MEMORY
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Dear Readers,

We would like to present you the thirty-second volume of MASKA. We are very pleased that the idea of one issue a year with all texts written in English has appealed to both our Authors and Readers. It is the third exclusively English-language volume of our periodical, and we hope that the idea will be continued in the following years.

The presented volume concerns the topic of memory. It is an extremely important issue to all academic disciplines in the field of humanities. Without this concept, there would be no history, and memory is one of the main problems to those who deal with the past. However, human memory is often a matter of subjective perception and emotions, so, in this case, the interest in this topic is showed also in these disciplines which focus on human mind, such as psychology and sociology. Moreover, memory stimulates creativity. Subsequently, it is a significant issue in the history of literature, arts, and film.

The first text presented in this volume focuses on activism and methods of creation of alternative collective memory. The next articles concern the works of Christian Boltanski and the book *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie* [*A Piece on Mother and Motherland*] written by Bożena Keff. Subsequent articles focus on cinematography – in the first one, we can find out about Japanese, as well as Swedish films, and in the second we will study the work *The Tempest* (2003) by Krzysztof Warlikowski. After the article about the remembering of the year 1066 in England, it can be found the piece considering the reindeer as the symbol of identity for Chukchi people. We will also investigate religious symbols in the work of Nadia Issa and the songs of Beit HaMikdash. The following two articles describe ancient coins: those with members of Julio-Claudian dynasty, as well as kosons. The last article takes the reader into the mysterious world of tebori tattooing art – the technique that survived thanks to the transferring the memories of the Japanese tradition.

We hope you will find this volume interesting and pleasant in reading.

MASKA’s Editorial Staff
Memory plays a major role in the lives of individuals and societies. Since the 1980s there has been a growing “memory boom”¹ in public and private life; nation-states use the past to secure up their legitimacy leading social scientists to make memory studies an important field of research. Media, the Internet, and easy access to the archives has popularized history and increased interest in the individual and collective past. At the same time, a growing individualization within modern Western societies makes the collective memory of communities more problematic and opaque. Our shared history and memories are not as commonly passed down in the process of socialization by families and communities but are increasingly dependent on state-sponsored education systems and the media. Ollick notices the changes mentioned above, observed in culture and social life, leading to a shift in thinking from the past as a reservoir to learn from to the past as a subject to learn about².

The development of technology also brings new forms of collective commemoration – the internet became in recent decades a primary source of historical narratives and learning about the past; new interactive monuments and museums are intended to make the experience of dominant memory narratives even more attractive, engaging and personal. Nevertheless, people still find it necessary to help their memory by interpreting artifacts and other signs of the past. Those shared symbols (monuments, museums, commemorative plaques) that we pass every day, play a significant part in shaping the collective memory of our communities and societies. The collective memory of the past of the nation – such as battles, atrocities, victimhood, and braveness – are connected to national identity and are one of the most valuable tools for shaping social bonds. As Gillis shows, the “notion of identity depends on the idea of memory, and vice versa.”³ But what is important is that this collective memory

² Ibidem.
is not stationary and stable, it is dynamic, socially constructed and subjective. The relationship of identity and memory is inseparable: the identity of individuals and communities depends on remembering, and how memories are created and remembered depends on identity. Therefore, commemoration shapes and is shaped by the society and is intertwined with the group identity and national memory. Collective memory gives a sense of common development to distinct groups because it organizes the past, simplifying complexities and showing the shared experiences – even if they were shared by great-grandparents and not the current generation.

Societies are bonded by their shared collective memories, and in most nations, there is a dominating political elite view on the past – a master collective memory. Most of the time it is simultaneously an official, state-sponsored memory, produced to “maintain social cohesion and defend symbolic borders.” It is expressed by national calendars, monuments, and museums financed by the state and an educational system, especially the official history curriculum. But hegemonic, state-sponsored collective memories, as they are used to build a particular dominant narrative and national identity, often exclude certain events – especially those that conflict with the nation or the state’s positive self-image or that presented to the public. In such cases, memories of the victims, state-sponsored atrocities, and other acts of violence are suppressed and removed from official commemoration and memory discourse. That suppression usually comes from political interests: states avoiding moral, legal, or political responsibility for certain events or trying to maintain control over society. Nevertheless, the past is rarely forgotten, and while in official narratives specific facts tend to be excluded or even denied, usually certain members of the society – memory activists – take it upon themselves to raise awareness, introduce critical thinking, and try to widen the public memory discourse.

Memory activism often takes the form of political protest against official narratives and the forced forgetting or silencing of certain events in official memory discourses. My aim here is to categorize several of the key methods used by memory activists to introduce and produce alternative knowledge and to create the alternative collective memories. In this article, I compare the actions of memory activists and NGOs in former Yugoslavia and work of Israeli memory activists and NGOs (especially Zochrot and De-Colonizer), as in those contexts memory work plays

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6 Ibidem.


a major role in peace and reconciliation activism. In description of memory activism in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina I rely on Fridman’s work, online resources and personal observations, while Israeli case studies are based largely on participant observation, as well as online resources. The analysis of the tools used by memory activists in those societies shows not only which specific events are being excluded from collective memory, but can also point out the ongoing power struggles, notably the marginalization of certain groups, and ways to combat them.

**POLITICAL IMPACT: STATE-SPONSORED MEMORY**

Establishing hegemonic collective memory by state-sponsored commemorative practices is always political, as it serves as a tool for shaping societal and national identity in a certain way. It represents the political elites’ interests and their views on the past, while the narrative of marginalized members of the society is suppressed. That said, we must be aware that memory narratives can be altered and manipulated to create the desired outcome, especially for political purposes, using narratives of victimhood, domination and exclusion. When talking about hegemonic collective memory we have also to remember that it does not only mean a memory that is actually created, commemorated, taught and state-supported. A facet of collective memory that can shape the society also comes in collective forgetting or denial. Gillis uses Benedict Anderson’s term of “collective amnesia” to depict what he calls “common forgettings.” In a rapidly changing world, with widening differences between the lives of successive generations, broad access to data and knowledge, as well as in moments of transition after violent conflicts or political shifts, it is necessary to forget individually and communally. In certain moments, for example after World War II, nations were more encouraged to forget the past and commemorate new beginnings, in order to mark a change in political and social life, as well as distance themselves from the events that were considered shameful mistakes. At the same time, forgetting may be a strategy for reconciliation – for example Spain’s “pact of forgetting” (a political agreement to “forget” the atrocities committed under Francoist repression) seems to have been successful, though it is being challenged in the present generation. Establishing historical facts is usually the basis of commemorating, dealing with the past and atonement. But if members of a society and marginalized groups within that society believe that the hegemonic, state-sponsored memory narrative is not their own, or that it is overly politicized, manipulated or creates an unfair society, one of the responses is to create counter-memory or alternative collective memory.

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10 Jelin, Elizabeth., op.cit.
11 Gillis, John R., op.cit.
13 Dragović-Soso, Jasna., op.cit.
MEMORY ACTIVISM AND METHODS OF BUILDING ALTERNATIVE COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Counter-memory is usually created through memory activism, which Gutman defines as “a knowledge-based effort for consciousness-raising and political change” and “commemoration of a contested past in order to influence public debate, primarily towards greater equality, plurality and reconciliation.” Memory activism focuses on the production of alternative knowledge outside of state channels, in order to influence public debate and reshape the collective memory. That memory work is done by activists involved in symbolic transformation and is especially visible in conflict and post-conflict societies. It may be used as part of the transitional justice work, peacebuilding or work that develops human rights and social justice. Through such memory work, it becomes clear how the hegemonic memories, created and expressed by official state practices, can conflict with alternative memories promoted and created by marginalized groups. That conflict is subject to power relations and power struggles in the society, as counter-memory stands then in opposition to master collective memory. Memory activists, therefore, use methods and tools to create alternative collective memory, encourage social awareness and challenge official narratives. Some of those tools are described below:

PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE AND EDUCATION

One of the aims of memory activists and NGOs is to produce counter-informative knowledge outside the state channels in order to influence public debate. That is achieved by exposing the public to facts from the past that aren’t present in the hegemonic memory and discourse. One of the distinct ways to produce and promote counter memories and counter knowledge is through education. The school system is one of the institutions of what Althusser calls Ideological State Apparatus, whose purpose is to convey and reassert official state narratives. And as the state-sponsored collective memory is based in large part on state education systems, one of the ways to challenge it is to create complementary approaches to disseminate knowledge.

An example of an organization focused on challenging official educational practice and introducing counter-memory into teaching is the Israeli NGO Zochrot. Zochrot (“remembering” in Hebrew) has worked “since 2002 to promote acknowledgement and accountability for the ongoing injustices of the Nakba, the Palestinian catastrophe of 1948 and the reconceptualization of the Return as the imperative redress of the Nakba and a chance for a better life for all the country’s inhabitants.” Nakba is a Palestinian term referring to the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 when approximately 700,000 - 800,000 (85%) of the Palestinians living inside the borders of

14 Gutman, Yifat., op.cit.
15 Jelin, Elizabeth., op.cit.
16 Gutman, Yifat., op.cit.
what is now Israel were expelled to neighboring countries, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Hundreds of Palestinian villages were partially or entirely destroyed and depopulated, in some cases, massacres were reported\(^\text{18}\). While the Palestinian collective memory is focused on \textit{Nakba} as a point of reference\(^\text{19}\), at the same time in Israeli collective memory until recently the fate of Palestinian residents who were expelled in 1948 was non-existent, with no place for it in hegemonic memories or official historical education.

A surge in memory activism in Israel, which focused on commemorating the \textit{Nakba}, emerged only in 1998, on the 50\(^\text{th}\) anniversary of the 1948 war. Memory activists and their NGOs in Israel, then started to produce counter-hegemonic knowledge, publicly showing facts that until that time were not present in the Jewish-Israeli hegemonic memory. Zochrot became an increasingly important and influential organization working to introduce the \textit{Nakba} into Israel’s education system, with the purpose to change the public memory discourse. Its main aim is to raise awareness in Israeli society of the facts that are entirely omitted in the hegemonic collective memory, expecting that ultimately this knowledge will lead to acknowledgment and accountability for the Palestinian catastrophe in 1948, as well as allowing the refugees of the 1948 crisis to return to their homeland. Education is used as an important tool to achieve that aim; examples include tours to destroyed villages\(^\text{20}\), creating publicity through media, and publishing maps and reports. Similar tools are used by another Israeli NGO De-Colonizer\(^\text{21}\), which is utilizing academic research to disseminate knowledge\(^\text{22}\). Nevertheless, educational and informative actions of both those organizations are still marginalized voices with limited impact, as their work can complement the official education system only for those who already know about the \textit{Nakba} and want to broaden their knowledge.

\textbf{MAPPING AND DOCUMENTATION OF SITES, VIRTUAL MONUMENTS}

Zochrot and De-Colonizer also work in another important sphere for memory activism: documentation and mapping. Commemorating sites of events that are left unmarked, mapping memories and bringing forgotten sites into the spotlight are some of the ways to remember and create previously excluded counter-memories to


\(^{21}\) De-Colonizer was founded by dr. Eleonore Merza and Eitan Bronstein Aparicio, who was also a founder and director of Zochrot.

the official narratives. Alternative mapping is of particular importance and useful when certain places are deliberately being hidden and forgotten – such as Palestinian villages destroyed during the Nakba. Zochrot and other Israeli NGOs use both alternative maps and alternative tours to introduce the knowledge and memory of the Nakba into dominant narratives in Israel. De-Colonizer also employs modern technologies to discover destroyed villages and put their names back to maps.

Traditionally, battles for commemoration of certain sites excluded from official collective memory, focus on building monuments, hanging plaques or other forms of visible commemoration in public spaces. Sometimes activists erect signs or symbols in public spaces on their own, to mark events and places that are not recorded in collective hegemonic memory. In 2007, as part of an unofficial commemoration of the 59th anniversary of the Nakba, Israeli NGOs Zochrot, Bat Shalom and New Profile posted signs in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, marking destroyed villages and other events of 1948 that took place in those sites.

Nevertheless, such “mnemonic battles” of activists and officials (usually municipalities, governments or even private site owners not interested in commemorating the place, event or victims) are long and unsuccessful. Therefore, in recent years an innovative shift in memory activism towards using virtual spaces for commemoration can be observed.

One such interesting example comes from Serbia, where memory activists are fighting for the commemoration of Batajnica (located only 15 km from the center of Belgrade), where in 2001 a mass grave of more than 600 Kosovo civilians was found. It is one of the biggest mass graves from the 1990s Balkan wars; nevertheless, until now the burial place hasn’t been officially commemorated or acknowledged. While the fight for a material commemoration of the site was unsuccessful, Batajnica memory activists introduced a new method of alternative commemoration – a virtual one. The Batajnica Memorial initiative is a memorial site in online reality, an immaterial monument presenting facts and documents relating to the Batajnica history. Batajnica activists are trying to bring awareness mostly through the collection of oral testimonies from family members of victims and publicizing them through the website and the idea of a virtual monument, hoping that creating alternative knowledge will lead to the creation of a tangible commemoration site at Batajnica.

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24 “Research,” op.cit.
A similar virtual commemoration was prepared by Zochrot, through the introduction of a mobile iNakba application in Arabic, Hebrew and English to make knowledge about the Nakba more accessible and interactive. The application is based on GPS technology and “provides coordinates and maps of Palestinian localities that were completely ruined, destroyed, obliterated after their capture, partially demolished, or remained standing but were depopulated and their residents expelled.”

Those virtual, alternative monuments are useful especially when local governing bodies, officials or power-holders are not interested in bringing back certain facts into collective memory and are actively blocking the struggle for commemoration.

Creating Alternative Calendars and Taking Over Public Space

Another method used by activists is to take over public spaces to organize commemorative rituals. As Zerubavel shows, official national calendars establish a particular framework for collective memory. The annually repeated official commemoration of certain events is also a part of socialization, one that Zerubavel calls “mnemonic socialization,” shaping collective identities of members of the society. Activists are challenging national calendars and dominant state-sponsored memory narratives by creating alternative commemorative rituals. If such actions are regularly repeated, are publicly visible and, importantly, are socially meaningful (i.e. carry a certain value and importance for the rest of the society), they can lead to creating alternative calendars, with annual commemoration of the events that are excluded from state narratives. Fridman describes Serbian Women in Black movement as an excellent example of activists creating an alternative calendar.

Women in Black has organized public vigils since 1991, protesting the “regime’s policy; nationalism; militarism and all forms of hatred, discrimination and violence.” The idea of public vigils was borrowed from Israeli Women in Black, who regularly protested since 1988 in Israeli public spaces against the occupation and the lack of political willingness to end it. Serbian Women in Black reintroduced the idea of street activism in commemoration of events that are not mentioned in the official state calendar. For more than two decades they have brought up memory of suppressed events from local history, such as the siege of Sarajevo in 1992, the siege of Vukovar in 1991, as well as international celebrations like Women’s International Day or International Day of Conscientious...
Objectors. Nevertheless, they are primarily known for their regular commemorations of the Srebrenica massacre on 10th of July every year by silent vigils in the main square of Belgrade, the Republic Square. The Sarajevo massacre is not commemorated in hegemonic Serbian memory as genocide (in the official state narrative, it is described using expressions such as “horrific events”), and is absent in state-sponsored collective memory. The task of introducing memory of the Sarajevo massacre to collective discourse was undertaken by Women in Black, who “… are challenging that state narrative, trying to bring awareness in the society and influence the hegemonic collective memory in the name of the victims.”

Fridman uses the example of Women in Black vigils to show the process of creation of alternative calendars by activists, who by repeated and visible commemoration of specific events managed to make their anniversaries recognizable by the wider public, therefore introducing them into the alternative collective memory of the society. In effect, every year tens of people of all ages gather together in downtown Belgrade in memory of Srebrenica victims, “as if this day is now included in their (alternative) calendar.” But it is important to notice that by their regular presence in certain places they are at the same time creating an alternative public commemorative space. During the vigils, activists take over public space in city centers, creating a live monument built of people that cannot be passed unnoticed and cannot be ignored. Even if it disappears the day after, the fact of creating that visual reminder possibly adds up to the success of such initiatives in reshaping collective memory and awareness.

Similar memory work is being done around Omarska camp, near Prijedor in northern Bosnia and Herzegovina. Omarska used to be a mine, and was turned by Bosnian Serb forces into a concentration camp for non-Serbs at the beginning of the 1990s. The site now again serves as a mine, owned by international company ArcelorMittal, and it lacks any official commemoration symbols. Omarska is not memorialized as a concentration camp mostly due to the lack of interest or even negative approach of the local municipality and the mine owners. Activist group Four Faces of Omarska (Radna grupa četiri lica Omarske) is working on building a memorial on the grounds of the camp to challenge dominant narratives that deny the atrocities that took place there. Until now efforts to erect a memorial site on the grounds of the camp were unsuccessful, but former camp inmates and memory activists turned to an idea similar to Women in Black street activism – creating alternative commemoration rituals and taking over the contested space. Since 9th of May 2011 survivors of the camp, in spite of a lack of recognition by the officials and the mine owners, have been returning annually to the camp in memory of the victims. Zerubavel calls such sites in which alternative commemorative events take place, contested territories.

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34 Fridman, Orli., op.cit.
37 Ibidem.
38 Y. Zerubavel., op.cit.
Fridman notices that these locations have a chance to become a space for public debate and reshape collective memories, while commemorative rituals taking place there are creating alternative calendars. The regularity of this commemorative practice creates a local alternative calendar, as well as allows the victims and their families to raise awareness and to share their stories. At the same time, at least for a few hours every year create a monument in that place through their sheer presence.

Bosnian memory activists went even further in reclaiming the public space to raise awareness and commemorate events excluded from official narratives by introducing the idea of guerrilla memorials. In 2013 an ethnically mixed group “Because it Concerns Me” marked the memory of Serbian, Muslim and Croatian victims of 1992-1995 Bosnian War by illegally placing marble commemorative plaques in the 3 Bosnian towns of Foca, Bugojno and Konjic. They were erected at night in protest of the lack of official state acknowledgment of the war crimes and atrocities committed during the war in those and other places. The 70-kg plaques founded by members of the group were glued (and in Foca cemented) in public areas by activists, but removed by the authorities shortly after. This kind of memory activism can also be studied as an example of the “right to the city” activism movements, as it aims to reclaim public space for the citizens.

SUMMARY

Memory can be and is being used as a tool for shaping societies. States, politicians and elites create the hegemonic collective memory in order to mold collective identity and the sense of belonging amongst the people. Those hegemonic collective memories unify stories, leaving some events, facts and discourses intentionally out of the dominant narrative to facilitate self-identification with the perceived positive history of the collective. Memory activists take upon themselves the responsibility of bringing back into focus those excluded facts, events, and memories, hoping to create a more fair and just society and often to give communities a chance for post-conflict reconciliation.

The aim of memory activism is to introduce social change and often also a political one. Therefore the production of counter-memory often takes forms that assure visibility in the public sphere – to raise awareness either in the society or among political decision-makers, to change perceptions of national history or create more knowledge. Therefore, activists often use alternative commemoration methods where there is a void of certain memory in the public space. The methods vary and are ever-changing to exploit opportunities inherent in new technologies.

Traditional spheres of memory activism are education and documentation. Both create alternative knowledge in order to complement the state-sponsored memory

39 Fridman, Orli., op.cit.
creation, carried out through official education systems and state-sponsored historical documentation efforts. Another tool for memory activism is mapping and creating monuments to commemorate sites, events and people. As “memorialization is a process that satisfies the desire to honor those who suffered or died during a conflict and as a means to examine the past and address contemporary issues,” marking the space with commemorative symbols is often a necessary step for post-conflict societies to overcome their traumatic pasts. Because of that, truth and reconciliation commissions (for example, in Chile, Guatemala, South Africa, Ghana, and Sierra Leone) are calling for the physical commemoration of past atrocities as part of the healing process. Such commemoration of places and spaces (e.g. putting signs, plaques or erecting monuments) is often blocked by decision-makers if it is against political interests. Memory activists challenge that, and their efforts to mark public spaces with unofficial signs or pressuring decision makers to erect memorials have similar aims and come from an awareness of the needs of the society, or parts of the society, to deal with the troubled past in a visible way. As their efforts, especially to erect monuments, might be unsuccessful or meet with political unwillingness, memory activists have recently started to turn to modern technologies in order to bring attention to forgotten events. For example, they create virtual monuments and mobile apps to make their voices heard louder and their alternative knowledge and memory more interesting, interactive and accessible. Others turn to illegal city interventions, like erecting “guerrilla monuments” in order to mark suppressed events tangibly at least for a short time. Other activists focus their actions on organizing alternative commemoration rituals and alternative calendars to state-sponsored ones. Those rituals require the physical presence of activists and participants in the public sphere (sometimes taking over part of public space) or on the site of a particular event. That presence, usually made as visible to the public as possible in order to raise awareness, in itself creates a visual reminder of memorialized events, it becomes a short-lived organic monument made of people.

Looking at the above-mentioned cases we can see that memory activism uses a range of tools to create the alternative collective memory, makes suppressed voices heard and excluded memories shared. There is no place within the confines of this paper to analyze how successful those means are. Nevertheless it can be assumed that those tools that are used over a long period (like Zochrot’s and De-Colonizer’s education and documenting the efforts of the Palestinian Nakba, or Women in Black vigils in Belgrade in memory of Srebrenica) are effective enough (bring enough social change or fulfill their organizers’ goals), to be continuously practiced over the years.

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42 Ibidem.
One of the conclusions we can draw from the overview of memory activism methods described above is the need that many people have for a material commemoration. Memory activists create material knowledge in the form of monuments, books, and maps, as well as by taking over public spaces for vigils and guerrilla monuments. Even the creation of alternative calendars and rituals comes in the form of physically occupying certain spaces or areas by the activists in order to memorialize the event or people by being tangibly present in a specific time in a specific place. It shows that signs and symbols in the public space largely shape collective memory, and that through those means – reminding people of facts and memories – collective memory and awareness is shaped. On the other hand, when remaking a material space is impossible, memorialization in the virtual sphere is used to put more pressure on changing the analog reality. Nevertheless, virtual monuments seem to come mostly as tools to raise awareness, while the main aim is still erecting a tangible material monument.

Counter memory is always asymmetrical in comparison with hegemonic, state-sponsored collective memory because of hindered access to the public space and the limited ability of memory activists to take over space only for a certain amount of time. Nevertheless, their work is important not only in creating the alternative collective memory, surfacing suppressed narratives of minorities, or creating counter-discourses to the state ones but also in introducing critical thinking into the society and opening public space for discussion. These are some of the first important steps for reconciliation in divided and post-conflict societies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


**ONLINE RESOURCES**


SUMMARY

This paper aims at categorizing the tools used contemporarily by memory activists to create the alternative collective memories. By using examples of memory work done by activists in Israel and former Yugoslavia (Serbia and Bosnia and Hercegovina) I attempt to show methods employed by memory activists to produce alternative knowledge and counter-memory. The paper looks at examples of memory activism from the countries where activists and NGOs are currently engaged in large memory work, raising awareness about the past and the present, as well as commemorating facts suppressed through hegemonic collective-memory. The tools described here are divided into several categories, with a short analysis of the circumstances they are used in, to show contemporary memory work and activism and its outcomes.
It is possible to declare that Christian Boltanski is a comedian. But it should be clear: one couldn’t obtain much from this declaration because nothing in it removes the seriousness of the subjects the comedian plays with. That is why the viewer hesitates; and his main hesitation moves on the fine line between the pathos and its ridicule, the sentimentality and its transformation into a theater. The disturbance provoked as a rule by the visual artist’s installations seems to be more complex than it appears at first glance: while the basic reading catches the problem of the trauma, by mixing death, lack and absence, a closer scrutiny reveals the deep irony and the unfeigned cruelty that mark the approach to this problem. In Boltanski’s logic, though, both layers are significant enough – instead of being mutually exclusive they build up and confirm each other. In this particular pair, the irony is on the side of the reflection and editing; it could be perceived as a provocation which invites the viewer to do certain critical work, to hold distance from emotion – the same emotion that has been totalized by the artwork itself.

In an interview, the artist states that he wants to be “a bad priest” – a priest who is at the same time capable of murdering. It appears that the first victim of this pretended pathological desire is the personality of Boltanski himself. In his early works, such as “Attempt to Reconstruct the Objects Belonging to Christian Boltanski between 1948 and 1952” and “10 Photographic Portraits of Christian Boltanski, 1946-1964”, the questions of forgery and fraud, of the vague and relative truths of memory and documentarity are crucial and their ultimate goal is to blur the boundaries between fiction and reality. At the beginning of his career Boltanski creates an impression of being obsessed with his own biography by mythologizing the efforts of search and reconstruction of his identity. Paradoxically, each of these efforts is actually deceitful, deliberately undermined by a certain prevailing fantasy. There is a good reason to believe that in his consistent self-mythologization Boltanski is strongly influenced by Joseph Beuys who he openly admires. The fact that Beuys is on the side of both the “perpetrators” (as evidenced by his biographical link to

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Nazism) and the “victims” (as “evidenced” by the fictional story of his salvation by the Tatars) is especially fascinating for the French visual artist in whose work there is a clearly visible tendency of mixing and confusing this two roles. Like Beuys’, Boltanski’s true obsession is directed not to the real but to the imaginary for which the real is nothing but a tool. Even when it concerns the Holocaust, the paradigmatic traumatic event of the contemporaneity, fictitiousness, as well as speculativeness and playfulness remain structure defining techniques.

Not only with his biography but also with the specifics of his work, Christian Boltanski is an important figure in the “postmemory art” – art produced by the second or third generation, i.e. the generations following that of the actual participants in a certain catastrophic event. Marianne Hirsch’s notion of “postmemory” puts great emphasis on the formative influence that the public representations of the Holocaust have on the generation inheriting the trauma of the event without having a direct experience or own memory of it. Thus, the personal traumatic experience of the second generation – even when it is transmitted within a small intimate group such as the family – is imagined or can be imagined through the repertoire of well-known images of the Holocaust. It is worth noting that the notion emerges as a conceptualization of the artistic responses to that interiorized and highly mediated traumatic experience: as far as the trauma has already been mediated by the repertoire of popular images of the historical event, these aesthetic responses enter in a close relationship with this public visual repertoire. The incorporation of the popular visual imagery as well as the work with the visual imagination of the genocide is fundamental to the aesthetics of the postmemory. Furthermore, these artistic uses – which include different narrative perspectives (personal, family, and group) and thus challenge the official historiographical narrative – become themselves part of and alter this virtual public archive. While the generation of the participants strives to collect and preserve images, personal stories, information and testimonies, their descendants – descendants of trauma that they must somehow work through – seek to reinterpret or even fictionalize this imagery in order to inscribe their experience in it.

At the same time, however, Boltanski’s relation to the notion of postmemory is highly ambiguous, as can be seen from his taste in parodying the externalized structures of memory, such as collection, archive and monument. Therefore, the questions arising from his work have as their essential context not only the continuous “memory boom” (and the development of the field of memory studies and of notions such as “postmemory”, respectively) but also the strong interest in the concept of archive and the practices of archiving, particularly in the field of contemporary art (one could think here of the writings of Hal Foster, Allan Sekula, Sven Spieker, Okwui Enwezor, Mark Godfrey, Georges Didi-Huberman, among the others). I would like to emphasize some issues which are at stake in the debate about the archive and to link them with the uses of what was just called “the public visual archive” or the repertoire of popular images of the Holocaust.
While there is more than one notion of “archive” and there is no consensus about its meaning, it is exactly this instability that contemporary art finds so seductive and to which it contributes: as Okwui Enwezor argues, by overlaying “iconographic, taxonomic, indexical, typological, and archeological means”, the artists “derive and generate new historical as well as analytical readings of the archive”\(^2\). As it is evident from this wording, the polysemy characterizes not only the artistic practices connected with the archive but also the critical approaches related to them – the latter oscillate in the foggy zone between theoretical definitions, on the one hand, and research of concrete practices of gathering, preserving and classifying, as well as collecting, falsifying, editing, on the other. Still, it appears that the leading understanding of the archive among this multiplicity is significantly influenced by – but also significantly modifying that of – Michel Foucault. To a certain extent the formula which provides common ground for the different practices and interpretations is the one of the archives as a relation and a border between what can be and what cannot be said. According to Foucault, the archive is “the general system of the formation and transformation of the statements”, or in other words – it defines the system of what is susceptible to articulation at all (in that sense it could also be comprehended as a representative historical form – which the French philosopher calls “historical a priori”\(^3\)). An archive – especially the one a subject lives in – can never be restored and described in its totality because the subject is caught by its rules. That means that the archive can only manifest itself in fragments, parts, layers, surfaces, regions. Similarly, in his book “Images in spite of all” Georges Didi-Huberman consistently refers to the French historian Arlette Farge whose “phenomenology of archive” puts the emphasis exactly on its “lacunar” character: the archive is first and foremost persistent absence and incompleteness. Thus, it is important to note the constitutive role of this lack of integrity – a conception directly related to Didi-Huberman's idea of the archive as a montage in which the meaning can be manifested exclusively through linkage of the different parts.

These conceptualizations show not only how the archive defines the limits of the historical knowledge but also how it is similar to memory – namely because it could never be entirely coherent. Consequently, the art which questions and explores archive does not necessarily operate with the traditional view of it as a storage where the historical traces are collected and preserved. It is rather an art which plays with memory by transmitting the structural principles of an archive to the field of aesthetics, an art which examines the blind spots and the hidden laws of an archive in order to expand their boundaries while experimenting with them. The main question this “archival art” puts is actually the one of what new linkages are possible within


Monika Vakarelova, *The Fictional Archives of Christian Boltanski*

an archive and how these new linkages open the possibility of reinventing history. How they shape new histories, equally fictional and real, and how they produce “more archive”. And it is precisely at this point where the critical potential of the postmemory art is based.

Boltanski’s use of archive is double: first, as a principle which defines the inner structural logic of his works, a continuous act of testifying, modifying and editing the visible set of rules in order to destabilize the meaning; and second, as a literal use of archival materials and a creation of new visual archives. In these visual archives the authenticity and the Principle of Provenance are substituted by the logic of semblance and the hesitation between conceivable and inconceivable, between familiar and unsusceptible.

When he states that his installations are not ‘for’ but ‘after’ the Holocaust4, Boltanski occupies a comfortable twofold position, inherent to the generation of postmemory, which suggests both emotional involvement and possibility of distance, both inherited trauma and freedom for a critical position. His first direct reference to the historical event is “Monuments” (1985). The installation is a part of a group of works called “Lessons of Darkness” which also includes “Altar to Chases High School” (1987), “Archives” (1987), “The Purim Holiday” (1988). What is common between them is the story of their beginning – in all four cases Boltanski starts from found photographs (pieces of school archives and yearbooks) which he will eventually reproduce, turning them into a set of individual portraits. This approach gradually turns into one of the main strategies of the artist: the combination between photography and anonymity. If photography is on the side of the visual evidence, anonymity is on the side of the imaginary, and their mixture is a shortcut to what the artist wants to suggest. What is more, this formula brings another significant advantage – it transforms photographs into “empty images”, which, according to the Boltanski’s logic, means that they “function” in a strange logic where the presence should be inversely read as absence. At the same time, the viewer is challenged to “fill” the image with meaning and then to recognize himself in that image. For Boltanski the work with allusion and the possibility to build up a history through intimate associative links are far more important than authenticity. However, anonymity should not be understood literally – it is rather a particular mode of presence, a result and an effect of concrete operations with the image: isolation of the faces, their deprivation of context in order to make them more abstract, and then deformation of the faces in order to obliterate the individual traits. Once turned into nameless portraits now the images are perfectly interchangeable: depriving of individuality is the best way to equalize and equalizing is the best way to transform images into metonymy. And when the endmost referent of the metonymy is the Holocaust anonymity can be understood not only as a strategy or a technique but also as an insistence on the multitudinousness. “One should enter the work of Boltanski, Didi-Huberman says,

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through the historical, shared, faceless and collective linkage, through the relation with the countless dead who were part of his entering into life.”

In “Altar to Chases High School” Boltanski departs from a 1931 photo of the graduate class at a Jewish School in Vienna. In order to produce the portraits for the installation, the artist isolates each of the faces from the group photography and then retakes a photo of it while also enlarging and significantly altering it compared to the original. Later on, depending on the different places he shows his work at, Boltanski uses a limited number of photographs – six (1987), eight (1989), sometimes just one (1987); same number of electric lamps along with the cables hanging from them, as well as considerably larger number aluminum boxes – twenty-two (1987), thirty-eight (1989) and fifty-four (1987). This installation is representative of Boltanski’s work – both because of the materials used, compulsively repetitive in almost all of his works from that period, and because of the uneasiness and uncertainty, it produces.

The interpretation of the work could begin by drawing a dividing line between the different elements in it, which would mean a separation between the two-dimensional and the three-dimensional objects. Such an act would then assume that the boxes, the lamps and the cables “function” in a different way than the photographs, although, of course, in relation to them. The materials themselves, their geometric arrangement and rhythmical composition, are characteristic features of the minimalist and the conceptual art; but when combined with the photos used alongside their presence changes. In “Altar to Chases High School” the boxes, the lamps and the cables create rather an impression of being material support of the image, even though they exist independently. The volume of these three elements and their actual presence contrast with the flatness of the image and yet, there is proximity between both of them: the strong contrast in the image itself creates a sense of depth, an odd relief with two endpoints – the dark gaping hollows and the bulges near to the light.

One could draw, on the other hand, a different dividing line by separating the photographs and the boxes from the light. The photos and the aluminum boxes (which Boltanski calls “biscuits boxes”) are semantically and compositionally equalized in the artist’s installations; the boxes are always related to certain individuality or are marked with one (for example, through numbering), and they always bring strong tension between presence and absence. Whether they would be likened to and interpreted as a reliquary or as funerary urns, or simply as a direct reference to the topic of preservation, classification and hence to archive, Boltanski’s aluminum boxes function as a form that indicates absence or emptiness. It is in the same way that the images function after the manipulations and the damages caused to them – Boltanski has not just reproduced and enlarged the photos but has deformed them. Along with the highly reinforced contrast, the brightness is modified – the

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way shadows fall is a result of obvious intervention. The consequences are blurring, and loss of details and facial features, reduction to vague contours end eventually full subversion of the individuality. In addition to that initial distortion of the images, one should also note the one caused by the lamps. Visually they distort images on two levels: first, since they are placed at centimeters from the photographs, the bright light is directed right to the faces – always in their upper part; second, the body of the lamps itself turns into a part of the image by giving an impression of an extra black spot on the faces. While the bright light deforms the portraits by bleaching or literally erasing and making invisible parts of them (and in that way, even more, deprives the persons of details), the dark body adds something new to the images: next to the eyeballs another abyss with approximately the same size is gaping and it has neither a center nor an inside. It is apparent that the purpose of the light is not to work in favor of but rather against the image: by covering part of it and blindingly directing to the other; by subverting the referent while recalling associations of both an interrogation and shooting down; by contributing to the anonymization of the persons. Furthermore, the light creates an odd claustrophobic feeling because of its proximity to the photographs – the fact that it is placed frontally against them also means that it encloses them.

