possible to make out the shapes of an individual's preferences and affiliations.[5] Philosopher Michel de Certeau focuses on unconscious, everyday movements performed by ordinary men and women. He argues that people do not move in one pattern, and their walks cannot, therefore, be generalised. Urban movements are instead individual and manifold, and each pair of feet tells a personal story.[6] Continuing de Certeau's idea that physical movements can create a narrative of an individual's life, historian Joseph A. Amato describes walking as a way of communicating which places one prefers or avoids.[7] To move about in a city can, therefore, become a way to physically express personal affiliation and belonging to various places. This strand of spatial theory, linking movements to the creation of personal narratives, reveals urban individuals as agents of their own lives, free to shape their own identities.

By reconstructing the walks performed by Jewish individuals in the three following case studies, it is possible to read the stories their feet wrote of their everyday lives in Stockholm, showing that the Jewish community consisted of more complex identities than just two opposing sides. After providing the historical background to the Jewish community, the mapping and analysis of movements practiced by German-born Jakob Ettlinger and his second daughter Ruth will follow. Being both economically affluent and adherent to religious orthodoxy, Jakob and his family were, in the words of Carlsson, an 'untypical' Jewish family in Stockholm.[8] Jakob's archive at the *Swedish National Archive* contains personal letters, rental agreements and synagogue membership lists that reveal that Jewish individuals did not adhere to the notion of separate identity groups. The second example shows that the orthodox synagogue's paying members did not only

[5] For example: *Jewish Topographies*, eds. Julia Brauch *et al* (Aldershit: Ashgate, 2008).
[6] Michel de Certeau, 'Walking the City', in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (London: Routledge, 1993), 158.
[7] Joseph A. Amato, *On Foot* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 4.
[8] Carl Henrik Carlsson, 'Judiska invandrare i Sverige, 168. My translation.

consist of 'Poles', but was a diverse mixture of people. Two interviews conducted with Jewish individuals living in Stockholm before the Second World War further emphasise that places visited by Jews were not a result of the social constraints of belonging to either of the two groups, but rather a response to personal desires. All case studies reconstruct the places Jewish individuals visited in the city and the routes they walked between these places. Written by Jewish feet as they travelled through the urban landscape, these three stories were ultimately unique, communicating the desires and affiliations of the individuals.

The Jewish Community in Stockholm

Jews have been allowed to live in Sweden since 1775, and the initial Jewish groups arrived from Prussia, the Netherlands, and Denmark.[9] The community settled into the Swedish landscape, creating cemeteries in the industrial western suburb and establishing prominent businesses, such as sugar refineries, popular restaurants, and calico industries. Emancipation was granted in 1870, and the inauguration of the synagogue on *Wahrendorffsgatan* 3 (location 1 on the map below) in central Stockholm took place the same year. The Wahrendorff synagogue became a place of assimilated Jewish features. For instance, an organ was installed, an instrument closely linked to musical traditions of the Swedish church. At the turn of the 20th century, many members of this Jewish group had embraced the Swedish culture through intermarriages, which resulted in the decline of Jewish rituals, such as regular synagogue attendance and the keeping of kosher. The descendants of these families mostly lived in the northern and eastern parts of the city, *Norrmalm* and *Östermalm*, some of them inhabiting luxurious apartments and villas.

[9]Carl Henrik Carlsson, 'Judisk invandring från Aaron Isaac till idag', in *Judarna i Sverige – En minoritets historia*, ed. Helmut Müssener (Uppsala: Hugo Valentin-centrum, 2011), 21.

The Jewish community in Stockholm grew from 800 people in 1870 to 1,250 Jews in 1890 and 2,600 Jews in 1910.[10] The population increase of over 50 per cent at the turn of the 20th century was largely due to the immigration of Eastern European Jews. They had started to move to Sweden in the 1860s, the majority travelling from Suwalki, a county in north-eastern Russian Poland.[11] With their orthodox background, many of the Eastern European Jews still spoke Yiddish and kept both Shabbat and kosher. It is often assumed that they settled in the industrial and slum areas of the city – the southern island of *Södermalm* and the western island of *Kungsholmen*. Most of the Eastern European Jews immigrated without savings; the men worked as peddlers or small shopkeepers, while the women sewed socks for neighbours, and the children were taken out of school in order to work.[12] Some Eastern European Jews also rejected the liberal character at the Wahrendorff synagogue. Instead, they attended the orthodox synagogue *Adat Jisrael* on *Sankt Paulsgatan* 13 (2) on *Södermalm*, meeting in a discreet building that had previously been used as factory, school, and cinema.

The German-descendent, assimilated Jews in the north and the Eastern European Jews in the south have not only been assumed to possess cultural, social, and economic differences. Their diverging interests were also highlighted through the spatial border of water, dividing the southern and western islands from the modern, wealthier mainland. It seems as if the Jewish community's cultural differences were enhanced by the physical geography of the city, creating a spatial separation. But as the first case study of the Ettlinger family will show, these two identities were more flexible.[13] The physical and

[10] Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring* (Stockholm: Dialogos, 1992), 237.
[11] Carl Henrik Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2004), 31.
[12] Mattias Tydén, 'Antisemitism i Sverige 1880-1930', in *Judiskt liv i Norden – en minoritets historia*, ed. Helmut Müssener (Uppsala: Hugo Valentin-centrum, 2011), 267; Boris Beltzikoff, *En svensk jude ser tillbaka* (Stockholm: Carlsson bokförlag, 1994), 22.
[13] Carl Henrik Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*, 34.

cultural borders could be crossed, and a variety of Jewish attributes could be combined according to individual taste.

The Walks of Jakob and Ruth Ettlinger

Born in 1880, Jakob Ettlinger was the oldest of seven siblings in a Jewish, orthodox family residing in Mannheim, Germany. From the age of 19, Jakob was employed in the company *Beer, Sondheim & CO*, co-owned by a relative. The company traded ore and metal through branch offices all over the Western world, offering Jakob roles from clerk to general manager in places such as Cologne, London and Philadelphia. He was sent to Stockholm in 1915 with a plan to travel to America in 1916. The First World War halted those plans, and taking on the role as the company's representative in Stockholm, Jakob established a life for himself. He married Danish-Jewish Jeanette Philip in 1917, and they had three children: Camilla, Ruth, and Joseph. After the bankruptcy of *Beer, Sondheim & CO*, Jakob founded his own company in 1932, *AB Metall- och Bergsprodukter* (CO Metal and Geological Products).[14] In the 1920s he became chairman for *Adat Jisrael* that, according to a letter written by Jakob, had about 70-100 visitors on Saturdays in 1926.[15]

The map below is marked with some of the locations Jakob visited during the first half of the 1930s. The family lived at *Östermalmsgatan* 7 (3) from about 1933/1934. A rental agreement reveals this seven bedroom-flat to be luxurious and modern, boasting central heating, unlimited hot water from 1 September to 1 June, and the instalment of a bathtub in 1938.[16] Jakob walked every morning from this modern flat in the spacious and newly developed parts of *Norrmalm* to the industrial part of *Södermalm* where *Adat Jisrael* was located in order to perform the *shacharit*, the morning prayer, together with the orthodox

[14] Carl Henrik Carlsson, 'Judiska invandrare i Sverige', 168-170.
[15] Jakob Ettlingers arkiv, 5:8.
[16] Jakob Ettlingers arkiv, 1:1.

community.[17] It is a five kilometre, one-hour long walk from Jakob's home to *Adat Jisrael*. From the German-Jewish assimilated area where he lived, he passed the Wahrendorff synagogue, crossed the water border and entered the Eastern European orthodox area. Jakob could have chosen to attend the liberal synagogue, but his religious affiliation influenced him to walk a longer distance, negotiating his way through the city in order to practice his beliefs on an island where the economic and social stance differed from his position.

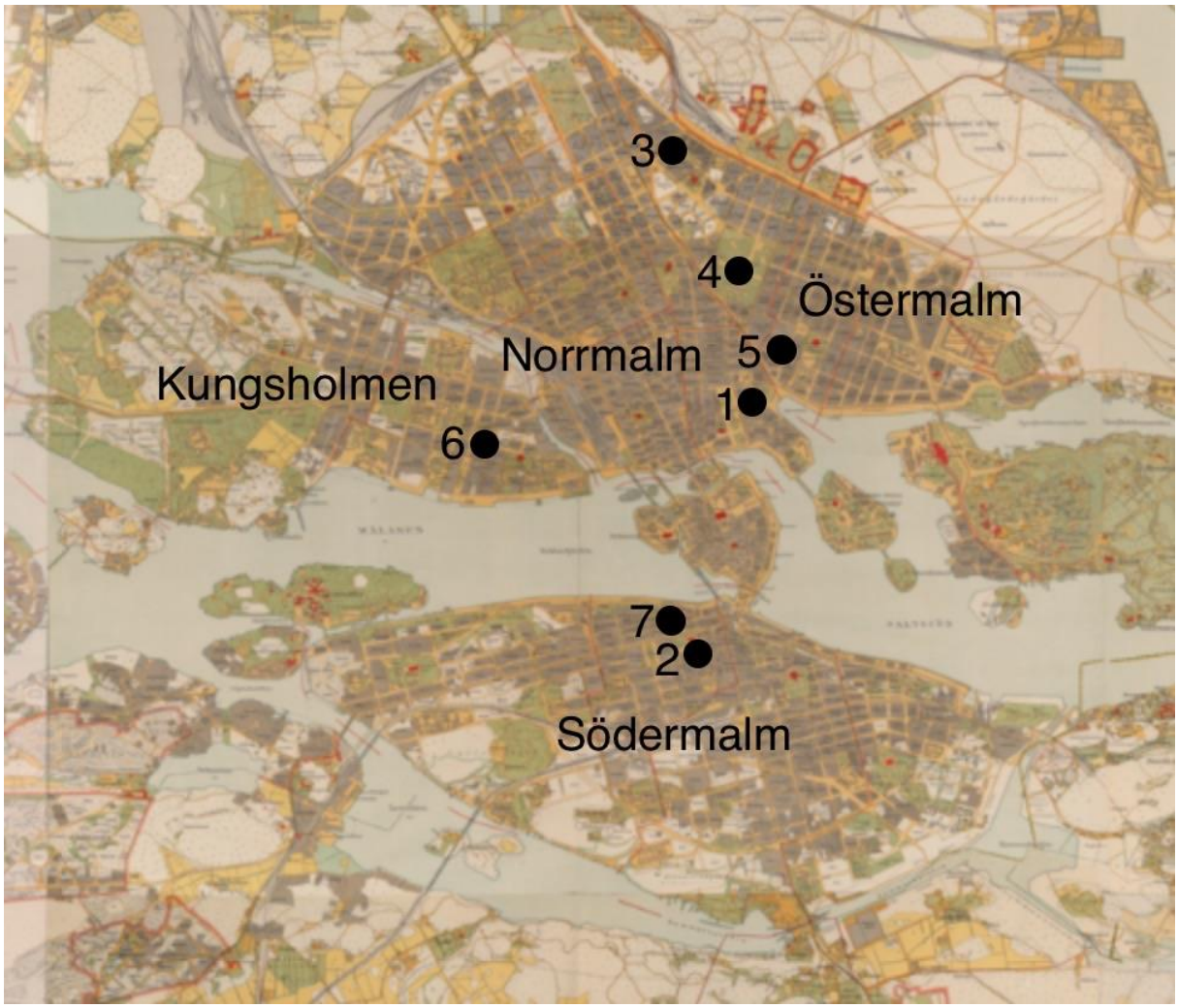
Jakob flexibly mixed the two Jewish identities, even within his own house. In some letters to Jewish businessmen abroad, Jakob invites them to his home, simply because there were no restaurant offering kosher food in Stockholm. The Ettlingers received thousands of visitors throughout the 1920-50s, providing kosher food for traditional Jews.[18] The Ettlingers, therefore, created an orthodox space in the midst of the area belonging to the integrated Jews, combining the two identities that have often been assumed to be diverging and inconsistent with each other.

It was in this home Jakob's children wrote letters to their father at the beginning of the 1930s when he was on business trips abroad. In one of these letters, Ruth reminisces:

> *Här är cirka 14+C. Det är skönt. Blommorna komma upp överallt & när jag går genom Humlegården så är allt grönt & då tänker jag på Pappa, när vi gingo där förut på morgnarna.*[19]

[17] Carl Henrik Carlsson, 'Judiska invandrare i Sverige', 171.
[18] Carl Henrik Carlsson, 'Judiska invandrare i Sverige', 171.
[19] When comparing her language in this letter to the style of her other letters, it is estimated to have been written around 1933/1934. Jakob Ettlingers arkiv, 1:1.

It is about 14 degrees here. It is nice. The flowers grow up everywhere and everything is green when I walk through Humlegården and that's when I think of Dad, how we used to walk there in the mornings.



Picture 1. A map of Stockholm from 1930. The locations shown on the map will be pointed out with a number within brackets in the text.[20]

[20] A. E. Påhlman and Nils Hanzon, '1930 års karta över Stockholm', *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. (Accessed: http://stockholmskallan.se/Soksida/Post/?nid=9719. 20 May 2016).

Humlegården is a park in central Stockholm (4), located south of the family's home. The park is an interesting location because it is between the Ettlingers' home and the synagogue, and also between their home and Ruth's school *Sofi Almquist*, a gentile girls' school, on *Nybrogatan* 19 (5). As expressed in the letter, Ruth's experience of Stockholm's landscape and of moving her feet in the open space of *Humlegården* was closely linked to her memory of Jakob. Ruth reminisces over a walk with Jakob, possibly originating from their home, and definitely passing through the park. Since Jakob performed this walk every morning, she potentially joined him while she was walking to school and Jakob was walking to *Adat Jisrael*. Although Ruth's destination was a gentile place, Jakob linked their orthodox identity to the walk they performed in a park located in the northern parts of the city. *Humlegården*, just like their home, became another place in the northern, assimilated Jewish area that the family associated with their orthodox Jewishness. By tracing Jakob's and Ruth's movements through Stockholm, evidence is provided for the support of a flexible, Jewish identity, contradicting the notion of two separate groups. The places belonging to either integration or tradition could evidently be combined in different ways, all according to the wishes and affiliations of Jewish individuals.

The Diversity of Orthodox Synagogue Membership

The walks performed by Jakob and Ruth Ettlinger show that Jewish individuals in Stockholm did not have to align with movements associated with either the assimilated group in the north or the orthodox group in the south. The membership list of *Adat Jisrael* from the 1940s, found in Jakob's archive, also emphasises this notion. On the list of paying members there are 81 names, 73 of which are accompanied with addresses in central

Stockholm.[21] Calculations reveal that these members lived across the city of Stockholm in the following way: 54.8% lived on *Kungsholmen* (10 members) or *Södermalm* (30 members), while 45.2% lived in *Norrmalm* or *Östermalm* (33 members). More than half of the orthodox members lived in the Eastern European Jewish area – the slum and industrial area of the city. The other half lived on the mainland, in areas that were spacious and wealthy, generally inhabited by assimilated Jews.

Jakob was, apparently, not the only person living in the north who still valued the Jewish traditions associated with *Södermalm*. The list proposes three possibilities within the Jewish community; either Eastern European, poorer Jews were able to find accommodation in the northern parts of Stockholm, or some Eastern European Jews were experiencing economic success and thereafter moved to the north. It is also possible that German-Jewish, integrated families were interested in economically supporting, and maybe even participating in, traditional, Jewish life. Either way, the list demonstrates that Jewish interest in orthodox customs existed beyond *Södermalm*, and that the two groups were not as separate as often assumed.

Another 'untypical', Eastern European Jewish Family

That the choice of which Jewish places to move between, and thus express belonging to, was an individual act is especially clear in this last case study: two interviews conducted with Swedish Jews who lived in Stockholm before 1939. Henry Blidemann was born in 1918 to a family with roots in Latvia and Poland. He spoke Yiddish with his father and German with his mother and grew up on *Pipersgatan* 11 (6) on *Kungsholmen*. He walked together with his father to the orthodox synagogue every Saturday since, as he explains

[21] Jakob Ettlingers arkiv, 5:1.

it; 'there was no other synagogue'. Henry was not unaware of the existence of the Wahrendorff synagogue, but he and his family viewed it as too liberal and un-Jewish to visit for religious purposes, and thus had no choice other than to attend *Adat Jisrael*.[22]

The second interviewee, who wants to remain anonymous, was born in 1925 and the family lived on *Tavastgatan* 8 (7) on *Södermalm* from the beginning of the 1930s. The parents came from Pabjanes in Poland and spoke only Yiddish at home. Despite living in close proximity of *Adat Jisrael,* the family attended both the orthodox synagogue and the Wahrendorff synagogue. The interviewee especially enjoyed the organ music at *Wahrendorffsgatan*, and at the end of the 1930s, the interviewee participated in events organised by *The Jewish Youth Society*, connected to the liberal synagogue.[23]

The movements of these two interviewees in the 1930s illustrate that it was up to each individual or family to decide which synagogue and religious affiliation to belong to. Henry and his family fit the stereotype of Eastern European Jews, living in the industrial suburb and practicing their orthodox religion with *Adat Jisrael*. The second interviewee's family also originated from Eastern Europe, but this family wanted to belong to the community on *Wahrendorffsgatan*, and the interviewee ultimately preferred participating in events linked to the liberal synagogue. Which synagogue to belong to, and what Jewish traditions to affiliate oneself with, seems to have been a personal decision, not a communal identity based on social or economic status.

Conclusion

By mapping the movements of Jewish individuals, following their feet across streets and over thresholds, it has been possible to gain insight into the flexible, individually

[22] Interview with Henry Blidemann, Stockholm: 21 October 2014.
[23] Interview with anonymous interviewee, Stockholm: 13 January 2015.

determined identities performed by Jews in Stockholm's open spaces. Carlsson calls the Ettlingers 'untypical', but the evidence provided in these case studies shows that other families were as 'untypical' as Jakob and his family. Jakob and Ruth lived and moved in the northern, assimilated area, but the stories written by their feet linked their practices to orthodox traditions. About half of *Adat Jisrael*'s members might have done the exact same thing as Jakob; although living in northern Stockholm, they economically invested in the orthodox synagogue, and maybe even practiced a similar walk from their home to *Södermalm*. Henry and the second interviewee are further examples of how the choice of synagogue was individual, not a result of the city region one lived in.

These three examples together demonstrate that although the Jewish community were roughly divided between the Wahrendorff synagogue and *Adat Jisrael*, these two religious, economic, ethnic, and spatial identities were not at either end of a polarised spectrum, but rather points of identification that could be combined, emphasised or ignored – all according to individual desires. The Ettlingers, the orthodox members, Henry Blidemann and the second interviewee all produced personal stories of Jewish life in Stockholm during the first half of the 20th century. By investigating their unconscious movements in accordance with the spatial theory described earlier through the combined works of de Certeau and Amato, this study has shown that Jewish feet travelled the urban landscape in unique patterns. When observed together, the narratives written by these pairs of feet question the scholarly belief in two established, separate Jewish identities, and communicate the complexity of Jewish belonging and identification.

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The construction of the past and nostalgia in the televisual and filmic representation of Albert Speer

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Younger generations accumulate an increasing amount of knowledge about the twentieth century from moving image media. Simon Jenkins argues that fiction is often the sole source of public understanding of remote as well as recent times.[1] He believes that they learn about the Great War from *Birdsong* and of the Holocaust from *Schindler's List* (Steven Spielberg, 1993, USA).[2] As an increasing amount of witnesses of the Holocaust, the Third Reich, and the Second World War pass away, the depictions of leading national socialists in films and television upsurge in importance. This paper will focus on the filmic and televisual representation of Albert Speer and how nostalgia is constructed in my case studies. I will focus on his representation in *Inside the Third Reich* (Marvin J. Chomsky, 1982, USA), *Nuremberg* (Yves Simoneau, 2000, Canada & USA), *Downfall* (Hirschbiegel, 2004, Germany) and *Speer and Hitler: The Devil's Architect* (Heinrich Breloer, 2005, Germany). These case studies are chosen because Albert Speer is either represented as a protagonist or appears as a supporting character. Albert Speer joined the National Socialist Workers Party, commonly referred to as the Nazi Party, in 1931 and became Hitler's personal architect. In 1943, he designed parade grounds, searchlights, and banners for the Nuremberg party congress, which were depicted in *Triumph of the Will* (Leni Riefenstahl, 1935, Germany). At the end of the war, he became the Minister of Armaments and it is can be argued that he prolonged the war for at least two years.[3] In

[1] Simon Jenkins, *'History is not a bunk, but most historians are'*, Times, 5 July, 2002.
[2] Jenkins, *'History is not a bunk, but most historians are'*
[3] Lyn Gardner, *Without Albert Speer, the war might have ended in 1943. Millions of Jews might have escaped the Final Solution. Yet some still see him as a victim*, The Guardian, 1999, [Accessed: https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/1999/mar/03/features11.g24, June, 2016]

the Nuremberg trials, he was sentenced to twenty years of imprisonment.[4] David Lowenthal claims that nostalgia is today's favourite mode of looking back because the richly elaborated past feels firmer than the present, for the present lacks the structured finality of what time has filtered and ordered.[5] The past is less disconcerting than the present because its measure has already been taken. Even horrific memories such as the Third Reich can evoke nostalgia.[6] Svetlana Boym categorises one's relationship with the past into restorative and reflective nostalgia.[7] Restorative nostalgia proposes to rebuild the lost home and to patch up the memory gaps. Reflective nostalgia dwells in longing and loss, the imperfect process of remembrance. The stronger the rhetoric of continuity with the historical past and emphasis on traditional values, the more selectively the past is presented.[8] She states that these two types of nostalgia might overlap in their frames of reference, but they do not coincide in their narratives and plots of identity.[9] I plan to demonstrate in this paper, however, that a film could incorporate restorative and reflective nostalgia at the same time. "Movies are especially vulnerable to fears of obsolescence", suggests critic A. O. Scott, because "film is so much younger than the other great art forms".[10] Nostalgia is built into the cinema, which is why attending the cinema itself has been almost from the beginning, the object of nostalgia.[11]

Inside the Third Reich

[4] Gardner, *Without Albert Speer, the war might have ended in 1943. Millions of Jews might have escaped the Final Solution. Yet some still see him as a victim.*
[5] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country-Revisited*, Cambridge University Press, 2015, 39.
[6] Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country-Revisited*, 39.
[7] Svetlana Boym., *The Future of Nostalgia*, Basic Books, 2001, 61.
[8] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 54.
[9] Boym., *The Future of Nostalgia*, 61.
[10] A. O. Scott, *'Do movies matter? Right now they feel especially perishable'*, IHT, 18 November 2011,10-11.
[11] Scott, *'Do movies matter? Right now they feel especially perishable'*, 10-11.