Thus, what was formerly clearly distinguishable face begins after the manipulation to look like a skull. Regardless of the fact that this is one of the few installations of which Boltanski points out the original source, after all these interferences the images become abstract. The isolation of particular faces and therefore their decontextualization corresponds to the deprivation (one could even say the destruction) of their identity and this is unconditionally related to the so-called “decontextualized clichés” – the photographs from the liberation of the concentration and extermination camps showing piles of unidentified dead bodies. One of the basic claims in the debate about “the icons of the destruction” that form the popular visual repertoire and play a key role in the imagination of the second and third generation is that the decontextualized and endlessly reproduced images of the camps, evoke indefinite and a temporal horror in the viewer. By doing so, they block critical understanding and make questioning “inappropriate” or even obscene. It is in this simultaneously informative and blocking function that Boltanski’s photographic images create the explicit visually associative connection to the icons of the Holocaust.

What does it mean anyway to call this installation an altar? And what type of icons are the deformed skull-like portraits – are they sacred religious icons or rather newly invented icons of destruction? With the typical ambivalence for his work, Boltanski gives a code to his installation and at the same time problematizes this code: if this is an altar, then it reverses the tradition of the religious imagery. Unlike the sacred icon wherein the most important are the eyes of the saint and the interior light illuminating the image, here the spectator is confronted with a dangerously

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6 In 1991 a portfolio titled *Lycée Chasses* is published (including 24 photoetches in a metal box); its title page shows the original group photo from 1931.
growing abyss not of two but three huge black holes, including the spot from the lamp’s shadow. In the logic of this reversion the religious code sets in motion the aesthetics of the negative sublime by facing the viewer with what Susan Sontag calls “the prototypically modern revelation” in the post-Auschwitz condition: “One’s first encounter with the photographic inventory of ultimate horror is a kind of revelation, the prototypically modern revelation: a negative epiphany.”

The manipulation of the images, though, is not “simply” a deformation. It is a peculiar form of inner montage (here again the relation between archive and montage), through which images from different periods are overlaid one upon the other: both visual and temporal montage in which the iconic image (that of the destruction) retrospectively modifies the one preceding it (that of the victim before turning into victim). “Altar to Chases High School” displays this internal dynamics: the real photographic image from 1931 is an index, a trace from the world “before,” and as such it is the necessary implication on which basis Boltanski will play out the iconic disfigurement of the world “after.” “Before” is sacred in its unattainability, in its absolute otherness or even otherworldliness. But the opposite perspective is also possible – what is sacred and unattainable is the event that breaks the order, the event of the depersonalization itself. It is precisely this heterochrony or inner montage of the image which is the meeting point for the subjects of archive and sublime horror in Boltanski’s work.

In 1989 Boltanski shows in New York an installation called “Dead Swiss” which one year later is shown slightly modified at several other places. The focus here is entirely on photographs – the artist uses approximately three thousand pictures (although their number varies according to the different locations) and these in Boltanski’s words are pictures accompanying obituaries for a year in one of the most widely read Swiss newspapers. In contrast to the series “Lessons of Darkness,” the manipulations here seem minimal – most of the images are not apparently framed and the deformations are rather a natural result from their reproduction and enlargement. At least seemingly, Boltanski tries to leave off the collective trauma of the Holocaust and to draw attention to the death as natural and inevitable end of each biography. In order to emphasize his “desire,” he says the following words, subsequently often quoted:

Before, I did pieces with dead Jews but “dead” and “Jew” go too well together. There is nothing more normal that the Swiss. There is no reason for them to die, so they are more terrifying in a way.”

This statement is not shocking, it is revealing – it entirely depicts the preference for the performativity than the direct (re)presentation, for the imaginary trace than

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the visual evidence. Are these then actual pictures of Swiss and are all the people from the pictures really dead? And what is the difference between this installation and other fake photographic archives, such as “The 62 Members of the Mickey Mouse Club in the 1955” (1972) and “10 Photographic Portraits of Christian Boltanski, 1946-1964” (1972) in which the authenticity of the archival traces is ironically reversed? Finally, what is the meaning of using exactly this type of exposure?

By stressing the origin of the pictures and by simulatively leaving off the field of the collective trauma in which the memory is highly institutionalized, Boltanski convincingly insists that the installation does not refer to the Holocaust but death in general. And yet, no matter what the reference is, the Holocaust is all the same evoked here. In his essay “Deadly Historians: Boltanski’s Intervention in Holocaust Historiography” Ernst van Alphen stresses on two most important techniques in the French artist’s work which create, what can be called, “the Boltanski’s Holocaust-effect” and thus recall the event in a non-referential way. Through the “connotative effects of the photographic signifiers” as well as through the display of large amount of pictures which allusively evoke the enormous, incomprehensible amount of victims in the camps, Boltanski recreates two definitive aspects of the Holocaust: 1) radical emptying of subjectivity as 2) a road leading to a mass destruction – a genocide. Hence, for Boltanski, the historical event itself gives the principles of articulation, i.e. the archive – it defines the system of the rules of what can be said, namely the artwork.

That is why an installation like “Reserve” (1990) – a room whose walls are covered with more than six thousand clothes (and, of course, this also could be interpreted as a clear allusion to the camps) – functions in a way identical to “Dead Swiss” (which at least explicitly does not refer to the camps). It means that the different materials of the two installations are made equal: the clothes remind both visually and semantically of the corpses. In “Reserve” this association is forced through an additional fact – the smell of these clothes, which becomes an element of the work. It is precisely because they are equal to the bodies that the accumulation of the clothes brings the same effect as the accumulation of the faces. This implication comes from the comprehension of the bodies/faces as a whole, as a mass. Contrary to his proclaimed obsession with the individual memory, Boltanski does not show individuals but multitudes, which in his later installations (for example, “Personnes,” 2010 or “No Man’s Land,” 2010) get down of the walls and transform themselves into piles on the ground. It is for that reason that the pictures he selects always look in the same way – they present nothing but the face, the same lighting, the same perspective, the same grainy effect: everything in them is static and fixed. These portraits are not displayed to be contemplated separately; they are displayed to be perceived all together, in its entirety. Here, as well as in all the similar ways of exposition (one could recall the strikingly alike “Tower of Faces” in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and “The Hall of Names” in Yad Vashem in Jerusalem), the interest in the images cannot actually be an interest in the particular because the

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9 Ibidem, p. 49.
individuality of their referents is eclipsed by their shared status of victims. As a result, the nature of the accumulation is close to that of Arman whose “Accumulations” and “Poubelles” Boltanski seems to cite. Exposing his containers full of dental prosthesis, glasses and gas masks often regarded as visual replicas to Alain Resnais’ “Night and Fog” (1955), Arman raises the problem of the first actual industrialization of death. These images, as well as Boltanski’s, function as metonyms doubling the structure of trauma and negatively representing their referent. At the same time, though, they produce new cultural images of trauma and structure new memory.

For the artists of the second generation, like Boltanski, the work with the archives is important primarily because the archives do not formulate statements but precede the statements of historiography. Always being governed by both explicit and hidden rules, an archive, however, creates conditions for certain statements while at the same time obscuring others. It is this duality which gives both the opportunity for a new approach to an event like the Holocaust and the possibility of imagining and showing new perspectives, meanings and truths muted by the established historiographical narrative. The aesthetic and critical task of the “archival artists” is then to research what can be said within that particular system which an archive is: what statements the system makes possible, what are the other possible links and arrangements of the elements in the archive different from those of the institutionalized narrative. It is essentially what the work of postmemory, in Hirsch’s words, is: the re-activation of the archival-cultural structures through individual forms of mediations and aesthetic expressions.

The ambiguity of Boltanski’s installations – typical for the postmemory art – his misleading strategies and the slipperiness between different meanings – all these are also effects of the particular ways of a display, arrangement and visual structuring which is basically structuring of the meaning. One could name some of the foundations of this ambiguity: the work with space; the game of tension between the whole image, which is the artwork, and the multitude of the particular images, which build it up; as well as the often unnoticed replacement of the meaning resulting from this game. Boltanski uses archive both as institution, structure and event of articulation; as a montage, i.e. as meaning defining structure but also as a representation, which keeps the proximity to the authenticity without rejecting the figurativeness. In contrast to the abstract art, which deals with the loss, emptiness and absence after the Holocaust by literally reproducing and doubling them, Boltanski’s works rather follow the mechanisms that made the event possible translating them into the artistic language. His installations endlessly play out this simple but brilliant rule: the more multiple, dense and immediate the presence of the objects displayed is, the more absence increases. Nullifying the subject is achieved not through hiding, silence or denial of images and representation but, on the contrary, through multiplication of images. These installations are situated then in the area between the unnamable and the overproduction of signs.

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SUMMARY

The article analyses some of the emblematic works of the French visual artist Christian Boltanski. Through analysis of his artistic techniques, the author examines the relation between certain aesthetic strategies representative for the generation of post-memory and what can be called “an archival art.” The growing interest in the archive, particularly in the field of contemporary art, takes into consideration not only the particular practices of collection and archiving but also the contemporary conceptualizations of the notion, primarily in the optics of Michel Foucault. In this context Boltanski’s highly ambiguous use of archives – with its specific combination of trauma and irony, truth and fiction – is interpreted as a critique of the institutionalized structures of memory.
Anna Kuchta

IN THE CLUTCHES OF (POST)MEMORY.
A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN MOTHER AND DAUGHTER IN
BOŻENA KEFF’S “UTWÓR O MATCE I OJCZYŹNIE”
[“A PIECE ON MOTHER AND MOTHERLAND”]¹

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like a corpse on a road to nowhere,
sometimes on the trail of her stories²

Since the end of the Second World War and afterwards, when the postwar generation started to share their experiences and stories about the war, numerous works concerning the topic of postmemory – whether explicitly or not – have been published³. And as Anka Grupińska states, the ones involved in the dialogue about the Holocaust are more and more often the children of the Holocaust survivors rather than the survivors themselves⁴. Among those works, Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie [A Piece on Mother and Motherland], written by Bożena Keff and published in 2008, is undoubtedly exceptional and provides insight into the mechanisms and consequences of transgenerational transmission of trauma.

In her work Bożena Keff addresses her struggle as a representative of the second generation but mostly she focuses on personal issues, her troubled relationship with her mother, and the pain and emotions surrounding it. It is often a challenge for the members of the second generation – so called “generation after” or “children of

¹ The following article is a part of “Obrazy tożsamości kulturowej w kontekście zjawiska postpamięci...” research project and was supported by the Jagiellonian University DSC fund for young scholars (Faculty of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University, 2015).
survivors”5 – to present their own stories, as their experiences, emotions, and memories are tainted with the shadows of their parents’ trauma and postmemory. As explained by Marianne Hirsch in her book *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*, “postmemory is a powerful and very particular form of memory”6 which “characterizes the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth. Whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation shaped by traumatic events that can be neither understood nor recreated”7.

The impact of the trauma and its consequences have been so severe that through the first generation – the ones that experienced it directly and empirically – it reaches their children as well. While postmemory cannot be equated to memory, as Hirsch explains, “it approximates memory in its affective force”8 and thus, the children of the trauma survivors once again experience the pain transmitted from their parents. “Holocaust still continues, in various forms”9, states Keff, and this never-ending continuity makes it impossible for the representatives of the second generation to free themselves from the history they received from their parents.

The memory of the Holocaust has not faded with the passing of the generation that personally witnessed its atrocities. As the writings of the next generation reveal, these memories have been transmitted, often silently and unconsciously, from the survivors to their children,10 explains further Karein Goertz in her article on the mechanisms of trauma transmission. *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie [A Piece on Mother and Motherland]* is an excellent example of the persistence of the Holocaust trauma and its impact on family relations. As noted by Izabela Filipiak and Maria Janion in *Afterword* to Keff’s publication, the author had chosen a challenging subject, as she addresses not only the tragedy of the Holocaust, but also decided to describe the relationship with her

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7 Ibidem, p. 22. In the same chapter Hirsch explains that while she developed the notion of postmemory in regards to the children of Holocaust survivors, it “may usefully describe other second-generation memories of cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences” and she addresses the reason she decided to use the term “postmemory” rather than other terms to define memory of the second generation.


mother, which itself is a very “risky task”\(^\text{11}\). It is both socially disapproved and sacrilegious to argue with one’s mother, explain Filipiak and Janion, especially since the titular Mother – a Polish Jew and the Holocaust survivor – is “a carrier of personal trauma as well as of the trauma of her nation”\(^\text{12}\). Putting family relations in the centre of the story is not uncommon for the works created by representatives of the second generation, as essentially family is the origin of their inherited trauma and postmemory they experience.

It is not a coincidence when Keff herself admits that Art Spiegelman’s *Maus*\(^\text{13}\) – a world-famous work concerning the topic of postmemory in the context of the relationships within survivor’s family – was an important benchmark and inspiration for creating her own story. Thus, it may be worth pointing out that Spiegelman’s and Keff’s works bear certain interesting similarities. Just as Spiegelman’s graphic novel focuses on the relationship between father and son\(^\text{14}\), Keff’s book focuses on the bond between mother and daughter. Moreover, both *Maus* and *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie* [*A Piece on Mother and Motherland*] tell the story of the Holocaust and trauma transmission using a unique form – Spiegelman, being a cartoonist, delivers his story in a form of a comic\(^\text{15}\), while Keff chooses to title her own work simply a “piece” which does not make it easy to categorise it. “What kind of genre is it – a piece? Is it an opera or an oratorio? (…) Or maybe a new genre has been created – a narrative poem inspired by an opera?”\(^\text{16}\), a question Filipiak and Janion ask in their *Afterword. Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie* [*A Piece on Mother and Motherland*]. The piece is divided into eight parts and an epilogue and focuses on a relationship between the two main characters – the Mother (also referred as Meter\(^\text{17}\)) and the Daughter (often called Usia, sometimes Kora or Persefona\(^\text{18}\)). Their dialogues are accompanied by a chorus and


\(^{12}\) Ibidem.


\(^{14}\) For further reading see: Hirsch, Marianne. *Family frames*, op. cit., pp. 31–40 where she addresses the absence of mother figure in Art Spiegelman’s work.


\(^{16}\) Filipiak, Izabela, Janion, Maria, op. cit., p. 82. It is a word pointing that Aleksandra Szczepan also chooses to refer to *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie* as “a narrative poem” in her study of Keff’s work. Cf. Szczepan, Aleksandra. “Rozrachunki z postpamięcią.” *Od pamięci biodziedziczonej do postpamięci*. Ed. Teresa Szostek, Roma Sendyka, Ryszard Nycz, Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2013, p. 326.

\(^{17}\) Keff, Bożena. *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie*, op. cit., p. 59.

\(^{18}\) The nicknames “Usia”, “Kora”, “Persefona”, and “Meter” come from the names Demeter and Persephone (also called Kore), archetypical mother and daughter from the Greek mythology. However, instead of copying the names, Keff uses nicknames and diminutives which – as Filipiak and Janion put it – symbolize that the myth has been trivialized. The daughter’s name is especially important to analyze, as she is no longer Kore – just Usia, which is not only hypocrism from the name Kore (in Polish: Kora-Korusia-Usia) but also sounds significantly close to the Polish word “uszy” (“ears”), which is a metaphor of her position in the mother-daughter relationship. Cf. Filipiak, Izabela, Janion, Maria, op. cit., p. 85. Additionally, the nickname “Usia” rhymes with Polish word “córusia”
parts attributed to the Narrator who explains the situation and often provides additional context or shares historical details of the events referenced in the conversations between Meter and Usia.

Keff intentionally crosses the borders of typical literary genres and styles – she refers to the theatre of ancient Greece (e. g. uses choral interludes explaining or commenting on the relationship between the mother and daughter) but uses a very modern language (“language is fully mine creation”) and setting. Moreover, just as the author does not limit her work to traditional literary genres and styles, she is also approaching the subject of Holocaust in a different, often shocking or intentionally provocative way. She concentrates on painful subjects, such as war and trauma, but she does it with irony, mockery, and sarcasm, she does not avoid foul language, slurs and vulgarisms (“choke you egoistic blind moron rapist cunt”, “fuck you, hyena”), and mixes grievous historical topics with numerous pop-cultural references (Lara Croft, Alien). Thus, her work is not easy to define and tends to create more questions rather than explain the situation of the second generation or general mechanisms of postmemory. However, perhaps it was not the author’s intention to explain, to give definite and unambiguous answers, to find certain and final solutions. She focuses rather on portraying the family trauma she experienced and on delivering her story the way it is – shattered, unfinished, “shot through with holes”. She describes her own feelings, fears and thoughts, her own unique experiences. Even though postmemory, as pointed out by Marianne Hirsch, manifests itself through common behaviour of the “generation after”, each and every situation is different and Keff’s personal approach allows insight in the relationship between the mother and the daughter and shows the consequences of trauma transmission in the context of trauma survivor’s family.

Despite the aforementioned similarities between Keff’s and Spiegelman’s works, it is worth pointing out that the main focus of Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie [A Piece on Mother and Motherland] shows also a noticeable difference between them. Subtitling Maus with “My father bleeds history” Spiegelman stresses that the storyline presented in his graphic novel belongs to the father, Vladek, a Holocaust survivor,
not Art, *porte parole* of the author and a person from the “generation after”. Art, being “true to both his father’s story and his own experience of it”28, serves as a medium. He helps his father deliver his tale and unravel the memory of war, and at the same time he illustrates “the event of its transmission”29 to him, the very process of postmemory being formed. “The testimony is contained in Vladek’s voice, but we receive both more and less than that voice: we receive Art’s graphic interpretation of Vladek’s narrative”30, explains Hirsch. Through Art, who becomes a prisoner of transmitted memories, the reader learns the story of Vladek and, simultaneously, observes the mechanisms of postmemory. Keff’s approach is different, as she aimed to create a story that focuses not on the Holocaust survivor, but on the representative of the second generation, someone who was brought up by a person who experienced the trauma. Unlike *Maus*, Keff’s work does not provide detailed storyline about her mother’s experiences during the war and Holocaust, rather, it focuses on their aftermath and portrays the daughter trying to fight with the narrative she has already inherited.

In the case of Keff, *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie [A Piece on Mother and Motherland]* both concentrates on and constitutes a part of her personality and her autobiographical work as “a kind of declaration of her identity”31, explains Aleksandra Szczepan. Using the character of Usia as her *porte parole*, Keff delivers her story and shares the experience of growing up as a daughter of the Holocaust survivor. The entire “narrative space”32 is being constantly expropriated by the mother, explain Filipiak and Janion, yet the emotions portrayed by the author belong to the daughter. Meter is “constantly talking about it [her life] and about the pain she experienced”33, and thus she transmits her own trauma to her daughter. As Keff diagnoses, the mother is, in the essence, “a victim of the war and the Holocaust, even though she survived”34, as she has never moved on from the trauma she experienced. She stayed in the past and constantly kept reliving her “eternal”35 pain, her “tragic life”36, to the point that it seems accurate to call it “a cult of her own suffering”37. In the words of Anna Janko, another representative of the “generation after”, whose mother survived the massacre of Sochy village (1st June 1943), the trauma of the war and the Holocaust

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28 Young, James, op. cit., p. 671.
31 Szczepan, Aleksandra, op. cit., p. 32.
32 Filipiak, Izabela, Janion, Maria, op. cit., p. 83.
33 Ibidem.
35 Eadem, *Opowieść o Matce i Ojczyźnie*, op. cit., p. 9. Using the adjective “eternal”, Keff emphasizes the fact that both for the mother and – through transmission – for the daughter it seems impossible to imagine a world without war trauma. The same adjective Keff uses to describe Mother’s grievance, stressing that it is not only the pain that surrounds the Mother and the Daughter – it is also the endless, one-sided transmission of the traumatic memories.
37 Ibidem, p. 110.
“never disappears, not even at the equator at high noon”\(^{38}\). Thus, it is not surprising that in comparison to her mother’s pain, Keff’s own experiences or feelings may seem irrelevant, they become displaced or disappear under the shadows of past tragedy.

As Filipiak and Janion explain, “through the mother, who survived the Holocaust, the daughter continues to live somehow in times of war and ravage”\(^{39}\), and post-memory keeps overwhelming Keff’s own narrative and emotions. Portraying the situation of the second generation, Henri Raczymow notes that a child of the Holocaust survivor is in extremely difficult position as she or he is not “a victim, survivor or a witness”\(^{40}\) of the trauma themselves, yet she or he feels burdened with the parent’s memories and experiences similar emotions. As a consequence, such people feel constant and “overwhelming desire to write”\(^{41}\) yet at the same time they think that they have “nothing to say”\(^{42}\) or even that it is not their place to speak on behalf of those who suffered the trauma of the war. As Raczymow explains:

> My question was not “how to speak” but “by what right could I speak,” I who was not a victim, survivor, or witness. To ask, “By what right could I speak,” implies the answer, “I have no right to speak.”\(^{43}\)

In *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie* [A Piece on Mother and Motherland] Keff portrays similar struggle, the search for her own identity and her attempts to free herself from the mother’s story. Filipiak and Janion call explicitly the mother’s narrative “an invasion”\(^{44}\) on the territory of the daughter who needs to defend her rights not only as a person participating in the family dialogue, but as a person with her own narrative. Despite the fact that Keff inherited the trauma of war and Holocaust, she is essentially excluded from the suffering, excluded from everything that “is important for her mother”\(^{45}\) and – according to Meter – she has no right to feel the pain or to fully participate in the dialogue. As Meter states:

> If your life was as tragic as mine
> Perhaps I could sometimes talk with you like with someone
> Who has license to exist
> But you do not know the suffering, free from pain, from the essence of life.\(^{46}\)

For more information about Janko’s work, see: Kuchta, Anna. “Memory and influence. A story of trauma transmission in Anna Janko’s „Mała Zagłada”.” MASKA, vol 28, 2016, pp. 73–82.

\(^{39}\) Filipiak, Izabela, Janion, Maria, op. cit., p. 89.

\(^{40}\) Raczymow, Henri, op. cit., p. 98.

\(^{41}\) Ibidem.

\(^{42}\) Ibidem.

\(^{43}\) Ibidem, p. 102.

\(^{44}\) Filipiak, Izabela, Janion, Maria, op. cit., p. 85.

\(^{45}\) Ibidem, p. 84.

\(^{46}\) Keff, Bożena, *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie*, op. cit., p. 58.
In the eyes of the mother, the daughter is not only not allowed to experience any kind of pain – she refuses to see her suffering just as she refuses to see her as a person (“Will mommy ever notice me?”47) – but she is also deprived of the essence of life. For the Mother, Usia has virtually no connection with her family history: “You Share Nothing with Nothing”48, Meter says and Keff emphasizes her reproach with the usage of capital letters and the repetition of the word “nothing”. She has no past and, in consequence, no future (“there is no future for me here and there is no past”49), no identity, no roots and no importance – thus, she is not allowed to participate in the dialogue actively, she should just focus on listening.

Similar observation is noted by Mikołaj Grynberg in his collection of narrative interviews with people brought up by Holocaust survivors titled *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne [I Blame Auschwitz, Family Tales]*. Grynberg’s respondents often mention an overwhelming feeling of insignificance they experience comparing their own lives with their parents’ stories (“About me? Nothing important. I was not the one to survive the war”50, “How could I possibly tell my parents that something happened that makes me unable to get up and go to school, university or to work? Do you know what happened to them? And somehow they were able, right?”51). Representatives of the second generation often feel the need to compare their lives to their parents’ experiences and – obviously – they have no chance of winning such a strange competition.

Usia also feels insignificant, moreover, she is being perpetually reminded of her lack of importance by her own mother. Keff emphasizes the issue comparing Usia to an illusion or a fog52 which shows that her experiences are not considered real as they cannot compete with what her Mother suffered through. Instead of having her own narrative and being a legitimate and full-fledged participant of the conversation, Usia is reduced to a pair of ears (“Oh, my beautiful daughter […] Two Good Ears”53, “Mother calls the daughter every single day […] It is about the Ear.”54) and – with little regard of her own feelings or needs – forced to listen to the mother who talks “too much”55 because she lived through “too much”56. Using ear as a *pars pro toto* of the daughter is significant because it shows, in a metaphorical yet blunt way, that Usia is not a person, she is simply an unwilling listener. It is not a coincidence that it is the word “Ear”, not the word “daughter”, that Keff writes with capital letter, stressing the fact that in the eyes of Meter Usia’s importance and her role in the conversation

47 Ibidem, p. 47.
48 Ibidem, p. 58.
51 Ibidem, p. 100.
52 Keff, Bożena, *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie*, op. cit., p. 47.
53 Ibidem, p. 36.
54 Ibidem, p. 52.
55 Ibidem, p. 61.
56 Ibidem.
depends solely on her ability to listen. The daughter wants to free herself from her mother’s narrative, but at the same time she feels pressured by guilt to keep listening, to be there for her mother, to keep receiving her story and her trauma. She wants to speak, but she feels that for Meter her words bear no meaning (“Finally she realizes, it is all about the Ear […] not about what she says”). Once again, such emotions and behaviour correspond well with common features of postmemory and shows similarities with cases analysed in Grynberg’s Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne [I Blame Auschwitz. Family Tales]. People interviewed by Grynberg describe similar experiences and the need to live their parents’ memories and the constant guilt that does not allow them to create their own narratives (“I had no right not to listen when they were telling me about that times”), “I was born in this, not any other home, and whether I wanted it or not, I got involved in all this”).

Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie [A Piece on Mother and Motherland] portrays Usia’s struggle for freedom of speech and thought, her fight for creating her own narrative. It is a metaphorical journey of a woman who is growing up. She starts as a daughter – the listener – and gradually frees herself from her mother’s power and begins to tell her own story:

The daughter pretends to listen, because the mother needs to keep grinding (…) One day the daughter gets an idea. The puts the phone away and once every ten minutes she picks up the phone and randomly says “yeah” or “sure”. The knowledge that she does not have to listen actively to Meter’s story allows Usia to distance herself from her mother’s words and memories. She “frees herself and does not free herself” states Keff paradoxically. It is not possible for Usia to “free herself from the history”, just as it is impossible to escape family ties (“I took my general direction after my parents”), she states. However, as Keff’s story proves, it is possible to learn how distance oneself from the inherited memories and the trauma and create her own narrative.

57 Ibidem. It is worth adding that in her work Keff also uses a metaphor of “acoustic cabin” which shows that Usia is meant to receive the voice of her Mother and to carry that voice further. Ibidem, p. 19.
58 Grynberg, Mikołaj, op. cit., p. 296.
60 Keff, Bożena. Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie, op. cit., p. 52.
61 Ibidem, Na znak lojalności ze sobą, op. cit., p. 112.
63 Ibidem, Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie, op. cit., p. 72.
If there will soon be few left with personal experience of the Holocaust, it is high time to ask what kind of memory is being handed down and what kind of the post-Holocaust Jewish identity it is helping to create,\(^64\) suggested Efraim Sicher in his article about the post-Holocaust narratives. Keff, indirectly, seems to give an answer to his question, as her work is both an evidence of the past tragedy and its consequences on the family relations and the autobiography of a representative of the second generation, a person growing up in the shadows of postmemory, struggling for a release from the burden of inherited memories. Usia is forever unable to “gain autonomy in the eyes of her mother”\(^65\), yet she realizes she can create her own autonomy and thus regain the narrative space expropriated previously by Meter. Despite the fact that she took her general direction after the previous generation, she realizes that she has a different narrative, a different story to tell, one she “does not know they would recognize”\(^66\).

Freed from her mother’s memories, the daughter is finally able to address her own identity, which is much more than simply being a daughter of the Holocaust survivor. Usia is the daughter of her mother, but she also speaks as a representative of the generation after – as a Jew\(^67\) and Jewish woman\(^68\) living in her motherland, 21\(^{st}\) century Poland, which is another main “character” of Keff’s work. The relationship between the daughter and her motherland portrayed in *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie* [*A Piece on Mother and Motherland*] is becoming more and more important towards the end of Keff’s work. It is necessary to point out that postmemory always has a national context and thus, it has different qualities in different countries. In Poland the case is extremely complicated due to the situation of Jews after Second World War (the lack of Jewish communities, repatriations, anti-Jewish riots under Communist regime\(^69\)), who were often forced to either leave Poland or hide their identity and continue to suffer in silence, which often “serves as a perpetuation of [the story] tyranny”\(^70\). While the complex motherland-centred narrative in Keff’s work should be a matter of separate study, it is worth stating that the author

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\(^{65}\) Filipiak, Izabela, Janion, Maria, op. cit., p. 98.

\(^{66}\) Eadem, p. 72.


\(^{68}\) While this is not the subject of the following article, it is worth mentioning that Keff points to interesting similarities between Jewish narrative and feminist narrative, as both Jews and women share history of discrimination and oppression. See: Keff, Bożena, *Na znak lojalności ze sobą*, op. cit., p. 106.

\(^{69}\) E. g. Kielce pogrom of 1946.

\(^{70}\) Laub, Dori. “An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival.” *Testimony: crises of witnessing in literature, psychoanalysis, and history*. Ed. Shoshana Felman, Dori Laub, New York: Taylor & Francis, 1992, p. 79. Laub addresses the issue of the impact of suffering in silence on survivor’s lives and explains that the untold stories of ten “more and more distorted in their silent retention and pervasively invade and contaminate the survivor’s daily life”.

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constitutes her own identity in opposition to both mother’s and motherland’s oppressive narratives\(^71\). Despite her mother’s words, in the process of creating her narrative Usia realizes that she is not excluded from the past – both in terms of the history of the country and in terms of family roots – neither is she deprived of the future. Most importantly, she has the presence and she wants to speak, she “wants to Demand access to the History”,\(^72\) to be “Unleashed”,\(^73\) as she phrases once again, stressing important words with capital letters, from the narrative she involuntarily received. In *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie [A Piece on Mother and Motherland]* Keff speaks both on behalf of her mother and herself and she shows that while representatives of the second generation carry the burden of traumatic memories inherited from their parents, they also have their own stories to tell and those stories contribute to the discourse on the Holocaust and its consequences.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


\(^71\) Cf. Filipiak, Izabela, Janion, Maria, op. cit., pp. 95–98.

\(^72\) Keff, Bożena, *Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie*, op. cit., p. 56.

\(^73\) Ibidem.


**SUMMARY**

The article focuses on the issue of postmemory (a term by M. Hirsch) and transgenerational trauma transmission basing on Utwór o Matce i Ojczyźnie [A Piece on Mother and Motherland] (published in 2008) written by Bożena Keff, the daughter of Holocaust survivor. The main aim is to present the consequences of postmemory and trauma transmission in the context of the relationships within survivor’s family, mainly: the relationship between a mother and a daughter. Analysing the topics of transmitted memories and their consequences, the author provides a theoretical background referencing, among others, the thought of M. Hirsch and K. Goertz.
INTRODUCTION

On the Japanese ground a child, from its early days, is perceived through the lenses of its future roles. The matter of a child care is being taken seriously, as a special training before the final performance – starting adult life\(^1\). The child-rearing process, called in Japanese *shitsuke*, literally means 'the act of putting into the body of a child the arts of living and good manners to create one grown-up person'\(^2\). However, the descendant is not only a vessel in which a proud parent will put his efforts and material support but also, according to the traditional ideology, an element making the family complementary\(^3\). On the other hand, the popular Japanese saying states "Until seven, amongst the gods"\(^4\), what shows the unique status of the youngest children. Nowadays, at the age between six and seven, a child in Japan starts compulsory education, thus begins its social life and leaves the period of a symbolic divine protection\(^5\).

The implications of the transition process between two orders (divine and secular/social) are also visible in Japanese cinema – when the social life starts, there appear problems, fears and phobias connected to the sudden change of one’s everyday environment. Similar to Swedish cases mentioned below, the Japanese cinema offers numerous examples discussing the problem of difficult adolescence and bad memories of that period, influencing the future existence as an adult. It is worth underlining that the depictions of trauma appearing in Japanese post-war cinematography can be divided into two categories. Bad memories are shown as the results of the external

\(^2\) Ibidem, p. 11.
\(^3\) Ibidem, p. 14.
\(^4\) Ibidem, p. 15.
events that disturbed the natural flow of time, for example warfare or the presence of sudden death in the close environment of a young character. The traumatic memories of a child in Japanese cinema often relate also to the affairs happening at school and the toxic relations between the members of a class, factions, or other school-related groups.

In Sweden, there is no bigger value than a child and its early days. Childhood is supposed to be a time of joy and growing up to fill a unique position is Swedish welfare society. Post-war Scandinavian model stands in complete opposition to the values from the first half of the 20th century. As the most iconic example might serve the autobiographical cinema of Ingmar Bergman. The most honored Swedish director had been diagnosing and curing himself from childhood traumas through movies. Bergman described his years of adolescence as “cycles of sin, confession, punishment, forgiveness and grace”\textsuperscript{6} what was connected to the strict upbringing provided by his father, a protestant pastor\textsuperscript{7}. The beginnings of the modern Swedish welfare estate and its values can be traced back to the 1950s. In the middle of last century, Sweden was a country with one of the lowest birth-rate ratios in Europe\textsuperscript{8}. One of the first steps to change that tendency was implementing compulsory sex education in schools since the beginning of the education process\textsuperscript{9}. School reform has begun after World War II\textsuperscript{10}. One of the side effects of this new curricular activity was a change of life attitude, as protestant values have rapidly lost their impact on society. But the real change in attitude to children and adolescence is related with Torsten Husén, as his vision has become a synonym of what is now called a “Scandinavian model of education”. Husén had developed the idea of education based on equity, participation and welfare state, which might be described as “major socio-political attributes of the Nordic model”\textsuperscript{11}. Ari Antikainen describes progressiveness as another attribute, and understands it as “search for new, unprejudiced solutions”\textsuperscript{12}. Although several decades passed, the described ideas still stand as the main goals of Scandinavian, as well as Swedish, education system. One of the most conspicuous things on the official website of Sweden (sweden.se)\textsuperscript{13} is an accentuation of Husén’s ideas. The sentence “Gender-aware education is increasingly common, striving to provide children with

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\textsuperscript{9} Kulick, Don. op. cit., p. 211.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibidem.
the same opportunities in life, regardless of gender.”14 is one of the first things a reader might see there. Equality and inclusiveness are the things that Swedish society tries to emphasize the most.

While looking at the post-war Swedish society and its culture, an intriguing paradox can be noticed. Despite one of the lowest crime ratio amongst kids in Europe and growing up so-called “generation of kids who’ve never been spanked”15, child abuse and traumas of adolescence are one of the main areas of filmmakers’ interests. Movies dealing with violence and child abuse are highly publicized and childhood is presented as a war zone where no rules apply. The titles about school days trauma can be divided into two main categories. The first one shows aggression against school-age children and their reactions, from violence to inaction, while the second one can be illustrated by a Swedish proverb which says “childhood memories last long”. According to this, the filmmakers show long-term effects of school days trauma by depicting the adults who do not cope with society because of the memories they possess.

The main purpose of this article is to analyze and compare the depictions of the mechanisms of creating bad memories during the school days in Swedish and Japanese cinematographies. While searching for the common narrative patterns, as well as emphasizing the differences between both countries, this essay aims to present two film research areas – contrasting, yet in many aspects surprisingly similar.

BYE BYE INNOCENCE. WAR, TRANSGRESSION AND TRAUMATIC MEMORIES IN JAPANESE NARRATIVES

Before the World War II the depictions of children in the Japanese cinema revolved around the happiness and sadness of everyday life. The plethora of pictures showing the child protagonists, their relationships with other youngsters and the influence the “adult world” had on their existence, resulted in the emergence of a new genre – jidō-eiga (‘juvenile film’)16. As Keiko McDonald observes, in the 1930s “the search for marketable forms of innocence was on,”17 which started the “golden age of films about children” lasting from 1937 to 194118. Here should be mentioned Hiroshi Shimizu (1903–1966) who devoted a great part of his filmography to portraying the bucolic land of childhood times. His most appreciated films,19 Children in the Wind (Kaze no naka no kodomotachi, 1937) and Four Seasons of Children (Kodomo no shiki, 1939).

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14 Ibidem.
18 Ibidem.
19 Ibidem. Children in the Wind received the 4th rank among the ten best pictures of 1937 chosen by “Kinema jumpo” journal.
presented the stories of two brothers – Zenta and Sanpei. What is significant, even though the existing order of children's lives was disturbed and boys needed to adopt the bitter lesson about the significance of money in adults’ world, they were still able to enjoy simple pleasures. The protagonists quickly forget about the temporary misfortunes, and the mentioned pictures provided the happy endings, leaving no space for despair, as well as underlining that unpleasant memories of the events will soon be forgotten. It should be emphasized that the jidō-eiga films were considered comedy productions, what left no space for narrations about school age traumas or transgressions resulting in creating bad memories. The optimistic narratives about the childhood in the bosom of nature also appeared after 1990, for example in Yōichi Higashi’s film Village of Dreams (Eno Nakano bokuno mura, 1996).

However, the traumatic events of the World War II changed the perception of a child in Japanese cinema. The films as Village... still can be found among the narrations about children's trauma and lost childhood, but there is a scent of nostalgia for the pre-war past visible in the later productions. Nevertheless, the child figure in Japanese post-war cinema came to represent the discourse of the lost innocence that was taken by the inevitability of the history. The narratives appearing from the early post-war period, such as Twenty-Four Eyes (Nijushi no hitomi, 1954) by Keisuke Kinoshita, emphasize the fact that the traumatic memories of the War might postpone, or even constrain, children’s progress to adulthood. Kinoshita’s film – an adaptation of Sakae Tsuboi’s novel (1952), follows the pre- and post-war career of a teacher Hisako Ōishi and the fate of her students. Even though the brilliant educator tries to teach her pupils universal virtues and raise self-conscious citizens, the menace of trauma will chase them long after the tragic events. The figure of a teacher reuniting with her alumni after the War also appears in Kaneto Shindō’s picture Children of Hiroshima (Genbaku no ko, 1952). Based on the collected memories of the primary school students, later on composed into the narrative scenario, the film emphasizes the fact that it is impossible to forget about the trauma. The children who survived are reminded of the dead members of their families, not only by the obvious signs of the newly-built environment but also by the living ones, expecting the new generation to cultivate the memories. It can be observed that the post-war cinema provides the picture of the young people caught in the trap of requiring recollections of the past what generates additional trauma and deprives them of the innocence. On the other hand, as a significant example of the film illustrating the process of fighting with the trauma and the strive to be able to continue a normal life after the War, can

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20 Loska, Krzysztof, op. cit.
21 In Children in the Wind boys’ father is accused of fraud what forces the mother to search for a job, while in Four Seasons of Children the vicious antagonist tries to take control over the factory that belongs to children's grandfather.
be mentioned animated *Grave of the Fireflies* (*Hotaru no haka*, 1988) directed by Isao Takahata. In Studio Ghibli’s picture young Seita tries to survive the constant bombings, hunger and terror while taking care of his little sister Setsuko. What is significant, the protagonist does his best to pretend the normal life in front of a girl to save her from the trauma and bad memories.

Except for the war trauma, another factor that creates bad memories and irreversibly alters the perception of a child, displayed in Japanese cinema, is connected with the direct experience of death. The birth of a “traumatic identity” of a young person appears, among others, in *Eureka* (*Yurika*, 2000) and *Sad Vacation* (2007) by Shinji Aoyama, *Let me escape* (*Shissō*, 2005) by Sabu or *Confessions* (*Kokuhaku*, 2010) directed by Tetsuya Nakashima. In all mentioned titles the protagonists witnessed or survived the liminal experience that changed their perception of the everyday life and made them unable to continue the regular relationships with the others (families, friends or teachers). Moreover, the constant re-appearance of traumatic memories forces young people to undertake the violent actions and relieve their stress by transgressing the social norms.

The recurring topic in Japanese cinema, related to the school environment, is connected to the problem of aggression between the students that creates bad memories or is a result of an inability to cope. It should be underlined that, as in *Confessions*, the school premises often become the setting of the most traumatic events. Displaying the problem of school bullying (*ijime*), widely discussed in Japanese agenda, the directors show that the school environment makes a perfect place for all kinds of transgressive behavior. The victims of school violence, as well as aggressors, create their own world of cruelty that dominates their existence and, eventually, leads to the tragedy impossible to forget in adult life. Among the films covering the topic of the identity crisis and searching for the acceptance of others by the young protagonists through pestering the weaker ones, it is worth mentioning the most extreme pictures, presenting the pathologies of the sadomasochistic relations between the students. In *Moonlight Whispers* (*Gekkō no sasayaki*, 1999) the viewer observes the gradual discarding of Takuya’s personality. He is in love with Satsuki, the girl who takes pleasure from putting him down and inventing more and more creative tortures. Similar narrative situations are presented in various Japanese sexploitation films, as *The Torture Club* (*Chotto Kawaii Aian Meiden*, 2014), in which innocent Yuzuki (Noriko Kijima) becomes a member of an exclusive BDSM club for school lesbians.

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26 In 2005 Tōya Satō directed a live-action TV remake of the Studio Ghibli’s film and in 2008 another remake was created by Taro Hyugaji.


30 Here *A Blue Bird* (*Aoi tori*, 2008) by Kenji Nakanishi and *Blue Spring* (*Aoi haru*, 2001) by Toshiaki Toyoda should be mentioned.
Furthermore, it is worth analyzing the motifs of creating their own rules of existence by the child protagonists in Japanese films. The observer can perceive that the revolutionary groups of wild youths, destroying the social order at school or in other occupied space, come out against the law stated by adults. This situation can be spotted in films as *Suicide Club* (Jisatsu sākuru, 2001) by Sion Sono or infamous *Emperor Tomato Ketchup* (Tomato Kecchappu Kötei, 1971) directed by Shūji Terayama. In the first picture the director underlines the alienation of the young generation and the feeling of being misunderstood by adults, what results in creating the shocking way of the manifestation of rejection of the societal order. However, thirty years earlier Terayama, in his avant-garde visual collage, showed that the cruelty of the children, hunting adults to wipe out all memories of the old order, brings only disappointment. The children are not able to replace the adults’ rules, as their initial plans lack the experience necessary to create a new world on the ruins of what they destroyed.

The tragedy of adolescence presented in Japanese cinema revolves around the problem of erasing the recollections of the trauma. However, it can also be observed that the Japanese filmmakers emphasize the influence of the external factors on the mechanisms of creating bad memories. A child, even a member of a gang or one of distorted personality, is always a victim of the unfortunate coincidence and its deeds are partly excused.

**FROM SWEDEN WITH LOVE? CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON ADOLESCENCE**

School days trauma is one of the most discussed subjects in Sweden and adolescence’s problems were important to Swedish filmmakers even before the education reform. One of the earliest pictures focused on young people was *Torment* (Hets, 1944) by Alf Sjöberg. The film, based on early Ingmar Bergman’s screenplay, presented the story of a young boy who fell in love and, meanwhile, was oppressed by his teacher. It was one of the very first movies criticizing the strict Swedish school system. The first love and adults standing against young lovers’ feelings were a repetitive image in the years after World War II and had become a sort of cliché, which soon changed into, misunderstood and trivialized by western Europe and United States, concept of Swedish Sin. In 1950s Swedish filmmakers, who tried to speak about coming-of-age issues, were focused on stories of miserable love. Here can be mentioned *She danced one Summer* (Hon dansade en sommar, 1952) by Arne Mattson and *Summer with Monica* (Sommaren med Monika, 1953) directed by Ingmar Bergman. These movies present an idealized portrait of a feeling between adolescent couples who fell

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in love against the will of their relatives\textsuperscript{34}. Even though requited love dominated over unrequited one, the main source of trauma were the adults trying to split up the affectionate couples. A feeling of shame, which was the primary fear of adults, was connected with potential loss of virginity and disgrace brought to the family name. Despite the fact that in the 1950s Sweden outthought the rest of Europe and United States in matters of cultural liberalization, premarital intercourse was still socially condemned at that time. One of the most fundamental differences in portrayal of love as a source of potential trauma is the age of sexual initiation. Aforementioned titles tell the stories about young couples who are almost in their twenties. When they will be compared to the films made after rapid liberalization, which took place on the cusp of the 1960s and 1970s, it can be observed that the initiation age dropped to approximately 14 years old. These statistics find their confirmation in Roy Andersson’s movie \textit{A Swedish Love Story (En kärlekshistoria, 1970)} that has cast the actors who were 15 and 16 years old at that time.

The echoes of Andersson’s movie resonate in \textit{Show me love (Fucking Åmål, 1998)} directed by Lukas Moodysson. While depicting the teenage love in rural areas, Moodysson scratches the portrait of a “New Sweden”, where equity is the most important value. Despite its provocative title for a domestic market, the picture might be considered an educational movie and a lesson of tolerance for Swedish teenagers. Moodysson tells the story of 14 years old Agnes who is in love with Elin, an object\textsuperscript{35} of everyone’s dreams and her complete opposition. One of the biggest fears of Elin is related to marital problems and getting stuck in Åmål\textsuperscript{36}. Moreover, she is aware that her value for the school colleagues is related to her beauty, so that she treats her appearance as a curse because she attracts boys only interested in sexual intercourses. Moodysson also criticizes stereotypical, narrow-minded way of thinking. For example, in one of the scenes the viewer can observe a quarrel between Elin and the boys. The leader of the group claims that there are things that girls would not understand, like texting from a mobile phone. He also tries to defend himself by adding that the boys cannot do “activities for the girls”, “because they do not know how to use a lipstick or put on make-up”. When Elin asks her boyfriend to stand by her side, he says nothing because he does not want to stand against his best friend even when he claims chauvinistic opinions. Masculine superiority in small Åmål is a source of the biggest frustrations for Elin. In one of the most important scenes she screams “Varför måste vi bo i fucking jävla kuk-Åmål”, which might be translated as “Why do we have to live in fucking cock Åmål?”, suggesting the dominant position of the men around. Sven Hansell emphasizes that small cities in Swedish cinema represent strong heteronormativity values\textsuperscript{37}. Discovery and acceptance of her lesbianism results from bad

\textsuperscript{35} The word “object” is substantial to understand educational purport of Moodysson’s debut.
\textsuperscript{37} Hansel, Sven. ”Du är inte normal! Kön, norm och frihet i Lukas Moodyssons filmer.” \textit{Kvinnovetenskaplig tidsskrift} 1/2. 2004. p. 103.
memories with ex-boyfriends who were not able to treat Elin as a valuable person. The girl becomes a symbol of manifestation against male domination.

Problems of adolescence in Swedish cinema are not only limited to threats of love. Much more often childhood trauma is related to hate and violence. Popular Music (Populärmusik från Vittula, 2004), directed by Reza Bagher, tells the story of two boys growing up in the Far North. Just like the characters in Moodysson’s film, they dream about leaving their hometown. Set back in the 1960s, the movie shows baby steps of multiculturalism in rural Sweden. In a small town on the Swedish-Finnish border, there live different nationalities representing distinct cultures and religions, what leads to the main point of Bagher’s picture – excessive religiosity. According to Sofja Sjö, religion “becomes a hindrance from which one has to break free to find happiness”38. The members of one of the families are part of Laestadian movement, which might be briefly described as a strict faction of the Lutheran Church39. The father, whose devotion has marks of a cult, beats his sons hard when they do “sinful things”, as listening to music or wearing inappropriate clothes. In Bagher’s film religiousness is strongly criticized and pictured as a “downright evil”40. The father of Laestadian family is described as “the worst type – Laestadian without God”, Niila, one of the boys, is capable of surviving the struggles of adolescence thanks to rock music, his passion41. Swedish filmmakers present a child not only as a victim, but as an offender as well. There are numerous examples in Swedish cinematography of adolescence that might be described as a war zone. Among well-known examples, like the story about bullied boy and his vampire friend – Let the right one in (Låt den rätte komma in, 2008) by Thomas Alfredson or a metaphor of a totalitarian system – Evil (Ondskan, 2003) directed by Mikael Håfström, the most controversial example was Play (2011) by Ruben Östlund. All aforementioned titles depicted children not only as victims of bullying but as perpetrators as well, but Östlund went further. In the film from 2011 the roles of the offenders were played by black children, what caused a debate about multiculturalism in Sweden42. In Östlund’s Play the viewer can see how living in ghettos affects children, being a contradiction of main assumptions of multicultural policy. Swedish director points out how hopeless are Swedes nowadays in helping out adolescent victims, when there appears a chance that intervention might be seen as racist behavior. At the beginning of the film viewer can observe desolated commercial culture where black pupils meet up and intensively talk with each other. They are choosing potential victims, but they are completely ignored by everyone in that area. That ignorance lasts also when they start to stalk

another kid or start to hook people coming back from shopping. Östlund suggests that they occupy marginal position in the Swedish society, which ignores them even when they start violating the law\textsuperscript{43}. By the acts of violence they try to compensate marginalization, searching for the situations providing the feeling of omnipotence\textsuperscript{44}. Director draws a straw theory which suggest that childhood memories, related to feeling of ignorance, will result in an emergence of a lost generation.

It is worth mentioning that Swedish filmmakers underline long-term effects of memories related to school days trauma, as it was visible on the examples from Japanese cinema. Among noteworthy movies appears, based on Susanna Alakoski’s book, \textit{Beyond (Svinalängorna, 2010)}, directed by Pernilla August. The Swedish director tells the story of Leena whose memoirs come back when she receives a phone call from the hospital where her critically ill mother stays. Leena’s family moved from Finland to Sweden in searching for a better life. They stayed in a public housing project called by Swedes “Swine Projects” because of seediness\textsuperscript{45}. In Leena’s home alcohol and domestic violence were a norm. When she became an adult, she has decided to erase her contacts with pathological parents. Even a phone call can not change her attitude to dying mother, rather reminding her of all traumas which she had been muffling. Bad memories affect her daily routines and soon became a problem in her marital life. Anna Odell in her debut \textit{The Reunion (Återträffen, 2013)} deals with memories in a different way. Inspired by director’s private experiences, the film portrays a middle-aged woman who decides to dissect with opponents bullying her in adolescence. Odell presents that victim’s perspective and perception of the same situations is completely different than former aggressors.

\textbf{CONCLUSION}

In both Japanese and Swedish cinematographies the viewer can encounter the films which refer to idyllic images of adolescence despite its problems. This pastoral image seems to be more characteristic to Swedish movies from the time where term “Swedish sin” was not fully developed and vulgarized by western culture, and pre-war Japanese cinema. Although echoes of idealization of childhood memories reappear in Higashi’s \textit{Village of Dreams} and Swedish \textit{Popular Music}, the traumatic events of the World War II for the Japanese nation and cultural liberalization since the 1950s in Sweden resulted in new ways of presenting children’s characters.

One of the crucial events in Japanese history was the World War II and traumatic memories related to warfare, as well as the national tragedy of atomic bombing. The recent history of Sweden is free from any sort of war conflicts, happening on the Swedish land. As this Scandinavian country has recently celebrated two hundred

\textsuperscript{43} Ibidem. p. 50.
years of constant peace, there are no traces of children’s war trauma in its cinematography. However, it can be stated that Evil from 2003 is considered by Swedes to be one of the most important allegories of totalitarianism. Håfström, by showing troubled kids who attend the approved school run by sadistic teachers, depicts a caste system where the social position is strictly correlated with lineage.

The most surprising difference between compared cinematographies might be the portrait of a child as an offender. In Japanese cinema child is always innocent or its aggressive behavior is the fault of a system, designed not perfectly enough to prevent the distorted ones from having a bad influence on others. Nevertheless, bullying in Swedish cinema seems to be more reasonless. For example, the viewer is not informed why the protagonist in Let the right one in is beaten almost every day in school. Aforementioned in this paper Play (2011) is an exception to this rule. That ambiguity is explained by the fact that adolescent offenders in Östlund’s film represent the minority. However, the topic of racism in Swedish, as well as in Japanese cinema would deserve more attention and further research.

The discourse of the mechanisms of creating bad memories, related to the school days and possible traumas of that time, has its reflection in Japan and Swedish cinematographies. Even though many differences are caused by a geographical distance between these culturally different countries, we can observe how some of the cultural factors repeat on the film ground. The filmmakers from both countries are equally interested in depicting long-term effects of school days trauma and invite the viewer to elaborate on the phenomenon. In Japanese and Swedish films respectively, the observer can perceive how hard it is to defeat inner demons and try to run a normal life in societies that strictly define the role of a child, as well as its place in a societal order.

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FILMOGRAPHY


*Children in the Wind* [Kaze no naka no kodomotachi]. Dir. Hiroshi Shimizu.


**SUMMARY**

The presented article analyzes and compares the depictions of the mechanisms of creating bad memories during the school days in Swedish and Japanese cinematographies. The authors represent two film research areas what allows to present a wide variety of film examples, search for the common narrative patterns visible in the chosen pictures from two cultures, and emphasize the differences between both countries. The analysis starts from the brief presentation of the cultural implications connected with the strictly stated role of a child in Japan and Sweden, what has its reflection in both cinematographies. Furthermore, the authors underline the changes in the societies that are visible in the films, follow the most common patterns, and discuss the reasons and results of the school days trauma.
Krzysztof Warlikowski, who has gained a reputation as both a visionary and a provocateur, is one of the most renowned contemporary Polish theatre directors. The debut after the democratic transformation\(^1\), as well as the formal and ideological traits of his theatrical language, have allowed critics to consider Warlikowski a representative of the Younger and Brighter\(^2\) in the Polish theatre. Born in 1962, Warlikowski is no longer distinguished by his young age; nonetheless, his theatrical language continues to be marked by the “cult of sensitivity and individuality”, which, according to Guczalska\(^3\), was instilled in the director by Krystian Lupa, the mentor of the Younger and Brighter. This “cult of individuality” has influenced the choice of subjects raised by Warlikowski in his performances, resulting in the preoccupation with the theme of existence and experiences of an individual. As a representative of the Younger and Brighter, the group whose members are characterized by openness to the influence of the European theatre, Warlikowski has been inspired by the aesthetics of the Schaubühne and Thomas Ostermeier\(^4\). In producing plays saturated with cruelty, sexuality, as well as the psychological and physical pain, Warlikowski follows the aesthetics of

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1. 1989 marked the beginning of a Poland’s transformation from a communist into a democratic country. The democratic consolidation brought about the implementation of numerous political and economic reforms, which in turn contributed to the success of the transition into free-market economy and political independence.

2. The term was coined by Piotr Gruszczynski who used it in Ojcobójcy: Młodzi zdolniejsi w teatrze polskim. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B., p. 6 to refer to the generation of directors who dominated Polish theatre after 1989 and were distinguished by their young age and hunger for novelty. Gruszczynski chose this name in analogy to the name that Jerzy Koenig used in his 1969 article “Młodzi, zdolni” in order to refer to the Polish theatre directors of the 1960s and 1970s, the Young and Bright.


4. Thomas Ostermeier is the artistic director of the Schaubühne and a German theatre director renowned for the introduction of the in-yer-face productions onto the German stage. By staging dramas by Sarah Kane or Mark Ravenhill, Ostermeier has presented his spectators, in a shocking and frequently violent manner, with the tragedies of the individuals who remained invisible to the society.
the German director who, as Sajewska observes, postulates “opening [the spectators’] eyes to the world and sharpening [their] hearing to what is different, to »voices yet unheard«, »people yet unseen«, »problems yet not considered«, »histories yet untold«”.

Krzysztof Warlikowski has interpreted works of authors such as Bernard-Marie Koltès, Sarah Kane, and Marcel Proust; nonetheless, it is William Shakespeare, whose writings proved to be a huge source of inspiration for the director. Having directed *The Merchant of Venice* in 1994, Warlikowski returned to the Elizabethan playwright’s dramas several times; he directed, among others, *Hamlet* in Tel Aviv (1997) and in Warsaw (1999), as well as *Macbeth* in Hanover (2004). Warlikowski’s stagings of Shakespeare’s plays are far from being conventional productions, as they confront the audience with the problems and the deepest fears of modern society, such as exclusion and sexuality. Such confrontations are possible due to the universality of Shakespeare’s plays which, according to Warlikowski, “do not have to be contemporised” as “[t]hey are always contemporary; one only needs to read them thoroughly.” In *The Tempest*, which premiered in 2003 at Teatr Rozmaitości in Warsaw, Warlikowski asks questions about the power of memory and the (im)possibility of forgiveness. The director, however, leaves little hope for a positive resolution of the play, even if the Shakespearean plot leads to Prospero reclaiming his duchy. The staging implies that the bitter and tragic past cannot be forgotten; furthermore, there is no chance for redemption as long as the culprits refuse to admit their wrongdoings.

Therefore, the aim of this article is to present memory and forgiveness as the tools used by Prospero to shape the discourse of truth, thus granting him power over other characters on the island. In agreement with Manfred Pfister’s theory of the functions of dramatic language and Michael Foucault’s power/knowledge theory, memory in *The Tempest* proves to be a powerful instrument for producing reality, which the magus uses in order to control the inhabitants of the island. It strengthens Miranda’s adherence to her father as she has no recollections of the past on her own; it also ensures Ariel’s and Caliban’s submission by reminding them of their obligations to the potent magus. Furthermore, Prospero’s memory of betrayal results in Alonso showing remorse for his actions and Antonio being granted forgiveness, which, regardless of not stemming from complete absolution, proves to be the embodiment of Prospero’s political wisdom.

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**The function of the dramatic language in the context of Foucault’s power/knowledge theory**

Drama as a genre is characterized by the strong interdependence of its characters and plot; any action requires protagonists to be staged, whether they are only flat and closed figures or psychologically complex, multidimensional individuals. As Pavis observes, with a view to define the complexity of characters and the relations they form with each other, one needs to note and compare what each character says and does and what is said and done in relation to that character, rather than relying on an intuitive view of interiority and personality. An analysis of character necessarily leads to an analysis of speech, and an understanding that the character is both the source of his speeches (...) and product of them.

In addition to serving characterization, verbal communication motivates the development of the plot, since every utterance causes characters to react. Therefore, the dramatic language needs to be analyzed concerning multiple functions it performs; one of such functions is the appellative function correlating with Michel Foucault’s power/knowledge relation which, in turn, discusses the interdependence of power, knowledge, and truth.

Prospero’s accounts shape the knowledge of the past on both levels of communication system in *The Tempest*; thus, one can apply Michel Foucault’s power/knowledge theory in order to define the function of memory in the play. Foucault, an acclaimed French philosopher and literary critic, was concerned with the ways in which social institutions exercise power over people through knowledge; this preoccupation was expressed by the concept of power/knowledge theory. For Foucault the two concepts cannot exist in isolation, as knowledge is both the source and the product of power:

> We should admit rather that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.

Thus, as power/knowledge relation assumes the interdependence of the two concepts, they ought not to be considered in isolation. Furthermore, the philosopher underlines that power and knowledge are capable of influencing a given community’s

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perception of truth. According to Foucault, every society is characterized by its own "general politics’ of truth" which he identifies as

the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; (...) the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.\(^{11}\)

Hence, neither power nor knowledge or truth can be considered without referring to the other two concepts, as the Foucauldian discourse of truth of any community is produced exclusively by the power/knowledge relation.

Bearing in mind the interdependence of power, knowledge, and truth, one can identify in a dramatic text the type of utterances which correlates with the power/knowledge theory. Pfister identifies six functions of dramatic language, all of which correspond to Jakobson's functions of language\(^ {12}\): referential, expressive, appellative, phatic, metalingual, and poetic\(^ {13}\). The function which is of particular significance when examining memory as the source of power and knowledge, as well as the factor shaping the discourse of truth, is the appellative function which pertains to the addressee. The appellative function is attributed to the utterances which are to affect other characters, thus resulting in the change of the dramatic situation; it can take a form of overt commands or subtle acts of persuasion. As it induces action on the part of the receiver, the appellative function presupposes the existence of the unequal "relationship of authority and dependency"\(^ {14}\) between the characters, which can be observed in *The Tempest* as well.

Memories recalled by the Duke of Milan are the only source of knowledge in the past which contributes to them being the source of Prospero’s authority. The first scene of *The Tempest* takes place long after Prospero’s exile from Milan. Thus, the audience, much like Miranda who hardly remembers anything from her childhood, gains knowledge of the treacherous plot from Prospero, whose account is subjective and aims at shaping Miranda’s perception of humankind. It is also through the magus’s utterances concerning the past events that the recipients of the play learn about the relations between the characters in the second scene of Act I. Furthermore, Prospero’s utterances referring to the memories of the past aim at eliciting the desired reaction in the inhabitants of the island and the courtiers. The accounts of the first years spent on the island are a means of enforcing Ariel’s and Caliban’s obedience since they serve as a reminder of the debt that they owe to the sorcerer. The feast


\(^{12}\) Roman Jakobson distinguished six functions of language, each of which corresponds to one communicative factor: emotive – sender, conative – receiver, referential – context, poetic – message, phatic – channel, metalingual – code.

\(^{13}\) Pfister, Manfred, op.cit., pp. 105 – 106.

\(^{14}\) Ibidem, p.111.
staged by Prospero, on the other hand, is to lead to the magus reclaiming his duchy. As Prospero’s memories influence the behaviour of Miranda, Ariel, Caliban, and the courtiers, they become the factor shaping the discourse of truth and the primary source of the sorcerer’s power and domination. Hence, the appellative function of Prospero’s stories correlates with the power/knowledge relation by inducing in other characters responses which are in accordance with his plan.

SHAPING MEMORY AND IDENTITY AS THE SOURCE OF PROSPERO’S POWER

The first scene of Shakespeare’s play depicts a storm staged by Prospero’s magic; only after the courtiers and the sailors are introduced is the audience presented with the story of the perfidious plot. Warlikowski, however, removes the shipwreck from the staging and presents his audience with the bitter history lesson delivered by the magus in the first place. Therefore, as Prospero fills in the gaps in his daughter’s memory and defines the identity of his servants by refusing to accept their accounts of the past, he secures a dominant position of the only source of knowledge, truth, and power.

Regardless of the fact that Prospero and Miranda have spent long years in exile on the island, it is only the arrival of the courtiers which motivates the magus to acquaint his daughter with the past. Having learnt that Miranda’s memories of life in Milan are vague and scattered, he takes up the role of a teacher who educates in memory. The dim lights contribute to the creation of a dream-like atmosphere and emphasize the intimacy of this lesson. Furthermore, Warlikowski deprives the magus and his daughter of the conventional beauty. While his Prospero (Adam Ferency) is an unshaven man whose baggy sweater bears no traits of grandeur, the looks of Miranda are of even greater surprise to those spectators who would expect her to be a young and innocent girl. Played by Małgorzata Hajewska-Krzysztofik, who was 38 at the time of the play’s premiere, Miranda is “a grown woman who has never ceased to be a girl”15. Thus, by refusing to idealize his characters, Warlikowski makes the scene truly “nonstaged, real, interpersonal”16.

Miranda’s education in memory, however, is not objective, as it is heavily influenced by Prospero’s point of view. While he introduces himself as “the prime Duke, being so reputed / In dignity, and for the liberal arts / Without a parallel” (1.2.72-74)17, Prospero calls Antonio “perfidious”18 (1.2.68) and “false uncle”19 (1.2.77) simultaneously stressing his love for the brother. By contrasting his wisdom with the ruthlessness of his enemies who were capable of condemning a father and a child to exile, Prospero presents them as morally corrupt. Thus, as the magus resorts to the

16 Gruszczynski, Piotr and Krzysztof. Warlikowski., op.cit., p. 76.
subtle art of rhetoric to support his authority, he fulfills the aim of showing Miranda the full scope of human beings’ cruelty which is to become truth for the young woman who did not know humanity before, apart from her father and Caliban. Not having any recollections of the perfidious plot on her own, Miranda accepts her father’s memories as true, thus granting him power over her identity. Therefore, both Miranda and the recipients of the play are presented with the past seen from the perspective of a magus only.

Prospero in Warlikowski’s staging figures himself as the sole guardian of truth not only by filling in the gaps in his daughter’s memory but also by ensuring that Ariel and Caliban, both having their recollections of the island’s past, acquiesce to his view on it. The magus acts like a director whose ability to shape his servants’ memory grants him absolute power over them; the significance of being capable of exerting such influence can be seen in the emotional responses to Ariel’s and Caliban’s accounts which do not correspond to his version of the past. Warlikowski’s Prospero is enraged at Ariel’s attempt to remind him about the promise that the sorcerer has made. By stating “I must / Once a month recount what thou hast been, / Which thou forget’st.” (1.2.261-263) Prospero ensures that he has the sole right to define the relations of power and knowledge on the island. In the story he tells, Prospero presents himself as a wise and merciful saviour who freed Ariel from servitude; nevertheless, the assertion of his kindness is followed by the warning of punishment which is to follow Ariel’s disobedience: “If thou more murmur’st, I will rend an oak / And peg thee in his knotty entrails till / Thou hast howled away twelve winters.” (1.2.294-296). Thus, the magus’s tale, visibly painful for the fragile spirit played by Magdalena Cielecka, performs the appellative function of influencing other characters’ behaviour by assuring that Ariel accepts Prospero’s position of saviour and master whose decisions cannot be challenged.

Similar is the magus’s reaction to Caliban’s attempt to present his version of the past. When Caliban accuses Prospero of stealing his island, the magus refuses to recognize Caliban’s claim by calling him “most lying slave” (1.2.345) and emphasizing the repulsive savagery of his actions. Nonetheless, the 2003 staging of The Tempest does not emphasize the colonial context of the play that has frequently been discussed by scholars and critics with respect for Shakespeare’s drama; Warlikowski is rather preoccupied with the barbarity of the son of Sycorax in the context of the issue of power on Prospero’s island. The director stresses Caliban’s barbarity by presenting him as covered in dark tribal tattoos and wearing worn-out overalls, which, as Fabiszak observes, designate his low position in the social hierarchy on the island. Furthermore, as Caliban is played by an Austrian actress Renate Jett, Warlikowski

externalizes the character’s savagery in making him incapable of pronouncing words and sentences correctly. Unable to put his story into words, and thus define his identity for himself, the son of Sycorax curses the language that he was taught and leaves the stage. Thus, it is Prospero’s mastery of civilized language which allows him to prevent Caliban from speaking for himself and leads to the magus ensuring the existence of one interpretation of history only.

FORGIVING THE „HEAVINESS THAT’S GONE”

The memory of the wrongdoings is what stimulates Prospero’s actions aiming at reconciliation with his oppressors. Nevertheless, while Shakespeare leaves hope for a joyful resolution by making Prospero urge Alonso to forget “heaviness that’s gone” (5.1.202-201)\(^{24}\) and forgiving Antonio, Warlikowski’s interpretation of The Tempest does not envisage the possibility of complete forgiveness. As the director explains, his Prospero, “[b]eing a castaway on the island, (...) was affected by hatred, revenge, and the conviction of his penalty being underserved”\(^{25}\). Years spent in exile made the magus cultivate the memory of his brother’s treason and gave birth to the desire for retribution. Since Prospero is no longer naive to believe in the virtue of others but rather “cold, farsighted, and provident”\(^{26}\), he plans to deprive Antonio of the undeserved throne and punish the “the three men of sin” (3.3.53)\(^{27}\) by making them recognize their crime. He is also aware of his brother’s evil actions being repetitive, which makes forgiveness based on repentance impossible to take place on the island. Therefore, Prospero uses memory to control his oppressors “through the power of his knowledge of their evil”\(^{28}\) like the way in which he controls Caliban.

Before he appears onstage, Antonio is introduced to Miranda and the audience as the initiator of the plot resulting in Prospero’s exile. As Prospero explains, his brother “[m]ade such a sinner of his memory / To credit his own lie, he did believe / He was indeed the duke” (1.2.101-103)\(^{29}\), which frames Antonio as a ruthless traitor who distorts his own memories to remain unaffected by the consequences of his actions. While the storm staged by Prospero is to bring about the change in the conscience of Antonio, Alonso and Sebastian, Warlikowski’s Antonio (Andrzej Chyra) proves to be incapable of feeling guilt and remorse. As soon as Alonso (Zygmunt Malanowicz) falls asleep, Antonio immediately instigates Sebastian (Marek Kalita) to kill him to become the King of Naples. Since the plot devised against the king is a reflection of the treason committed in Milan, Antonio’s actions underline

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29 Shakespeare, William., op.cit., p.156.
the repetition of evil action which is the inevitable result of the inherent baseness of human nature. Given Antonio, murder and treachery will follow. He will prey instinctively upon those innocent enough to trust him or incautious enough to sleep in his presence.  

As Antonio and Sebastian do not hesitate to commit another crime which is to allow them to seize control of the throne unlawfully, Warlikowski, following Shakespeare, emphasizes the unlikelihood of repentance on the part of the culprits.