The first representation of Albert Speer was in the TV movie *Inside the Third Reich*. Despite the faithfulness to Hitler with which Speer is portrayed by Rutgher Hauer, he is never made to seem as ruthless and cruel as the other leading national socialists such as Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels. He is depicted as more of an opportunist. A prime example shown in this film is that he protects the anti-Nazi Professor Tessenow from the fanatical Dr. Rust. Later in the film, he confesses to his American interrogator that the only time he cried in his whole life was when he heard the news about Hitler's suicide. By showing these emotions to the audience, it could be argued that the film attempts to align the spectator with Speer and to portray him with more humanity than Goebbels or Hitler. The extermination of the Jews is only mentioned in the post-war prison scenes with Speer and the American officer. He denies all knowledge of the genocide and the Final Solution. The film also excluded the Nuremberg trials. Speer's character partially redeems himself at the end of the film, however, by working against Hitler's orders for the destruction of Germany. This low-budget production gives the basic story of Speer's involvement in the Third Reich, but leaves the spectators to decide for themselves when Speer should have valued his conscience rather than his career.[12]

Nuremberg

Whereas *Inside the Third Reich* focuses on Speer's life and career, *Nuremberg* focuses only on the Nuremberg trials. It could be argued that this docudrama turns the testimony of cruelty into a 'courtroom drama', as the mini-series offers the trial as a show.[13] The mini-series attempts to explore the moral and behavioural mysteries that gave rise to the Third

[12] Jester, *Inside the Third Reich (1982),* 2011 [Accessed http://www.jestersreviews.com/reviews/1119, April 2016]
[13] Mark Lawson, *Nuremberg, the mini-series*, The Guardian, 2001, [Accessed http://www.theguardian.com/education/2001/may/14/artsandhumanities.highereducation, April 2016].

Reich by illuminating the questions of German compliance and the very nature of evil.[14] In this production, the character of Speer, represented by Herbert Knaup, acknowledges his responsibility and cooperates with the court. He pleads guilty and accepts the consequences for his role in the Third Reich. However, the film leaves the audience to form their own opinion as to whether his guilty plea was a sign of genuine remorse or a deception to save his life. The obedient and submissive character of Speer explains to a doctor that Germans like to follow orders. The film comes to the simplistic conclusion through an American psychotherapist that evil is the absence of empathy. Journalist Rebecca West claims that before the Nuremberg trials we had no idea why they did what they did.[15] She states that after the trials no individual can pretend that these men were anything but abscesses of cruelty. However, she argues that we learned nothing about the individual psychology of these leading national socialists what we did not know before the trials.[16] The same could be said about *Nuremberg*. The spectator is shown an accurate representation of the trials, but is not enlightened about Speer's reasons behind his actions during the Third Reich.

Downfall

In contrast to *Inside the Third Reich* and *Nuremberg*, *Downfall* is the first German feature production depicting Hitler as a protagonist and also focusing on other leading national socialists.[17] In relation to Hitler's portrayal in *Downfall*, the critical discussion focused on his humanisation. Some critics such as Wim Wenders argued that it should be forbidden

[14] Julie Salamon, *TV WEEKEND; Humanized, but Not Whitewashed at Nuremberg*, The New York Times, 2000 [Accessed: http://www.nytimes.com/2000/07/14/movies/tv-weekend-humanized-but-not-whitewashed-at-nuremberg.html, April 2016].
[15]Rebecca West in Salamon, *TV WEEKEND; Humanized, but Not Whitewashed at Nuremberg.*
[16] West in Salamon, *TV WEEKEND; Humanized, but Not Whitewashed at Nuremberg.*
[17]Ian Kershaw, *The human Hitler*, The Guardian, 17 September 2004, [Accessed: http://www.theguardian.com/film/2004/sep/17/germany, April 2016].

to portray Hitler in day-to-day situations because it could lead to identification and empathizing with the perpetrators.[18] In contrast to this, Johannes von Moltke argues in his essay *Sympathy for the Devil* that the humanisation of Hitler is misleading because the audience is watching not a genuine human being but a screen character portrayed by a human actor embodying a historical figure.[19] The character of Speer in *Downfall* also reflects this confusion between the historical figure and the actor portraying him. In the film, he returns to the bunker for his farewell visit and confessional moment with Hitler. Before his final encounter with Hitler, he visits Goebbels's children and Magda Goebbels, who is sick in bed, exemplifying his human characteristics. Finally Speer accepts Eva Braun's invitation to see her before he takes leave of the Führer. By aligning a beneficent Speer with the innocence of the children, a bedridden woman and the incorrigibly naive Eva Braun, the film solicits the audience's moral allegiance with Hitler's Secretary for Armament and War production.[20] However, the audience are not watching Speer as a screen character without external context, as the actor, Heino Ferch, would have been familiar to the audience. He was known to the German audience through his roles in *The Tunnel* (Roland Suso Richter, 2001, Germany) and *Harmonists* (Joseph Vilsmaier, 1997, Germany). In *The Tunnel*, Heino Ferch portrayed the main character Harry Melchior, who digs a tunnel with the help of his friends to rescue their loved ones out of the GDR. It could be argued, therefore, that by casting Heino Ferch as Speer, the screen character of Speer becomes more sympathetic for the German audience.

[18] Wim Wenders, *Tja dan wollen wir mal,* Zeit, 21 October 2004, 3 [Accessed: *http://www.zeit.de/2004/44/Untergang_n*, April 2016].
[19] Johannes von Moltke, *Sympathy for the Devil: Cinema, History and the Politics of Emotions, New German Critique 102 , 2007,* 42 [Accessed: http://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/107467/sympathyforthedevil.pdf?sequence=1, April 2016].
[20] von Moltke, *Sympathy for the Devil: Cinema, History and the Politics of Emotions*, 27.

Sveltana Boym's concept of Nostalgia in *Speer and Hitler: The Devil's Architect*

The TV production *Speer and Hitler: The Devil's Architect* offers the spectator a detailed overview of the story of Speer's life and the Third Reich as a triptych. The first part could be labelled as a 'war movie' as it shows Speer as Hitler's governmental minister leading to his imprisonment in a Nuremberg cell. The second part focuses on the war crimes trials in Nuremberg, which can be compared to as a classic 'courtroom drama'. In this depiction, Speer successfully distances himself from the Führer's inner circle and deceives the court into believing that he was oblivious to the Genocide. The third part concentrates on Speer's twenty years of imprisonment in the manner of a 'prison drama'.[21] This TV production attempts to answer how much Speer knew about the Holocaust. However, the docudrama leaves the audience to decide if he either is a cold-hearted criminal, who witnessed the mistreatment of labourers, or a victim of circumstances that he witnessed during a visit to an armaments factory. Sebastian Koch portrays Speer sympathetically, as a reserved individual driven primarily by his architectural ambitions and then seduced by the attentions and flattery of his leader.[22] *Speer and Hitler: The Devil's Architect* shows a selective version of Speer's past. Restorative nostalgia evokes national past and future; reflective nostalgia is more about individual and cultural memory. Boym states that these two types of nostalgia might overlap in their frames of reference, but they do not coincide in their narratives and plots of identity.[23] In terms of the set-design, camera movement, acting style, and the narrative structure, the film reconstructs the Third Reich in a very authentic way and presents the

[21] German Film, *DEVIL'S ARCHITECT, THE (SPEER UND ER), Production Report, German Films* Quartely 02/2004, [Accessed: http://www.german-films.de/filmarchive/browse-archive/view/detail/film/devils-architect-the/, April 2016].
[22] Fisun Güner, *DVD: Speer and Hitler: The Devils Architect*, theartsdesk, 6 June 2011, [Accessed: http://www.theartsdesk.com/film/dvd-speer-and-hitler-devils-architect, April 2016].
[23] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 61.

film in a historical accurate style. The past for the restorative nostalgia is a value for the present; the past is not a duration but a perfect snapshot.[24] The past of the Third Reich in this film does not reveal any signs of decay and remains eternally young. It could be argued, however, that Breloer and his co-author Horst Koenigstein show Hitler and Speer in an extremely close, homoerotically charged rapport, satisfying Speer's desire for recognition as an architect and Hitler's desire for an aura of artistry.[25] It could be argued that their homoerotic attraction is depicted through Speer and Hitler's shared fantasy of the future world capital Germania.[26] The scene relies on the interaction between two different scales of proportion: on the one hand there is the human scale defined by the bodies of Speer and Hitler, which makes the architectural model of Germania seem like a giant toy; on the other, there is the monumental scale of the model itself as magnified through the filmic apparatus.[27] Alex Bangert argues that Breloer's film is problematic in presenting the homoerotic bond between Hitler and Speer as the essence of their actual relationship. While setting out to expose Speer, Breloer reinstates him as the German's favourite perpetrator, with whom they could identify. The film could be seen as reflective nostalgia, as it portrays Hitler from Speer's individual memory and focuses on how Speer is remembered in the cultural memory. The focus of reflective nostalgia is on the mediation on history and the passage of time. The past is not made in the image of the present, rather the past opens up a multitude of potentialities, non-teleological possibilities of historic development such as the implication of a homoerotic relationship between Speer and Hitler.[28] Keilbach argues that for the German audience, the linking of political approval and sexual desire in the allegorical figure of Speer implies a relief from

[24] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 61.
[25] Axel Bangert, *The Nazi Past in Contemporary German Film*, Camden House, 2014, 83.
[26] Bangert, *The Nazi Past in Contemporary German Film*, 91.
[27] Bangert, *The Nazi Past in Contemporary German Film*, 93.
[28] *Boym, The Future of Nostalgia*, 61.

historical responsibility.[29] By attributing an erotic attraction to Nazism and inviting the audience to partake in it, it could be argued that this film rehabilitates the idea that the German people were seduced. Jessen states that *Speer and Hitler: The Devil's Architect* is indicative of a broader tendency in German film to portray Nazi perpetrators and the Third Reich in general with a degree of empathy.[30]

Conclusion

'Albert Speer', wrote Hugh Trevor-Roper in the conclusion to his classic study *The Last Days of Hitler*, 'was the real criminal of the Third Reich.'[31] Not because he was a brutal murderer, like Hitler, or a vulgar anti-Semite, like Streicher, or a fanatical ideologue, like Goebbels, but because he was a sophisticated, intelligent, and civilized man who personified the willingness of educated Germans to collaborate with, work for, and do everything they could to sustain the Third Reich.[32] It could be argued that in all the filmic and televisual representations of Albert Speer, he is portrayed as a sophisticated, intelligent, and civilized man. However, some of the films develop a different conclusion in how much Speer knew about the Holocaust. *Inside the Third Reich* suggests to the spectator that Speer was oblivious about the extermination of the Jews in the Third Reich. In contrast to this, in *Nuremberg* Speer acknowledges his responsibility and accepts the consequences of his role in the Third Reich. Despite this, his character could become more sympathetic to the audience through his guilty plea, showing some form of remorse

[29]Judith Keilbach, *"'Zwei Verliebte Grüssen vom Obersalzberg': Blicke und Erinnerungen in Speer und Er (2005),"* in *NachBilder des Holocaust*, eds Inge Stephan and Alexandra Tacke, (Böhlau, 2007), 219-34 at 234.
[30]Jens Jesse, *"Im grellen Zirkus des Gedenkens," Review of Speer und Er*, Die Zeit, 23 March 2005, [Accessed: http://www.zeit.de/2005/13/Hitler, April 2016].
[31]Hugh Trevor-Roper, in *Rereading German History-From Unification to Reunification 1800-1966* by Richard J. Evans, Routledge, 1997, 199.
[32] Trevor-Roper, in *Rereading German History-From Unification to Reunification 1800-1966* by Evans, 199.

and conscience. *Downfall* aligns Speer with the innocence of children and a sick woman when he visits Hitler in the bunker. For the German audience, the casting choice in this film leads to a more empathic association with Speer. This film does not question of how much Speer knew about the Final Solution as Minister of Armaments. In the docudrama *Speer and Hitler: The Devil's Architect*, Speer is mostly portrayed as an architect and not as Minister of Armaments. In this TV production, the room in which Himmler holds the famous Posen speech and addresses Speer personally is dimly lit. The spectator can only see some of the leading national socialists as silhouettes, which leaves the question open if Speer attended this speech. Speer always insisted that he did not attend this speech and had no knowledge of the final solution. Harry Siegmund, the former personal assistant to the Gauleiter, claimed that the hall in the Imperial castle in Posen was so dimly lit that Himmler could not see that Speer was missing. However, the conference did not actually take place in the Imperial castle in Posen, but in the town hall. [33] Therefore, it is uncertain whether Speer did know about the Final Solution. In relation to Speer's filmic and televisual representation, these films come to different conclusions, some claiming that he was oblivious about the Holocaust. David Lowenthal believes that we feel sure that the past really happened, that its traces and memories reflect irrefutable scenes and acts. It could be argued that films can be seen as traces to portray the past. Through the films about Albert Speer, the audience feels secure that the past has happened. However, through the authentic mis-en-scène and the narrative structure, the past represented by these films is not questioned or analysed by the audience and taken as the truth. As this paper has shown in regards to Speer's knowledge about the Holocaust, these films either exclude the question or portray a contrary narrative to the