In order to remind the courtiers about their treacherous identities, Shakespeare’s Prospero stages a banquet interrupted by Ariel who takes the form of a harpy; Warlikowski replaces the feast with the horrifying pre-flight safety demonstration during which Ariel performs the part of a stewardess. Antonio, Sebastian, and Alonso suffocate during the emergency landing of a plane, which, contrasted with the calm expression of Gonzalo (Lech Łotocki), emphasizes their guilt. Nevertheless, Prospero does not succeed in using their memories of the treason to influence their consciences, since of the ‘three men of sin’ it is only Alonso who ultimately expresses contrition. Having renounced his magic, Prospero arranges a feast during which he is to settle accounts with his perpetrators. As Hunter notes, the feast is a symbolic invitation to the Communion table and as such should lead to reconciliation; nevertheless, the memory of the past crimes remains, allowing only for politically-motivated forgiveness. Prospero and the courtiers, all dressed in elegant tuxedos, sit at the table to discuss guilt and return Prospero his dukedom. As Alonso acknowledges his wickedness, Prospero asks him to consign past crimes to oblivion.

Similarly, regardless of complete silence and the lack of repentance on Antonio’s part, Prospero claims to forgive him all the wrongdoings. While pardoning the traitors, however, Prospero remains detached and cautious. Since his magic proves to be incapable of affecting the consciousness of Antonio and Sebastian, he does not await real repentance. His forgiveness is well thought out as it does not aim at the traitors recognizing their guilt but at Prospero restoring the political order and reclaiming his duchy. Thus, as Gruszczyński observes, Warlikowski implies that “there is guilt which cannot be absolved even if the victim forgives the oppressors” in which the director alludes to the Polish-Jewish relations. When discussing his staging of The Tempest in interviews proceeding the premiere, Warlikowski would suggest the existence of a parallel between the story of Prospero and his oppressors and the events following the publication of Jan T. Gross’s book about the Jedwabne pogrom:

The final scene of The Tempest leads to the confrontation between the oppressors and the oppressed. It brings to mind the confrontation in Jedwabne which caused our enthusiastic or outraged responses.
While the correspondence that the director discussed does not manifest itself in an overt reference to the Jedwabne pogrom, one find similarities between the two acts of pardoning. Since Warlikowski does not present forgiveness as dependent on true absolution but on the desire to restore the political and social order, he implies the correspondence between Prospero and the Poles of Jewish origins who, much like the magus, granted their oppressors with forgiveness but did not renounce the memory of their tragic past. Thus, the memory of Warlikowski’s Prospero becomes the source of his wisdom and power which manifests itself in moral domination over Antonio and the reclamation of Prospero’s heritage.

Memory and forgiveness are presented in Krzysztof Warlikowski’s staging of *The Tempest* as the tools which allow Prospero to exercise power over other characters of the play. According to Foucault’s power/knowledge theory, the two concepts are strongly tied to one another, since power generates knowledge and knowledge allows to exercise power. Consequently, the two fields are linked to the perception of truth in a given community, as the discourse of truth is shaped by individuals in the controlling position. Since Prospero’s utterances, which remind other characters of the past, shape their perception of history and influence their actions, the magus’s memory shapes power/knowledge relations on the island.

To begin with, Prospero’s narrative provides the only source of knowledge on the tragic history of the Duke and his daughter, as well as the history of the island and its inhabitants. Since it shapes the perception of their origins and identity, the story told by the magus to Miranda, Ariel, and Caliban has the appellative function of influencing the discourse of truth which dominates the perspective of Prospero’s daughter and servants. Furthermore, as reminding the intrigurers of their crime leads to Prospero’s reclaiming the duchy, the magus uses memory as an instrument for exercising complete authority over his oppressors. Nevertheless, while Prospero manages to retrieve his kingdom, he fails to evoke remorse in Antonio and Sebastian; thus, Warlikowski questions the possibility of forgiving the atrocious crimes of the past and links the act of betrayal to the social memory of the past human wrongdoings. By presenting Prospero’s oppressors as unable to repent truly, the director also shrouds his performance in the aura of despair and weaves a vision of the world in which forgiveness can serve only a political function. Therefore, the director presents Prospero’s memory as the only source of knowledge on the past and thus the primary source of his authority.
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SUMMARY

The aim of this article is to discuss the ways in which Prospero uses memory and forgiveness to exercise power over other characters in Krzysztof Warlikowski’s staging of The Tempest directed at TR Warszawa. By applying Michael Foucault’s power/knowledge theory, the article presents how the sorcerer shapes the discourse of truth of both the inhabitants of the island and the courtiers. In addition to influencing Miranda, Ariel, and Caliban’s identities and ensuring their obedience, Prospero utilizes memory to dominate over his oppressors. Therefore, forgiveness in Warlikowski’s interpretation of The Tempest proves to be the expression of Prospero’s political wisdom and authority.
INTRODUCTION

Harold Godwinson was the second of four kings ruling England in 1066. His predecessor and at the same time brother-in-law Edward the Confessor was king from 1042 and died childless on 5 January 1066. In such a case Edward’s successor should have been one of his male relatives, who were known as ethelings (an Old English word meaning “being from a noble house”), not Harold¹. The Confessor, however, had only one living relative from the male line of his family – Edgar Etheling, who in 1066 was still in his teens, whereas Harold was the Earl of Wessex and brother of Edith of Wessex, Edwards wife, therefore being undoubtedly the first person after the king.

Edward possibly took those facts into consideration when, being on the deathbed, he named Harold as his successor. The king’s council, the Witenagemot, which advised Old English rulers, did not oppose Edward’s will. Also, nobody protested against Harold’s hurried coronation (already on 6 January; it is possible that the most important nobles simply wanted the ceremony to take place on the Feast of Epiphany)². This common consent can be therefore interpreted that Harold Godwinson was deemed throne-worthy by his subjects.

But William, Prince of Normandy, opposed. He maintained that Harold was a usurper, because Edward the Confessor, when he was living as an exile in Normandy (after Cnut the Great invaded England in 1016), allegedly promised William that should he (Edward) ever be king of England, William would be his heir. Moreover, the prince accused Harold of perjury, saying that the latter swore an oath in William’s presence that he will support the prince’s claim to the English throne.

The accusations of the ruler of Normandy, regardless of their truthfulness, were not mere empty words. William attacked England and defeated Harold Godwinson

in the memorable battle of Hastings on 14 October 1066. The king of England died in that battle, but the Witenagemot did not submit at once to William – the Conqueror. Instead, it made a desperate attempt at proclaiming king the young Edgar Etheling. The latter, however, had practically no support and was also never crowned. Therefore, he abdicated in favour of the Norman prince, who on Christmas Day 1066 was crowned the new king of England.

**THE NIGHTMARE OF 1066 AND MEMORY OF IT**

The last months of 1066 must have been for the English a true shock. But even worse events were yet to come. King William began his rule by imposing heavy taxes, from which the building of castles was being financed. This type of fortified structure was practically unknown in England\(^3\). The castles soon became a symbol of Norman oppression, which people unavailingly tried to overthrow in a series of uprisings in 1067–1073. The height of this struggle took place in winter 1069–1070, when the army of Normandy devastated northern England (known as the “Harrying of the North”), burning and destroying all supplies. The 12th-century Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis in his *Ecclesiastical History* wrote that because of those actions more than 100,000 people lost their lives\(^4\). His contemporary John of Worcester even mentioned acts of cannibalism, as a result of omnipresent starvation in the northern parts of the country\(^5\).

After these events, the king completely changed his policy towards his English subjects. The greatest changes took place within English aristocracy and clergy. At the time of William’s death (1087) of the ca. 1,400 tenants-in-chief living in England only 13 (!) came from Old English families\(^6\). Part of the local aristocracy died during battles and some emigrated (even to the Byzantine Empire)\(^7\). Most of the rest was deprived of their positions, which were given to people from continental Europe, predominantly Normandy.

Similar changes occurred within the hierarchy of the English Church. At the time of the Conquerors death, there were 15 bishops in England, but only one of them was English (St. Wulfstan, who whose consecrated during the reign of Edward the Confessor). The rest came from Normandy (11), Lorraine (2) and Italy (1)\(^8\).

The figures above are very important. They show how the political forces completely changed in England within those twenty years. We should also remember

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\(^7\) Ibidem, p. 34.

about other factors not brought up here due to their complexity: economic, social and cultural changes. We could mention e.g. marriages between Norman men and English women (often forced) or the beginning of high influence of Latin and Norman French on Old English.

Taking therefore into consideration everything that I have written above, we should research one crucial matter: what do we know about the events of 1066–1087, reflections and experience connected with them, from contemporary English chronicles. For we would expect, that the feelings of the English were well recorded.

The answer to this question might come as a surprise because there is an evident lack of English texts from William the Conquerors reign that would describe the events of 1066, especially when compared with Norman sources and other writings from the next decades. The only information we have comes from two manuscripts: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and *The Life of King Edward*.

*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is, in fact, a collection of annals. Nine manuscripts of it survive today. The oldest, known as the [A] version, was created in the 10th century. All of them are compilations of a lost source but each one was individually updated with various facts important to its writer. The events of 1066 that are in our particular interest were described in manuscript [C], [D] and [E] (the latter two contain similar information)\(^9\).

The author of [C] ended abruptly his version of the chronicle after writing about the battle of Stamford Bridge on 25 September 1066. In that battle king Harold defeated the combined forces of the king of Norway Harald Hardrada (a completely different claimant to the English throne) and Harold’s rebellious brother, Tostig Godwinson. Therefore [C] does not provide us with any information about the upcoming attack of William\(^10\).

Manuscript [D] on the other hand continues its annals up to 1079, but the author of this version is very frugal with words. The tragic result of the battle of Hastings was deemed as God’s punishment for the sins of the English. The text also suggests that Harold was not fully ready for this second battle. The manuscript mentions that Edgar Etheling was suddenly proclaimed the new king and the even more sudden homage of the Old English nobles to William the Conqueror. The annalist wrote that the latter should have been done earlier before so much evil was done. The writing ends with information that the building of castles had started throughout England and it brought much oppression. There also appears a short prayer, or perhaps a sigh, that expresses hope for a better future\(^11\).

Even more reserved is the author of *The Life of King Edward*. This source is not a typical hagiography, although its title suggests that. The greater part of this work praises the deeds of Earl Godwin, Harold’s father, and his family. It was written on

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\(^11\) *Loc. cit.*
orders of queen Edith, Edward the Confessor’s widow. The work survives in a single, incomplete manuscript from ca. 1100. It consists of two distinctive parts, created in different times and circumstances.12

The first part was written during the reign of Harold. The primary objective of it was without a doubt to be a eulogy in honour of Godwinson’s family. At a certain point, however, the narration changes and the further cards of the manuscript are dedicated to the life, characteristic and miracles attributed to Edward the Confessor. Because of the fact, that the author of The Life of King Edward complained that his whole work, its initial goal, had come to nought and that only Queen Edith was still alive, this second part must have been written after William’s attack. It could not have been written after 1075 though, for Edith died then.13

The work in this part does not directly mention the battle of Hastings, but it strongly suggests that a great calamity occurred. However, it mainly depicts the Confessor. This is very strange, because Edith lost in the battle three brothers, together with Harold.

It can be therefore clearly seen, how little can we find out from English writings created directly after the Norman conquest. How can this be explained? Unfortunately, this meaningful silence has not yet been truly enlightened by English historians. Only a medievalist from Netherland, Elisabeth van Houts, laid emphasis on the quietness of those English sources. In her paper The Trauma of 1066 she hypothesized that it was exactly trauma after the death of Harold Godwinson and the yoke of Normandy, together with practically a whole “new order” that the topic of Norman conquest was not discussed by English writers of old as long as King William lived.14

As a base for her thoughts E. van Houts analised English sources from the 11th and 12th century, tracing four generations of English writings that show the change in dealing with the matter of the year 1066.15

As a somewhat analogous situation, this researcher reminded about World War II and the lack of contemporary publications concerning that conflict. Living memories of German occupation – fear, death and violence being commonplace – were the reasons for a traumatic silence of those who survived. It was not until about twenty years later, according to E. van Houts, during the next generation, when a great need of writing about World War II emerged.16

Personally, I find her parallel entirely unfounded. Polish wartime literature, for instance, was very prolific, and by the end of the 40s many valuable books, poetry and memoirs concerning World War II were issued. It also did not take the Poles long to put into writing the experience of German death camps.

But if E. van Houts through this comparison wanted to make it clearer for the reader to grasp the notion of the trauma of 1066, then perhaps her generalisation

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16 Ibidem, pp. 9–10.
may be justified. For the word “trauma” is the key to understanding what actually happened in England during William the Conqueror’s reign. It is not an exaggeration on E. van Houts side. I would gladly use the same term. Why?

I am aware that war during the Middle Ages is considered something “natural” with its cruelty and misfortunes. The Old English people were especially used to disasters because of Viking raids, ever since the attack on Lindisfarne in 793. Those attacks continued practically till 1066. But the raids were not revolutionary to the political systems that existed through those years in Britain. The Vikings were understanding in goods: money, gold and other items. Even the reign of Cnut the Great, when England and Norway were parts of a kingdom under the dominion of Denmark, was not seen as a shock. The English and the Danes lived next to each other for so long; they were practically considered one people17.

However, it cannot be said about the Knights of prince William of Normandy. Their arrival in England was catastrophic, as they brought to the Kingdom changes (of which I have spoken earlier) no Viking raid had the possibility or even will to do. Thus I want a reader to understand that when we talk about Hastings and its aftereffects the word “trauma” is the best fitting word.

Finally, to finish this matter, I would like to remind what the 19th century English historian Edward Freeman wrote about the Conquest of 1066, when he likened it to the partitions of Poland18. England as a state of course survived, but now its culture became dominated by France rather than Scandinavia. Hastings was a starting point to the England we know today.

This ends my defence of the use of the word “trauma” by E. van Houts. Let us know return to those four generations of English writing which she traced19.

The first was the aforesaid “generation of silence” in English historiography, which expressed trauma after the Norman conquest and its effects. This contrasts with a great proliferation of contemporary Norman sources, e.g.: *Song of the Battle of Hastings* (attributed to a Frenchman, Guy of Amiens; written ca. 1067), *Deeds of the Dukes of the Normans* (by William of Jumièges; written about 1072), *The Deeds of William, Duke of Normandy and King of England* (William of Poitier’s; from ca. 1073) and also an embroidered cloth known as the *Bayeux Tapestry* (commissioned by Odo of Bayeux, the half-brother of William the Conqueror, ca. 1077).

It was not until the second generation, living after the Conqueror’s death in 1087 that English writing emerged on a greater scale, e.g. the earlier mentioned Orderic Vitalis and John of Worcester, also Eadmer with his *History of Recent Events in England* and William of Malmesbury and his many works. This generation tried to explain why England fell, considering it as God’s punishment for sins (a reason diffi-

dently suggested by *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*). This searching for fault undoubtedly lead to the birth of Harold Godwinson’s dark legend, who was always (except the chronicle of John of Worcester) called a perjurer and therefore he had to be defeated (I will return to the case of Harold on the next pages).

The thought of God’s justice was also a theme in the work of Henry of Huntington, who wrote his *History of the English* as a member of the third generation (ca. 1125–1150), distinguished by E. van Houts. More than punishment, however, Henry considered the pain of the English, brought by the events of 1066, as part of the unknown God’s plan, a judgement of Providence, intended for the Kingdom of England for its good.

We see, therefore, having in mind the hypothesis of E. van Houts, a kind of theological approach of writers from the second and third generation, who are not silent but try to find a place for their own history in a new reality, trying to explain the defeat under Hastings. It was not, however, until the last generation (ca. 1150–1175), that we can observe a virtual explosion of writing concerning events from and after 1066. Chroniclers eagerly gathered information from their fathers and grandfathers, who preserved memories of old, when England was different, to write it down for the benefit of future generations. Therefore, from traumatic silence and searching for the explanation of defeat came acceptance of those sad experiences. And the latter arrived in times when England was already mostly an Anglo-Norman society.

**HOW HAROLD GODWINSON WAS REMEMBERED**

When writing about the nightmare of 1066 and memory of it, we cannot omit the person of King Harold Godwinson, mentioned here many times. Ever since William the Conqueror became king of England, Norman propaganda was doing everything to tarnish Harold’s reputation. The goal of those operations is obvious. William had a serious problem in showing continuity between himself and Edward the Confessor. The Holy See, although maintaining good relations with the Norman ruler, recognised him as king only in 1070, when the papal legate Ermenfrid of Sion symbolically re-crowned William and imposed special penances for bloodshed during the battle of Hastings.

The next step on the road of strengthening the Conqueror’s power was, therefore, to secure the legitimisation of his throne further. One of the ways of doing it was to present Harold Godwinson in such a manner that posterity would remember him as an evil person, thus moving away from the Conqueror any suspicion that perhaps the latter was the real usurper. While studying sources from the 11th and 12th century, I noticed a few things clearly showing, how Norman chronicles manipulated particular facts that caused Harold to be remembered as an antagonist.

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I. PERJURER AND “KING”

The origin of historiography being unfavourable towards Harold should be sought in his, almost legendary, visit in Normandy, which took place around the last months of Edward the Confessor’s life. The purpose of it is not quite clear, nevertheless, according to sources, the course of action was like this: Harold in Normandy was arrested by Count Guy of Ponthieu. But the latter was soon forced to release him on orders of Prince William. Harold then remained for some time by William’s side as his guest. The prince, however, did not pass this opportunity and reminded the Earl about “the promise of King Edward”. He then obliged Harold to swear an oath on holy relics, that the Earl will aid him in the realisation of this promise. Harold was in no position to oppose William, so he did as he was told.\(^21\)

But we must immediately point out, that we cannot be sure if the whole event, which is given in medieval sources, ever took place. Although most modern researchers accept the version that Harold indeed was in Normandy and swore such an oath, but there are also some who think that Harold’s visit there was a mystification on the Conqueror’s side. For instance, an English historian Vivian Galbraith considered Harold the rightful king of England and the “oath” sworn in Normandy as William’s manipulation. With such an argument the latter attacked England having only economical intentions – with the acquired wealth he could confront the king of France.\(^22\)

Harold, however, has been remembered as a perjurer. Also as a “usurper” and “tyrant” (often with the epithets “proud” or “vain”). William of Poitiers, the Conqueror’s chief panegyrist, liked to describe Harold with such phrases, especially when in comparison with William the Conqueror, who among many beautiful words was, e.g. greater than Caesar himself, for William conquered England far quicker.\(^23\)

But in the writing of William of Poitiers there is something far more interesting, a double-important sentence. In an apostrophe addressed to the dead Harold, we see these words:

Your last hours show with what right you were elevated to the kingship by the grace of Edward on his death-bed. The comet\(^24\), the dread of kings, which blazed in the heavens after your enthronement foretold your doom.\(^25\)

First of all the author of The Deeds of William... ascertained that Edward the Confessor before death indeed chose Harold to be his successor. Edward, therefore, must have changed his mind regarding the promise to William (if we believe in it). William of Poitiers maybe wanted to suggest that King Edward before his death was not sound of mind and therefore his later decision could not have been binding for

\(^{21}\) F. Barlow, op. cit., p. 103.
\(^{23}\) The Norman Conquest..., p. 40.
\(^{24}\) It was Haley’s Comet, a periodic comet visible from Earth every 75-76 years. It was also depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, see: English Historical Documents, p. 255.
\(^{25}\) The Norman Conquest..., p. 36.
the prince of Normandy. Otherwise, the appearance of these sentences in a Norman chronicle would not have any sense.

The second matter is even more interesting. William of Poitiers in our fragment states that Harold was a king. The chronicler named him in that way throughout his work three times. Similarly, among other sources, we can find the explicit expression “King Harold” in the chronicle of William of Jumièges and the Bayeux Tapestry. There is also one preserved charter from 1067 granted by William the Conqueror, in which Harold is called a king26.

But there is a stunning difference in the famous Domesday Book, a medieval survey of England completed in 1086 by order of the Conqueror. It is an interesting fact that whenever Domesday Book mentions lands that in the past belonged to Godwinson, he is never given the title “king”. In most cases he is simply referred to as “Earl Harold” or “when he usurped the Kingdom”27.

What we have here is some form of censorship – Harold as a king never existed in light of Domesday Book. But the sources mentioned earlier did not take away from him that title, no matter whether he had it legally or not. This sudden restraint can possibly be explained when we think about all the major events that took place during William’s rule. When the English finally submitted to him, and when he was officially recognised as king of England by the Church it became most useful to forget about King Harold, especially “king”, who was an uncomfortable reminiscence.

2. “THE ARROW IN THE EYE”

An equally interesting example how Norman propaganda could manipulate certain facts can be found in the various depictions of Harold’s death. In this case, we should refer to yet another source: the verse chronicle Roman de Rou by Wace, a canon of Bayeux. It was written ca. 1170 and based on various earlier works and oral tradition. It covers the history of Normandy since its founding by the Viking Rollo till the beginning of the 12th century28. Wace wrote this concerning Harold’s death:

There Harold had remained, defending himself to the utmost; but he was sorely wounded in his eye by the arrow, and suffered grievous pain from the blow. An armed man came in the throng of the battle, and struck him on the ventaille of his helmet, and beat him to the ground; and as he sought to recover himself, a knight beat him down again, striking him on the thick of his thigh, down to the bone29.

The “arrow in the eye” motif is the most popular version of Harold’s death but it deserves to be called a rather vague hypothesis. For in the Song of the Battle of Hastings, which may have been created a year after 1066, it is mentioned that Harold

27 Ibidem, pp. 18–24.
29 Ibidem, p. 252.
was slain by William and three of his companions. Other writings from the 11th century are silent about this matter.

Wace presented the largest account of Harold’s death. Of particular importance is the mentioned fact that Roman de Rou is partially based on oral tradition. Therefore, we can assume, that Harold’s death by an arrow in his eye is not Wace’s invention, but the folk belief that lived in the memory of his contemporaries and considered worthy of writing down. But why 11th century Norman sources, except the Song of the Battle of Hastings, did not record much about Harold’s death, since from a propaganda point of view it could be put to good use by the Conqueror?

The reason could be propaganda itself. A couple of years ago a historian Chris Dennis formed an interesting hypothesis in an article concerning the death of Harold Godwinson. If the latter actually died from an arrow, it could have been interpreted as God’s will. William and other Normans would be completely innocent, according to medieval thinking. But should the truth be within the Song of the Battle of Hastings, then it comes as no surprise that William’s involvement in Harold’s death is not recorded elsewhere. Why?

C. Dennis points to what was written here earlier: that the pope recognized William as a king only in 1070. The Church must have had serious doubts about the legality of the Norman conquest of England. Since Harold was crowned and anointed, the pope had to carefully consider whether Hastings was kingslaying or not, despite the Normans asserting that Harold’s coronation was null and void. This might be the reason why William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers kept silent about the way Godwinson died: because they wrote their chronicles just a few years after 1070. We cannot count the description from the Song of the Battle of Hastings, which is, in fact, a French, not a Norman, source and therefore came into existence in more free conditions, since Guy of Amiens was not a subject of William the Conqueror. Wace may have written a false version told by the Conqueror, which has lived in memory ever since as Harold’s death from an arrow in the eye.

CONCLUSION

This text concerning the situation in England during William the Conqueror’s reign by no means is a complete list of changes that occurred in that time and all the more it does not adequately show how they were remembered. But it aspires to be a help for those interested in these matters.

First of all, I wanted to present as short as possible England after the passing of King Edward the Confessor. Although his brother-in-law Harold Godwinson beca-

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32 Ibidem, p. 18.
33 Loc. cit.
me the king’s successor, the right to the crown was disputed by prince William of Normandy, who eventually attacked England and defeated Harold.

Then I wrote about the memory of those unfortunate events, focusing mainly on the silence of English sources from William’s reign. The scholar E. van Houts claims that the aforesaid silence was a consequence of trauma after the Norman Conquest. For many readers “trauma” might be an exaggeration, but I defended the use of that word and after that presented a simplified analysis of 11th and 12th century English sources. E. van Houts showed very clearly that there were four generations of English writers, who differently had dealt with the matter of 1066.

Another issue mentioned was the way Harold Godwinson had been presented in Norman chronicles – always as an antagonist. It comes as no surprise that for the sake of William the Conqueror’s reign Harold must have been presented badly, so that no one would ever question William’s right to the throne of England. I have, however, noticed certain manipulations in the Norman sources that cast a shadow on this matter.

Was Harold not a true king? The answer to that question will always remain a mystery and a matter of academic debates, for we do not know for sure certain facts, like whether Edward the Confessor made a promise to a young Prince William or did Harold really swear the oath in Normandy. 1066 definitely ended an era for England: it removed the Kingdom from Scandinavian influence and brought it near France. I am, however, close to the opinion of V. Galbraith who considered William the Conqueror a usurper.

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**Summary**

The purpose of this article is to present how the changes in England that occurred after William the Conqueror’s invasion were remembered. I am particularly interested in the memories of generations from the turn of the 11th and 12th century. Firstly, I outlined the background of the 1066 events: the childless death of Edward the Confessor, naming his brother-in-law Harold Godwinson the king’s successor, the later protest of the Prince of Normandy and his invasion of England, the tragic end of the battle of Hastings in which Harold died and, finally, the coronation of William as the new king of England.

William’s rule was very oppressive for the conquered people in economic, social, as well as psychological terms. Because of this fact, in the further part of the article I brought up the problem of trauma after the Norman conquest, so far poorly researched. Later on, I examined in what way Harold Godwinson was presented in sources from the 11th and 12th century. Often one can see a manipulation of particular facts, what resulted in remembering Harold as an antagonist.
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REINDEER FOR THE IDENTITY AND MYTHOLOGY OF REINDEER CHUKCHI

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1. INTRODUCTION

The reindeer is a crucial constituent of the identity structure and culture of several minorities living in Siberia, the Russian Federation, such as Nenets, Evenks, Koryaks or Chukchi. It is a constant element of their surroundings and thus, it also plays a major role in their lives and self-identification.

The Chukchi people live mainly on the Chukchi Peninsula, the shores of the Chukchi Sea and Bering Sea. Currently, their number might be slightly higher than 16,000 people. In the late 1920s, Lenin and the Bolsheviks decided to bring “enlightenment” to the indigenous people and began implementing a policy of collectivization in the newly created national districts (e.g. in the Chukchi Oblast), threatening the traditional lifestyle and identity of the Chukchis. The Chukchi usually call themselves Luoravetlan (meaning a true person) and they are commonly divided into two sub-groups – the reindeer Chukchi (Chauchu) and the maritime Chukchi (Ankalyn). Both of them are highly interconnected and speak one language. Reindeer and the lifestyle built around it by Chauchu became a distinguishing and identifying factor for them, proving the significance of this animal for these indigenous people. The reindeer is repeatedly mentioned in the mythology of the Chukchi people as one of the beings created at first, and as a permanent companion of the first

3 Name Luoravetlan originates from lygoravetlyan in Chukchi language (also called Luoravetlan). Chukchi, Koryak and Itelmen languages belong to belong to Chukotko-Kamchatkan family. The first mentioned languages are very close to each other but the latter differs distinctively from them. More: Fortesque, M. D., Language Relations across Bering Strait: Reappraising the Archaeological and Linguistic Evidence. London and New York: Cassell, 1998.
people as well. Until today, large herds of reindeer are the synonym of wealth; they are an inseparable part of the Chukchis’ existence and self-identification. As a very complex concept, identity can be approached from multiple perspectives – it is multifaceted and ever-changing, differs on individual and collective level, but also from the perspective of self as opposed to others. In what way does the presence of reindeers in lives of the Reindeer Chukchi influence their identity? This paper will focus on the further exploration of the relation between the reindeer and the identity of the Reindeer Chukchi and the manner in which it contributes to their mythology and understanding of the world. The presence of reindeer in the existence of the Chukchis affects their self-identification and internal division of the whole group (Luoravetlan), but also the way other groups perceive the Chukchis from the outside. It is important to raise such questions in order to understand this endangered minority better and enable its survival or, perhaps, revival, especially in the face of the threatening changes in the region.

Culture and identity of such remote groups are understudied and seemingly unpopular, and therefore should be a subject of a more extensive research. The Chukchi people are usually mentioned in collective texts about the Siberian native people or the reindeer herders, rarely being at the center of the scientific interests. The vast majority of the aspects of the Chukchis’ life were studied and described by the Russian ethnographer, Vladimir Bogoraz at the beginning of the 20th century. Some of his most famous works are *The Chukchee* and *Chukchee Mythology*, both a great source of information for this paper. But since then not many anthropologists turned to this particular minority. One of the exceptions is Ü. Siimets who wrote a few extensive papers on the issue of the mythology and legends of the Chukchi.

This paper investigates the internal division of Luoravetlan, the identity of the Reindeer Chukchi from their perspective, but also from the point of view of outsiders. Then, it moves to the Chukchi mythology and the manner it presents reindeer to allow a better understanding of the strength of the cultural inveteracy and the correlation between indigenous myths and identity. The examination of *The Reindeer-Breeder and Al’wai* myth from focuses on the significance of the reindeer sacrifice and then ties it to more modern practices present in shamanism.

2. **IDENTITY: LOURAVETLAN, CHAUCHU AND ANKALYN**

Chukchi people refer to themselves as *lygoravetlyan* which means *true, genuine man* and covers two sub-groups. Originated from that, the name Luoravetlan was adapted as the official one for these indigenous people in the 1920s. The Chukchi traditionally are divided into reindeer herders and coastal, maritime Chukchi. Word *Chauchu* means ‘rich in reindeer’ and is used by Chukchi people as a name for ‘reindeer men’ (Tundra or Reindeer Chukchis), while ‘the sea people’ (Maritime or Costal

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Chukchis) are called *Ankalyn*. The name Chukchi was widespread since the 17th century mostly by Russians – they adapted the word *Chauchu* and, being supported by Russian geographic terminology for the region (Chukotka, Chukotsky poluostrov or Chukotskoye more), it became prevalent since the World War II (also amongst the people themselves)\(^5\). It depicts how differently the Chukchi people perceived themselves in comparison to the perception of the outsiders (in this case Russians) and how complex the concept of identity is.

The fact that both groups, *Chauchu* and *Ankalyn*, collectively identify themselves as a unified people, is proven by the usage of the same language with very little dialect-wise differences, the widespread of intermarriage amongst both groups, and similar religious rituals. Both the Tundra and the Costal Chukchis are animist and practice shamanism, unlike Yupik Eskimo who are neighbours of *Ankalyn* and share a similar lifestyle\(^6\). These two groups of the Chukchi people not only distinguish themselves within one big group by the self-identification, but also by contrasting themselves to each other as well as to outsiders, which they refer to as *alvayelilit* (which means *those of alien language*)\(^7\).

Nevertheless, from the point of view of Russians they were all referred to as the Chukchi (originating from *Chauchu*), perhaps because of the more likely interference with this group, rather than the Costal Chukchi, due to their living location. The Reindeer Chukchi, although still living very far from Russians, were still less distant and isolated than the Maritime group. Hence, it is likely that Russian perception of the Chukchi identity was influenced by the contact with *Chauchu*. It portrays the dynamic between self-perception and perception by others – all the Chukchi were generalized and assigned with a label of the reindeer herders. Often, outsiders do not notice neither sub-divisions that could be present within the larger group nor other of its more hidden features\(^8\). On the other hand, assigning certain identity by one group to another is a kind of social anchoring and a natural phenomenon that helps people process information\(^9\).

Luoravetlan is a diverse, yet united group. It uses various tools, such as language, to unify, but also to embrace its different dimensions and sub-divisions (for instance, means of subsistence – reindeer herders and sea mammals hunters – but also the living conditions) of the one collective identity. The Chukchi language reflects on it through e.g. its vocabulary – the Chukchi use *lygoravetlyan* for both groups, yet they

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\(^8\) This phenomenon is strongly correlated with group’s internal diversity and its multiple dimensions, only some of which are obvious and easily observable. Mazur, Barbara, *Cultural Diversity in Organisational Theory and Practice*, “Journal of Intercultural Management” Nov. 2010, vol. 2, no. 2.

create terms specific to reindeer herding or sea mammal hunting, and that enable them to divide into Chauchu and Ankalyn. Reindeer as such and the lifestyle built around it provided a base for the Reindeer Chukchi to distinguish themselves from the kindred people, such as Maritime Chukchi\textsuperscript{10}.

There are still several divisions amongst Reindeer Chukchi, mostly based on the main areas that particular groups wander in, but also on the characteristic of their reindeer herds. Vladimir Bogoraz distinguished twelve groups, for instance: The Western Kolyma Group, The Upper Anadyr Group, The Chaun Group, or The Dry Anui Group. However, he also emphasizes that each cluster of camps that are tied by the kinship links claims their own name\textsuperscript{11}. It is important to notice that the real division originates from the herds and groups that do the reindeer husbandry together and, even though their names are derived from the geographic location, it is the reindeer that bring people together. For example, at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, The Dry Anai Group, the largest of all twelve, consisted of around 100 camps, each of which had their own herds, usually 300-400 animals. This number can make a family (ten to fifteen people that constitute one camp) self-sufficient regarding meat and clothing, and suffice for the skin trading\textsuperscript{12}. Thanks to that, the group is independent, can limit their interactions with other groups and thus, develop the sense of self and self-identification.

The correlation between the Chukchi language and identity of the people is not only employed as a tool to define and name self and others, but it is also used in Chukchi literature. Victor Grigorevich Keulkut (1929–1994) is considered to be the first professional Chukchi poet. In his poems he usually praised Chukchi Peninsula, its wonderful nature and hard workers. Among his most famous collections of poetry are My Chukotka or Let the Frost Bite\textsuperscript{13}. He mentioned reindeers, their herds and reindeer husbandry in several of his texts, creating an impression that they are a very important component of the landscape for the Chukchi people. They are usually depicted as an element of nature, long-legged and graceful, like in the poem Shepherd; or presented in the relation to people, for instance in Expecting reindeers are the pullers of the sledge – the fastest mean of transport\textsuperscript{14}. Reindeer are also often present in works of one the most famous Chukchi writer, Yuri Sergeyevich Rytkheu (1930–2008) who, after the communism-influenced period in his works, turned to Chukchi traditions and language. In one of his publications, Beneath the shadow of the mystic mountain (Travels and Reflections), he says something crucial:

\begin{quote}
And I was dreaming that someday I will have a chance to be at the real Russian field, sown with bread, to see this wonderful plant, which is like a word ‘walrus’ to a seaside
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{10} Bogoraz, Vladimir, \textit{The Chukchee}, op. cit., p. 11.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibidem, pp. 25 – 28.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibidem
\textsuperscript{13} Кеулькут Виктор Григорьевич, 2 March 2013, [on-line:] http://culbibibino.ru/literaturnye-klassiki-chukotki/keulkut-viktor-grigorevich.html [03.01.2016].
\textsuperscript{14} Ibidem
resident, a word ‘deer’ to a tundra nomad, which became a symbol of life to a Russian tiller, this distant man, who is alone suffering from the hardships of war, losing their loved ones and friends, holding out a helping hand to the people at the other side of their great country, who got lost in the empty and cold spaces of the planet15.