[33]Heinrich Schwendemann, *Spaete Enttarnung eines Lügners*, Die Zeit, 4 Mai 2005, [Accessed: http://www.zeit.de/2005/19/Speer_und_er_, April 2016].

real history. Thomas Payne advised to wash one's hands of ancestral deeds and misdeeds. He argues that no moral obligation should exist between those who have quitted the world, and those who have not arrived yet because no one should control the other to the end of time. It could be argued, however, according to a contemporary credo that 'a society will not be able to successfully pass into the future until it somehow deals with the demons from the past.'[34] Society deals with Albert Speer through the medium of cinema and television. It is essential to recognize our continuity with those in the past, who routinely said and did things that we would today regard as unthinkable.[35] A consequence of folding past into present is a growing inability to accept that bygone folk held other principles and viewpoints as the zeitgeist alters over time. If each generation is free to measure its predecessors morally, using the criteria now accepted no one will escape condemnation. To form a correct estimate for Speer's merits and crimes, we ought to place ourselves in his situation, to remove ourselves from our time and all that knowledge which he could not have access to, which the current audience has.[36]

[34]Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann and Mark Gibney, 'Introduction: apologies and the West', in *The Age of Apology*, eds Mark Gibney, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud, and Nikolas Steiner, (PennPress, 2008), 1-9 at 1.
[35] George P. Fletcher, *Romantics at War: Glory and Guilt in the Age of Terrorism*, Princeton University Press, 2002, 209.
[36] Thomas Babington Macaulay, 'Sir James Macintosh', 1835, in *Critical and Historical Essays,* London, 1903, 2, 49-114 at 68, in *The past is a foreign country-Revisited* by David Lowenthal, Cambridge University Press, 2015, 602.

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The so-called '2nd century AD crisis' of Italian productions. Reflections from the remains of wine-amphorae discovered in the 'Terme di Elagabalo' in Rome[1]

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Introduction

The interventions in the building commonly known as the 'Terme di Elagabalo' in Rome are all part of a larger project of archaeological excavations located close to the Colosseum, which includes the *Meta Sudans* and the whole of Palatine's North-Eastern slopes.[2] This building was not investigated seriously and extensively until Professor Clementina Panella decided to enlarge her excavations in 2007.[3] These interventions (2007–2013) allowed the identification of several ceramic deposits that cross over many chronological periods and are very different between the two sides of the building. In fact, towards the east the walls are better preserved and differences in height were filled with a significantly dense deposit that led to the discovery of an exceptional amount of thousands of ceramic fragments.[4]

This study analysed 40,882 fragments – corresponding to 777 amphorae – from the Middle Imperial units discovered in the eastern portion of this building.[5] Four chronological sub-periods are used here. They are named after the Emperors so as to

[1] This synthetic paper offers some preliminary data from the wider PhD thesis at The University of Southampton. Many thanks must go to Prof. S. J. Keay, Prof. C. Panella (who also revised this paper), Prof. L. Saguì, and Mrs. Valerie Sinden (who proof-read this text). References in footnotes (which had been much reduced) are shortened, thus cf. those at the end to see full entries. Dates are expressed with BC/AD convention, although other alternatives exist (cf. William R. Biers, *Art, Artefacts* (1992), 15–16). These abbreviations are used: E: = 'Terme di Elagabalo'; R: = Rome; %R = Relative percentage; %A = Absolute percentage.
[2] For the former cf. Clementina Panella, *Scavare* (2013); Matilde Cante, 'La *Meta*' (2013). For the latter cf. Clamentina Panella *et al*, 'Lo scavo' (2015).
[3] For the activities in this area before that year cf. Edoardo Radaelli, 'Un riempimento' (2013), 303.
[4] Lucia Saguì and Matilde Cante, 'Archeologia e architettura' (2015), 39.
[5] The Middle Imperial age includes the whole 2nd and the early 3rd centuries AD.

standardise nomenclatures: the Trajanic age (early 2nd century AD); the Hadrianic age (second–third decades of the 2nd century AD); the Antonine age (mid–late 2nd century AD); and the Severan age (very late 2nd/early 3rd centuries AD).

During the Hadrianic age, after having artificially raised the ground levels, a large building was constructed. All the walls are made of bricks with some *reticulatum* parts. It had at least 16 rectangular rooms elongated in the North-South direction that communicated with each other through one or two passages. All rooms are joined together by a longitudinal foundation and were paved with *opus spicatum* floors. It had entrances from the North, the South, and the East.[6] Its morphology led to interpretation of this complex as a storage building (*horreum),* although the actual function of all the rooms is not completely clear.[7]

During the Antonine age, no radical changes appear to have occurred. Only two floor restorations and the natural fillings of two sewers were found for this sub-period.

During the Severan age, the former building was completely razed to the ground and with it also part of the Palatine's substructures, thus eliminating almost everything that was related to the use of the previous complex. Ground levels were artificially raised and above the new ones were based both the building known as the 'Terme di Elagabalo' and new monumental Palatine substructures to which this complex is physically linked. This new construction consists of a two-storey building, with a central courtyard surrounded by and giving access to a series of rooms, and with another eleven rooms whose access was only from the road leading to the Forum from the Colosseum's valley. All the rooms

[6] For the description of this complex cf. Lucia Saguì and Matilde Cante, 'Archeologia e architettura' (2015), 41–46.
[7] For the morphology of *horrea* cf. Catherine Virlouvet, 'Les entrepôts' (2011) with references. One of the rooms (the second one from the East) could have been a tavern (*popina*): Edoardo Radaelli, 'Un riempimento' (2013), 322–323.

and possibly even the courtyard (which also had a basin in the middle) were paved with mosaic floors made of basaltic tesseras. Just a few fragments of these floors were found, almost completely removed by subsequent activities that altered this building and did not allow a precise identification of its function. Once again its morphology led to a generic interpretation as another *horreum.*[8]

Despite the importance of this site, it cannot be seen as isolated from the remaining part of the city, as it is part of it and surely linked to its commerce. Therefore, this study also considered several published ceramic assemblages from other excavations held in Rome that have Middle Imperial phases.[9] This gives the opportunity to briefly analyse the commerce of Italian wines in Rome (and partly in Ostia) during the chosen period of time.[10]

The '2nd century AD crisis' of Italian wine productions in literature

Since the 1970s and 1980s, many scholars have accepted a hypothesis called the '2nd century AD crisis' of Italian wine productions that seemed to find confirmation from the analysis of ceramic discoveries in Ostia and Settefinestre.[11] It derives from the smaller presence during the 2nd century AD of amphorae containing Italian wines in the whole

[8] For the description of this building cf. Lucia Saguì and Matilde Cante, 'Archeologia e architettura' (2015), 47–51.
[9] The excavations considered are *Meta Sudans*, Palatine's Northern Slopes, and *Crypta Balbi*: Giorgio Rizzo, Instrumenta (2003), 173–184; Trajan's Markets: Monica Ceci, 'Un contesto' (2006); *Forum Transitorium*: Alessandra Marucci, 'Foro Transitorio' (2006); *Domus Tiberiana*: Marie-France Meylan Krause, Domus Tiberiana (2002), 18–19; 42–43; 47–48; Santo Stefano Rotondo: Elisa Lissi Caronna and Giorgio Rizzo, 'Roma (Regio II)' (2009), especially 270–272; Via Sacchi: Antonio F. Ferrandes, 'I contenitori' (2008); Nuovo Mercato Testaccio: Fulvio Coletti and Elena G. Lorenzetti, 'Anfore orientali' (2010); *Aqua Marcia*: Vincenzo Panetta, 'Anfore' (1996); and Via Blaserna: Laura Cianfriglia and Sabina Francini, 'Via Portuense' (2008).
[10] For the descriptions of the amphorae mentioned cf. Giorgio Rizzo, 'Le anfore dell'area' (2014), 99–154.
[11] Andrea Carandini, 'L'economia' (1989), 517. This hypothesis derives from the interpretation of statements (made in 1926) by the Russian historian Mikhail Ivanovich Rostovtzeff, *The social* (1968) who however did not define a clear chronology nor used the word 'crisis' (André Tchernia, 'La crise' (2011), 352).

Mediterranean than during previous periods (when they created a somewhat hegemony, reaching large percentages of presence).[12] It therefore indicates that during this century – and especially at the end of it – Italian wines drastically decreased, so ceasing to be an object of commerce, implying that "the golden age of Antonines was, for Italy, the moment of disaster".[13] This 'crisis' has always been strictly connected to a recognised decline of villas in Italy and their model of production based on slaves, although recently this connection has been reappraised by scholars with nuances.[14] It had been ascribed also to an economic decision of favouring provincial productions, with a resulting shift in productive centres to the Provinces and a centripetal movement of goods.[15] This provincial 'competition', however, was recently interpreted as a change in trade-flows (thus not as a real rivalry), filling gaps left empty by the ceasing of other productions.[16]

New data from the 'Terme di Elagabalo' and Rome

The tables offered (fig. 1) are based on the calculated amounts of litres derived from the average given volumes and the number of vessels of the forms of wine-amphorae discovered in the 'Terme di Elagabalo' and Rome. The data cannot be considered exhaustive because it may change with future publications and discoveries that may widen the knowledge of all these sub-periods.[17] During the Trajanic age, both Italy and the 'Orient' are the predominant origins for wines in Rome with equal percentages.[18] The

[12] Dennis P. Kehoe, 'The early' (2007), 555–556; Clemenina Panella, 'Roma, il suburbio' (2011), 16–19. It was ascribed to the model of production based on slaves and the growth of villas in the whole Italian peninsula: cf. Jean-Paul Morel, 'Early Rome' (2007), 504–505.
[13] Andrea Carandini, 'La villa' (1989), 117.
[14] André Tchernia, 'La crise' (2011), 352 with references.
[15] Clementina Panella, 'Le anfore' (2001), 178–179, 188, 193 with references. During previous periods this movement was centrifugal.
[16] André Tchernia, 'La crise' (2011), 372–373.
[17] Other sites had been excavated, but their ceramic finds are still not published.
[18] From Italy: Tyrrhenian Dressel 2–4 (R:390 vessels); Dressel 6A (R:149); 'Anfora di Forlimpopoli' (R:2); 'Anfora di Spello' (R:112); *Ostia II*, 522/523 (R:35). Here the word 'Orient' refers to several areas in the eastern portion of the Mediterranean.

Hadrianic age sees a peak in quantities: wines from the 'Orient' prevail and Italian ones reach second place.[19] The Antonine age sees a first drastic decrease in all amounts, with again wines from the 'Orient' and Italy respectively in first and second places.[20] During the Severan age, a real change is visible: North-Africa heads other origins with almost half of total litres, wines from the 'Orient' reach second place, and Italian ones are almost half of those attested during the previous sub-period (fig. 1, B).[21]

[19] From Italy: Campana Dressel 2–4 (E:1); 'Late Campana Dressel 2–4 (1E+16R); Tyrrhenian Dressel 2–4 (E:1+R:1963); Camulodunum 139 (E:1); Dressel 6A (R:184); 'Anfora di Forlimpopoli' (E:1+R:13); 'Anfora di Spello' (E:3+R:82); *Ostia II*, 522/523 (E:1+R:93).

[20] From Italy: Campana Dressel 2–4 (E:1+R:9); 'Late Campana Dressel 2–4' (R:5); Tyrrhenian Dressel 2–4 (R:40); Tyrrhenian 'Late Dressel 2–4' (R:5); Camulodunum 139 (R:1); Dressel 6A (R:2); 'Anfora di Forlimpopoli' (R:5); 'Anfora di Spello' (R:175); *Ostia II*, 522/523 (R:46); *Ostia I*, 455 (R:2); Dressel 2–4 from Lipari (R:1).

[21] From Italy: Vesuvian Dressel 2–4 (E:3); Campana Dressel 2–4 (E:5); 'Late Campana Dressel 2–4' (E:15+R:1); Tyrrhenian Dressel 2–4 (E:8+R:5); Camulodunum 139 (E:3); Adriatic Dressel 2–4 (E:1); Dressel 6A (E:1+R:1); 'Anfora di Forlimpopoli' (E:2+R:2); 'Anfora di Spello' (E:26+R:7); Dressel 2–4 from the Tiber Valley (E:3+1 small); *Ostia II*, 522/523 (E:19+R:4); Italian Dressel 2–4 (R:1).

A

ROME + ELAGABALO	Trajanic age				Hadrianic age				Antonine age				Severan age			
Sub-origin	Vessels	Litres	%R	%A	Vessels	Litres	%R	%A	Vessels	Litres	%R	%A	Vessels	Litres	%R	%A
Vesuvian	0	0	0%	0%	0	0	0%	0%	8	240	4%	1.32%	3	90	4%	0.52%
Campanian	0	0	0%	0%	18	520	1%	0,3%	15	450	7%	2.31%	21	630	25%	3.25%
Tyrrhenian	390	11700	64%	23.04%	1965	58942.5	84%	25.2%	46	1372.5	23%	7.59%	16	457.5	18%	2.34%
Adriatic	151	4510	25%	9%	198	7640	11%	3.3%	7	180	3%	0.99%	7	190	8%	1.04%
Tiber Valley	112	1404	8%	2.88%	85	1445	2%	0.6%	175	2975	49%	16.17%	37	666	27%	3.51%
Sicily	35	634.2	3%	1.08%	94	1703.28	2%	0.6%	49	836.52	14%	4.62%	23	416.76	17%	2.21%
Unidentifiable	0	0	0%	0%	0	0	0%	0%	0	0	0%	0%	1	30	1%	0.13%
Totals	**688**	**18248.2**			**2360**	**70270.78**			**290**	**6081.02**			**108**	**2480.26**		

B

ROME + ELAGABALO	Italy		Gaul		Iberia		North Africa		'Orient'		Unident.	
Trajanic age	18248.2	36%	13071	25%	1297	2%	363	1%	18282.2	36%	0	0%
Hadrianic age	70270.78	30%	23342	10%	5608	2%	2733.62	1%	136404.52	57%	0	0%
Antonine age	6081.02	33%	3222	18%	233.75	1%	2075.62	11%	6671.31	37%	0	0%
Severan age	2480.26	13%	2325	12%	385	2%	9175.72	47%	4974.31	26%	0	0%

C

OSTIA	Italy		Gaul		Iberia		North Africa		'Orient'		Unident.	
Trajanic age	1854.32	31%	2546	43%	354	6%	253	4%	857.26	14%	120	2%
Hadrianic age	1716.8	30%	2112	37%	516.25	9%	254.5	4%	748.96	13%	390	7%
Antonine age	12297.12	32%	13613.75	36%	1470.25	4%	2315.5	6%	8537.72	22%	0	0%
Severan age	1161.2	26%	1449	32%	135.75	3%	561.36	12%	1142.9	25%	66	2%

Fig. 1: A = Vessels, litres, relative and absolute percentages of litres of Italian wines in Rome and in the 'Terme di Elagabalo'; B = Litres of wines and percentages in Rome and in the 'Terme di Elagabalo'; C = Litres of wines and percentages in Ostia.

Very often, the studies about trade patterns to Rome used Ostia as a comparative site for the Capital, although recently these comparisons have been under serious revision.[22] In Ostia (fig. 1, C) the situation is rather different: small amounts of litres during almost all sub-periods (except for the Antonine age) and also a few wines from unidentifiable

[22] Cf. Giorgio Rizzo, 'Roma e Ostia'(2012).

origins.[23] Gallic wines prevail during all sub-periods, although with a constant decrease. Italian wines always reach second place with percentages that are almost always the same.[24]

Conclusions

Rome was a major destination for commerce, not only of wine, which was very important for the Romans who drank much (also looking at the quantities offered here). Furthermore, second-rate wines always had a greater commercial importance than luxury ones during Roman times.[25] This is proved by an increase (from 8%R=2.88%A to 27%R=3.51%A) in low-quality/largely produced crops from the Tiber valley contained in the so-called 'Anfora di Spello', confirming what was already noticed by scholars. Despite this, with a reminiscence to older times, some high quality wines from Campania were still produced (fig. 1, A), probably contained in the 'Late Campana Dressel 2–4' amphorae and aimed at the élite.[26]

The given data partly confirms the studies about this whole period, with a drastic contraction of wines produced along the Tyrrhenian coast (from 64%R=23.04%A during the Trajanic age to 18%R=2.34%A during the Severan age), a slow change in commerce that preferred local and regional markets, and a substitution of production centres

[23] The excavations considered are: Terme del Nuotatore: Andrea Carandini, Ostia IV (1977) and Giorgio Rizzo, 'Le anfore dell'area' (2014), Periods 3b, 4, and 5; Casa delle Pareti Gialle, Taberna dell'Invidioso, Piazzale delle Corporazioni - Western Portico, and Domus dei Pesci: all summarised in Giorgio Rizzo, 'Addendum' (2014).

[24] The Trajanic age: Vesuvian Dressel 2–4 (2); Campana Dressel 2–4 (2); Tyrrhenian Dressel 2–4 (34); Dressel 6A (1); 'Anfora di Forlimpopoli' (5); 'Anfora di Spello' (25); *Ostia II*, 522/523 (11). The Hadrianic age: Vesuvian Dressel 2–4 (2); Campana Dressel 2–4 (14); 'Late Campana Dressel 2–4' (6); 'Anfora di Forlimpopoli' (1); 'Anfora di Spello' (15); *Ostia II*, 522/523 (15); Italian Dressel 2–4 (11). The Antonine age: Vesuvian Dressel 2–4 (14); Campana Dressel 2–4 (27); 'Late Campana Dressel 2–4' (4); Tyrrhenian Dressel 2–4 (46); Tyrrhenian 'Late Dressel 2–4' (13); Dressel 6A (6); 'Anfora di Forlimpopoli' (222); 'Anfora di Spello' (183); *Ostia II*, 522/523 (51). The Severan age: Vesuvian Dressel 2–4 (2); Campana Dressel 2–4 (8); 'Anfora di Forlimpopoli' (17); 'Anfora di Spello' (20); *Ostia II*, 522/523 (10); *Ostia I*, 455 (3).

[25] Andrea Carandini, 'L'economia' (1989), 506.

[26] André Tchernia, 'La crise' (2011), 369.

(Northern Etruria, *Aemilia*, Sicily, the Tiber valley, and possibly even the immediate hinterland of Rome that also produced small quantities of wine).[27] At the same time, the data also permits a slight reappraisal of the literature about the Severan age. A definite decrease can be seen, with an already visible increase of North-African containers which would dominate later.[28] Nevertheless this sub-period still sees significant quantities of Italian wine coming even from those areas which had always been considered passing through that 'crisis' (the Tyrrhenian coast and Campania, contained in Dressel 2–4 amphorae: fig. 1, A).

The amounts found during the Severan age in Rome and Ostia assess that the Italian wines, although their containers almost disappeared from the 'international markets', continued being produced at least till the early 3rd century AD to be traded to Rome and its port.[29] The data shows on one hand that the discontinuity which is usually called 'crisis' may possibly be moved to the early 3rd century rather than during the 2nd century AD. On the other hand it demonstrates that this phenomenon could be more correctly called change than 'crisis', because it was not such a catastrophe as is commonly assumed, being very nuanced and gradual.[30]

[27] For Rome's hinterland cf. Annalisa Marzano, 'Agricultural Production' (2013) with references.
[28] Clementina Panella, 'Le merci' (1986), 431–432.
[29] Fabrizio Paolucci, 'Le vie' (2010), 167.
[30] As stated by Philippe Pergola, 'Discussione' (2003), 171. This assumption tries to refine the chronology offered by Elio Lo Cascio, 'Introduzione' (2009), 16.

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Constructing heritage attractions in a former industrial landscape

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Introduction

Construction and decay have formed a significant part of the story of Ironbridge Gorge, where it is possible to see decay and construction as a cycle, with things abandoned coming back into significance and being reconstructed to fit their new status. This idea is explored through an examination of the construction of heritage at Ironbridge Gorge, which is a World Heritage Site in Shropshire, UK. Here the remains of an industrial landscape, formerly renowned as a great marvel of innovation and genius have become a place known for its heritage significance. The historical features of the Gorge have suffered from both physical decay and loss of meaning and significance over time, only to see new meanings and values emerging through the processes of heritage production and interpretation. The development of the site as a heritage attraction, through physical reconstruction and interpretation, illustrate the way in which the remains of the past can be used in the construction of new narratives and meanings in the present day. This article uses the two case studies of the Sabbath Walks in Coalbrookdale and the Iron Bridge in Ironbridge to review how meaning and significance has changed over time and the ways in which this has been brought about.

Ironbridge Gorge

Ironbridge Gorge is the name given today to a deep gorge formed by the River Severn as it runs through Shropshire in the west of England. The area includes a number of small settlements, principally Ironbridge, located on the northern banks of the river, and Coalbrookdale which is located further up the northern side of the Gorge. In

administrative terms Ironbridge Gorge is a civil parish in the Borough of Telford and Wrekin. The name Ironbridge is not of particularly great antiquity; formerly much of the area was called Coalbrookdale, the name now used for only one part of the Gorge.[1] The wealth of natural resources, such as coal, clay, ironstone, limestone, water, woodland and the gravitational potential from the steep hillsides, meant that it became a focus for the early development of large scale industry in the 18th century.[2] Ironbridge Gorge played a significant role in the development of the Industrial Revolution in Britain as the location where coke was first used to smelt iron, allowing cheap mass production of the metal so essential for industrial development.[3] At the end of the 18th century what was thought to be the world's first iron bridge was constructed; a widely publicised engineering project which came to symbolise the entrepreneurial optimism of the late 18th century.[4] Following the decline of the iron industry pottery grew in importance in the area, with growth in china, tile and clay pipe manufacture.[5] In the first half of the 20th century the Ironbridge Gorge saw serious decline, exacerbated by the extreme physical instability of the valley, which had seen such extensive mining and quarrying, followed by the dumping of huge amounts of ceramic and other industrial waste.[6] J.E.Auden, on visiting the area in 1912, described it as 'an uninteresting and somewhat squalid town.'[7] With the development of industrial archaeology in the second part of last century Ironbridge was

1 John Powell, *Ironbridge Gorge: Through Time,* (Stroud: Amberely Publishing).
2 Richard Hayman and Wendy Horton, *Ironbridge. History and Guide* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2009). Judith Alfrey and Catherine Clark, *The Landscape of Industry. Patterns of Change in the Ironbridge Gorge,* (Routledge: London, 1993).
3 Alfrey and Clark, *The Landscape of Industry*.
4 Neil Cossons and Barrie Trinder, *The Iron Bridge. Symbol of the Industrial Revolution*, (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 2002, 2nd edition).
5 Hayman and Horton, *Ironbridge.*
6 Powell, *Ironbridge Gorge*
Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge*.
7 J.E.Auden, *Shropshire,* (1912), 138, quoted in Barrie Trinder (ed), *"The Most Extraordinary District in the World" Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale",* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1988, 2nd edition), 10.