In this one sentence, which does not even refer to the Chukchis per se, Rytkheu was able to capture the meaning of the reindeer to Chauchu, its simplicity and yet, great importance.

3. REINDEER IN THE CHUKCHI MYTHOLOGY

The communicational aspect of the language enables sharing the collective memory, values and beliefs, and thus, identity creation and preservation. According to Samuel Hynes, “myth (…) is a term to identify the simplified, dramatized story that has evolved in our society to contain the meanings of the war”16 and this is a good starting point to define it further. Myth as such not only deals with war, but rather the group’s past in general, its place in the world, its social practices, and much more. Hence, among all its functions, myth is an instrument in the hands of the collective to pass its traditions to the next generation and maintain them, enhancing its identity. The Chukchi mythology contains all the elements most closely related to the Chukchis’ existence – it explains the creation process, importance of particular animals (with the common reference to the reindeer), the division between Tundra and Costal Chukchi17. Since these people are predominantly animist and still practice shamanism, their mythology is an important base for their belief system, emphasizing the connection between human, nature, and spiritual spheres.

Reindeer appears in the Chukchi mythology very frequently – Chauchu even believe they are the human incarnation of reindeers themselves18. The Chukchis believe that the reindeer, as well as other animals and elements of nature, have their own masters or spirit (ke’let, which usually refers to harmful spirits, however not in case of masters) and they can take human form in their tales19. Although the reindeer are usually depicted as merely companion of the Chukchi people, their means of transport and source of all the essentials such as food or clothing, the importance of this animal could be deduced from the fact that some stars and constellations are said to be reindeer-related. Reindeer is linked to the Sun, a separate entity, imagined as “a man in bright garments wandering around the sky, drawn by dogs or reindeer.”20

15 Rytkheu, Yuri, Под сенью волшебной горы (Путешествия и размышления). Leningrad 1981. Translated by the author.
19 Ibidem
Five big stars in the constellation Cassiopeia are imagined to be five reindeer-bucks standing in the river. But the most meaningful for the position of the reindeer is the hierarchy of the deities of the Chukchi mythology. Even though it is the (Self-Created) Raven (Ku’utkil) who is considered to be the creator of everything, he does not play the most imperative role. It is the Reindeer Being (or Merciful Being, or Upper Being) who is supreme and supposed to live on top of the sky, taking care of the wild reindeer and domesticated herds.

Of the four creation tales presented in The Chukchee Mythology by Vladimir Bogoraz, two mention reindeer. The first one, Raven Tale, is strictly a creation myth, the subject of which is the origin of the world, nature and men. Even though this story came from the Maritime Chukchi, it still touches upon the reindeer. The reindeer are created from the wood chips thrown at the earth by the Raven who does that (and other things) to prepare the world for first humans, his children. When the reindeer is created, the Raven explicitly says: “Now you have food! Hm!” This illustrates the meaning of the reindeer for the people quite well – it was considered to be ever present, and people were depended on them for the essentials. The other myth, Story of Raven and Wolverine, told by the Tundra Chukchi, mentions the reindeer in the context of transport. Seemingly, the reindeer is a continuous element of the Chukchi tradition, and thus also identity, strongly influencing the every-day life of the Chukchi.

There is a myth that proves the importance of the reindeer from the less material viewpoint, too. The tale The Ai’wan and the Reindeer-Breeder tells the story of the daughter of a wealthy Reindeer Chukchi. She was given to brutal Ai’wan, the sea-mammal hunter, in marriage, alongside with one of the herds of her father, the reindeer-breeder. But Ai’wan was not keen on reindeer husbandry and decided to get back to hunting. Thus, he did not need his herd anymore so he chose to slaughter all the reindeers for meat. It made the daughter of the reindeer-breeder grieve the herd, and she ran away from her husband on the back of the only reindeer that was left. Her sorrow grasped the attention of the Upper Being, the Being of the Reindeer People, who felt sorry for her and for the animals. Hence, the Upper Being intervened – the daughter’s reindeer spoke with a human voice, helped her and led her to the Deity’s camp. It contained of reindeers looking exactly like the slaughtered ones. Through sacrifice they had become the Upper Being’s herd. The Being of the Reindeer People invited the girl to his house and sent her to her father’s camp, asking only for one thing – to use the blood of one of her own reindeers for the anointing, instead of the blood of her father. At the end of the tale she meets her husband again –

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21 Bogoraz, Vladimir, Chukchee Mythology, op. cit.
she and other women kill him by cutting all his flesh, slice by slice\textsuperscript{26}. This myth shows the strong belief of the Chukchis that they can achieve Deity’s benevolence and establish the contact through the animal sacrifice. It also adds the mystical dimension to the role of the reindeer in the Reindeer Chukchi culture and tradition.

More important sacrifices, e.g. for more significant spirits, are usually conducted by shamans. Shamanism and animism are crucial to identity and identity preservation for Chauchu because they practice it for centuries, and also from an anthropological point of view. Shamanism influences the identity not only because it is a carrier and an executor of religious beliefs, but also because shamans provide the Chukchis with the connection with their past, e.g. with their ancestors and deceased ones, and their ‘ecosystem’ – spirits of everything that surrounds them\textsuperscript{27}. Shamanism is also present in the every-day life of the Tundra Chukchis – they incorporate some of the rituals on special occasions. However when it comes to every-day or “family shamanism”, nowadays they usually imitate rather than perform actual shamanistic rituals\textsuperscript{28}. An example of that might be the traditional autumn livestock slaughter. Its purpose is to ensure the great number of prey during the entire year. The Chukchis copy only some of the elements like playing drums, while other aspects are altered, for instance the time of the ceremony (for the household the practice might be held during the day, meanwhile in case of shaman-led service, it is usually performed at night and everything takes place in the complete darkness of the tent)\textsuperscript{29}. This might illustrate the significance of shamanism for the Reindeer Chukchi people and, for Chauchu’s notion of self. Chauchu do want to include such ceremonies in their lives and trust their meaning and effectiveness, or at least maintain the Chukchi traditions and beliefs.

The reindeer play a specific role in the shamanistic practices – since their digestive system is able to process toxic substances contained in the fly-agaric mushroom they consume, some of the Tundra Chukchi drink drugged reindeer’ urine or consume their flesh. They have to bind these reindeers with ropes and slaughter them quickly, since these products do not stay psychoactive for a long period of time\textsuperscript{30}. The intoxication with the muscimol, the active component present in the fly-agaric mushroom, causes elation, sedation, hallucinations, and colourful visions\textsuperscript{31}. The hallucinations triggered by the intoxication help the Chukchis to apply their most crucial religious idea (all the creatures and objects have their own spirit) in the real life – while having

\textsuperscript{26} Bogoraz, Vladimir, \textit{Chukchee Mythology…}, pp. 162 – 165.
\textsuperscript{27} Harvey, Graham, \textit{Shamanism: A Reader.} London 2003.
visions, they see objects in strange shapes that are assumed to be their real, spiritual forms. Because of this characteristic feature, the fly-agaric mushrooms are considered to be a separate tribe\textsuperscript{32}. The reindeer, always present in the surroundings of the Reindeer Chukchi, and this specific habit related to these animals, create a special bond between the reindeer and Chauchu.

The continuation of the sacrifice practice proves its significance especially for the Reindeer Chukchi – repeating the ceremony helps them preserve their identity in the face of the changing world and local demography. According to the Russian Census 2010, there are 12,772 Chukchis living in the Chukotsky Autonomous Region, but also 25,068 Russians and 2,869 Ukrainians\textsuperscript{33}. Exposed to others, Chauchu need to maintain their traditions to preserve their identity. The Tundra Chukchi still sacrifice chosen animals from their herds for multiple occasions, e.g. to the Morning Star, to earth or to make a Chukchi girl fall in love with a Chukchi herder\textsuperscript{34}. As an example, Chukchi shamans would have to sacrifice the reindeer for the Moon (ketlja, evil spirit of the Sun) in order to cast curses or spells on other people; it should take place at the full moon and be fulfilled in the traditional way. The shaman knows if the Moon accepted the chosen animal by the side the reindeer falls on after being stabbed straight in its heart. If it is the right side, the sacrifice was successful; if it is the left one, the reindeer was not accepted and the ceremony should be repeated\textsuperscript{35}. The reindeer play also a significant role in other rituals, such as funeral or marriage – Vladimir Bogoraz covers this subject extensively in \textit{The Chukchee}\textsuperscript{36}.

The Reindeer are still considered to be a measure of wealth for both nomadic Chauchu as well as those that settled down in villages or towns\textsuperscript{37}. Nevertheless, the animals were never perceived only from the materialist point of view – the Chukchis are reluctant to butcher their reindeers because that would equal destroying their own wealth. Moreover, these animals are the integral part of Chukchi mystical world. For this reason reindeer meat – the base of the Chukchi people diet – or skins should never be wasted because such an action would have negative spiritual consequences, for instance a member of the family (usually a camp) could become sick. Hence, while eating reindeer meat, the Chukchis have to clean the bone from all flesh, cartilage, and sinew. Even hoofs are roasted. When it comes to bones, they have to be burned\textsuperscript{38}. The remaining skins are dried and smoked - they are used for yarangas (traditional Chukchi tent-like mobile home), for sledges or for the new clothes. Reindeer breeding is a non-waste production\textsuperscript{39}.

\textsuperscript{32} Bogoraz, Vladimir, \textit{The Chukchee}, op. cit., p. 282.
\textsuperscript{33} Федеральная служба государственной статистики, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{34} Siimets, Ülo, op. cit., pp. 142 – 147.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibidem, pp. 152 – 153.
\textsuperscript{36} Bogoraz, Vladimir, \textit{The Chukchee}, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibidem, p. 132.
\textsuperscript{39} \textit{The Reindeer People}, Dir. Olga Vershinina, Prod. Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, 2011.
4. CONCLUSION

Identity is a very complex, multifaceted concept, so it is possible to use so-called markers – environmental, social and cultural – of selfhood in order to establish its boundaries. The fluid character of identity expressed by its dependence on context and circumstances means that each person and group might have several identities. In case the Chukchi, it is possible to observe this trend while examining the internal division of the Chukchi (Luorawetlan) into the Tundra Chukchi (Chauchu) and Costal Chukchi (Ankalyn). The former of these two sub-groups created and developed their self-identification around the reindeer – an animal that belongs to the spiritual world and at the same time provides them with all the necessities in their nomadic life.

The fluid character of identity expressed by its dependence on context and circumstances means that each person and group might have several identities. In case the Chukchi, it is possible to observe this trend while examining the internal division of the Chukchi (Luorawetlan) into the Tundra Chukchi (Chauchu) and Costal Chukchi (Ankalyn). The former of these two sub-groups created and developed their self-identification around the reindeer – an animal that belongs to the spiritual world and at the same time provides them with all the necessities in their nomadic life.

The constant presence of reindeer influences the identity and culture of the Reindeer Chukchi probably in all possible ways. Their system of beliefs, the essentials such as food or shelter, customs, ordinary activities – all these aspects of self that make Chauchu feel unique and distinguishable circulate around the reindeer. In the movie The Reindeer People directed by Olga Vershinina, the Chukchi women confesses that they do not know who was there first – the Chukchi or the reindeer. This simple statement proves the significance of the reindeer of the Tundra Chukchis’ self-identification. Their existence is entangled with the existence of the reindeer, and they believe that one could not survive without the other.

Most of the Chauchu’s myths, traditions, and habits are reindeer-related. This paper focused on the religious aspect of the reindeer-identity correlation because it exemplifies the mystical dimension of the reindeer’s meaning. However, perhaps it might be the simple customs and habits that connected the Chukchis so closely to these animals. The recent changes in the world, the period of the Soviet control over Siberia, eco-degradation, etc. negatively affected the environment in which the distinctiveness of the Reindeer Chukchi was and still continues to be shaped and thus, it might even lead to the disappearance of their identity. Hence, it is important to explore the indigenous people of Siberia, their identity, history, habits, and identity in order to create more favourable conditions for their preservation.
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**Summary**

The Chukchi are indigenous people of Siberia and they mostly inhabit the Chukchi Peninsula. Despite their name, which originates from the word Chauchu (meaning: rich in reindeer), they self-identify as Luoravetlan and divide into two sub-groups – Chauchu and Ankalyn. Chauchu, together with Ankalyn, built their identity as Luoravetlan through common language and religion. Simultaneously, they distinguish themselves from the latter sub-group by self-construction strictly tied to the reindeer, always present in their ecosystem. The reindeer not only provides Chauchu with all the essentials, but it also plays a crucial role in their mythology and shamanic rituals. Thus, this animal acquires mystical and fundamental meaning in the Chauchu’s life.
Wojciech Rubiś

ON CULTURAL MEMORY PRESERVED IN RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE WORK OF NADIA ISSA

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My first world, the place of my early childhood, was Poland, where I was brought up in the Roman Catholic tradition. This is my home, the place of my ancestors and of my metaphitical roots. The Arab world (United Arab Emirates), to which, at the age of five, I moved with my family, became for me a second, heretofore unknown world, mysterious and unfathomable. There, I encountered a religion previously unfamiliar to me: Islam. From childhood on, I had questions about the essence of religion. I could not understand how a variety of creeds could become a source of conflict. In retrospect, it seems to me, I found certain similarities between these two religions at the level of intrinsic and symbolic contents. Since then my life has gone on between the Polish and Arab worlds. I have tried to understand my state of suspension, to discover my identity. In 2015, when I learned that I was to carry out work at the Singer’s Warsaw Festival, it became obvious to me that I had to become acquainted with the contents of the religion of Judaism as soon as possible, not only to draw inspiration from them for my artistic work, but also to better understand this religion. Judaism become for me a third, lost ‘link’ in my multicultural and religious search.

Nadia Issa (2016)

Writing about a series of her works at the turn of the years 2015/16, Nadia Issa emphasises above all their mystical context; this is a legitimate step that brings us, as interpreters, closer to the way religious symbols preserve the contents of cultural memory. However, it is worth reflecting on how religious symbols participate in the creation of cultural memory and whether their mystical dimension is actually involved

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1 Work financed by the Faculty of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University in 2016 within the framework of a DSC project for work serving the development of young researchers and doctoral students, entitled ‘The metaphysics of light in contemporary Jewish culture and the art of light.’

2 Nadia Issa (born 1991) completed her graduate studies at the Faculty of Media Art of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw in 2016. Since 2015, she has served as an assistant intern at Professor Włodzimir Szymanski’s Laboratory of Alternative Imaging at the Faculty of Media Art. She is the winner of a rector’s scholarship for the best students, a ZAiKS scholarship, and the Debuts competition. Her works have been featured in individual exhibitions at Galeria Obok ZPAF, the Islamic Cultural Centre, and numerous group exhibitions, and have been published, among other places, in the pages of Krytyki Politycznej [Political criticism], Estetyki i Krytyki [Aesthetics and criticism], and Vieworld. She often explores themes of identity, both cultural and individual.
in the process. Indeed, it appears that not all of the elements which combine to create the symbolic context of a given object (e.g. the disclosure and representation of mystical experiences) combine to create the area of cultural memory in equal measure. It should be stressed that from the perspective adopted herein there are significant differences in the relationships between the sphere of cultural memory and (1) mystical experiences, (2) participation in the culture. In other words, for several important reasons to be mentioned in this article, a mystical experience need not be linked construed as participation in culture; moreover, it is independent of culture.

The point of view presented in this article is based on a methodological distinction between the objective sphere of culture and religion and the corresponding subjective (conditional) sphere. Since contemporary works of art are to serve as an example of this distinction (presented below, as well as analyzed in the course of the article), it is worth noting that, in other words, we are dealing here with the difference between what emerges from these two approaches to cultural and religious art. What can we gain from the mystic approach, behind which lies the authorial intention of the work of Nadia Issa, and what can we gain from the cultural, objectifying approach, at the base of which lies philosophy? I will attempt to find answers to this question, bearing in mind the goal here is to get closer to the strata of cultural memory.

Of course, the work of Nadia Issa – that is, the treatment of mysticism as the overall content of faith or as the manifestation of religious content (e.g. the presence of God or of grace), which serves to create the aesthetic experience of art – is legitimate, but it is worth remembering that concepts of mysticism have their source in momentary experience and individual contact with attributes/emanations of the divine that defy linguistic description and consolidation (objectification). Thus, on one hand, they constitute a very valuable subject for the experience of art, whereby the work

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5 We raise this issue in the following article: P. Tendera, W. Rubiś, ‘Wolność u korzeni – kościół i państwo w obronie etyki i cywilizacji zachodniej dla przyszłości społeczeństwa obywatelskiego’ [Freedom at the roots: the church and the state in defense of ethics and Western civilisation for the future of civil society], in: *Liberté!*, no. XXIII, August-October 2016, pp. 130‒135. We write there, among other things: ‘Components of civilisation in the form of assumptions about the objective existence of values (antirelativism) of the good, of duty to the law and the truth, are today being systematically weakened and eliminated from public life, undermined by the practices of media and mass communication (e.g. the latest scandals and abuses, whose central figures achieve public recognition rather than universal ostracism). Semantically empty, beautiful-sounding words such as goodness and truth, insolently repeated in politics and the media, have, as a result of aggressively practised semantic chaos, lost their original sense and the objects to which they refer. And yet, although continually undermined, they continue to serve as the ideological base built with great difficulty by civil society. Why? Because there is no alternative to them!’.
plays a mediating role in the process of viewing the idea, whereas on the other – not being subject to objectification – they remain outside the communal sphere, on the basis of which culture, and thus cultural memory, is created.

Who, then, is a mystic? It is a person who supernaturally experiences the content of divinity; this occurs by means of the divine grace which has been given to him (depending on the particular religious concept) at his request or without his consent. The mystic is for others a random person – after all, there are no paths that lead us to the experience of God, something about which the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite wrote very clearly.\(^6\) The mystic is, therefore someone who is not necessarily familiar with the symbolic religious tradition (objective, established in the scriptures, forming the identity of faith, recognised and confirmed), but who has what is referred to as an ecstatic or mystical experience. Thus there is no mysticism without mystical experience; there is, however, culture, which exists without emotional, borderline experiences, and within which the objectified space of cultural memory is created. Mysticism is the object of religious studies, whereas philosophy and cultural studies investigate cultural memory and the symbolic contents objectively contained within it. What is the cultural memory? Ideas, principles, laws, concepts ... these are items that fall within the precincts of cultural memory. Cultural memory is not the memory of our individual life experiences, our emotional states, or life adventures, even if it consists of millions of experiences. When we speak about the cultural memory of the Jews in the context of the Holocaust, we do not speak about individual suffering or personal concentration camp stories. In the area of cultural memory, these become, first and foremost, concepts such as ‘trauma’, ‘suffering’, ‘death’, or ‘loneliness’ (which link all of the individual stories), so that they can later be transformed or assimilated into symbols. The symbolically significant words ‘ghetto’, ‘Kazimierz’, and ‘Poland’ have their objectified cultural sense for probably every Jew, but are not, after all – and this is very important – objects of mystical experience, but symbols in cultural memory. In explaining the concept of cultural memory as it is used here, it is worth noting that it can be only partially reconciled with other publications in which it appears, on one hand with regard to contemporary society, its use in the public sphere, and in the media, and on the other in relation to ancient society.\(^7\)

The creator of the work we are describing analyses her approach to mysticism in art in an unpublished thesis entitled *The mysticism of the religions of the Holy Book (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) as a source of inspiration in contemporary visual artistic

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\(^6\) Cf. “The Divine Person partakes of a supersubstantial nature and “there is no path for those who wish to reach its infinite mystery””. P. Tętenda, *Od filozofii światła do sztuki światła* [From the philosophy of light to the art of light], Cracow 2013, p. 79.

realisations. In this paper, as well as through her artistic oeuvre, Nadia Issa renews the question of how to establish an intercultural dialogue in art. Significantly, this question, presented in a philosophical context, points to the theoretical background against which the artist posed it – after all, the artist does not raise this question within a context of multicultural issues, for, in her work, religious threads do not intertwine. It is evident that this dialogue, or, rather, discussion, is being carried out in accordance with the strict theoretical separation of the selected religious cultures, i.e. on a transcultural plane. How, then, can there be a dialogue if I emphasise the separation of cultures that is occurring? This should be understood in the same sense as that of a dialogue taking place between two people of a high degree of culture and strong religious identities. This is a difficult dialogue, but unlike those on multicultural subjects, it is a discussion between people who have something important to say. This perspective shows that, simply, people dramatically differ from one another, and, even more importantly, they want to, and should, differ from one another.

Because the article serves to show the very important differences between two planes of analysis of works of art, the mystical and cultural, let us first define what we mean by cultural memory. By this term, I understand contents built around a particular symbol, which is of a historical and objective nature – neither the history of a single individual nor a myth, but contents which constitute the real history of an entire nation or religious group focussed around a religious symbol. This symbol is enriched with new content because it accompanies religious groups during the historically significant moments of their communal life. Subsequently, the message of these moments is transferred to the next generation and thus a memory is created that outlasts a single human life. All important religious symbols possess assigned and most often continually enriched contents of cultural memory, while disjointed groups focussing on a single symbol can create their own sets of objects of cultural memory (e.g. Polish Jews have one cultural memory, Israelis another, yet both are built around symbols such as the Star of David or menorah).

Speaking of the content of cultural memory, which for Nadia Issy is a source of inspiration, we can see that even though she is involved in the symbolic traditions of three cultures, Jewish, Muslim, and Christian, these traditions are presented separately.

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The artist’s identity, emerging from the mixture of these three cultures, remains a mystery to us and in fact is not the subject of her art. Her momentary existence in the world as a person formed by the accidental influence of cultures is regarded as a phenomenon, a temporary existence, which does not affect the objectivity of religious content. These three works/symbols do not enter into mutual dialogue; we cannot read their identities from these works. Issa does not study intercultural contradictions, nor does she follow individual stories or track conflicts. What is important in her works is already objectified and universal.

**NADIA ISSA ON MYSTICISM IN ART**

The religions to which Nadia Issa refers to in her work are called Religions of the Holy Book; in her art, Issa focusses on monotheistic religions, which function as an area of reflection on concepts, myths, symbols, and archetypes. The task before us is to investigate the sources of religious inspiration in contemporary art as a possible area of ritual and a potential location for transcending the spheres between the profane and the sacred. Issa chooses this context in the interpretation of the works *Dreidel*, *Klepsydra*, and *Bakhoor*, three spatial objects.

Nadia Issa is a representative of the contemporary art of light (or Light Art), and therefore the aesthetic experience typical of her art will have its source in a vision of light, as demonstrated especially by the example of *Dreidel*. But the art of light is not just this particular sign – what counts here is the context, consisting of space, the
play of shadows, contrast, and type of light. Just seeing the well-known symbolism of light points, for a person with a strong cultural and religious identity, to an entrance to the philosophical path and strata of cultural memory that will lead this person far from modern times, and even to a time long before Christ. Hence Bakhoor also refers to the metaphysics of light in its natural, source-derived experience of fire. Elements that may constitute carriers of symbolic content include space, light, colour, scale, construction, composition, ornamentation, and words/text.

In order to analyse the influence of the symbol of light on Christian art, modern philosophical elaborations can be employed; however, in the area of Islamic mysticism, it is worth going beyond Nadia Issa to an article by Burckhardt entitled ‘Perennial Values in Islamic Art’. The artist herself emphasises here the significance of expressive artistic means inspired by the doctrine of Sufism. Referring instead to the contemporary Jewish art of light, we emphasise the symbolism of light, the implementation of which we see, for example, in Jerzy Kalina’s Czarny Kryształ [Black crystal] and Włodzimierz Szymański’s Or – Light. In terms of tradition, the current of Jewish mysticism is connected, of course, to the Kabbalah (Hebrew: obtaining, accepting), constituting the foundation of the philosophy of Judaism. The mystical experience in the Kabbalah is an emanation of the Divine Light of Ein Soph (the Infinite), derived from the ten emanations of the divine light Sephiroth. Jewish tradition says that the immortal souls of the Jews entered into a covenant with God, thanks to which the Jews now find themselves under God’s care. The context of this relationship between the Jews and God is expressed in the work Dreidel, thanks to the presence of strong, warm light symbolising the domestic hearth, grace, and thus, literally, God’s care.

The mystical current of Islam is identified with the philosophy and thought of Sufism (Arabic tasawwuf), which stresses the importance of the path leading us to

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17 Cf. G. Scholem, Mistycyzm żydowski i jego główne kierunki [Jewish mysticism and its main directions], Warszaw 1997, p. 29.

God. Sufis regard the heart as a fundamental tool of perception of religious content; thus, awakening a feeling of boundless love for the Creator is the basis of the spiritual path. Bakhoor perpetuates this relationship with God because it designates a place of worship, celebration, and sacrifice. Sufism is the chief current of mystical philosophy in Islam. The most outstanding representative of the philosophy of Sufism is the Persian poet, mystic, theologian, and philosopher Rumi (Maulana Rumi), on whose authority Nadia Issa also relies.

Of the three great philosophical and religious schools, the closest to the European viewer is, of course, the Christian current; however, Jewish art, interpreted in the context of memory, is also readable for such a viewer, due to cultural memory, which is associated with Poland, Central Europe, and our own history. Thus we see how two strands of cultural memory are joined in the same recollections. The significance of memory expands beyond the boundaries of the individual experience of another human being towards the history of the twentieth-century near-extirmination of the Jews – and it is precisely this that enables Jewish religious art to be read from the perspective of symbol and culture, not as a mystical object. It is this (and I emphasise this very clearly) that will create a transcultural, objectified, philosophical situation for us.

Mysticism or Culture?

Similarities and differences between religious symbols can be analysed at the visual and celebratory as well as ritual (dealt with to a great extent by cultural studies) levels, but also – which is important here – at the level of meaning (semantics) referring to their content, which is the carrier of cultural memory. (Because this constitutes work on concepts, the method of research consists of philosophical analysis.) On all these levels, it is possible to establish an intercultural dialogue; it is worth noting, however, that the visual and ritual aspect of the symbol answers the question ‘how?’, whereas when we want to ask ‘what?’ (i.e. to ask a question about the object, its actual sense: what is it for? what is it? what does it mean?) we need to know the meaning of the symbol itself. Here, however, we will not look for something along the lines of Jungian archetypes, as even the working assumptions associated with them might yield us very little. What cultures share, what was already established as existing (e.g. the archetypes of the Great Mother, the Mage, the Shadow...) from their very principles, as incorporated a priori, yields us nothing new at the stage of reading history. Only when this material has emerged – when it becomes possible to answer the question of how cultural memory is perpetuated in the symbol of a Jewish child’s toy (dreidel), an hourglass (klepsydra), and incense (bakhoor) – can one attempt to search for the common elements expressed in these archetypes. But why? After all, the presence of this shared cultural memory must be demonstrated, not assumed! Another point is

19 Cf. A. Saramonowicz, Szkoła nauk sufich [School of Sufic teachings], Warsaw, Polish branch of Institute of Search for Truth, New Delhi, [elaborated by R. Nałęcz], Instytut Religioznawstwa UJ [Institute of Religious Studies of the Jagiellonian University], 2004, p. 3.
that the final principle of the transfer of cultural memory in religious symbols need not lead to any archetype.

In the Polish language, the concept of mysticism (Greek: mystikos)\textsuperscript{20} is connected in a special way with the aspect of psychic processes or subjective spiritual experience; moreover, the concept of mysticism is detached from any particular religion or denomination because the direct experience associated with it is unconnected with any specific traditional symbolism, doctrine, or religious emblems, but remains a kind of empty experience.\textsuperscript{21} It would appear that this approach to mysticism brings us closer to understanding cultural memory transmitted through religious symbolism. Therefore, let us emphasise the differences that actually exist between mysticism and symbolism.

- Firstly, we are dealing here on the one hand with a phenomenon, on the other with an object. Therefore, we must add that the object of mystical experience is, for example, an emanation of God (some aspect of divinity) that we see directly and that is given to us by way of an overview. Such direct insight can be compared with the Platonic doctrine of Hen, beyond being, or the view of the idea of Goodness-Beauty-Truth,\textsuperscript{22} from which, subsequently – when the Platonic idea took on personal properties – the concept of unio mystica\textsuperscript{23} (mystical union with God) was born. Comparing these observations to a symbol, we note that – as previously indicated – the symbol is a subject, and must thus be assigned a process or phenomenon to which it applies. In the case of a symbol, this process will be culture or culturisation (meaning: of somebody).

- Neither is a symbol the subject of mystical experience since it is not in itself direct; rather, a symbol mediates cultural content and, importantly, does so in an objective manner. If, therefore, mystical experience is subjective, this symbol is communal; it is not subjective; it is a conscious (in its existence and validity, if not in range) element of the order of culture and identity.

From the above considerations, the thesis emerges that cultural memory is transferred in the form of objective symbolic contents; it does not belong to the sphere of mystical

\begin{itemize}
  \item Mysticism, [in:] The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. F. L. Cross, E. A. Livingstone (eds.), 2nd edition, Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 952. ISBN 0-19-211545-6. Cf. as well: J. Gage, Kolor i kultura [Colour and culture], trans. J. Holzman, Cracow 2008, p. 60, which cites that Moses ‘entered into the darkness where God was’. Consequently, we refer here to the understanding of mystical experience as an experience of emptiness or over-being, since in this article we maintain the Platonic interpretation of the supreme object of knowledge. This procedure is justified by the history of metaphysics of light, not only of the Christian circle, which is closely associated with the Platonic tradition.
  \item Apart from the concept of Hen, in order to determine the highest object of knowledge, Plato also uses the concepts: what is essential; the being of being; what is in itself a being, self-being; henad; and monad. Cited after: J. Legowicz, Historia filozofii starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu [History of the philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome], Warsaw 1973, p. 166. Cf. also A. Maryniarczyk, ‘Hen’, [w:] www.ptta.pl/ptl/pdfl/jedno.pdf [accessed: 27 May 2014].
  \item This concept is analysed in, among others: The Fullness of God, ed. J. Cutsinger, World Wisdom 2004.
\end{itemize}
experience. Thus, independently of the creative role in the life of nations and civilisations played by mystical experiences (which have, after all, been maintained and preserved therein), they – being empty experiences – do not transfer the contents of cultural memory. It is important to remember that the symbol, as the carrier of cultural memory, is ‘from this world’; although it actually refers us to transcendent objects and ideas, it has itself (like the contents of cultural memory) emerged within the culture and not from outside of it.

• Cultural memory contained in objects of art and religious symbols may be affected by changes in ritual forms or religious cults (a phenomenon that does not apply to mystical experiences).

As a banal example: if we are ignorant of the rules of the game dreidel, we are not carriers of the cultural memory associated with it as a symbol. Furthermore: if in our religious life we are not conversant with burning bakhoor, its symbolic contents and the cultural memory built on them are inaccessible to us. And so on. But let us return to the previously mentioned violation of the continuity of cultural memory. An example of such a change is the twentieth-century re-evaluation of the religious sphere, from its sociocultural (public, community) dimension to the individual experience of faith. For mystical experiences, if we recall their individual character, such a change may be developmental; it is otherwise for symbols as objective cultural

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Fig. 2. Nadia Issa, Klepsydra (2016)
contents belonging to communities. Subjectivisation and individualisation of faith results in a rupture of the continuity of cultural memory and isolation from the community represented by the memory.

Despite the individualisation of religion that can be observed today, it is worth noting that, in raising the issue of the symbol and cultural memory as the objective elements of personal identity, we oppose – at least in this regard – the thesis of the existence of what Zygmunt Bauman calls ‘liquid modernity’ \(^{25}\) in which the theory of deconstruction of meanings and symbols is proposed. We reject any thesis in which postmodern thinking contradicts cultural stability and religious identity and violates the continuity of transmission of the content of the cultural memory. Of course, this is not a question of denying the existence of postmodernism as a philosophical direction, but of pointing out that a new interpretation of reality need not change the current state of affairs (the proverbial world order). Postmodernism is only a way of describing reality, which – in this context – nevertheless still possesses the absolute value of truth or falsehood. Here, an interesting consideration is introduced by Janusz Filipkowski, who writes:

> The significant role of postmodernism in the modern world is a certain reality we have to confront. When coming into contact with the vision of reality promoted by postmodernism and the associated social order, it is always worth asking ourselves whether, through questioning the totalitarian aspirations of the once-dominant ideology and what has been referred to as the totalitarianism of reason and rationality, postmodernism itself is not being transformed into ideology, and whether it is not trying to treat us to a new totalitarianism, one which, this time around, is to be a totalitarianism of irrationality and anti-idealism. \(^{26}\)

Let us note another difference in the meanings of mysticism and symbol. If Bauman is right, Christian mystical experiences can occur in a mosque just as well as

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\(^{26}\) Cf. J. Filipkowski, ‘Postmodernizm jako ideologia’ [Postmodernism as ideology], in: *Historia i polityka* [History and politics], No. 5 (12/2011), p. 31.
in a Catholic church. Nothing changes, since a moment of mystical experience can occur (God willing) in any place and at any time. There are no sufficient or necessary conditions. It is a different story with culture and the symbols experienced therein.

- A symbol is an object of understanding; thus – in contrast to mysticism – it penetrates the mind, not the heart. I am not thinking here of any kind of super-understanding; symbols can be read thanks to their powerful roots in the culture and to familiarity with the contents of cultural memory. Symbols are not experienced in ecstasy; rather, one must identify with them; this takes place during original entry into the culture in the process of education/socialisation. Speaking colloquially: if you have no access to the cultural memory associated with a symbol belonging to a particular culture, blame your parents; if you do not have mystical experiences, blame God.

**HOW IS CULTURAL MEMORY HIDDEN IN SYMBOLS?**

Maulana Rumi, as recalled by Nadia Issa, said ‘I enter a Muslim mosque, a Jewish synagogue and a Christian church, and everywhere I see one altar’. Was he right? Is that really the way it is? One altar – but is it the same?

In fact, the Islamic theologian is probably saying nothing more than this: that everywhere he went, there was only one God being worshiped. What’s more, over the course of history, differences have sometimes diminished, sometimes – in periods of cultural isolation – increased. During these late periods, cultural memory, a component of differentiation rather than unification, was created. If, for example, in accordance with the work of Nadia Issa, we point out that each of the Religions of the Holy Book possesses the symbol of light, it was the cultural memory that implemented the symbol within a given culture. Perhaps all mysticism shares a common denominator – if so, mysticism, in contrast to culture, is characterised by a kind of unifying function. Mysticism, therefore, says ‘one’; culture and symbol say ‘many’. Cultural identity, civilisation, values, and the ethics resulting from that place are the subjects of our consciousness and should be communicated in terms of truth and understanding. Concerning these subjects, as I wrote above, one does not conduct a dialogue, but rather a discussion.

What is cultural memory, then, in the presented context? It is an expandable, open, theoretically finite collection of memories, historical facts and stories, meanings and symbols, and contexts, which, thanks to their influence and validity, transcend the life of an individual and include the entire community.

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Cultural memory lies at the basis of building a unitary cultural and religious identity, and performs functions which are both (1) creative, because in creative entities it spontaneously replicates itself, and (2) isolating, as it significantly contributes to the differentiation of social groups in relation to one another. The contents of cultural memory may be experienced emotionally, but this is of secondary importance since it is as cultural contents that they are primarily understood and cognised. Theoretically, it is possible for alien social or religious groups to become familiar with the contents of cultural memory, but because such familiarity is based on identification, the full understanding of the area of an alien foreign cultural memory results in a changed individual identity.

Fig. 4. Nadia Issa, ‘Aneks do pracy Ruah’ [Appendix to the work Ruah], Ośrodek Kultury Muzułmańskiej w Warszawie [Islamic Cultural Centre] 2016.

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**SUMMARY**

The point of view presented in my article is based on a methodological distinction between the objective sphere of culture and religion and the corresponding subjective (conditional) sphere. Since contemporary works of art are to serve as an example of this distinction, it is worth noting that, in other words, we are dealing here with the difference between what emerges from two approaches to cultural and religious art. This article is devoted entirely to the analysis of Nadia Issa’s work.
Recalling the songs of Beit HaMikdash: cantorial concerts at the Singer’s Warsaw Festivals

Memory can be transferred in many ways, whether we study the tools for its preservation or the form of what has been preserved. Most generally, we can say that memory (under which our knowledge and understanding of history lies hidden as well) is the element that creates our identity\(^1\). Perhaps the character and personality of the individual are a matter of chance and genes, but for a culture, these things are accidental and contingent. However, everything that partakes of a rational nature is truly important in an individual: his identity, his knowledge of where he comes from, and consequently, by implication, who he is.

The content, which serves as the carrier of memory, exists primarily in the form of symbols. Philosophers of different epochs have reflected on the nature of symbols, following many different paths; there can be no doubt, however, that symbols exist and collaborate in the creation of the space of culture, civilisation, and individual identity. In the following reflections, we speak about the objective existence of symbols; we assume that they are something like abstract concepts ordering the realm of our thinking – principles of truth, logic, and rightness. A symbol differs from a concept in that it is embodied not in thought and speech, but in image and vision. In this way, symbols play a part in the field of culture and art – contemporary culture and art as well. A symbol is not easy to discern; too often today it is confused with metaphor, allegory, or simply (and most frequently) with a poetic approach to a theme. Many non-arbitrary principles govern the implementation of a symbol in art. It is impossible to list all of them since there is no way to establish a symbol once and for all; but certainly there are principles according to which a symbol, and thus its function within the content of cultural memory, can be investigated within a work of art. Within the framework of methodological reflection on this content, we will try to enumerate at least some of the rules of which we speak.

What does a symbol demand of us? It is difficult to clearly and categorically answer this question. Behind every symbol (provided that it is a true symbol) there always stands a tradition of hundreds of generations, characterised by the unbroken thread of a cultural community. Moreover, a symbol, although it has many meanings (one might venture to say that it is inexhaustible), there are strict rules for its interpretation, and there are also (due to its objectivity) erroneous attempts to understand it, resulting most frequently from ignorance, relativism, and lack of cultural knowledge. There is a kind of contradiction behind the nature of the symbol: its objectivity, its resistance to being limited. Therefore, I would like to propose at least a working list of theses and assertions about the symbol that will be helpful in its identification:

(a) A symbol should appear in a religious or strictly philosophical context. In other words, speaking very directly, a landscape or description of nature in itself, for example, is not an appropriate area for the use of a symbol. Of course, there are works of art, including the paintings of the English artist Joseph Mallord William Turner, which delight in the expression of light. However, this is a delight of a sensual character; the feeling of elevation derives not from the interpretation of a symbol, but rather from the expressive, romantic, and poetic treatments of natural light. A similar case is that of the works of Jan Vermeer, who obsessively painted stained-glass (or dirty) windows in the course of a sunny summer’s day. Many art historians and aestheticians claim that they possess a symbolic (and not, by any chance, poetic, expressive and aesthetic?) context.

Fig. 1. At conducting Yakov Rotner famous cantors: Yaakov Lemmer, Benzion Miller and Tzudik Greenwald, accompanied by Menachem Bristowski (Festiwal Warszawa Singera 2016). Phot. Janusz Paliwoda
(b) We always read symbols in context; thus, if we are dealing with a work of art, whether theatre, music, or literature, our visualisation of a symbol depends on its introduction in meaningful relationships with other objects, relationships which serve as reciprocal verifications of symbolic sense. This use of a symbol does not permit interpretation to run freely in any direction; rather, it imposes on the viewer the necessity of examining these interrelationships.

(c) A symbol should not be established (!) or developed by way of emotional stirrings and affects but is rather the subject of thought (a concept or idea) which should be derived from philosophical and theological reflection, i.e. seen and inferred from the work.

(d) Interpretation of a symbol takes place on many levels; thus, for example, seeing a rainbow in a picture does not mean seeing the symbol of a rainbow in that picture. Explicitness does not come into play here. Reading about fire does not always indicate content about the metaphysics of light; the sight of a seven-branched candlestick is not equivalent to sighting a menorah (with its cultural significance), etc.

(e) Experiencing and seeing a symbol has nothing to do with the aesthetic beauty of the presentation; if we speak of the beauty of a symbol, it should be beauty perceived by the intellect, in the Platonic sense (in other words, the beauty of mental objects partakes of the same nature as the objects themselves).

(f) The origin of a symbol is determined by a particular culture and civilisation; to read it, one applies only concepts and categories accepted in the system from which it derives. Adding to the interpretation of a symbol new meanings from outside its culture of origin is a serious methodological error and stems from ignorance; it is a kind of cultural illiteracy, which is indeed very common today. For example, this error occurs when we superimpose content from the Phoenician religion upon the interpretation of the Christian claritas, and freely add observations about Islamic culture to reflections on the Hebrew word רוא (light). This kind of ‘linking’ of cultures leads to blurring and forgetting the content of the cultural memory.

(g) A symbol of something seen in the form of light, a rose, cross, circle, hexagram, etc. is not a representation of any specific thing or object, but rather of universals; more accurately, of the most generic things (literally, a representation that approaches the very concept of the thing in question). This is, of course, difficult (literally impossible) since sense objects cannot be deprived of all individual characteristics; there is always something to distinguish them; but in optimally generic representations it is easier to read the general nature of the concept and the symbol itself.

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2 In this context it is worth paying attention to the phenomena of cultural globalisation and multiculturalism, which are being propagated widely today. A symbol is not an element which can be transferred by a single individual living in isolation from their culture. A symbol binds communities and religious groups. It consists of legal, religious, and educational practices, family life, and so on. Wishful multiculturalism here is rather the constant painless blurring of the contents of distinctive social groups, mistakenly identified as a guarantor of cultural pacifism. It is, however, a powerful tool for the development of mass culture and consumption, very harmful for cultural identity, and, as a result, for cultural memory.
(h) Symbols and metaphors referring to absolute things appear more frequently in static than dynamic representations, because they relate to unchangeable, permanent and often eternal things, whereas dynamism is associated with temporality, changeability, and periodicity, which do not apply to absolute things.

(i) We see a symbol in the way we see text incorporated in a work, even if we see it as colours and composition, as the words of the work, like music. The tool for understanding the symbol is not sensation and perception, but the ability to ‘read’ it as we would do with written text. As regards cultural memory, it is important to note that its content (being symbolic) must also be read, and therefore cannot exist in a world of cultural and religious illiterates.

It is merely a preliminary suggested list of issues that we should raise in order to determine the presence of symbolic content in painting and art in general. Examination of works of art according to the proposed suggestions will bring us closer to answering questions about the presence of a symbol in a work, as well as making us aware of what we are really looking for. Doubtless, it is easier for many of us to do this with single isolated visual works and objects, more difficult with music due to its hermetic and challenging language. Penetrating to the source of civilisation, to the original and traditional languages in which cultural memory is written, enables us to remember that its contents are objective in nature. Cantorial singing, therefore, is one thing as a concert, but something else completely as a prayer performed in the original Temple in Jerusalem. Let us try to describe the content and significance of cultural memory using the example of such a series of concerts – specifically, those traditionally held during the Singer’s Warsaw Festival.

These issues are very close to the idea of the Singer’s Warsaw Festival, held for the thirteenth time in 2016. The main idea of the organisers of this undertaking is the restoration of memory – in other words, a reminder and a restoration of pre-war Warsaw, where Isaac Bashevis Singer lived and which he often nostalgically recalled in his books. The contrasts we encounter at the festival depend on the particularly sharp confrontation of the new with the traditional and very old. We also see this when traditional and orthodox religious contents are transferred to contemporary musical forms\(^4\) (e.g. R & B, reggae in the music of Matisyahu, jazz, ethno, and world music such as that of the Klezmatics\(^5\)), theatrical forms\(^6\) etc., and when a living relic of a bygone world appears in our very modern industrial space. I emphasise the word ‘living’ here, because I refer not to an experience with an object from a museum, but

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3 I thank Janusz Paliwoda for providing access to archival material from previous editions of the Singer’s Warsaw Festival, as well as Izabela Tędorkiewicz and Nadia Issa for their help in preparing this article.


6 See also web page of Jewish Theater in Warsaw: http://www.teatr-zydowski.art.pl/ [accessed 29 March 2017].
a scrap of the modern world in which tradition has been preserved, a scrap which has eluded not only oblivion, but the memory as well. Must a living, if unusual, a piece of the modern world struggle to be remembered? It is the issue I perceive in the phenomenon of and the huge interest in the cantorial concerts during the latest edition of the Singer’s Warsaw Festival.

The issue of music and cantorial singing opens up before us a history that already dates back several millennia, one which, of course, I do not intend to rehearse in this article. We have to admit that research on cantorial singing and Israelite music have not yet been integrated into one tradition of consolidated teamwork, assured by generally agreed-on means of research, and by a central place of musicological
devoted to. There are outstanding rabbis and teachers in Poland who are familiar with this history and tradition. Rather, I wish to draw attention to one aspect associated with memory and the phenomenon of cantorial music, not only in Poland but throughout the world. It should be emphasised, particularly, that these works, which are essentially sung prayers, bear symbolic significance in terms of memory because their task is to evoke the music and prayers which, until 70 AD, were performed in the Beit HaMikdash, that is, the Temple of Jerusalem. We need to add that, of course, cantoral music is not the only Jewish music supported from Israel government as a support to Polish

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festival of Jewish culture, as we can see in the interesting article of Stanley Waterman titled “Variations on a Hebrew theme: The politics of art music in Israel”.

Let us recall here the outstanding cantor Alberto Mizrahi, who has made several appearances in Poland in recent years (e.g. in 2011, during the Festival of Jewish Culture in Kazimierz, in Cracow). In an interview with Polish Radio, Mizrahi said:

I was eight years old when we left Athens, where I was born. My parents were very poor; the only thing I had in abundance was their love. When we came to America in 1956, the Jewish community took care of us. In Greece, we wouldn't have had a chance; in America my education was financed and my family was given a great deal of support […]. I was educated in the orthodox spirit, which was foreign to my parents, who were not overly religious.

The first steps that led Mizrahi in the direction of cantorial music were connected with the need to choose a religious path; they required him, in other words, to renew and strengthen his cultural identity. We can say that “…is not only an aesthetic value […] but also a socio-cultural tool that contributes to the coherence of the society.”

As he writes, in Greece his family’s religiousness was not very vital; it was only after his move to the States, where Jewish cultural and religious resources operated powerfully, that he began his conscious education. The great delight aroused in him by the famous tenor voices of the day, e.g. Mario Lanza and Enrico Caruso, encouraged him to study singing. This inspiration resulted in the need to connect Judaism with music. Alberto Mizrahi recalls his education at the cantorial school:

I was one of those who went to cantorial school right after high school. I was about seventeen or eighteen years old. Cantorial school is a kind of Jewish conservatory, but it is also something more. The curriculum includes the liturgy and other similar courses (…) I knew that the world of cantors was dying; their artistry was becoming part of history.

Mizrahi, I believe, expresses not only the situation of his own religion but also the consequences of the overall process of the secularisation of modern society. This artist sought inspiration, means of expression, a form, and method of action, but without a cultural identity, without powerful religiosity, he could not find them. In this sense, cultural relativism (which I understand here as being opposed to the categorical nature of religious laws) and secularisation formed a roadblock in his path.

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11 See: http://www.polskieradio.pl/7/178/Artykul/674982/ [access: 5 September 2016], “A cantor is not just a Jewish singer”, interview with Alberto Mizrahi.
towards truly great art. How, then, to choose a form and means of expression, if we are deprived of the content and meaning of what is to be expressed by that form? How can we ask ‘how’ when we don’t know ‘what’? Mizrahi goes on to explain:

The first generation to arrive in the United States needed to commune with this art, wanted to participate in ceremonies in the synagogue. Their children were deprived of this need. Interestingly, in the next generation I notice openness to religion and spiritual experiences. Surely it feels lost and is trying to find its identity; therefore, to a certain extent, cantorial art is alive, but lacks two essential elements. One is teachers: this is an art passed on orally from generation to generation. The master educates his student; the father passes his knowledge on to his son, the mother, in the area of women’s songs and folk songs, to her daughter. On the other hand cantorial music is not just music, but a way of understanding the world: the people you meet, the food we eat, the temple. It’s a combination of many issues.12

As Mizrahi himself points out, in the United States people are trying to maintain and renew this tradition, building schools and splendid synagogues; however, as he says, these actions are not sufficient; there is no way to renew interrupted cultural and religious continuity exclusively through external efforts and activities, since they are, in fact, the expression of something, namely, the needs of the spirit and the community that creates it. One should, therefore, take joy in the great success of cultural festivals, the interest in learning Yiddish, building of the Jewish identity and community in Poland and around the world; however, one should also be careful not to refer too lightly to these activities as rebirth, renewal, or recollection, because many of the threads and strands of culture now appearing on the music scene and in galleries around the world have already been broken once. Mizrahi concludes:

My generation still knew a certain continuity of tradition, but at some point I felt that I was lost in the wilderness. Of course, we are not bad at what we do, some of us are excellent in our craftsmanship, but we lack what our teachers had – grounding and a sense of belonging. […] What makes me different is the real passion with which I do it.13

Jakub Skrzypczak, the member of the Shalom Foundation, the organiser of the Singer’s Warsaw Festival, comments on learning about music and cantorial singing. Asked about the tradition of cantorial music, he says that, according to the tradition of the Hebrew language, this music is not directly related to the liturgy. It is also important that, when we go to a concert (the word concert is of great importance here, since fundamentally during the liturgy there is no concertising), to the opera, or to a festival, the cantor is accompanied by an orchestra. In the course of the liturgy, that is, prayer in the synagogue, we do not encounter this – cantors sing without accompaniment, and are not accompanied by any instrument. This fact has an important

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12 Ibidem.
13 The programme ‘A cantor is not just a Jewish singer’ was prepared by Justyna Majchrzak, 30 August 2012, for Polish Radio Program 1: http://www.polskieradio.pl/7/178/Artykul/674982,Kantor-to-nie-zydowski-spiewak-To-ktos-wiecej [accessed 7 September 2016].
cultural context, which also refers to memory: in antiquity in Jewish temples, instruments were used, but, as Jakub Skrzypczak emphasises, today, as a sign of mourning, this is not practiced. The absence of music in the synagogue symbolises mourning in the wake of the destruction of the Temple by the Romans following the armed uprising of the Jews on 4 August of the year 70 AD.

In this way we reach the core (not the only one, but nevertheless...) of the ideological issue associated with cantorial music: in essence, it is supposed to constitute the restoration of the order that prevailed in the Temple of Jerusalem. Tradition (especially Hasidic) tells us that all of the beautiful and fine liturgical melodies were present in the ancient temple.

The performance of cantorial songs is, therefore, an art referring to an ancient tradition, which is thereby conserved and established. Its essence is remembering, as it constitutes an act of restoration of sacredness through the medium of singing, in which, above all, old and even ancient melodies are used. A cantor is not merely a singer, but an expert on the liturgy and an individual marking the celebration of a certain important holiday, familiar with the cantillation of the Torah (i.e. the established way of singing). The singing, as well as the person, of the cantor has always been surrounded with respect and recognition; beyond its liturgical role, the singing of the finest artists is simply an example of a beautiful and exceptional art. Thus it is not surprising that cantorial music is also featured at festivals, concerts and operas; however, it is worth remembering that this is not a contemporary innovation. The
renaissance of cantorial music was experienced in the twentieth century prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, at a time when cantors also performed in operas.

Alberto Mizrahi reminds us that for centuries the cantor was not only a singer but also (and above all!) a poet and creator of prayers; these most outstanding songs were used for extended worship and after some time became part of the classic Jewish prayer books.

Of course, with the passage of time, as is true throughout the living space of art, new trends appeared in cantorial music; however, the overall coloratura and ornamentation of singing has been preserved, and, for example, singing inspired by the sounds of instruments is still practised. The twentieth century introduced the possibility of using various recordings of singing, about which, however, the environment was initially skeptical. Following World War II, the world of cantorial music relocated to the United States.

One of the important ideas of cantorial singing is the recollection and maintenance in the consciousness of a great area of culture which often is no longer a part of our own heritage. For if we wish to say that this beautiful phenomenon of culture and religion indeed forms a part of our heritage, this requires of us that our identity should also belong to this heritage – that it should not be empty, ‘modern’, and indifferent, but powerful and objective. Alberto Mizrahi speaks here of a kind of struggle against the secularisation of society; and, in fact, secular society will never be a worthy heir to great religious culture, for it would be an heir ignorant of its benefactor. Nevertheless, despite warnings and sceptical attitudes, this gives us hope for the sustainability and longevity of cantorial music, in which, he says, strength

Fig. 4. Grand concert of cantors in 2013 (Festiwal Warszawa Singera 2013). Phot. Janusz Paliwoda
and youth, the work and passion of the artist, reverberate as in nothing else. As he himself says: it creates a gateway to religion.

In this article, I wanted to show installment or understanding of the term “memory”. And also how the objectivity and subjectivity mingle in it. In other words, I wanted to argue that tradition is only objectivity, although we can touch it with our subjective side.

Fig. 5. Cantors Choir- a grand concert in 2014. Phot. Janusz Paliwoda

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SUMMARY

In this article, regarding the examples of cantorial concerts tradition at the Singer’s Warsaw Festivals, I present theoretical guidelines for describing the symbolic meaning of art. The philosophical perspective requires us to be objective in understanding the symbol. In this case, how can we distinguish the symbol from allegory, character, metaphor or figuratively? Here I propose the answer to this question.
The memory of deceased members of Julio-Claudian dynasty revived on coins

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The system of power introduced by Augustus endured about 300 years. The first emperor decided to choose his successor among his closest relatives and later rulers continued this policy. Therefore the members of ruling dynasty were presented on the means of propaganda such as monuments, reliefs or coins. When an anticipated successor died, the country felt into mourning, the state funeral was conducted and the soul received a kind of adoration. However, not all of the imperial family members could count on such treatment. On the one hand those who were in conflict with the emperor or whose position was not so significant, could gain a private funeral or even could be sentenced to oblivion. On the other hand, those who once were obliterated could be recalled to the public memory again. or even they could be granted new honors. For example, Livia was deified by Claudius, not by his predecessors. Such situations happened a few times during the reign of Julio-Claudian emperors, and in the presented article will focus on them.

In this paper, I would like to analyze the way of presentations the deceased members of Julio-Claudian family. For this purpose, I will examine the artifacts that were used to commemorate them. Firstly, I will consider the coin as the one of the most important media of propaganda. The monuments such as statues and reliefs will be taken into account too. The ancient sources as well will be mentioned. I will try to determine why the memory of some members of the dynasty was vivid and durable and why the others were hastily forgotten.

JULIUS CAESAR

The founder of Julio-Claudian dynasty, Emperor Augustus gained the power, because of his relations with Julius Caesar. The adoptive son of the assassinated dictator decided to appropriate the political capital by ensuring honors to Caesar. The one, who supposed to be forgotten because of his dictatorial aspirations, became the first Roman citizen that became a god. Octavianus organized the games in the name of

2 Not including Romulus.
his uncle. During them the comet appeared and the only, right interpretation of such phenomena was mentioned by Pliny who quoted the words of Augustus:

On the very day of my games, a comet was seen for seven days in the northern part of the sky. It arose during the eleventh hour of the day, and it was bright and visible from every land. The people believed that this star revealed that the soul of Caesar was received among the divine spirits of the immortal gods, and for this reason an emblem was added to the likeness of his head, which I later consecrated in the forum3.

Julius Caesar became the god, so Octavianus became the son of God (divi filius)4. In this way, he gained the support of Caesar’s followers. In 36 BC the denarius with an image of the temple of Divus Julius was struck. The statue of Cesar was placed in front of the tetrastyle (RSC 905) (il. 1). This propaganda depiction was presented when the building was not yet finished, seven years before the final consecration of this temple6. Later, when Octavianus as Augustus finally fulfilled his desires and became the solo-ruler of Roman Empire, he was still commemorating his adoptive father in the series of coins. When the Golden Age had been announced (17 BC), the denarius with the image of Julius Caesar and the comet/star was struck by M.Sanquinus (RIC 338)7. The next issue connected with Julius was struck under Lucius Lentulus in 12 BC (RIC 4158) (il. 2), the year when Marcus Agrippa passed away. The togate figure of Augustus is presented on the left. He is holding with right hand a round shield with the letters CV (clipeus virtutis), he is crowning the statue on the right wearing a military dress and holding statue of Victory. The element used in the act of crowning is the star (sidus Iulium). The same one that was mentioned in Natural History and was presented in the architrave of the temple and on the previous coins9. In this case, we can deny the possibility of presenting M. Agrippa in this way10 and agree that it was Julius Caesar, whose divinity was symbolized by this particular star11. It is plausible that at the time Augustus had already planned his after-death deification.

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3 Pliny the Elder, His.Nat II 93.
6 White, Peter. "Julius Caesar in Augustan Rome.” Phoenix 1988 no 42/4, p. 336-337; Zanker, Paul., op.cit., p. 34.
8 RIC= Sutherland, Christofer H.V. Roman Imperial Coinage. vol.1, London 1984.
10 Ibidem p. 265
11 Whittaker, Helene. „Two Notes on Octavian and The Cult of Divus Iulius”. Symobolae Osloenses vol. 71 1996. p. 91
The expected successors of Augustus

Claudius Marcellus, the husband of Augustus’ daughter Julia, was predicted to be the first successor of the emperor. However, there was no coin evidence of such plans. After his unexpected death in 23 BC, he was the first member of Julio-Claudian Dynasty whose ashes were buried in Mausoleum of Augustus. There were no commemorative emissions. The post-death honors that he gained (the golden image, the theater was named after him) showed him as the eminent member of the imperial house but also indicated on very doubtful Marcellus’s position as the planned successor. The case of Cl. Marcellus is mentioned here to show that he was a significant member of the imperial house, but the memory of the first husband of Julia seemed to be superficial and short.

The next husband of Julia was the closest friend of Augustus, Marcus Agrippa. He used to be presented as the successor of the emperor, but rather he was planned as the regent of young Gaius and Lucius, the grandchildren of Augustus. Marcus Agrippa died in 12 BC at the age of 51. His youngest son was supposed to be the continuer of Agrippa’s dynasty (Augustus already adopted two oldest sons). The emperor organized the public funeral for his friend, and at the end, Marcus ashes were buried in Mausoleum of Augustus instead of his own Mausoleum in Campus Martius. Apart from the mentioned coin of L. Lentulus which some of the scholars interpret as the commemorations of Agrippa, there were no more imperial posthumus coins till the time of Caligula (RIC 58). Although his grandchild was known for his negative attitude towards his remarkable ancestor: “He did not wish to be thought the grandson of Agrippa, or called so, because of the latter’s humble origin.

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12 Sawiński, Piotr. Sukcesja władzy cesarskiej w okresie rządów dynastii juliańsko-klaudyjskiej (lata 30 p.n.e. – 68 n.e.), Poznań 2016, pp. 23–27.
13 Cass. Dio, 30.5-31.3
14 Sawiński, Piotr. Sukcesja..., p. 27.
16 Sawiński P., Sukcesja..., pp. 30–33.
17 Cass. Dio 54.28.
and he grew very angry if anyone in a speech or a song included Agrippa among the ancestors of the Caesars. Therefore we can assume that the individual feeling of the emperor did not matter in the system of propaganda. On the as of Caligula, Agrippa is presented on the obverse. The reverse contains the depiction of Neptune holding a dolphin and trident. Such presentation seems to be the indication on the maritime victories of Agrippa. This type was later resumed in times of Titus (RIC 470) and Domitian (RIC 457). The name of Agrippa survived in plenty of buildings and foundations that he established. The inscription at Pantheon is the most striking example. The interesting provincial coins commemorating Agrippa were struck in Apamea (RPC I 2011). There Marcus is presented on the obverse and his son Agrippa Postumus on the reverse.

The young and ambitious general Drusus the Elder died during his campaign in Germany. The public funeral that was conducted for him, later became the prototype version for Augustus's funeral. The next honor was the arch that was erected at Via Appia; it was made of marble and decorated with the trophies. It is important to underline that that road, called the queen of the roads, was founded by a great ancestor of Claudian family: Appius Claudius Caecus. This arch was the first such way of commemorating the deceased member of the imperial dynasty. Arcus Drusi was later presented on Claudian coins. The “unexpected emperor” had no direct affinity with Augustus. He needed to use the other ways to strengthen his questionable reign. He deified his grandmother Livia but also brought back the memory of his meritorious and famous parents: Antonia the Younger and Drusus the Elder. The Arch of Drusus was depicted on series of aureii (RIC 69 (il. 12), 72), denarii (RIC 70, 72, 75) and sestertii (RIC 98, 114). The commemorative structure was decorated with the galloping statue of Drusus, two trophies and the captives. It seems to remind the military successes and virtus of emperor’s father. Furthermore, the portrait of the emperor’s father was widespread in propaganda too. The laureate head of Drusus was presented with the legend NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANICVS IMP on the series of aureii struck at the beginning of Claudius reign. Father of the emperor was shown in a heroic way on coins of Clazomenae (RPC I 2500).

Gaius and Lucius, the sons of M. Agrippa and Julia, were officially adopted by Augustus and planned as the successors of his power. Unfortunately for Augustus, they did not manage to outlive their grandfather. Lucius died in 2 AD and Gaius two years later. The honors that they gained were similar to those of Drusus. It is very

20 Grant, Michael, From Imperium to Auctoritas London 1946, pp. 255–256.
22 Suet. Divus Claudius 1, 3.
23 Sawiński, Paweł. Łuki triumfalne i honoryfikacyjne jako forma uczczenia członków rodziny cesarskiej w okresie pryncypatu Augusta i Tyberiusza, Meander 2014, p. 117.
plausible that an arch was built for them too\textsuperscript{25}. The altars of Gaius and Lucius Caesars were consecrated in many places, e.g. Thasos\textsuperscript{26}. The sculptures of them were being erected till the collapse of the dynasty in the time of Nero. In Corinth the nude sculptures of brothers were presented as Dioscuri\textsuperscript{27}. At the Propylaea of Sebasteion in Aphrodisias that was erected in times of Tiberius, among the statues of members of imperial family, there were two dedicated to Gaius and Lucius\textsuperscript{28}. The presentation of Agrippas’ sons as the Dioscuri was the prototype later used in time of Caligula to present Drusus and Nero Caesars.

Augustus adopted the mentioned, third son of M. Agrippa after the death of Gaius, but two years later he fell into disfavor of the emperor and was sent to Planasia. There, after the succession of Tiberius, he was murdered\textsuperscript{29}. No honors were granted and he suffered the \textit{damnatio memoriae de facto}. The gossip of reconciliation between Augustus and Postumus remains only conspiracy theory quoted by Cassius Dio\textsuperscript{30}. However son of Agrippa received the priesthood in Miletus during his lifetime\textsuperscript{31}, his death brought the end of his cult in Asia Minor. The later emperors decided not to commemorate the first victim of Tiberian reign.

**DIVUS AUGUSTUS**

Tiberius began his reign with imitating the actions of young Octavianus. First of all, Augustus was deified, and Tiberius, as his adoptive son, became \textit{divi filius}. The reason of such action was to ensure his succession. The coins struck early after the death of his predecessor bear the legend: TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS (RIC 1-30), which indicates on the strict relations between Tiberius and Augustus. The commemorative coins for Augustus were produced too. On the series of aurei Augustus is presented with the star (RIC 24)(il. 4)\textsuperscript{32}, in the same way as Julius Caesar was presented (as the god). The temple of Augustus was decreed and Germanicus became the \textit{flamen Augusti}, while Livia gained the unprecedented role of priestess of Divus Augustus\textsuperscript{33}.

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\textsuperscript{26} Price, Simon R.F., op.cit. p. 137.


\textsuperscript{28} Smith, Robert R.R. \textit{Aphrodisias II. Roman portrait sculpture from Aphrodisias}. 2006, pp. 44.


\textsuperscript{30} Cass. Dio 56,30.

\textsuperscript{31} Price, Simon R.F., op.cit p. 57.


The provincial cities decided to follow this policy, honoring Augustus by constructing the temples\(^{34}\), chapels, altars\(^{35}\) and by striking commemorative coins\(^{36}\). It is important to indicate that because of Augustus's actions, plenty of towns gained the privileges or the statues of an ally. Therefore, that was the way to show the gratitude and loyalty. The bronze issues struck on Cyprus in 15/16 AD, Augustus was presented in the same way like at mentioned aureus (RPC I 3917-3918). The inhabitants of the island were grateful for the emperor’s support after the earthquake\(^{37}\).

Philippi, the colony which was founded after the famous battle, where Julius Caesar had been revenged was strictly connected with Augustus\(^{38}\). The interesting emissions were struck in the time of Augustus and they were continued later (RPC I 1650) (il. 3). On the reverse, the statue of Augustus was juxtaposed with the statue of Julius Caesar. The dictator wearing toga is crowning the cuirassed figure of Augustus acting adlocutio\(^{39}\). The statues are inscribed as DIVO IVL and AVG DIVI F. After the death of Augustus the next issues bore the legend DIVVS/AVG referring to both gods. Such design remained the central issue in the mintage of Philippi till the time of Commodus. This presentation was to commemorate the refoundation of the colony\(^{40}\). However later it became the manifestation of the gratitude towards the divine leaders.

The next emperor, Caligula decided to imitate the style of the reign of the first emperor (imitatio Augusti)\(^{41}\). One of the first issues struck under Gaius contains the image of Divus Augustus in corona radiata with two stars and without any legend (RIC 1) (il. 5). These two stars could be understood as Caligula’s attempts of Tyberius deification\(^{42}\). This type was later accurately copied by the mint in Balbura (RPC I 3355), which proofed that provincial mints followed the imperial patterns. The numerous issues with the similar depiction were produced later with the legend: DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER PATRIÆ (RIC 15,16,21,31). In Caligula’s coins, Augustus was commemorated also in the other way. On the series of sestertii struck in 40/41 AD Caligula is presented on the reverse, in front of the hexastyle temple described as DIVO AVG. It is clear that this is the temple of Divus Augustus. The young emperor is shown in the act of sacrifice, Two figures assisted him. Gaius was

\(^{34}\) E.g. Vienne, Acropolis in Athens, Ancara, Pisidian Antioch, Pergamum, Caesarea Maritima, Sebaste, Leptis Magna

\(^{35}\) E.g. Miletus, Ephesos.

\(^{36}\) Emerita: RPC I 32; Tarraco: RPC I 228; Turasio: RPC I 423; Patrae: RPC I 1253; Caesarea: RPC I 3620; Alexandria: RPC I 5089.

\(^{37}\) Parks, Danielle A. The Roman Coinage of Cyprus, Nicosia 2004, p. 60.

\(^{38}\) Koortbojian, Michael. op.cit., p. 132.


the direct descendant of Augustus, so he wanted to pointed out his divine great-grandfather to gain the deification for himself\textsuperscript{43}.

At the beginning of Nero’s reign, the connection with Divus Augustus was utilized. On the aureus struck in 55 AD the busts of Nero and Agrippina the Younger on the obverse are juxtaposed with the seated statues of Divus Augustus and Divus Claudius on the car drawn left by four elephants. Agrippina and Nero were the direct descendants of Augustus too and this fact was underlined. Furthermore, Nero proclaimed that he was going to follow the Augustan policy\textsuperscript{44}.

Without any doubts, the cult of the first emperor endured till the triumph of Christianity, what is proved by the commemorative issues struck from time to time by later emperors: e.g. Tius (RIC 401-403), Domitianus (RIC 824), Nerva (RIC 128-136) and Trajan Decius (RIC 77-78).

**GERMANICUS AND DRUSUS THE YOUNGER**

Germanicus died during his mission in Syria. His death devastated the Roman society and plunged into grief. However, the ancient sources underlined that Tiberius did not show any compassion or pity\textsuperscript{45}. The public funeral was conducted, and the ashes of Germanicus were brought to the Mausoleum of Augustus, but there were no images and procession\textsuperscript{46}. The triumphal arch was dedicated to him in *circo Flamini*. The statue of Germanicus was presented in quadriga and it was surrounded by the members of his closest family, such us: Drusus the Elder, Antonia, Livilla, Claudius, Agrippina the Elder and his offspring\textsuperscript{47}. No commemorative coins were struck till the reign of Caligula. The youngest son of Germanicus decided to commemorate him and the other members of his family that died during the regime of Tiberius. On the series of aurei (RIC 17) (il. 7) Germanicus is presented with a legend: GERMANICVS CAES P C CAES AVG GERM. The fact that great commander is

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\textsuperscript{43} Sajkowski Ryszard., op.cit., pp. 175–176.

\textsuperscript{44} Suet. *Nero* 10.