'rediscovered' as a place of international significance.[8] The Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust (IGMT) was established in 1967 and has since then substantially expanded, acquiring more buildings and now operating ten museums.[9] In the 1970s IGMT received a number of accolades, including the Museum of the Year Award in 1977 and the European Museum of the Year Award the following year, reflecting the rapid growth in recognition of the museum, and Ironbridge as a whole.[10] The fast rising status of Ironbridge as a place of international significance is perhaps best illustrated by its designation as one of the UK's first World Heritage Sites in 1986.[11] World Heritage status is a designation given by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee to sites nominated by States Parties to the 1972 World Heritage Convention. It indicates that a place has been assessed as having 'outstanding universal value' that transcends the local and the national to be of worth to all humankind.[12] The official UNESCO description of the significance of the site identifies two elements as being particularly significant: the early 18th century blast furnace at Coalbrookdale and the Iron Bridge.

The Sabbath Walks

The Sabbath Walks are a walking trail laid out by the Severn Gorge Countryside Trust.[13] The walking trail is inspired by the walks laid out in the 1780s by Quaker industrialist

8 Catherine Beale, *The Ironbridge Spirit. A History of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust,* (Ironbridge: Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, 2014).
9 Beale, *The Ironbridge Spirit*.
10 Stuart B. Smith, 'The Next Thirty Years', in *Dynasty of the Iron Founders: The Darbys of Coalbrookdale,* 2nd ed, Arthur Raistrick (York: Sessions Book Trust, 1989), 272-291.
11 UNESCO World Heritage Committee, 'World Heritage Committee Tenth Session (Unesco Headquarters, 24-28 November 1986). Report of the Rapporteur', 1986 [Accessed: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1986/cc-86-conf003-10e.pdf 17April 2016].
12 UNESCO, *Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage* (UNESCO: Paris, November 1972).
Jean Musitelli, 'World Heritage, between Universalism and Globalization', *International Journal of Cultural Property* 11:2 (January 2002), 323-336.
13 Severn Gorge Countryside Trust, 'The Sabbath Walks Trail', no date [Accessed: http://www.severngorge.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/SGCT-Sabbath-Walk-Leaflet-final-v3.pdf 5 April 2016].

and philanthropist Richard Reynolds.[14] This makes the trail an interesting subject for consideration of how heritage acts as a constructive force, as the form of heritage interpretation, a walking trail, is itself very similar in appearance to the historic walks which are being interpreted, blurring the potential visitor awareness of what is original and what is interpretation. The historic walks were inspired by the landscaped gardens that Reynolds had visited around the country, particularly those at Enville Hall in Staffordshire and Goldney House in Bristol.[15] This is evidenced in the nature of the walks, the selection and arrangement of plants and the construction of ornamental seating along the route. Reynolds levelled and widened existing paths in the woodlands, planted new trees, and had rustic seats, a Rotunda and a Doric Temple constructed.[16] Unlike the landscaped parks that inspired them, the experience of Reynolds' walks would have been greatly affected by the level of noise and smoke produced from the works in the valley below.

The significance of the walks goes beyond being merely a contribution to late 18th century landscape design. As noted in the trail leaflet, the laying out of a landscape park for the explicit use of the public was quite extraordinary at the time.[17] In the late 18th century this sort of arrangement was found in the private grounds of the wealthy, and it was not until the following century that the concept of public parks was developed.[18] The

14 Hayman and Horton, *Ironbridge*.
Trinder, Barie (ed), *"The Most Extraordinary District in the World" Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale",* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1988, 2nd edition).
15 The Severn Gorge Countryside Trust, 'Sabbath Walks'
Historic England, 'Goldney House'', no date [Accessed: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000444 21 May 2016].
Historic England, *Enville,* no date [Accessed: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000114 21 May 2016].
16 The Severn Gorge Countryside Trust, 'Sabbath Walks'
17 The Severn Gorge Countryside Trust, 'Sabbath Walks'
18 S. Martin Gaskell, 'Gardens for the working class: Victorian practical pleasure', *Victorian Studies* 23:4 (Summer 1980), 478-501.

inclusion of this information in the trail guide indicates a concern with communicating the historical significance of the walks and with providing insights into their social context. This emphasises the importance of the heritage of the Gorge in the way in which it is communicated to visitors; there is no separation between the dissemination of information about attractive walks within the woodlands of the Gorge and the need to communicate the time-depth of such practices.

The walks were known as 'Workmen's Walks' in the 18th century with the term 'Sabbath Walks' coined at a later date.[19] It is reported widely that Reynolds was concerned about the moral stature of his workers, and wanted to encourage wholesome pursuits during their leisure time and foster temperance in his workforce.[20] The perceived problems of alcohol consumption among the workforce was remarked upon at the time by the Archdeacon of Ludlow, Joseph Plymley, who commented while writing of the relatively high wages of ironworkers that 'there are 24 alehouses and [this] additional pay is most spent at these places.'[21] However, whilst there is evidence that temperance was a concern in the area there is some debate about whether Richard Reynolds was primarily motivated by concerns for his employees' pastimes, or whether economic reasons may have been more significant. The term 'Sabbath Walks' was used by a local historian in the latter part of the 19th century and it carries with it heavier moral tones than the 'Workmen's walks' used at the time. It is known that the walks were also enjoyed by wealthy visitors to Coalbrookdale and it has been suggested that Reynolds, known to have

[19] The Ironbridge Institute, 'The Sabbath Walks. Draft Conservation Plan for Consultation', 1999 [Accessed: http://www.severngorge.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/The-Sabbath-Walks-Draft-Conservation-Plan-Ironbridge-Institute-Nov-1999.pdf 22 May 2016].
20 Hayman and Horton, *Ironbridge.*
Trinder, *"The Most Extraordinary District",* 6.
21 Joseph Plymley, *A General View of the Agriculture of Shropshire,* quoted in Trinder, *"The Most Extraordinary District"* , 45.

been a shrewd businessman, may have been driven more by marketing than by pure public spiritedness. The walks, it can be noted, provide excellent views of the Iron Bridge which was newly constructed at the time and of which Reynolds became a key shareholder. [22] The use of the 'Sabbath' rather than 'Workmen's' walks in the presentation of the modern walking trail may have simply been a choice reflecting the survival of the name into the present day, but regardless does form part of a representation of the walks which evokes associations with wholesome pursuits and respect for the benevolent paternalism of the 18th century industrialists of the Gorge. Much as the historic walks were physically removed above the noise and pollution of the valley below, the interpretation of the reconstructed walks lends itself to a conceptualisation of the Gorge which is perhaps closer to its quiet, even bucolic, present day reality than the experience of it in the 18th and 19th century. The walks have seen many layers of meaning-making since their establishment. Historical documents show that they were a celebration of naturalistic aesthetics and liberal social ideas at their inception, and were later overlaid with Victorian moral values. Today the presentation of their history to the public forms a new layer of meaning rather than necessarily an exact representation of what they were. They embody the construction of ideas as well as physical paths and these ideas have been reworked and altered over time.

The walks illustrate the ways that meaning is created in the Gorge as a modern heritage site, but they also act as an illustration for the role of decay in the cycle of construction and reconstruction so intrinsic to historic places. The original walks were relatively short lived with the Rotunda demolished in 1804, possibly as a result of subsidence from the

22 The Ironbridge Institute, 'The Sabbath Walks'.

lime works nearby.[23] Their physical decay is reflected in the loss of memory regarding them, although this was not total. As mentioned, they formed part of later 19th century local history accounts. In the last twenty years efforts have been made to conserve the walks and make them accessible to the public once more.[24] As part of this project memory workshops were carried out with the local community, showing that elements of the history of the walks remained in local knowledge, with place names such as 'the Rotunda' surviving nearly two centuries after its demolition.[25] While the modern footpaths are based on historical research, the exact routes of the originals are not known.[26] The walking trail follows a circular route running from the car park in Dale End, located to the western end of Ironbridge at the southern end of Coalbrookdale valley.[27] The leaflet instructs the walker to follow finger posts and way markers to numbered locations where information is provided either from the leaflet itself or interpretation boards. These locations have a narrative thread that links to historical information provided at the start of the leaflet and includes information about the extraction of limestone, clay and coal, as well as the flora and fauna in the woodland. There are signboards at the former location of the Rotunda, the Doric Temple and Hannah's Cottage, all originally built by Reynolds.

The walk itself is a mixture of public roads, wooden steps and unsurfaced paths through the woodland. The signboards are attractive and illustrated with pastel-coloured watercolours bringing to mind an idyllic Sunday afternoon in mid-summer, a far cry from de Loutherbourg's famous oil painting 'Coalbrookdale by Night', which is all flame and

23 Hayman and Horton, *Ironbridge*.
24 'Woodland Walks in Spotlight' *Shropshire Star* (Shropshire, 27 April 1999).
25 The Ironbridge Institute, 'The Sabbath Walks'.
26 The Ironbridge Institute, 'The Sabbath Walks'.
27 The Severn Gorge Countryside Trust, 'Sabbath Walks'.

darkness.[28] This is an interesting contrast to elsewhere in the Gorge, where industrial imagery is widely used on interpretation boards. The treatment of physical ruins on the Sabbath Walks is intriguing. It is somewhat dismaying to realise that the Doric Temple and Rotunda shown on the trail map are no longer present. The sign boards act to construct a new place, where place had been lost with the decay of the structures. There are, however, physical remains of the Rotunda surviving, although they are not identified by the map (Figure 1). Similarly, a modern wooden seat has been built about 20m from the 'Alcove Seat' a brick structure which was one of the structures associated with the original Sabbath Walks.[29] The Sabbath Walks are designed to feel peaceful, a place of quiet leisure, with reconstruction through illustration and landscaping rather than the physical remains of ruins the primary means of interpretation. The loss of the original walks through the decay of time is not central to the narrative being conveyed.

Figure 1: Surviving fabric of the Rotunda (photo: Coralie Acheson, 2016)

28 Phillip James de Loutherbourg, *Coalbrookdale by Night,* 1801, Oil Painting.
29 The Ironbridge Institute, 'The Sabbath Walks'.

The Iron Bridge

The Iron Bridge opened in 1779 and spans the River Severn next to the small town to which it gave its name. It is currently under the guardianship of English Heritage, in contrast to the majority of the historic sites within the Gorge which are managed by IGMT. [30] The bridge was designed by the Shrewsbury architect Thomas Farnolls Pritchard, and was paid for by a group of local businessmen, including Abraham Darby III, who bore the brunt of the financial cost and is considered to have been the driving force behind pushing forward the construction.[31] The inscription on the bridge states that the iron was cast in Coalbrookdale, although whether this means the Coalbrookdale blast furnaces specifically or more generally within the Severn Gorge is not clear.[32] Either way the bridge was a powerful advert for the ironmasters of the area who already had an international reputation for innovation.[33] At the time it was believed to be the world's first iron bridge and it inspired numerous others, representing a major moment in engineering history.[34] From its construction the Iron Bridge was considered something to marvel at. Artists were purposely hired by Darby to promote the bridge through their work, and visitors to the Gorge, which already drew visitors interested in ironworking, never failed to comment on it.[35] The bridge was constructed not only as a physical and necessary means of crossing a river but as an idea, and effectively also as an early tourist attraction. Carlo Castone della Torre di Remzionico Comasco, an Italian aristocrat wrote this of a visit to the Gorge in 1787:

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[30] Beale, *The Ironbridge Spirit*.
31 Hayman and Horton, *Ironbridge.*
Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge*.
32 Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge*.
33 Trinder, *"The Most Extraordinary District"*
34 Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge*.
35 Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge*.