\textsuperscript{46} Tacit. *Annal*, 2.73

\textsuperscript{47} Tab.Siar. I 18–21.
mentioned as the father of the Gaius is a method to mark out that the new emperor inherited the *virtus* after his true father, instead of the characteristics of Tiberius. Germanicus was presented on the bronze coins: asii, dupondii and sestertii. One of the most interesting examples is the dupondius with the depiction of Germincus in quadriga on the obverse and in the act of *adlocutio* on the reverse (RIC 57). The great leader is presented in the same pose as Octavianus on series of denarii, during his campaign against M.Antonius (RIC 253) and his son, in front of the cohorts on sestertius (RIC 32). Additionally, the legend: SIGNIS RECEP DEVICTIS GERM was added. This inscription is the apparent reference to the successful mission of receiving the legionary standards from the Germans, lost by Varus in 9 AD in the famous battle in Teutoberg forest. The imperial one inspired the provincial coinage, but the range of visual program was wider. On the Cappadocian drachms struck in 33/34 AD or later in the time of Caligula, Germanicus is presented on the reverse and Divus Augustus on the obverse (RPC I 3623). Although these two members of Julio-Claudian family were never juxtaposed on one coin, the design were simple copied from the imperial coins. The father of Caligula was later commemorated once again in Cappadocian Caesarea. The series of didrachms (RPC I 3629) and drachms (RPC I 3630) present the Armenian king Artaxias crowned by Germanicus. This ascension happened in 18 AD, so these coins were struck years later to show the gratitude of the monarch to Germanicus and his family. Furthermore, in the Greek East, were the definition of ‘god’ was much wider, Germanicus and the other members of the imperial family could receive the divine honors. On the issue of Mytilene, he and Agrippina the Elder were described as ΘΕΟΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ and ΘΕΑΝ ΑΙΟΛΙΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ (RPC I 2348). Although they were never officially deified,
the cult in Mytilene was real and vivid\textsuperscript{51}. It seems that Eastern communities could choose which member of the imperial dynasty to worship.

Drusus the Younger after the death of Germanicus became the most significant pretender of succeeding Tiberius. In 22 AD he gained tribunicia potestas\textsuperscript{52}, which confirmed his aspirations. One year later Drusus was probably poisoned by his wife, Livilla\textsuperscript{53}. The honors that he obtained were equal to those gained by Germanicus. Only provincial mints commemorated the son of Tiberius. In Sardes (or in another Asian mints) the coins with the sitting on curule chairs figures of Drusus and Germanicus were struck in 23-26 AD\textsuperscript{54}. The partnership of deceased candidates for the throne was underlined. In contrast to Germanicus, his memory was not refreshed later. Although, according to the will of Tiberius, his son Tyberius Gemmellus supposed to be the co-ruler along with Caligula, he never obtained such power, and only a few months later he was forced to commit suicide\textsuperscript{55}. Therefore there were no imperial coins commemorating the father of Gemmellus. It is worth mentioning that in the groups of the imperial family, the sculpture of Drusus Caesar was still presented like in \textit{Sebasteion} at Aphrodisias\textsuperscript{56}.

\section*{LIVIA AND ANTONIA}

The wife of Augustus died in 29 AD during the reign of Tiberius. Neither her son, nor Caligula decided to deify her. Officially Livia forbade that, but ancient authors denied it\textsuperscript{57}. Claudius, the one who she loathed, was the one who decided to conduct her deification. However before that, during the reign of Tiberius, she gained some

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{images}
\caption{Il. 7. aureus, Rome, RIC Caligula 17; Obv: C CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR POT; Rev: GERMANICVS CAES P C CAES AVG GERM. Il. 8. sestertius, Rome, RIC Caligula 33; Obv: C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS PON M TR POT; Rev: AGrippina Drvsilla Ivlia.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{52} Tacit. Annal. 3 56.
\textsuperscript{53} Cass.Dio 57.22.
\textsuperscript{54} Grant, Michael. “Phrygian metropolis in the early Principate.” \textit{Numismatic Chronicle} 1949, p. 163.
\textsuperscript{55} Cass.Dio 59, 8.
\textsuperscript{56} Smith, Robert R.R. \textit{Aphrodisias II. Roman portrait sculpture from Aphrodisias}. 2006, p. 44.
\textsuperscript{57} Suet. Tiberius 51, Tacit. Annal. 5.1-2.
honors. The youngest son of Germanicus gave the oration during the public funeral and later she was laid in Mausoleum of Augustus. The fact that Tiberius ordered women to mourn meant that the status of Livia was far from divine. The arch was promised for her, but it was never erected. No coins were struck to mark the death of Augustus’s wife. As it was mentioned in the case of Drusus, Claudius needed to strengthen his insecure regime by manifesting the connection with the great members of Julio-Claudian house. In 42 AD she was eventually consecrated, elephant chariot drew her image, and her statue was placed in Temple of Augustus. Also, her name was placed in sacred oaths. That consecration was commemorated on series of dupondii with Divus Agustus on the obverse and enthroned Diva Augusta holding a torch and ears grain (RIC 101) (il. 13). The coins with the presentation of Diva Augusta were gladly resumed even after the end of Julio-Claudian dynasty. The wife of Augustus was utilized in propaganda of Galba who used her image on his imperial coins. She was presented with the patera and scepter, the legend: DIVA AVGVSTA was added (RIC 14). The statues of deified Augustus and Livia were placed on sestertius struck under Antoninus Pius in 157/158 AD. The figures are standing in front of the octastyle that is inscribed as TEMPLVM DIV AVG. Therefore, we can be assured that the cult of Livia endured along with those of her husband.

The situation in provinces was completely different. Livia during her lifetime used to receive the divine honors. At Thasos, she was honored as Θεα Ευεργετις. The provincial coins, struck in times of Augustus and Tiberius, bearing her image sometimes were inscribed with the legend: ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ (Clazomene: RPC I 2496, Thessalonika: RPC I 1563, Methymna: RPC I 2338). After her death the coins bearing her image were inscribed as ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣ, translated as Diva Augusta (Koinon of Crete: RPC I 1030).

Antonia the Younger, wife of Drusus the Elder, mother of Claudius and grandmother of Caligula, became the second most important woman in imperial Rome. Although there were theories that Antonia was driven to commit suicide or was

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60 Cass.Dio, 58.2.
62 Grether, Gertrude. op. cit., p. 246.
64 Cass.Dio 55.2.
65 Barrett, Anthony A., op.cit., p. 223.
68 Grether, Gertrude. op. cit., p. 231.
poisoned by Caligula at the beginning of his reign\textsuperscript{69}, we should stay skeptical about such gossips. The remains of Antonia were publicly cremated in Campus Martius, and then her ashes were placed in Mausoleum of Augustus, next to her husband that was buried there 45 years before\textsuperscript{70}. However, Antonia did not receive any special cult after her death. Her memory was restored under her son Claudius. The title of Augusta was re-confirmed and the annual games on the day of her birthday were announced\textsuperscript{71}. The commemorative emissions were struck. She was presented on the obverse of the aureus (RIC 65) (il. 11) with the legend: ANTONIA AVGVSTA. The reverse is strictly connected with her too. The presentation of the female figure holding a long torch and cornucopia is included and inscribed: CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI. The personification of constancy is a clear reference to Antonia and her endurance, immutability, as well as loyalty to the Julio-Claudian family\textsuperscript{72}. After the death of Livia, Antonia became the priestess of the Augustan cult, which was commemorated on the other issue of aurei (RIC 67). The reverse contains two vertical, long, burning torches linked by a special ribbon, and the legend: SACERDOS DIVI AVGVSTI is added. Two torches and the plural legend referred to both imperial women that were the only known from the history sacerdos divi Augusti\textsuperscript{73}.

On provincial coins, Antonia used to be depicted earlier (in the time of Caligula), but only in Thessalonika (RPC I 1573-1575) and in Corinth (RPC I 1176). The bust of emperor’s grandmother is presented on the reverse with the inscription: ANTΩΝΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ (RPC I 1575). It is hard to determine if these coins were struck during her lifetime or immediately after her death\textsuperscript{74}. However, the fact that the head of Antonia is veiled could indicate that it was struck after her death. Anto-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{69} Suetonius, \textit{Gaius}, 23.
\item \textsuperscript{71} Dio, 60.5.1–2.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Burns, Jasper. op.cit., p. 35.
\item \textsuperscript{73} Sajkowski, Ryszard. op. cit., pp. 47–55.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Hekster, Olivier. op. cit., p. 124.
\end{itemize}
nia emerged on Thessalonian coins in the time of Claudius (RPC I 1581-1587). She is inscribed simply as ANTΩNIA. On the series of dupondii of Crete (RPC I 1031) the busts of Drusus and Antonia were juxtaposed. Once again the presentation of the emperor’s parents was used to strengthen his claims to the throne. Antonia disappeared from coins after the death of Claudius.

**AGRIPPINA THE ELDER AND HER OFFSPRING**

Agrippina the Elder, Drusus and Nero Caesars were not commemorated till the reign of Caligula. They felt into a conflict with Sejanus and Tiberius and were ultimately assassinated. Therefore this unofficial *damnatio memoriae* did not allow the mints, even those provincial, to produce the coins with their depictions. All changed after the ascension of Caligula. He decided to visit the places where his mother and brothers were buried, bring their ashes back to Rome and put them in Mausoleum of Augustus. The commemoration of the ascendants and the relatives was the key to ensuring his power (the same method was used later by Claudius, as it was mentioned above). Agrippina was placed in the series of silver and gold coins, while his deceased brothers in bronze ones. One of the first aureus that was struck under Caligula contains the bust of Agrippina with a legend: AGRIPPINA MAT C CAES AVG GERM (RIC 14) (il. 6). This design and the legend are analogical to the coins released at the same time, contributing Germanicus. However, the most interesting one is the sestertius that is fully devoted to Agrippina (RIC 55) (il. 10). This is the first case that the whole, imperial coin is reserved for a woman. What is more, the first coin that was devoted for deceased member of imperial family without any reference to the ruling emperor. The inscription on the obverse is similar to this quoted above: AGRIPPINA M F MAT C CAESARIS AVGVSTI. The reverse contains the depiction of the car (carpentum) with the image of Agrippina that was drawn by two

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75 Suet. Calig. 15.
mules during the procession in Circus Maximus. Such presentation was copied from the earlier type, used in the time of Tiberius for Livia (RIC 50-51). The inscription: MEMORIAE AGRIPPINAE is placed next to the car. It seems that Agrippina played the same role as her husband in Gaius's propaganda.

The cult of Agrippina was developed in provinces too. Her large head, that may had been the part of a cult statue, was found in Cos⁷⁸. On the coins of Apamea she was juxtaposed with her three daughters (RPC I 2012). On the reverse she is shown in the divine pose, holding a sceptre and patera. In a similar way, Agrippina the Elder is presented on the coin from Philadelphia (RPC I 3032). She is sitting as a goddess with a sceptre and cornucopia. Before the reign of Caligula, Livia was presented on coins in a similar way (e.g. RIC Tiberius 25). The image of Agrippina the Elder was put on coins from 11 provincial mints, in two different poses: as a portrait or, as mentioned above, sitting personification of a goddess.

The brothers of Caligula were also commemorated on coins. Nero and Drusus were depicted on series of dupondii, where they are presented as horse riders in a gallop (RIC 34) (il. 9). The legend NERO ET DRVSVS CAESARES is added. Their face to face busts were depicted in Corinth (RPC I 1174). In Cnossos two brothers were presented on both sides of a coin. The obverse of a coin from Apamea commemorates two deceased princes in the same way, with a legend: DRVSVS NERO CAESARES DD (RPC I 2014). The bust of Nero was shown on the obverse and Drusus on the reverse (RPC I 997). On other coins from Rome, Apamea and Corinth, brothers have always shared the same side of the coins. The whole space on a coin is dedicated to them, what makes this emission much more unique and honorific⁷⁹.

Julia Drusilla was a beloved sister of Caligula. Therefore after her death in 38 AD the emperor proclaimed her consecration, the witness that had seen the act of her soul being taken to heaven was provided, so Drusilla became the first Roman woman

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that was officially announced as a god\textsuperscript{80}. Although no imperial coins were commemorating her, there some were struck in provinces. She was presented among her sisters on the coins from Apamea that were copied from the imperial pattern (RIC 33) (il. 8). On the first example, the sisters are presented in an identical way: Agrippina as Securitas, Julia Livilla as Fortuna and Drusilla as Concordia (RPC I 2014). The significant difference is the legend, on which Drusilla is described as DIVA DRVSILLA. It means that this coin was struck after her consecration. On the other type, three busts of sisters are juxtaposed. The retrograde legend is added: DIVAE DRVSILLAE (RPC I 2012). The portrait of Drusilla wearing stephane is presented on coins o Miletus (RPC I 2704). The coin bears legend: ΜΙΛΗΣΙΩΝ ΘΕΑ ΔΡΟΥΣΙΛΑ. All the more it is suspicious that the honorific coins were not struck in Rome. Perhaps Caligula did not demand such image on his coins or he just did not want to present her with greater honors than his mother\textsuperscript{81}. It seems that the cult of Diva Drusilla was exaggerated and perished after the assassination of Caligula.

**DIVUS CLAUDIUS AND THE REGIME OF NERO**

The successors of Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula did not receive the divine honors. Although Caligula wanted to deify his predecessor, the Senate refused his plan. The reminiscence of his attempt can be the mentioned coin with the presentation of Divus Augustus and two stars, where the second one could be the manifestation of deified Tiberius\textsuperscript{82}.

Claudius did not allowed the Senate to denounce the memory of Caligula (*damnatio memoriae*)\textsuperscript{83}, because that could affect himself and the whole Julio-Claudian dynasty\textsuperscript{84}. Of course, no commemorative emissions were produced, but as well the provincial coins were re-struck at the beginning of Claudian regime\textsuperscript{85}.

Also the other members of Julio-Claudian family that died during the rule of Claudius were not commemorated. Messalina condemned Julia Livilla and after the

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\textsuperscript{80} Cass.Dio 59.11.


\textsuperscript{83} Suet. Claud. 11.3, Cass. Dio. 60.4.


true nature of the emperor’s wife was revealed and the woman was killed, she was not commemorated too.

The image of Claudius was exploited by Nero and Agrippina in the similar way like Divus Augustus was used by Caligula. The young emperor needed the confirmation of his claims to the imperial throne. First of all, after the deification of Claudius, Nero promised him the temple in Celius hills. However, he never kept the promise and the *Templum Divi Claudii* was consecrated by Vespasianus. The series of aurei that were struck in Lugdunum bear the image of Claudius with a legend: DIVVS CLAVDIVS AVGVSTVS (RIC 4) (il. 14). Quadriga is presented on the reverse. Divus Claudius (DIVOS CLAVD AVGST GERMANIC PATER) was presented on the reverse of didrachm of Cappadocia (RIC 618-622) and on the tetradrachms from Syria (RPC I 4122-3123).

When the reign of Nero was ensured, emperor started to show his negative attitude towards his predecessor. The offspring of Claudius and Messalina were killed or died during the reign. Britannicus, as the perspective pretender to the throne and natural heir of Claudius, was poisoned in 55 AD in the age of thirteen and Octavia was banished and sent to Pandateria, where she was tortured to death. Even his mother that had the ambition of outdoing achievements of Livia, was the victim of Nero. No matter if the accusations were right, no one from this list was nor damned by the Senate, nor commemorated on coins. However, the memory of Britannicus was not lost in provinces. For example in *Sebasteion* in Aphrodisias he was presented on one of the relief.

The situation was different with the next wife of Nero: Poppaea Sabina and his only child: Claudia. His daughter died as an infant and Poppaea was beaten to death by the emperor. Both were announced the goddesses. That was the first time in Roman history that an infant became a god. She was worshiped as Diva Claudia and the wife of Nero as Diva Poppaea. They received the cult probably in the temple of Augustus. No imperial coins were struck, but in Caesarea Panias the emission inscribed DIVA POPPAEA AVG on the obverse and DIVA CLAVD NER F was released (RPC I 4846) (il. 15). The distyle temple with the statue of Poppaea is presented on the obverse and the circular hexastyle temple on the reverse, with the female statue in the middle. This figure could be interpreted as Poppaea with an infant or the grown-up idealised presentation of Claudia. The deification of his wife and daughter was the renouncement of the Augustan tradition. After the suicide of Nero, the deification of Poppaea was rescinded and her images, along with those references:

87 Suet. Vesp. 9.
89 Suet. Nero 35.
92 Suet. Galba 1.
of Nero, were removed from public display\textsuperscript{94}. Later, for a moment, the statues of Poppaea were re-erected by Otho, her ex-husband\textsuperscript{95}.

Nero became the first Roman emperor that was announced as the enemy of Roman state and was officially condemned\textsuperscript{96}. His statues were re-carved into the images of later emperors\textsuperscript{97}, his name was erased from the honorific inscriptions\textsuperscript{98}. Otho and Vitelius tried to restore the memory and the statues of Nero\textsuperscript{99}, but both were defeated. The last Julio-Claudian emperor represents corruption, conceit and decay of absolute power.

**Conclusions**

The Julio-Claudian dynasty is famous from the numerous intrigues. The great members that supposed to be the heirs to the thrones unexpectedly died (Drusus the Elder, Gaius and Lucius, Germanicus). Others lost their impact and because of intrigues never gained the power (Drusus the Younger, Nero and Drusus Caesars, Britannicus). Therefore those members that eventually achieved the throne were not the most dignified characters but the most flexible and enduring ones (Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius). The ascension of Nero was conducted by Agrippina the Younger and her followers. In all of these cases the emperors needed the famous ancestors to strengthen their power. Augustus used his adoptive father Julius Caesar by deifying him and presenting himself as a \textit{divi filius}. Even later, when his power was ensured, the famous dictator was presented on coins on the occasion of the \textit{ludi Saecualares}. Tiberius repeated this manoeuvre by consecrating Augustus and becoming the next \textit{divi filius}. Caligula wanted to follow this way, but the Senate remained hostile to the idea of deification of Tiberius. Therefore Caligula decided to imitate Augustan policy (\textit{imitatio Augusti}). As the young emperor he without any military and political experience had to revive the memory of his parents. Germanicus, the great and beloved commander that his protégés wanted him instead of Tiberius to succeed Augustus in 14 AD, remained as the example of the best Roman virtues. His youngest son wanted to use his memory to manifest that he inherited the best characteristics of his father. Agrippina the Elder, was known for her strong attitude. She was not afraid to oppose Tiberius. She was eventually banished and killed, but her son commemorated her with the entire imperial coin dedicated and she became the first Roman woman that gained such privilege. She gave birth to five children that reached adulthood, so she was the true \textit{Venus Genetrix} of Julio-Claudian dynasty. Later Agrippina the Younger was presented in the very similar way, even though it is difficult to determine which

\textsuperscript{94} Tacit Annal. 14, 61; Wood, Susan. \textit{Imperial Women}, Leiden 1999, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{95} Suet. Otho, 7.1.
\textsuperscript{96} Pliny the Elder, Hist. Nat. 34.18.45.
\textsuperscript{98} Smith, Rober R.R. op.cit., pp. 140–141.
portraits belong to Agrippina Senior and which to Agrippina Junior. Caligula tried to use his sisters in his dynastic policy, but failed. His beloved sister died and was consecrated but her cult did not endured the reign of Caligula.

Unexpected emperor, Claudius did not have strict relations to Augustus. However he was the grandchild of Livia, so he decided to consecrate her. She was the connection between Claudius and Divus Augustus. He underlined his parents, who were much more famed and respected figures than he was before he claimed the imperial power. Drusus the Elder was the great commander as was his son Germanicus. Antonia the Younger was the respectful matron, as well as the one who revealed the conspiracy of Sejanus and eventually overthrew him.

The last emperor, Nero, consecrated Claudius, but he did not respect his cult (temple remained unfinished). Divus Claudius was essential in the beginning of Nero’s reign, but once his power was ensured, the depictions of Claudius disappeared from coins. Nero’s closest imperial family was eliminated: Britannicus died, Agrippina the Younger was killed, Octavia was banished and assassinated. Therefore they were not commemorated on imperial coins. Poppaea Sabina became the wife of Nero and first woman of the imperial Rome, but she was murdered and never commemorated on the imperial coins. Eventually, Nero after his suicide became the first emperor that was officially condemned.

The members of Julio-Claudian family were revived on coins because the new emperors needed them to confirm their claims to power. Octavianus used the image of Julius Caesar. Tiberius copied the scheme of his predecessor by consecrating him Augustus. Caligula tried to imitate the policy of Augustus too, but as well underlined his meritorious parents, brothers and sisters. Claudius referred to his grandmother Livia, and his parents. Nero consecrated his adoptive father, Claudius. Reviving the memory of the predecessors on coins was the symbolic attempt to remind the society about the relations between the deceased and dignified members of Julio-Claudian dynasty and the emperor. Most of the issues were struck at the beginning of the reign of new rulers just to strengthen their power. Therefore when the power was assured, there was no more need of presenting them.

There were three levels of presentations of the deceased members. On the gold and silver coins there were depicted the images of the most essential ancestors. Julius Caesar, Augustus, Agrippina the Elder, Germanicus, Drusus the Elder, Antonia the Younger, Claudius were presented on the series aurei and denarii. Caligula’s siblings and Agrippa were presented on bronze coins. The provincial mints followed the patterns created in Rome, but not in all cases, and their choice was very liberal. However it seems that the decision of presenting on local coins the deceased members of Julio-Claudian dynasty was made by the local authorities. They were well informed about the situation in the imperial family. Of course, it was impossible to commemorate someone that was already condemned, but the others that were considered as the benefactors of a region could be put on coins without any contraindications.
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Summary

The Julio-Claudian Emperors needed to express the connections between them and their ancestors to strengthen their reign on coins. Octavianus used the image of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar to achieve the political power. The deification of Caesar let him use the title of divi filius. Tiberius and the successor of Augustus, decided to follow his policy by consecrating him. The next emperor, Caligula, manifested his connection with Augustus and also commemorated his siblings and parents on coins. What is more, Livia became the goddess thanks to her grandson Claudius. It was no surprising that the unexpected emperor revived the memory of his parents on coins. The last Julio-Claudian emperor Nero used the depictions on coins to deify his predecessor and, according to this, to ensure his regime. All of the mentioned events were proofed by commemorative emissions of coins, what is analyzed in the presented article.
INTRODUCTION

In one of his articles, Jacques Derrida had used coins as an example of a metaphor. When the image and legend of the coin are no longer visible or readable, the coin loses its nominal value. The coin is no longer drachm or denarius. It begins to function beyond the time and place. Its value is immeasurable; its circulation has no limit. Although the coin was used as a metaphor of metaphysical theories, the accuracy of this statement cannot be questioned. Albeit numismatics is searching mainly for the first life of coin, its “after-life”, when is no longer functioning in the proper context can be at least as much intriguing. The circulation of coin in the “second life” is usually restricted to scholars and collectors from all over the world. But sometimes it is becoming the widely known symbol of past or the element of collective memory. Then its circulation really is beyond time and place. The coin is no longer only the object of scientific discussion. This is restricted to scholars and consists only the things that were but are no longer. As the part of collective (or cultural) memory, they are becoming the things that were and still are.

The only way form the history to memory for such object is through being the lieux of memorie – a place, object, idea linked with the common cultural identity, which is taught and transferred from generation to generation, celebrated together in rituals sacralizing the past.

One can argue if the Roman denarii (especially the first issues and the historical ones struck for Caesar, Brutus, Pompey etc.), Athenian “owls” or Celtic Biatec/Nonnos coins could be considered as the lieux of memorie at any point of its reception. I have, however, decided to examine the example of Dacian gold coins with ΚΟΣΩΝ legend as the case is more recent and not so vide-known. As it will be discussed later,

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all importance of kosons, unlike Roman denarii or Athenian “owls,” is not in their economic importance in the past, but their present value as symbols. Kosons are part of a very specific historical narration. Therefore the relevant section of this paper is dedicated to the origins and functioning of so-called Romanian National Myth.

To show kosons as they are: not only artifacts nor the subject of numismatic research for many years, but also as elements of the modern cultural memory of Romania, I will try to reveal how particular theories were used to support the bigger than historical narration. The main assumptions linking Kosons with the unknown successor of Burebista and predecessor of Decebalus will be exhibited to support the thesis of powerful Dacian state, an important Roman ally or foe. Finally, through historical and numismatical analysis, I shall try to explain the role of kosons as a part of the foundation myth of Romanian society.

THEORY. THE HISTORY, CULTURAL MEMORY AND THE ROLE OF THE SITES AND STORES OF MEMORY

The case of kosons and their later reception creates certain link between the history and the memory. However, those concepts shall not be considered as synonyms. The memory is vivid, constantly supported by the generations, therefore always changing. Its evolution is based on the dialectics of accomplishment and amnesia, susceptible to instrumentalities and manipulations. On the contrary, the history is always problematic and incomplete reconstruction of things that were that were, but are no longer. The memory is ever actual, linking the past with the present, whereas the history is the representation of the past. The memory is sacralizing the past while the history (always relative) is the deconstruction of an absolute memory.

An observation caused the reflection of the essence of the common knowledge about the past that differs significantly from the historical experience. People usually do not refer to the scientific discussions. Their vision of past is shaped by the interactions with others. The history is a science, therefore it is based on the strict rules and it aims to reveal the objective truth. The common knowledge (or the social/collective memory) of the past is built more on the subjective relations, the remembrances of past.

The collective memory is essential to the existence of the group (usually it refers to the nation). Formed through the socializing and intra-group transfer, it is the carrier of fundamental values and behaviors acceptable within the group. As the

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2 The „koson” may be the name of the ruler – then it is written with the capital letter, the legend of the coin – then it is written using the original (Greek) alphabet and the coin type – then it is written with small letter.

3 M. Delapierre, Miejsca pamięci czy pamięć miejsc? Kilka refleksji na temat uobecniania przeszłości w literaturze współczesnej, „Ruch literacki” vol LIV no. 1, p. 50.


5 P. Ricoeur, Pamięć, historia, zapomnienie, J. Margański (trans), Kraków 2012, pp. 523-527.
individual (communicative) and collective memory are closely linked, the knowledge and values of the group are shaping the individual memory. Therefore, both collective and individual memories are not stable – they are remaining in a stage of the constant redefinition caused by the necessity to model them per the current tendencies. Individuals are placing their remembrances against the wider context of the cultural memory which makes it depending on the memory of the group (nation)\(^6\).

As it was already said the primary object of the cultural memory is still the nation. Thus, it is usually controlled by the state, which opens the room for the manipulations\(^7\). The desire to shape the past so it would be something to be proud with is common among all nations. Heidegger called it the repetition – the repetition of the former possibility of existence (the being is choosing the character) is established in a decision to follow and be faithful to what is repetitive. The repetition itself is not the restoration or an update of what was before. It’s more re-realisation, the commemoration or the response. It reopens the past for the future.\(^8\)

The practical relation to the past is leading the individuals to read it back. The interest lays only in those events that can be linked with the present to explain, justify or make it more reliable or convenient. The category of evaluation the past is its contribution to the present.\(^9\) The collective memory is transferring the values and norms in relations to the past. It can also be the legitimisation of the current government and create the intra-group bonds. Through the past, the present gains additional value.

The particular sections of past or heritage are transferred to the cultural memory as the traditions if the group is still finding them useful and actual. Consequently, there must be active, affirmative relations of particular individuals and the past. It is usually created by the state, which through various methods (from the history and literature in school to the mass media) is shaping the traditional values and behaviours using the collective memory as a tool\(^10\).

There is a dissonance between the cultural memory and the history. The main difference is the relations to the past. The history is a science; therefore it must be objective. It focuses on what was but is no longer. On the contrary, the memory is subjective, always changing. The memory is concentrated on things that were and are still present. By the various ways of commemoration, it stands against the neutralization of the past\(^11\). The collective memory does not even refer to the past as it was: it contains the myths as well. Instead of papers and discussions, it is using the memories, language and rituals\(^12\).

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In the contemporary historiography, one of the most important paradigms is concentrating on the cultural memory (in contrast to the historiography of the 19th century when the main area of focus was a state). The main interests are on how the past is memorized. The picture of the past in common consciousness is as much important as the past itself. Before that, the historians wielded power over the perception of the past. The historians were providing the facts, thoughts and interpretations. Nowadays, historians are not only nor even the most important creators of the past: the state and media are shaping the public discussion.

Pierre Nora, the French historian, is considered to be the precursor of studies of the collective memory and the sites of memory. In his numerous articles and books he postulated an importance of studies of the sites of memory. However, it appears that he has never defined that the term actually means.

The interests in studies of lieux de mémoire started to increase, as it seems, at the particular moment in history, when the historical consciousness is cohesive with the recognition that the very memory is broken and it is no longer possible to see the embodiment of memory in places where it still exists in the sense of a historical continuation. It is the moment when a vast memory resource disappears and exists only as the recreated subject of the critical historical analysis. Lieux de mémoire exists because milieux de mémoire – the real memory settings are no more. The lieux de mémoire are the most important remains of remembering consciousness, existing thanks to history, which is trying to evoke once abandoned memory. They are created from the sense of the lack of spontaneity historic memory. Therefore the archives, museums, celebrations of anniversaries need to be done in order to create this memory in an institutionalized way.

The lieux de mémoire are the external form of memory, as it is no longer in the spontaneous practice. The transition from memory to history demands from every group to re-define its self-awareness through the recovery the historical memory. It appears when there are no witnesses to the particular historical events left, so the memory of them is shaped externally, mostly by historians.

The site of memory might be a historical archive, a hero monument, but also an apartment where veterans were meeting. It is a place where groups or societies deposit their memories or believes to be extremely important for their memory. They exist only when particular places (loci) are connected with the relevant contents (imagines). The lieux de mémoire exists not only in relations to the direct witnesses.

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13 K. Wójcicki, op. cit.
14 F. Pazderski, op.cit., p. 4.
15 A. Szpociński, Miejsca pamięci, „Teksty drugie” no 4, 2008, pp. 11–12.
17 A Szpociński, op. cit., p. 12.
18 P. Nora, op. cit., p. 12.
19 Ibid, pp. 11-12.
and participants of events but also with the past. The practices of their cultivation are forms of fidelity to ancestors and extension of the bound between past and present.

The stores of memory are all artifacts and behaviours that stimulate the historical memory, even if this is unintentional and there is no communicative intent\textsuperscript{20}. Unintentional memory stores require a specific interpretation to became the memory carriers.\textsuperscript{21}

The stores of memory are wider idea than the memory sites. But there is a group of stores, which in the specific society groups are connected to the important values and ideas. Their importance may be stated by the significance of the idea or the function of the carrier of ideas and values. The stores of memory may also exist like the sites of memory only when they are connected to the people or ideas that are for some reasons important in the society\textsuperscript{22}. In that terms, the stores of the memory exist not as symbols but as the places where the essential ideas can be found. In other words, they can also be considered as memory sites.

It is not possible to discuss the \textit{lieux de mémoire} without explaining the idea of the time in which they are existing. Among all the conceptions of the nature of past and present, the most important from the viewpoint of the theory of the memory sites is the conception of Marcel Proust\textsuperscript{23}. It is not formulated as a thesis in one or several articles or monographs. To fully understand and appreciate his idea, it is necessary to read all ‘In search for the Lost Time’ cycle. Nevertheless, Proust was one of the most influent authors of his period and his conception is very important in order to understand the functioning of the memory sites fully.

Proust’s conception of time, albeit similar in in some parts to Bergson’s theory\textsuperscript{24}, is unique when it comes to the way of perception the past by individual in the present moment. The past time – ‘time lost’ must be intellectually converted to became the ‘time regained.’ The present time is valuable insofar as it allows to process the time past. Only after that, one can consider the past as the time properly lived. The sites or storages of memory (in Proust’s novel the madeleine, the smell of hawthorns and the Vinteuil’s sonata) are some kind of prism. They hold the memories of past, but what is more important; they allow looking at it in a new way.

As I will try to demonstrate, Dacian Kosons are not only the storages of memory per se as they are artifact inseparably connected with the history and the culture of pre-Roman Dacia, but also as a part of the specific historical narration, in some way the sites of memory.


\textsuperscript{21} Conf. St. Augustine of Hippo, \textit{Wyznania}, Z. Kubiak (trans.), Kraków 2007, p. 261: the present has three aspects: the past, present and future. The memory is the past aspect of present. The past can be seen only through the \textit{vestigia} which are the reflects of past. This is the main rule of the memory stores.

\textsuperscript{22} A. Szpociński, \textit{Nośniki pamięci, miejsca pamięci, „Sensu Historiae” vol XVII (2014), pp. 24–25.}

\textsuperscript{23} P. Nora, op.cit., p. 15.

KOSONS AND THE HISTORY. NUMISMATICAL ANALYSIS. ICONOGRAPHY

Kosons (il. no. 1) appears to be a Dacian interpretation and adaptation of Roman monetary iconography. The obverse is a copy of the reverse denarius of Brutus dated on 54 BC (RRC 433) (il. no. 2). It was a quite large emission (according to Crawford\textsuperscript{25} 156 obverse and 173 reverse dies have been used), and it is known from numerous finds in the territory of Romania\textsuperscript{26}. They remained in circulation in that area at least until the reign of Trajan.

The reverse is a copy of the obverse of the denarius of Quintus Pomponius Rufus (RRC 398/1) (il. no. 3) dated to the 73 BC. According to Crawford, this particular emission was very small (10 obverse and 7 reverse dies\textsuperscript{27}), but the denari of Rufus are present in hoards from the area of Dacia (Tunşi-Ţicleni deposit, there is also a single specimen from the Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei Cluj-Napoca). The main difference between the eagle pictured on the denari of Rufus and presented on the kosons is the bird’s head (in the original it is turning right, while in the case of the kosons, the head of an eagle is turned left), but that could be caused by the somehow limited skills of the die-engraver.

BRUTUS, DACIANS AND GOLD COINS

Before the Battle of Philippi, Brutus and Cassius had tried to find allies. According to Appian, their army included Celts and Iberians, Lusitanians, Thracians, Illyrians, Thessalians, Arabs, Medes, Parthians, the allies and the king of Galati tetrarchs Asia\textsuperscript{28}.


\textsuperscript{27} RRC p. 410.

\textsuperscript{28} Appian, \textit{Bella Civilia} IV 88: "Brutus and Cassius, thinking that the enemy had taken that position not to close the passage to them but had crossed to Thrace instead of Macedonia for want of provisions, marched toward Aenus and Maronea from Lysimacheia and Cardia, which enclose the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus like gates. The next day brought them to the gulf of Melas. Here they
Geto-Dacians are not mentioned. The proof of their involvement would be gold staters with the KOΣΩN legend.

Many historians and archaeologists supported the possible connection between Brutus and king Koson\(^29\). However, in the written sources there are no indications of any link between Brutus and any Dacian sovereign. According to Appian, Brutus received significant support in the form of a big amount of gold and silver from the Thracian princess Polemocratia\(^30\). He struck coins using this source, but there is little probability that he was the one who issued kosons since Roman aurei and denarii had no metrological link to the koson type\(^31\).

### The History of the Finding. The Mysterious King Koson

The first mention of Koson came from the letter of Erasmus of Rotterdam to John Thurzo, bishop of Breslau, dated the 31\(^{st}\) of August 1520. Erasmus mentioned several gifts he got from the bishop, including a cold coin with a bird on the reverse and three persons walking right on the obverse. He also mentioned a legend KOΣΩN, for it was not in Latin, Greek or Hebrew\(^32\).

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\(^{30}\) Appian, *Bella civilia IV*. 75: “While he was still collecting soldiers and money a piece of good luck came to him from Thrace, of the following sort. Polemocratia, the wife of one of the Thracian princes, being alarmed for her son, who was still a boy, came to Brutus bringing the boy, whom she placed in his hands together with her husband’s treasures. Brutus delivered the boy to the inhabitants of Cyzicus to be cared for until he should have leisure to restore him to his kingdom. Among the treasures he found an unexpected quantity of gold and silver. This he coined and converted into currency”.


At the very beginning, the word ‘Koson’ was interpreted as a reference to the Etruscan city of Cosa. In 1779 Franz Neumann proposed to associate these emissions to the Thracian world on the basis of the strangeness of the series ‘Koson’ compared to the Italic and Gallic reality. In 1734 Siegbert Haverkamp stated the link between Koson staters and Brutus (he read the monogram ΔΒ as Lucius [Iunius] Brutus). Mommsen draws attention to the bilingualism of those coins (Greek legend ΚΟΣΩΝ and Latin monograph BR). Parvan states that coins were most probably issued by Brutus to pay his troops. It does not seem possible that the monogram contained a Latin word since it was long before a Latin alphabet has become commonly used in Dacia. It would imply that the coins were struck by Brutus who could have had Roman mint markers with him (as it was a common practice in the army in times of civil wars). It is, however, rather unlikely they would use the Greek alphabet to write the legend. There is also a much simpler interpretation that it was rather a mintmark than a monogram. Taking into account the fact that inspiration for the kosons were both Roman denarii and gold staters of Greek cities of the Black Sea (Both systems used mintmarks. Moreover, they were present on the copied denarii of Rufus.), this interpretation now seems likely.

However, Vincent Barclay Head argues that the monogram on the obverse is rather ΛΒ, as a short from ΟΛΒΙΑ. The remote area of a circulation should not be an obstacle because Thracia should rather be assigned to Scythia than Dacia. Max Bahrfeldt sees this the monogram rather as BA, as a short from ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, similar to the Svoronos interpretation of the monogram on the coins of the Thracian king ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΗΣ.

Il. 3. Obv.: ΚΟΣΩΝ, consul advancing left between two lictors Rev.: An eagle with the branch standing on a sceptre in the left (http://www.coinarchives.com/8c9e9c04f9f9c415645ee7dd20ac4d58/img/kunker/273/image00192.jpg).
This theory was supported by one of the most influential scholars in ancient Dacian numismatics, O. Iliescu\(^{42}\), and was widely accepted for some time.

The existence of King Koson is the proposition of Romanian historians to fill a gap in written sources in the second half of the first century B.C. (after the death of Burebista). Brutus was supposed to pay with gold kosons for his help. But there is no evidence in written sources that he received the support from the king named Koson or any other Dacian king. As it has been said, ancient authors did not mention Dacians or Geto-Dacians as allies of Brutus. There is no ruler named Koson in written sources\(^{43}\). Barclay Head\(^{44}\) argued that Koson known from coins should be linked to Cotison who is mentioned by Suetonius in the Life of Augustus as “Getarum rex”\(^{45}\) (he was a candidate to marry Julia, the daughter of Augustus) than an unknown successor of Burebista. Horace in one of his odes mentions recently defeated king Cotiso\(^{46}\). Dacian king Cotiso in also mentioned by Florus an enemy of Rome, defeated by Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Augur\(^{47}\) several years later. The most probable explanation is there were two rulers with the name Cosen or Cotison. The first, would-be-a-husband of Iulia Augusta, then defeated in the early twenties of 1\(^{st}\) century BC and the second defeated by Lentulus at the beginning if 1\(^{st}\) century AD\(^{48}\).

There is also another interpretation of the \(\text{KOΣΩΝ}\) as a symbol of verification, taken from the neutral form of particpium from the verb διόüε (written in the Ionic dialect, \(\text{kióûù}\)), “the weight-marked”, or “the specify the value”\(^{49}\). Such hypothesis seems to be strange and unreliable, as \(\text{KOΣΩΝ}\) is clearly a legend, not any type of mintmark. Mintmarks were rather simple symbols than words taken from participium in the Ionian dialect. Another interpretation is that coins with the legend can not be linked with any historical ruler. According to this theory, \(\text{KOΣΩΝ}\) simply a misspelled Greek version of a Latin word \textit{consul}\(^{50}\) (so the evolution would look like this: \textit{consul} ›cosol ›coson). This hypothesis also seems highly unlikely, especially that the word “\textit{consul}” was usually abbreviated to COS, without any suffix.

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\(^{43}\) As in the medieval manuscript of Suetonius, in which both “Cosoni” and “Cotisoni” forms appeared, probably due the mistake on the copyist (O. Iliescu, \textit{Sur les monnaies...}, p. 213)

\(^{44}\) B. Head, op. cit., p. 367


\(^{46}\) Horatius, \textit{Carmina} III.VIII. 17-20:

“\text{Mitte civilis super urbe curas.}
\text{Occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen,}
\text{Medus infestus sibi luctuosus}
\text{dissidet armis}”

\(^{47}\) Florus, \textit{Epitome} II. XXVIII: “\text{Daci montibus inhaerent. Inde Cotisonis regis imperio, quotiens concretes gelu Danuvius iuxerat ripas, decurrere solet} et vicina populari. \text{Visum est Caesari Augusto gentem aditu difficillimam summovere. Misso igitur Lentulo ultra ulteriorem perpulit ripam; citra praesidia constituta. Sic tum Dacia non victa, sed summotas atque dilata est}”.


\(^{49}\) A. Vilcu, op. cit., p. 200.

\(^{50}\) M. Bahrfeldt, op. cit., p. 9.
THE DATING OF KOSON-TYPE STATERS

As it has been stated, there is little possibility that the koson type was connected with Brutus\(^{51}\) or the battle of Philippi. According to the second main hypothesis, coins were minted in Dacia but were a result of an alliance of Geto-Dacian ruler with Brutus\(^{52}\). Koson type staters are believed to be minted between 44 (the death of Burebista) and 29 BC\(^{53}\). Adopting the weigh standard of staters of Lysimachus instead of aurei and almost identical content of alloy can be an indication that kosons were minted before the reign of Augustus, who established Roman gold coinage and started to issue significant amounts of aurei\(^{54}\).

What is also important, it is unlikely that in the non-monetized Dacian economy there was a “massive need for gold coins.” Kosons were minted in a big amount over a short period. Adding the ore and weight of those coins, the most probable reason for that emission was to pay the troops\(^ {55}\) by using coins which weight standard was known to people. The total absence of kosons in the settlement or even funeral context also leads to the conclusion that they could not have any economic function\(^ {56}\). Aside of five massive hoards, there are known only several single finds of kosons, almost exclusively from the area of Romania, and one koson stater found together with the silver imitation of the tetradrachm of Philip II in Tyras\(^ {57}\). Such limited circulation area,\(^ {58}\) the concentration of finds in the small area, the rarity of Roman denari in those hoards (despite numerous finds of Republican and Imperial denari in the area of Dacia) may indicate that all hoards were deposited at the same time. The most probable reason for such a huge, suddenly hoarding might have been the war or the withdrawal of kosons from an official circulation after the Roman conquest. The hoard of Tarsa aside “koson” type staters also included Roman denari Thasian tetradrachms Thasians and the famous Dacian bracelets\(^ {59}\). They were never recovered by new authorities of Dacia or local people. It is possible that this deposit, and perhaps also other hoards, had a votive character (they were found in the near vicinity of Sarmizegetusa Regia, where there was a great Dacian sanctuary\(^ {60}\)), but there is no evidence to support such theory.

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\(^{52}\) J. Winkler, op. cit., 196.


\(^{55}\) J. Winkler, op. cit, p. 181.

\(^{56}\) A. Vilcu, op. cit., p. 200.


\(^{58}\) Almost all findings of the koson type coins came from hoards: there are five hoards known that contained over 1000 of specimens each, one big hoard of about 400 kosons and one small hoard with several dozens of coins.

\(^{59}\) A. Vilcu, op. cit., p. 207.

\(^{60}\) Ibidem, p. 200.
KOSONS AND THE ROMANIAN COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Despite being rather short-lasting phenomena, the history of kosons is complicated. As it has already been stated, historians lost their exclusive privilege of creating the past while the state took control over the historical narration. In Romania after the World War II, the historical narration was dominated by the nationalistic tendencies supported by the communist party. Kosons became a part of the very specific discourse calculated to create a national myth. In this narration, facts were less important than the image of the past that they supposed to create.

The Romanian foundation myth is complicated. It stresses the important role of the Romans in creating and shaping the Romanian nation and the great Romania. On the other hand, the Dacian heritage was becoming more and more important.

The most important for the myth of the Romanian nation was the discussion whether to search for the origins in the West – the Roman heritage, in the East (Romania was always the passage between the East and the West). In the 20th century, the more prevailing was an autochthonic theory that the ancestors of the modern Romanians were either the Dacians or mixed Romano-Dacian people. This debate was a vital part of creating the Romanian state and the nation at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. During the communist period, especially after 1964, the Iron Age became a crucial time for the discussion of the Romanians' origins and the figure of King Burebista became one of the most important symbols of it.

The regime of Nicola Ceausescu who took over the control over Romania in 1964, needed the narration of the Great Romania. Why Burebista and the Iron Age? According to Strabo, he defeated the Tisa, whose kingdom was located in modern Hungary. The inscription from Acronion describes him as the first (or the greatest) king of Thrace and Jordanes mentions that he controlled vast territories with access to the sea. After the World War I, the Romanian territory was significantly expanded by the areas of Transylvania and Bukovina previously belonged to Hungary and Bessarabia (former part of Russia) with access to the Black Sea. Therefore, Ceausescu supported nationalism in all historically related disciplines. The culmination was 1980, when the Romanian dictator, inspired by what he witnessed a few years earlier

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62 The ancient Dacians as a people were „discovered” in 19th century on the wave of romantic, nationalistic vision of the past. From the second half of 19th century onwards, they begun to be linked with modern Romanians. However, before the World War II mostly the Roman origins were emphasized. From the beginning of 20th century, the autochthonism movement was becoming more and more popular. The hypothesis of Eastern origins of the Romanian culture was dominant for a long time. See C.N. Popa, The significant past and insignificant archaeologists. Who informs the public about their ‘national’ past? The case of Romania, “Archaeological Dialogues” vol. 23 (2016), p. 29.
63 K. Lockyear, The Late Iron Age background to Roman Dacia (in:) The Roman Dacia. The making of the provincial society W.S. Hanson, I.P. Haynes (eds.), Portsmouth 2004, p. 33.
64 Ibidem, p. 34–5, C.N. Popa The trowel as chisel: shaping modern Romanian identity through the Iron Age (in:) Exploring prehistoric identity. Our construct or theirs?, V. Ginn, R. Enlander, R. Crozier (eds), Oxford 2013, p. 166.
in Iraq, decided to celebrate the 2,050th anniversary of the consolidation of the Dacian tribes by Burebista – the first great ruler in the history of Romania⁶⁵.

Although the narration created by Ceausescu was mostly an academic discourse, it also became a part of collective memory. Unsurprisingly, after some time the historians and archaeologists had lost their dominant role in the discussion led by the media. The main discourse now is hardly scientific as it is conducted by the people without archaeological knowledge.⁶⁶ The idea of the Dacian (or Romano-Dacian) origins is strongly incorporated by the modern Romanians, and it became the part of their identity. Through years of predominant narration in media, but also school education⁶⁷ and events as the celebrating Burebista’s achievements the Dacians were incorporated into the cultural memory of modern Romanians⁶⁸.

The narration of the Romanian origins evolved from the central, led by the state to the popular discussion. Cultural memory is no longer “the nation-memory,” as it does not need the state’s control to exist. It became the “citizen-memory” when the memory is no longer enforced by the state but is functions as the common heritage of traditional values⁶⁹. The memory needs the continuous presence of the past in the present time (otherwise, the past shall remain something that once existed, but it does not exist anymore). It is no longer interested in hard facts – the most important is identity. Therefore, it does not need historians or archaeologists in the main discourse.

I believe this is the key for considering kosons as the lieux de mémoire. They are the very personification of the Romanian foundation myth as their origins are both Dacian and Roman. Moreover, they were minted by a Dacian ruler, however with a clear reference to the Roman patterns. The mysterious king Koson, albeit forgotten for many ages (as Burebista and Dacians) is important in the narration as he supposed to be the successor of Burebista and the predecessor of Decebalus. Linking him with the literary sources and first local gold issues in the history of Romania supports the theory of the Great Dacia who lasted continuously from Decebalus to Burebista. Kosons – the gold staters struck with great finesse (unlike most of Iron Age coins where the iconography was much more barbarized) issued by the Dacian ruler are an important part of this narration.

Kosons were treated as the numismatic evidence of the existence of one more powerful Dacian ruler, especially since there is no evidence that Burebista nor Decebalus minted their own coins. In fact, the process was entirely different – the person of mysterious king Koson was in some way created by historians in order to link kosons to the specific historical narration. At this moment kosons, being the epitome of the Romanian foundation myth, became the lieux de mémoire.

⁶⁶ C.N. Popa, Significant past…, p. 35.
⁶⁷ The history taught in school is outward in relations to child’s memory, but it shaping the individual historical memory and thereby creating the common, cultural memory. See P. Ricoeur, op.cit., pp. 524–528.
⁶⁸ Such events can be also described as the lieux de memorie.
In the case of kosons, they are important as a part of the narration of Dacian-Roman origins of Romania. They became the lieux de mémoire when the very memory of the ancient origins was long gone. In fact, they were used to create the memory of their issuer. As there is no one who would remember such a distant past, the main role in creating the lieux de mémoire was left to historians and numismatists, who according to Pierre Nora, are shaping the narration of the sites of memory. Undoubtedly, they are a part of the institutionalized Romanian memory.

There are several different levels of the existence of the sites of memory. Their functioning was described the best by Marcel Proust in his famous novel ‘In search for the Lost Time’. The latter can be represented by a famous episode of the madeleine. In Proust’s opus magnum, the taste of the madeleine remains Marcel of his childhood spent in Combray. It is connected with particular events from the past, the form of the connection between the past and present. The next level is represented by the smell of hawthorn. It is the abstract feeling that brings the memories and emotions from the past. The final level is represented by the Vinteuil’s sonata. It stores not the memories itself, but the idea of memories (in the case of Vinteuil’s sonata in is the concept of ideal love).

Proust’s sites or storages of memory are more sensual than material, but it is important that in his conception of time and past, madeleine, hawthorn and music are the bridge between the past and the presence. Even more, the past can be perceived only throughout them. While madeleine and the smell of hawthorn are strictly linked to the one person only, the Vinteuil’s sonata became the symbol of unfortunate love both for Charles Swann and Marcel (who were the only one people able to perceive the world through music). I believe that kosons can exist on all those levels: as a simple reminder of the past, the connection between the past and the presence, but even more important, as storage of the idea of the Romanian identity. As the Vinteuil’s sonata, kosons can be the subject of interest for many people, but they gain an exceptional meaning only in combination with the specific cultural content.

Unlike Proust’s memory storages, kosons, as historical artifacts, also exist as a subject of objective scientific research. Since their role as the subjective symbol is even more important, numismatic theories were used as a filter to perceive the past in a new way. But I dare to say that if kosons are used for this purpose, it means that at least some groups need to have the symbol of their origins. The sites of memory are necessary not only in order to rearrange the past but also for the future. After all, Marcel understood the idea of the novel he wanted to write for almost all of his life when, thanks to the hearing the Vinteuil’s sonata at the right time, he managed to understand his past fully.

70 P. Nora, Between memory…, pp. 13–16.
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ANCIENT SOURCES


Summary

The aim of this paper is to show the role of coins not only as the subject of numismatic research, a source of knowledge of ancient economy, history, art, religion, and society but also as a part of the modern society’s identity and an important factor of collective historic memory.

The case of Dacian gold coins with the KOΣΩN legend is an ideal example to support this thesis. Kosons are the subject of the numismatic studies from at least 18th century onwards. Their importance extends far beyond numismatic, historical or archeological studies. Kosons exist in the Romanian society as a symbol of pre-Roman Dacia.

To fully understand how kosons exist in the Romanian society as the sites of memory and part of Romanian foundation myth, the numismatic and historical analysis needs to be done.
The technique […] bears great time and great pain. There are very few works which can be finished in a short time, and I am keeping in mind the production of a work to leave you treasure throughout life.

Sousyu Hayashi

INTRODUCTION: THE MASTER AND HIS TOOLS

Sousyu Hayashi is known to be the youngest performer of the traditional Japanese tattooing technique, widely recognized as tebori. The closest translation of this term into English may be ‘hand engraving’, which clearly states the importance of the tools used in the process and the lack of the appearance of modern, electrical equipment. As the creators often underline, tebori differs from the modern Japanese tattoo, called irezumi, in relation to the time it takes to complete the pattern and the tools needed. The much longer process of completing the pattern, in the case of the first one, is intangibly connected to the appearance of a slender, hand profiled piece of bamboo with needles (nomi) that replaces the machine. Every pierce, crowding in the ink, equals one move of the artist’s hand, which requires passion, extreme focus and precision. The tools that cannot be substituted in tebori making process are personally prepared by the user, what takes about seven months to accomplish. Moreover, the preparation includes self-producing of the ink, which is made of pulverized charcoal or other natural ingredients (colorful pigments). Hayashi has been learning the procedure, as well as the methods of preparing all needed appliances, for over ten years, therefore he is still improving his style. During the training, the artist

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2 Ibidem.
Agnieszka Kieżiewicz, *The importance of tools. Two days with tebori master*

not only gained the knowledge of this unique craft, but also investigated the process from the other side, having the whole body tattooed by the master who taught him.

Thanks to the excessive appearance on the Internet, Hayashi gained popularity and became one of the most recognizable Japanese tattoo professionals. His creations can be easily found throughout the Web, as he shares all achievements on his Facebook⁴ and Instagram⁵ profiles. Thanks to this, he is being invited to tattoo conventions all over the world and, finally, in 2016 he visited Poland. The master took part in the 11th edition of the TattooFest Convention in Kraków⁶, later on he also performed in Wrocław and Poznań. During the event, the author of this article had an opportunity to help as a translator for the artist. Benefiting from the time spent together, many hours of conversations and the closest observation of the creation process possible for the researcher from a different culture, the author was able to gain deep insight into the methods and the meaning of tebori.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEBORI**

The term *tebori* is not as recognizable among the western enthusiasts of the body art as the word *irezumi* used to describe Japanese tattooing process as a whole, without making the distinction between the methods and styles. Furthermore, the second word, according to the Japanese speakers, does not give the right impression of the greatness of the traditional tattoo art. Also, *irezumi* is used more often when one mentions modern tattoos. There exists another term, *horimono*, which is used by the tattooers more enthusiastically, as it is derived from the word *hori* (the tattoo master). In this matter, the difference between *tebori* and *horimono* terms is that the first one pertains mostly to the working technique, while the second one represents the Japanese style and unique, culture-related patterns⁷. In the 20th century writings also a new term *wabori* can be found, but the meaning stays the same as in the case of *tebori* and *horimono*⁸.

According to the archaeological discoveries, the beginnings of the tattooing on the Japanese land can be dated back to the 250 B.C. (Yayoi period). Assessing the age of the geometric patterns on the ceramic figurines (*haniwa*), which depict human beings, the researchers concluded that the art came to Japan together with the Chinese

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⁶ 11 TattooFest 11-12.06.2016. http://convention.tattoofest.pl/newsy/. N.p., 2016. Web. [29 June 2016]. During the Convention, every artist occupies a small box or divided space where he places his tools and promotional materials, and prepares the workplace. All gathered practitioners work at the same time, and every visitor can freely admire the process, as well as interact with the artists to gain more information about their style or projects. It is also possible to get a tattoo after booking the exact time during the event or later, in one of the hosting studios in the city.


⁸ B. Ashcraft, B. Hori. op. cit., p. 4.
influences\textsuperscript{9}. The second hypothesis connects the appearance of the tattoos with the culture of Ainu people – the indigenous inhabitants of the archipelago\textsuperscript{10}. The mysterious origins of the body decorating art in Japan resulted in creating legends and stories. In most cases, those writings revolve around the descriptions of the deeds of the famous tattooed people, like the emperor Jimmu (660–585 B.C.) who was proud of the pictures covering up his body\textsuperscript{11}. However, as a researcher Andrzej Jelski points out, \textit{Kojiki} and \textit{Nihonshoki}, two Japanese chronicles dated to the 6\textsuperscript{th} century, describe only the penitentiary role of tattoos, not referring their beauty as the legends did\textsuperscript{12}. Gathering archaeological and historical data, Jelski observes that from the Kamakura period (1185–1333) to the Edo period (1615–1868) the tattoo on the Japanese land was mainly used as a form of a punishment for the criminals, as well as a way to mark the people of low provenance. Therefore, it functioned only as a means of identification while complex, artistic patterns were at those times rarely encountered\textsuperscript{13}.

The tattoo, perceived as a form of art, appeared on the wave of the Edo period economic transformations and became a new, distinctive fashion\textsuperscript{14}. In addition to the development and popularization of the \textit{horimono} (or its initial form), different styles of tattooing emerged. The styles are also being described as phases of the process, because they can be used together or selected separately to cover one project. The distinctive features of the styles are mostly connected with the ways of handling the tools, inserting the ink or observing changes in the rhythm of the master’s movements\textsuperscript{15}. Among them, it is worth mentioning \textit{hanebori}, which is a technique of shading bigger areas of the tattoo\textsuperscript{16}. Together with \textit{bokashibori} (also related to shading), it is considered to be the most painful part of the whole process. In those styles, in order to insert more ink, after the first puncture the puncture wounds are widened by the slight upward moves of the needles\textsuperscript{17}. To accomplish one project, \textit{hanebori} is often combined with \textit{imotsuki} style, characterized by the rhythmical moves of the artist’s hand, which resembles the rhythm of the tattoo machine\textsuperscript{18}. The way of handling the tools is the most important in \textit{shamisenb</noscript>
pick and holds it as a pencil. In contrast, the recognizable feature of the second style is that the nomi is much longer than in other cases.

The biggest popularity of the artistic tattoo in Japan was noticed between the 18th and 19th century, when it spread from the middle class to aristocracy. It was not only displayed in public places without repercussions, but also became the main subject of the festivals and contests. However, the golden era of the tattoo art faded away when it was banned by the Emperor Matsuhito in 1868, considered as opposed to the Confucian teachings. From that time, permanent body decorating was illegal in Japan until the end of the World War II. The prohibition was finally lifted under the pressure of the American military service members who were quartered in Japan, as they did not consider their western style tattoos to be morally and socially incorrect.

Although since then horimono was not banned, from the point of view of the majority of Japanese people it should not be freely displayed. Popular thinking connects the signs on the body with the organized crime and outsiders acting against the law. Visiting Japan, one can find the signs with a crossed picture of a tattoo in front of the public baths, gyms, swimming pools, and even some restaurants. Even though permanent body decorations are popular as part of the globalized cultural market, the practice in Japan is still stigmatized and not considered to be of a great value for society. Nowadays, the tattooers work in a legal gray zone, as in 2001 Japanese Ministry of Health announced that “tattooing is a medical procedure […] only a licensed health care professional can penetrate the skin with a needle and insert pigment.”

The problem lies in the fact that the government does not issue particular licenses for the tattoo artists, so it is impossible to legalize the procedure without obtaining a professional degree.

It should also be indicated that, under the western influences, the sizes and designs of the projects changed. While during the golden era of the horimono the most popular patterns, called body-suit tattoos (sobori), covered almost all invisible parts of the body (legs, back and hands to the elbows), in the 20th century the rise of the one-point tattoo was being observed. The time after the War brought also one more important change: the tattooing machine came to Japan. Simple and fast to accomplish designs, it became the first choice of the clients. In this case it can be observed that the machine completely changed the world of the Japanese tattoos.
making the traditional hand engraving less and less popular over time. Even though, thanks to the tattoo conventions and the popularization on the Internet, tebori style is still admired as the most difficult and spectacular method, it is not the primary way in which the Japanese people (and the visitors of the country) decorate their bodies. Nowadays horimono is a beautiful tradition preserved by a few passionate people who believe that to create the most precious tattoo, a great amount of time should be devoted. Also, what Hayashi pointed out during the Convention in Kraków,

31 it is impossible to show the meaning of the tebori technique on a small, one-point project. That is why he prefers to design larger pictures, even though he does not meet the general needs of the potential customers. However, as it is relatively unusual to find the customer who wishes to cover his whole body with only one design, to cultivate the method Hayashi has to fulfill the market requirements by presenting the portfolio with smaller, as well as less spectacular, designs.

THE PROCESS

As it was mentioned at the beginning, the uniqueness of tebori style is attributed to the handmade tools used by the artist. Hari (short and sharp needles) affixed to nomi (a slender bamboo stick) by a silk string build the main utensil needed in the process. However, the inks are equally important, as the duration of the pattern on the skin mostly depends on them. The preparation of the tools to perform the process takes from one to even two hours. The pulverized charcoal that is transported in the form of thick rectangular bars has to be soaked and turned into liquid ink by being rubbed on a wooden mat. The artist also sterilizes the needles before starting the operation, which is easier since the tebori master Horiyoshi III invented the steel nomi with removable hari ends. However, Sousyu Hayashi still prefers using bamboo tools, so the preparations take almost two hours – instead of simply changing the endings, the Japanese artist has to clean nomi with the highest precision. The number of needles attached to the bamboo stick varies, depending on the stage of the tattoo making process. For example, nomi designed especially for shading can consist of even twenty-seven small needles, while for coloring the artists normally use no more than eighteen needles. In consequence, the tattooer who chooses the bamboo style sticks has to spend a great amount of time to sanitize all his tools.

Another distinctive feature of the tebori technique is time, since the hand engraving cannot be performed as fast as the tattoo machine moves. For instance, Hayashi needs over fifty sessions (three hours each) to accomplish a pattern covering the customer’s back. Certainly, it could be finished faster, but the master considers the pain

31 All statements of Sousyu Hayashi presented in this article were recorded during the 11th edition of the TattooFest in Kraków on 11–12 June 2016.
32 B. Ashcraft, B. Hori. op. cit., p. 27.
33 Ibidem.
34 Ibidem.
that the client has to bear and decides to divide his work process\textsuperscript{35}. Moreover, the Japanese tattoo master stated that he avoids being in a hurry to fully experience the beauty of the process. He also invites the client to contemplate with him. As it was mentioned above, for every session the preparation of the ink takes about two hours. However, it is not the only time-consuming activity performed before the exact action. The tattooer transfers the sketch of the pattern from the paper to the body part not by using carbon paper, as the modern artists do, but by drawing his project directly on the customer's skin. Although the tebori master avails himself by looking on the prepared project, the final design of the picture emerges with consideration of body imperfections, as well as its shape. Depending on the size of the depiction, the drawing process takes from one to two hours.

The customers and the artists claim that the hand engraving process brings a greater amount of pain than tattooing with the use of a machine\textsuperscript{36}. Tebori tattoo requires putting the ink into the deeper layer of skin than in a modern way of decorating the body. It makes the process more painful, but also offers a benefit of longer lasting colors: there is no need for improving the shades and lines after some years – the patterns do not fade.

While describing the creation process of tebori, it is also worth mentioning the motifs and general topics of the designs. Unlike in the western modern tattooing, in which the only restrain of the selected subject matter is the imagination of the artist and the consent of the client, the Japanese traditional hand engraving has its own motifs divided into thematic groups. The iconography includes the variety of plants and animals appearing on the Japanese lands, religious illustrations of Buddhist and Shinto beliefs, and mythological stories\textsuperscript{37}. The artists avoid using their skills to work on the projects unrelated to the mentioned motifs, as they believe that the traditional methods should be used to preserve the Japanese culture, not to sell the product. What is more, every creator has his own favorite depictions related to his personal convictions and artistic sense. For instance, Sousyu Hayashi prefers, as he named them, “powerful signs”; under this term he understands the motifs showing the power of nature (storm, wind), strong living creatures (wild birds, snakes and dragons), or the Japanese mythological characters (Daruma\textsuperscript{38}, Oni demons\textsuperscript{39}). The appearance of the traditional patterns has been transferred from the master to the student during the apprenticeship, so that the final project is not entirely created by the tattooer himself – it is the compilation of the skills of the artist with his knowledge, observations, preferences, and cultural heritage he is aware of. Many of the

\textsuperscript{35} “Hayashi Sousyu.” \textit{HADAESHI Sousyu...} op. cit.

\textsuperscript{36} Ibidem.

\textsuperscript{37} A. Jelski. op. cit., p. 93.

\textsuperscript{38} H. N. McFarland. \textit{Daruma: the founder of Zen in Japanese art and popular culture}. Tokyo, New York: Kodansha International, 1987. According to the legend, Daruma was a Buddhist monk, who introduced Zen teachings in Japan. Nowadays, his image is a part of popular culture, being sold in a form of a tumbling, eyeless doll bringing good luck to its owner.

\textsuperscript{39} S. Littleton. \textit{Mądrość Wschodu: shinto}. Warsaw: Dogenes, 1998, p. 150. Oni demons are virulent mythological creatures, characterized by the org-like appearance and colorful (blue, red or green) skin.
completed projects, especially depicting the heroic deeds of samurai warriors, were based on the woodblock prints designed by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861) who is considered by the tebori artists to be the greatest contributor to their craft.40

Finally, in his book Jelski lists twelve features of tebori that allow differentiating the patterns of the traditional Japanese art from the modern tattoo at the first glimpse.41 Among other distinctive aspects, he underlines the intentional asymmetry of the picture, repeatability of the smaller motifs in one composition, and the usage of the vivid, contrasting colors.42 While examining the designs thoroughly, it can be also noticed that the great amount of inspiration was taken from ukio-e43 paintings44. The details, such as tiny peony flower motifs or the textures of the samurai warriors’ gowns, are often copied from the historical depictions to emphasize the mutual development of both branches of Japanese traditional art.

THE MEANING OF TEBORI TODAY

The lack of automatization and the amount of time required are the factors that make the described process unique. While the patterns can be copied and prepared by every modern artist with the use of a tattoo machine, it is the technique that matters the most. During the TattooFest in Kraków a huge amount of interest shown by the public was directed towards the tools. The potential customers even asked if the master was willing to use his method to make their preferred patterns, not related to Japanese culture at all. As the visitors later explained, they wanted to “feel that tool on their skin”. Their questions were clearly depicting the performing potential of tebori and the need to experience the way the unique tools work. From the client’s point of view, as well as from the artist’s, the process is a form of meditation and cooperation that requires understanding and accepting the pain intangibly connected to the act.

Moreover, it should be pointed out that tebori art creating process is also exceptionally valuable in terms of preserving a great part of the Japanese cultural tradition, which is based on creating the relationship between the master and his apprentice. While undertaking the learning process, called deshiri, the student (traditionally named Uchi-deshi)45 is obligated to live in his master’s house and, beside gaining

41 A. Jelski. op. cit., p. 93.
42 Ibidem.
43 Ukio-e is a genre of Japanese woodblock prints and paintings that emerged in the late 17th century. The most popular depictions showed scenes from Kabuki theater, samurai warriors, beautiful females and nature.
45 D. C. Falcaro. Sogobujutsu: Psychology, Philosophy, Tradition. Bloomington: iUniverse, 2012, p. 117. Literally means “an inside student”. The author develops the meaning of the term: “The role of an Uchi-deshi is to have a life devotion to the art, as one as to the Sensei [a teacher]”. Nowadays, the term Uchi-deshi also appears in the publications related to the history of Japanese martial arts. Therefore, as Falcaro observes, it no longer functions as a part of everyday language.
knowledge, helping him with everyday household chores. That system arose around the 18th century Japanese artisans of many professions, but recently its remnants can be observed only in the case of tattooing and martial arts. The transfer of the tradition in the mentioned system proceeds a thorough observation and contemplation of the master’s work by the apprentice. The training and staying together under one roof might take even five years, as it was for the other great tattooer – Kazuo Oguri. Describing his apprenticeship, Oguri, who gained his popularity after the World War II under the nickname Horihide, mentioned that this master-student relationship was a relic of the feudal customs. As it was said before, Sousyu Hayashi had been learning for over ten years, but he did not spend that entire time on his mentor’s premises. Nowadays, when it is not compulsory (and even not popular) in Japan to live as an apprentice in the house of the master in any line of business, cultivating the tradition of tebori became an interesting, thus worth observing, practice.

However, even though the artists strive to preserve the traditional tattoo making process and cultivate, to an extent they are able to do so in the modern world, the master-student relationships, the tension between the tradition and the needs of the modernized society can easily be noticed. As a tattooer Horiyoshi III indicated in one of the interviews:

This is just my opinion, but there isn’t a traditional tattooing in Japan anymore. In the old days, the needles and inks that tattooists used were closely guarded secrets. [...] Tattoos were done on tatami mats by sunlight or candle light, using old tools.

The clients, who are taught from the early years that full disinfection of tools requires a sterile environment, are not keen on decorating their bodies outside the walls of professional tattoo studios. To gain social acceptance and, at the same time, to be able to run the business, the tebori artists performing today try to match the expectations and, as Hayashi does, add non-traditional equipment (lamps, mats, foil to cover the fresh tattoo) to their accessories. What is more, the whole process is no longer a mystery, being described on the websites by the artists themselves as a part of the promotional technique. However, while the craftsmen are adopting some convenient solutions to modernize the hand engraving process in the eyes of the customers, their art still offers a unique experience, completely different from the contemporary tattooing.

48 Ibidem.
CONCLUSION

During the TattooFest in Kraków, Sousyu Hayashi completed only one project. For over twenty hours he had been decorating the leg of his future student for whom the whole process was a form of initiation into the craft. While working, the tattoo master was gently describing his actions, answering questions and demonstrating the tools to the audience. But, regardless of the history and the complexity of tebori that the visitors of the Convention were not able to learn throughout the short meeting, the greatest sensation was brought by the tools used by the performer. In the hustle and bustle of the Festival, gathering almost three hundred artists from fifty countries, people stopped by and contemplated dexterous, rhythmical moves of Hayashi who was creating traditional art using a simple bamboo stick with needles.

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**SUMMARY**

The purpose of this article is to describe the uniqueness of the traditional Japanese tattooing method – *tebori*. The presented material combines data obtained during the research conducted by the author on the 11th TattooFest in Kraków, when she spent two days helping the *tebori* master Sousyu Hayashi to communicate with the audience. The article focuses mainly on the importance of the tools used by the master during his work and the meaning of them in the process. Moreover, the author presents a brief history of the hand engraving in Japan and the changes brought by the modernization of life.
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