> 'In the midst of this gloom I descended towards the Severn, which runs slowly between two high mountains, and after leaving which passes under a bridge constructed entirely or iron. It appeared as a gate of mystery and, night already falling, added to the impressiveness of the scene, which could only be compared to the regions so powerfully described by Virgil.'[36]

Today the bridge has acquired an iconic status, frequently chosen as the image used to represent the entirety of the Gorge and the wider region, as well as being a symbol of the Industrial Revolution.[37] The image of the bridge is found on souvenirs, signs, postcards, street furniture and logos throughout the area. Even before leaving the motorway, drivers are shown a simplified line drawing of the bridge on signs. The influence of the bridge can be seen more subtly as well, with motifs from the bridge design replicated in iron work within the village, such as the stylised flower from the center of the bridge which is seen recreated in the iron gate of a local business in the village. Local businesses frequently reference the bridge in their names, such as Bridge View B&B and Darby's 1779 Café.

Unlike the Sabbath Walks the bridge never fell out of sight and memory, and remained popular with visitors to the Gorge even through the decline of the area's significance in the late 19th century.[38] In the early 20th century some visitors were more ambivalent, with one writer expressing a preference for the bridge to be pulled down and replaced with one of stone.[39] Others found it a vehicle for nostalgia, with a visitor, remembering a visit in the 1940s, commenting that:

> 'I needed no recital of historical facts to tell me that it was here that it [the Industrial Revolution] had all begun. I could feel it on my pulses; and, if I needed

36 Carlo Castone della Torre di Remzionico Comasco, *Viaggio in Einhilterrra di Carlo Castone della Torre di Renzionico Comasco,* (Venice, 1824), quoted in Trinder, *"The Most Extraordinary District",* 41.
37 Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge*, 46.
38 Trinder, *"The Most Extraordinary District"*
39 Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge*, 46.

> any reminder, the great black semi-circle of Darby's iron bridge, springing over the Severn, spoke to me more eloquently than any history book.'[40]

Over time, the meaning and significance of the Iron Bridge has shifted, albeit in a more subtle way than the Sabbath Walks. At the end of the 18th century, the bridge was truly awe inspiring. Today its significance is drawn from the fact that it was once so significant. It is aesthetically pleasing, but there are undoubtedly more attractive, and certainly bigger and more awe awakening bridges. While at the time of its construction the bridge was heralded as the first iron bridge even this attribution of 'world first' is now known to be factually inaccurate, as an ornamental garden bridge of iron was constructed at Kirklees Hall in Yorkshire in 1769.[41] The Statement of Outstanding Universal Value that justifies the bridge's World Heritage designation says that the bridge and the Coalbrookdale blast furnace are masterpieces 'of man's creative genius' and comments on how they influenced the development of architectural and engineering techniques.[42] This meaning attached to the Iron Bridge has been constructed through an ongoing narrative used in tourism promotion, and by key events associated with it. In 1979, Ironbridge Gorge was growing in significance as a tourism destination and knowledge of its historical importance was being spread widely. The year was the bicentenary of the opening of the Iron Bridge. In the years preceding there had been an exhibition in the Houses of Parliament called 'Two Hundred Years Ago This Week', which commemorated the role of Parliament in granting permission for the Bridge to be built. This exhibition was then displayed at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, taking the promotion of the Bridge and the Gorge to an international audience.[43] Celebrations in the Gorge

40 L.T.C.Rolt, *Landscape with Canals* (1977), quoted in Trinder, *"The Most Extraordinary District",* 129.
41 Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge.*
42 UNESCO, 'Ironbridge Gorge', no date [Accessed: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/371 25 May 2016].
43 Beale, *The Ironbridge Spirit.*

were given material form through the unveiling of two plaques on the side of the bridge, one unveiled by the Prince of Wales. The other identifies the Bridge as an International Historic Civil Engineering Landmark. Another crucial moment was the designation of World Heritage Status in 1986 and the bridge's central position both physically and symbolically meant that it formed a focus for the celebrations. The World Heritage logo is displayed on a plaque fixed to the bridge, unveiled in May 1987 by the Minister for the Environment at the time, William Waldegrave.[44] More recent events have included the lighting up of the Bridge as part of the Cultural Olympiad in 2012.[45]

While the bridge remains standing, it has also suffered decay physically as well as in terms of its significance. Even in 1784, when it was only a few years old, there are reports of cracks in the bridge, probably in the stone land arch, resulting from the instability of the riverbanks.[46] This led to numerous repairs needing to be carried out in the last two centuries, including substantial work in the 1790s and 1820s.[47] Between 1972 and 1975 an underwater concrete strut was constructed to stabilise the bridge.[48] In 2017 further work will be carried out as part of a major conservation project by English Heritage, the custodians of the bridge.[49] With each further project to conserve the bridge its significance is reiterated and reconstructed, just as the physical structure is being repaired and supported. The practice of conservation is an act of valorization; it demonstrates that a thing is worthy of consideration and preservation, implying that if it is not protected something of worth would be permanently lost. Rather than simply

44 Beale, *The Ironbridge Spirit.*
45 Beale, *The Ironbridge Spirit.*
46 Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge.*
47 Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge.*
48 Cossons and Trinder, *The Iron Bridge.*
49 English Heritage, 'Future Secure for Industrial Icon', 2016 [Accessed: http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/search-news/iron-bridge-conservation-announced 25 May 2016].

affirming existing value, this process is part of how heritage value is actively created.[50] Conservation work on the bridge has featured in local, national and even international press coverage.[51] This illustrates the significance of this in the communication of the importance of the bridge by those involved in its preservation and interpretation.

Conclusion

In the introduction, I stated that it is possible to see decay and construction as a cycle, with things abandoned coming back into significance and being reconstructed to fit their new status. In a heritage context, however, where physical reconstructions or conservation are commonplace, it is important to remember that reconstruction never actually restores things to what they were originally, it is a creative activity which constructs a new thing in the image of what was there before. This image of the past is itself something constructed in the present, layered with current values and meanings. The two case studies have explored the ways in which physical decay and construction have both reflected the meanings and significance of Ironbridge Gorge, and been intrinsic to its creation, transmission and maintenance. The Sabbath Walks are an illustration of how a landscape crafted into woodland walks in the 18th century has become part of how the narratives of the industries of the Gorge and the wealthy men who drove its development are interpreted and displayed to the public. The establishment of the new footpaths and their historical references and interpretation boards recreates a sense of place in locations where original fabric has been lost to time and demolition. It seems strange that the walks seem to actively avoid identifying the decayed, physical remains

[50] Laurajane Smith, *The Uses of Heritage* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 3.
[51] Examples include: 'Bridge comes to rest', *Daily Telegraph* (London, 10 January 1973); 'Lure of Satanic Mills', *The Star* (Johannesburg, December 1973); 'Iron Bridge in summer cover up for big facelift', *Shropshire Star* (Shropshire, 22 May 1999).

of the original structures, but this reflects the way that heritage construction is the active construction of something entirely new which references but cannot recreate the past. The Iron Bridge is more complex because it has physically endured although only with the substantial conservation efforts that have maintained it. In many ways its meaning and significance appear largely unchanged. It was significant to late 18th century visitors as a marvel of engineering and for its aesthetic qualities. Visitors today are presented with this same narrative, but this is supplemented by its global significance of having been so important in the past. Perhaps heritage should be seen more like a spiral than a circular cycle; frequently going through the familiar motions of construction and decay, but in each return through the sequence expressing itself in a new way to reflect the preoccupations and concerns of that moment in time.

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A Brief Scope on the Algerian Cultural and Linguistic Diversity: From the Past to the Present

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Introduction

Richness of cultures, languages and dialects is noticeable in almost every country in the world. Some countries allow this diversity to co-exist, while for others it creates interior conflicts. Some countries believe that a land cannot embrace many cultures and languages and still ensure unity and homogeneity; instead, they select one culture to be dominant all over the country and standardise a local language or officialise a foreign language in order to avoid the discrimination of other local languages. This paper tracks how Algeria has coped and dealt with its multicultural and multilingual identity over history. Additionally, it sheds light on some historical events, and on how policy-makers have promoted or silenced the existent languages and cultures.

Historical Overview

Originally, Algeria's native inhabitants are *Berbers* or *Imazighen*, which literally means the 'free Man'.[1] Their first language is *Tamazight* and their culture is referred to as *Berber*. Algeria shares this Berber identity as well as an extensive historical background with the surrounding countries. Algeria, Morocco, the Western Sahara, Mauritania, Libya, and Tunisia form the Maghreb; this appellation is brought from Arabic, and it literally means 'sunset' or the 'western part of the Arab world'.[2] There have been many settlers and invaders who contributed to the richness of the actual linguistic and cultural situation in Algeria, and who had changed the country in a way or another; these invaders

[1] Ambroise Queffélec, et *al. Le français en Algérie : lexique et dynamique des langues* (Bruxelles : Duculot, 2002), 31.
[2] Ahmed Moatassime, 'Cultural Pluralism and Education in the Maghreb', in *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Education*, eds, Zaghloul Morsy (UNESCO Publishing, 1992).

can be grouped under two categories. The first represents those whose settlement was not focused on depriving Algerian people from their identity, such as the Romans. The second, on the other hand, adopted the acculturation policy and aimed at making Algeria part of its territory, like France.

Romans were one of the occupiers who marked the history of North Africa. The Roman Empire ruled the North African countries for about five centuries.[3] The Latin language was not imposed to the occupied land; however, their culture and architecture were the striking imprints left behind them. Additionally, due to the social interactions, economic exchange and political unity, most of the native inhabitants were Christianised. The Vandals, who came just after Romans, did not exert a remarkable change either on the cultural or linguistic situation. Later, the expansion of The Arab-Islamic world reached North Africa in the Eighth century.[4] These conquerors had faced difficulties in communicating with Berbers. Therefore, adding to their preliminary and principal mission that is spreading Islam, they *Arabised* the inhabitants. This conquest could be considered as the turning point in the Algerian identity, as it transformed Algeria in to an Arab-Muslim country. Arabic language and Islamic culture have become the first language for communication and the culture, respectively, in almost all over the regions except for some parts that could preserve the Tamazight language and Berber culture from change.

In the 16th century, Algeria joined the Ottoman Empire territory. There was no direct contact with Ottomans because their presence in Algeria was represented by a small

[3] Farid Aitsiselmi, Dawn Marley, 'The role and status of the French language in North Africa', in *Studies in French Applied Linguistics*, eds. Dalila Ayoun [Language Learning & Language Teaching, 21] Benjamins Publishing Company. 2008. xiii. 188.
[4] Moha Ennaji, *Multiculturalism, Cultural Identity, and Education in Morocco* (New York: Springer, 2005), 9.

Turkish population.[5] That is to say, only a few rulers' families settled and were principally based in big cities, namely Algiers, Constantine and Tlemcen. The French colonisation ended the governance of the Ottoman Empire, and Algeria became a French colony in July, 1830. None of the aforementioned colonisers had applied an acculturation policy except the French, whose aim was to make Algeria a French land "*L'Algérie française*". To achieve this objective, they adopted all the possible policies to deprive Algerians from their Berber, Arab, and Islamic identity.

The French colonisers heavily relied on education "in order to produce a man free from culture, easy to manipulate."[6] People's resistance to these policies can be identified through their refusal of sending their children to schools where French was the dominant language and the Islamic roots were eradicated, and setting out alternatives for teaching Arabic and Islamic principles such as ensuring education in mosques and Koranic schools.**Error! Bookmark not defined.** To succeed in its endeavour, the French colony needed to assert a bridge of communication between militaries and civils. It allowed, as a result, for some schools to be bilingual (use French and Arabic languages). Despite all the efforts to stand against the acculturation policy and protect the Algerian people from Francisation, by 1954, only 3% of the population could read the Classical Arabic.[7]

After getting its independence in 1962, Algeria managed to maintain some of its ancestors' cultures and languages, such as the Berber culture and language (Tamazight). Despite the fact that the native inhabitants' cultures and languages were being used in

[5] Farid Aitsiselmi, Dawn Marley, 'The role and status of the French language in North Africa', in *Studies in French Applied Linguistics*, eds. Dalila Ayoun [Language Learning & Language Teaching, 21] Benjamins Publishing Company. 2008. xiii. 191.
[6] Malika Rebai Maamri, 'The Syndrome of the French Language in Algeria', International Journal of Arts and Sciences 3:3 (2009).
[7] Mohamed Benrabah, *Langue et pouvoir en Algérie : Histoire d'un traumatisme linguistique* (Paris : Séguier, 1999), 59.

some parts of the country as a first language, the post-independence government did not promote and acknowledge their significance in the Algerian identity and history. Arabic, which was the dominant language, lost its importance and authenticity. It was not used without being mixed with French and some of the Berber vocabulary.

The French language, in the same era, was prioritised in almost all the domains and even in some social interactions. Therefore, Tamazight with its dialects, Arabic with its varieties, and French existed together in the Algerian society after independence.[8] The use of the Standard/Classical Arabic in everyday-life was not as remarkable as the dialectal variety, which shows to a certain extent the richness of cultures and languages, as it comprises words and expressions from Classical and/or Standard Arabic, French and other derived from the Tamazight language and Turkish. This pluralism worried the nationalists whose belief was that the unity of a nation cannot be assured unless one dominant national language and culture is asserted. To make this objective achievable, they had put forward some language policies and to preserve the Arab-Islamic identity. However, they could not change or contribute to the linguistic situation without overcoming the major obstacle that is illiteracy, which reached 90%.

Language Policies

After independence, France was seen as Algeria's enemy because of the violence, torture, genocides, and massacres committed by the settlers throughout 132 years of colonisation, and 1.5 million martyrs who sacrificed their lives in the eight-year revolution. This contributed to the country's general perception that the French language should be regarded as the language of the enemy and should not be given any status in

[8] Mohamed Benrabah, *Langue et pouvoir en Algérie : Histoire d'un traumatisme linguistique* (Paris : Séguier, 1999), 70.

the independent Algeria. Decision-makers tried out different language policies in order to control language use and status in society and all domains, mainly in education. These policies, which can clearly be seen to be of a political nature, since they have been taken by politicians[9] namely the FLN[10] leaders in the 1960s, often contradict and oscillate between making Arabic superior to French or vice versa. Besides, the plan to eradicate illiteracy was to ensure free and obligatory education for all Algerians.[11] Researchers claim that the status of languages in education is related to the economic and also political trends that have been adopted and seen changes over time.[12]

The situation after independence reflects a cultural and linguistic pluralingualism.[13] Classical Arabic and French were used in formal contexts, whereas Tamazight and Dialectal Arabic were used in social communication. Intellectuals did not agree on what language should be officialised and nationalised. Moreover, being "arabists" or "francists" created a conflict between them. Policy-makers who wanted to assert a unique national identity were divided between "language", "culture", and the "linguistic policy".[14] Since the language policy to be applied in this era was almost decided to be Arabisation, Classical Arabic (and then becomes Modern Standard Arabic) was declared a national language by the president Ahmed Ben Bella in 1963.[15] The choice of Arabic was justified

[9] Ambroise Queffélec, et *al. Le français en Algérie : lexique et dynamique des langues* (Bruxelles : Duculot, 2002)
[10] **FLN (Front de Libération Nationale)** is a political party in Algeria.
[11] Fouzi Bellalem, 'Political History of Foreign Language Teaching in Algeria', Working Papers (2012): 1.
[12] Mohamed Benrabah, Langue et pouvoir en Algérie : Histoire d'un traumatisme linguistique (Paris : Séguier, 1999).
[13] Malika Sabri, 'Imaginaire linguistique des locuteurs kabylophones.' (Doctoral Dissertation: University of Mouloud Mammeri-Tizi-Ouzou, 2014).
[14] Ambroise Queffélec, et *al. Le français en Algérie : lexique et dynamique des langues* (Bruxelles : Duculot, 2002), 49.
[15] Mohamed Benrabah. 70-80.

on the basis that Algeria is a Muslim country and Arabic is the language of the Holy Coran, in particular, and Islam, in general.[16]

Many challenges confronted the Arabisation policy especially in the domain of education. Besides illiteracy, the number of the educated Algerians was not sufficient to reach the goal of ensuring education for every Algerian over 6 years old. In addition to this, most of the Algerian available competencies were francophone; in other words, they did not master Standard Arabic. No more than 300,000 out of 10 million Algerians were "literate in Algerian Literary Arabic".[17] The government did not give up its asserted objectives and started recruiting teachers from Egypt and the Middle East to promote the Arab-Islamic culture in the Algerian society and meet the needs of schools. Most of the thousand Egyptian teachers recruited, however, were unqualified and not aware of the Algerian social life.[18] In other words, they expected or rather believed that the Algerian culture was similar to theirs, which led to misunderstandings and even a disrespect of social rules, and a discomfort of the learners whose society and teachers do not share more or less the same values and rules.

In this period, the languages were not officially equal, or at least there was a concrete mismatch between their official and actual societal status. Standard Arabic was the dominant and first language in education and administration. French was considered the first foreign language and children started learning it from the fourth year of primary school. English was treated as a second foreign language and it was added to the curriculum from eighth year of fundamental school. Algerian Dialectal Arabic and

[16] Ahmed Moatassime, *Arabisation et language française au Maghreb* (Paris : Presses universitaires, 1992).
[17] David C. Gordon, *The French Language and National Identity* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978), 151.
[18] Mohamed Benrabah, 'Language in Education Planning in Algeria: Historical Development and Current Issues'. Language Policy 6 (Springer, 2007): 230.

Tamazight were marginalised. Despite the fact that they represent the mother tongue and the first language of Algerian people, their role could not cross the frontiers of academic and administrative contexts, and stayed limited to informal interactions.

Two striking events that turned into violent riots have been referred to as "a turning point in Algerian political life".[19] The first was in 1980 when Berber people especially those living in Kabylia (near the capital Algiers) stood against the Arabisation policy and called for the recognition of Tamazight as a national language. The second, which was in 1988, erupted in Algiers and the main cities. The manifestations sought to support democracy. Despite the different claims of these riots, they opened the gate for the Islamists to rule the country and led to the bloody Black Decade.[20] The Algerian society paid the cost of the political failures in setting out democratic pillars as it was found to be full of contradictions, to state some: "Islamist/secularist, arabophone/francophone … Berber/Arab".[21] By 1993, English had been given the status of 'first foreign language' as pupils/parents, in their fourth level of the Primary school, could choose to either of the two foreign languages: French or English. In practice, most parents preferred French to English.[22]

The situation could be depicted as chaotic when considering languages, including local and foreign as well as cultures. The government, therefore, decided to revise all the sectors with greater emphasis on education that benefited from a reform in 2000. The reform principally consisted of updating the educational system: curricula, textbooks, use

[19] Farid Aitsiselmi, Dawn Marley, 'The role and status of the French language in North Africa', in *Studies in French Applied Linguistics*, eds. Dalila Ayoun [Language Learning & Language Teaching, 21] Benjamins Publishing Company. 2008. xiii. 190.
[20] Claire Heristchi, 'The Islamists Discourse of the FIS and the Democratic Experiment of Algeria', Democratization 11:4(2004).
[21] Phillip Chiviges Naylor, *France and Algeria: History of Decolonisation and Transformation* (Gainesville, Fl: University Press of Florida, 2000).
[22] Ambroise Queffélec, et *al. Le français en Algérie : lexique et dynamique des langues* (Bruxelles : Duculot, 2002), 37.

of IT…etc. One of its targeted aims was to boost the status of foreign languages.[23] Twelve years of education were divided between primary, middle and secondary levels; Standard Arabic took the lion's share as it accompanied the learners from their first year of primary school to their final year in secondary school as the first language of literacy. The first foreign language is French as it is taught for 10 years, English, which is the second foreign language, is present in 7 years of education. Other languages, such as Spanish, German, and Italian, were taught only as 'foreign languages'. In the same stream, Tamazight was also treated as a foreign language with neither major nor minor differences, though it is not affordable all over the Algerian territory because of the unavailability of teachers in regions other than Berber ones.[24]

Languages in Higher Education

In higher education, and despite the Arabisation policy, French was prioritised and seen as the language of modernity and westernisation. It has also been considered as the language of science and technology.[25] The role of Arabic, on the other hand, did not cross the lines of human and social science.[26] English was taught as a foreign language with a session a week in other subjects outside the English Language and Letters department. Tamazight had roughly no role to play in this system, apart from having a department in few universities.[27] Algerian dialect was excluded from formal and academic contexts.

[23] Mohamed-Amine Chemami, 'Discussing plurilingualism in Algeria: the status of French and English languages through the educational policy', International Journal of arts & Sciences 4:18(2009): 230.
[24] Oxford Business Group, *The Report: Algeria 2013*.
[25] Belkacem Boumedini, 'La Variation linguistique à travers le discours des jeunes algériens', Semat 1:1(2013):14.
[26] Ambroise Queffélec, et *al. Le français en Algérie : lexique et dynamique des langues* (Bruxelles : Duculot, 2002), 37.
[27] Abderrezak Dourari, 'Politique linguistique en Algérie: entre le monolinguisme d'Etat et le plurilinguisme de la société', Politiques Linguistiques en domaine francophone (Vienne : 2011).

Future Plans

The Algerian government shows willingness to improve the linguistic situation of Tamazight and to put it on the track of globalisation. As a first step towards minimising the mismatch between languages and cultures in society and those in education, the revision of the constitutional articles conducted is regarded as promising for Berber varieties. Fortunately, it has officially led to declaring Tamazight an official and national language in the Fourth article of Algeria's official newspaper in March, 2016, after being announced by Ahmed Ouyahia, *chef de cabinet* of the presidency, on January 5, 2016.[28] For assuring that Algeria be up-to-date with globalisation, there are activists calling for upgrading English in favour of French. Entrepreneurships and conventions have seen light between the British Council in Algeria and the ministry of education and the ministry of higher education and scientific research in order to offer trainings in UK for students, teachers, and researchers.[29] Dialectal Arabic, the first language of millions of the Algerian population, has not been sanctioned to be used in education, while suggested by the minister Nouria Benghabrit as medium for young pupils at the primary level to facilitate their acquisition of the Standard Arabic, though there is a possibility for both of the varieties with affecting the underlined educational perspectives.[30]

Conclusion

Different parameters have contributed to the cultural and linguistic pluralism of the Algerian society, namely history and policies. Despite the monolingualism and

[28] 'Tamazight sera désormais langue officielle', *Vinyculture* (5 January 2016).
[29] British Council Algeria, 'Who we work with', 2016 [Accessed: https://www.britishcouncil.dz/en/partnerships/our-partners. 01/06/2016].
[30] Yassine Temlali, 'On peut se sentir berbère ou non, arabe ou non, musulman ou non et être, néanmoins, algérien', revised May 2016 [Accessed : http://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2016/05/11/algerie-langues-identite_n_9900048.html?ncid=fcbklnkfrhpmg00000008. 25 May 2016].

monocultural policies applied to meld the local cultures and form one single dominant language in favour of enforcing its pertinence and belonging to the Arab world, Algerian people could preserve every tiny component of their identity. This has created a richness and diversity remarkable in every region in the Algerian territory. In the last decade, the government acknowledged the fact that the diversity existing in the society is not officially and nationally recognised. Moreover, it showed its willingness to promote homogeneity between the social life and public sectors in terms of the languages used. The expectations that have been met are recognisable, while for the unachievable ones the government has planned and is still planning for projects and programmes to maximise the chances of success. However, experts in the domains of education, linguistics, sociolinguistics, sociology, history, etc. should give hand and contribute to ameliorate the situation, which has been for so long the responsibility of politicians. In summary, the mismatch between society and the other sectors should be carefully treated by experts in several domains and politics has be excluded while languages are the matter to avoid future conflicts.

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‘Construction and Decay’

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Amira Benabdelkader