



migration - nomadism - life in motion



36/2017

Migration – Nomadism – Life in motion

Cracow 2017

**„Maska” vol. 36
Cracow 2017**

ISSN: 1898-5947

Print: 100 copies

Free copy

“Maska” is a peer reviewed academic journal.
According to requirements of MNiSW (Ministry of Science and Higher Education) a full annual list of article reviewers is available on the following webpage: www.maska.psc.uj.edu.pl/maska/listy-recenzentow

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Full texts and summaries of published works are available on-line in the international database “The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities” (cejsh.icm.edu.pl).

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This project was financed by:



Print:

AT Wydawnictwo
tel. 504 799 323
www.atwydawnictwo.pl



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Introduction

Dear Readers,

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

The presented volume concerns the topic of migration, nomadism and life in motion. Although the phenomenon of migration appears in the earliest historical sources, nowadays it became especially important since the European refugee crisis in 2015. However, it cannot be forgotten that migration is not only a significant historical and political issue, but also an extremely interesting cultural, psychological and social phenomenon. The experience of being a migrant is now one of the reappearing topics in modern literature, art and film. On the other hand, the Nomadic people are still among the main interests of the modern anthropologists.

The first text presented in this volume focuses on the problem of migration of objects and ideas between Europe and Japan in the nineteenth century. The next article concerns the topic of the comatose body from philosophical perspective. From the subsequent we can learn how the problem of refugees is shown in contemporary Polish literature for children. Next two articles focus on the Holocaust in literature – the first one in the novel by Mikołaj Grynberg *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* [I Blame Auschwitz. Family Tales], and the second – in Leopold Buczkowski's *Black Torrent*. After the article about the post-colonial identity in Salman Rushdie's *The Moor's Last Sigh*, there appears the piece considering Icelandic musical documentaries. Next three articles focus on cinematography – the first one concerns surrealist ideas in Japanese avant-garde film, the second - Nordic melodramas and sexploitation films, and the third one - pornographic scenes in cult films. We will also investigate the problem of postmodern nomadism in French science fiction games, as well as the question of possible application of the relative acculturation extended model in social sciences. Furthermore, the following articles are about the transmigration of souls and vegetarianism in Empedocles of Akragas, as well as the history of the travel of the Japanese sword. The last article introduces the world of Mayan

mythology, especially the depictions of the journey to the underworld presented on the funeral pottery.

We hope you will find this volume interesting and pleasant to read.

MASKA's Editorial Staff

Leszek Sosnowski

Objects and ideas. Japan and Europe in the nineteenth century

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Opening a closed Japan

Starting in the middle of the nineteenth century, great quantities of cultural goods began to flow from Japan to Europe. At the same time, exhibitions were organized and books and magazines published with the aim of making this culture comprehensible to the Europeans. Japan became fashionable in Europe, and the fashion quickly developed into a fascination with this country. As a result, this period in Europe is known as the era of Japan and its culture, as expressed by *Japonisme* and *Japonism*, the new French and English terms coined for this occasion.

These new terms basically referred to art or, in the broader sense, to artistic culture¹. It is possible to speak about two aspects of their meaning. On the one hand there were the internal qualities and artistic and aesthetic values of Japanese art and craftsmanship which were new to the inhabitants of Europe; on the other there was the cultural openness of those who perceived these values, appreciated them, and became fascinated with this new sensitivity. Japanese art, in the form of screens, fans, porcelain, and weapons, strongly influenced European artists, critics, and collectors. Among these items printed or painted *ukiyo-e* attained extraordinary popularity and significance.

Japanese culture was presented in many ways, through various cultural events that captured the imagination of Europeans, including exhibitions, fairs, and international expositions, and shops and galleries of a local character. These were enthusiastically discussed, described, and reviewed, highlighting the novelty and originality of this

¹ Even if its political aspect was equally significant. See Shimamoto, Mayako; Ito, Koji; Sugita, Yoneyuki et. al. *Historical Dictionary of Japanese Foreign Policy*. London: Littlefield Publishers, 2015, p. 81.

culture. These events deeply influenced the public imagination, creating an exotic climate but also accustoming the public to the new phenomenon. All of these factors in combination influenced the creation of a new artistic and aesthetic taste in Europe of this period, contributing to changes in the reciprocal relationships between countries and nations. Regarding phenomena with roots in Japanese sensitivity, it suffices to mention post-impressionism, the Arts and Crafts Movement, and, in a somewhat longer perspective, Art Nouveau or Cubism. Undoubtedly one can speak here of a transcultural phenomenon on a scale which surpassed later manifestations.

In nineteenth-century European-Japanese relations everything was new and “first.” The 1860s saw the first World Fair in London (1862), prepared by Rutherford Alcock, the first English diplomat in Japan, a lover and collector of Japanese art. The first Japanese mission in Europe, led by Takenouchi Yasunori, also visited the Fair. The Japanese part of the exhibition proved to be one of the most important in European culture due to the presentation of Japanese art². This success was perpetuated. Five years later another World Fair (1867) was held in Paris, where Japan presented a broad spectrum of its art at its exhibition pavilion.

One of the most important cultural events of this time was the establishment of the Japanese Native Village in Knightsbridge near London in 1885–87. About a hundred Japanese, both men and women, lived in a village that served as a model of traditional Japanese buildings, as well as a replication of everyday life. An advertisement placed in the *Illustrated London News* encouraged English men and women to visit the village:

Skilled Japanese artisans and workers (male and female) will illustrate the manners, customs, and art-industries of their country, attired in their national and picturesque costumes. Magnificently decorated and illuminated Buddhist temple. Five o'clock tea in the Japanese tea-house. Japanese Musical and other Entertainments. Every-day Life as in Japan³.

Although the detail about five o'clock tea in the Japanese tea-house has a humorous ring today, it should be noted in all seriousness that the exhibition was a great success, receiving over one million visitors during the two years of its existence.

Paris also became an important centre of Japanese culture, regarding both the presentation and reception of Japanese art and its inspiration of and imitation by contemporary European artists. At the Paris Exposition of 1867, a significant number of Japanese artworks and crafts were presented. Alongside these large ventures

2 Lambourne, Lionel. *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings Between Japan and the West*. New York: Phaidon Press 2005, p. 6.

3 McLaughlin, Joseph. “The ‘Japanese Village’ and the Metropolitan Construction of Modernity.” *Victorian Internationalisms*, No. 48, Nov. 2007, <https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/ravon/2007-n-48-ravon1979/017441ar/> [12 March 2017].

were smaller enterprises, such as shops selling goods from Japan and galleries offering works of Japanese artists and craftsmen. The first art dealers, critics, and collectors of this art appeared, both Japanese, such as Tadamasa Hayashi or Iijima Hanjūrō, and European, such as Samuel Siegfried Bing, Philippe Burty, and Edmond de Goncourt, or the Polish collector and aficionado of Japanese art, Feliks “Manggha” Jasieński. All of these “victims of infection” with Japanese art expressed unabashed admiration for the country’s culture, through journalistic as well as artistic publications, while establishing galleries and magazines (e.g. *Le Japon artistique*) and publishing articles and books on Japanese culture, philosophy, and aesthetics.

Another kind of work, equally important for popularizing Japanese culture, was carried out by French and English cultural figures such as Felix Bracquemond, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Vincent van Gogh, Christopher Dresser, and Edward William Godwin. Few of them visited Japan but their contact with the creations of this country sufficed to bring about their spiritual transformation. Vincent van Gogh expressed this freshness of Japanese art in an 1886 letter to his brother Theo, which can also serve as a summary of more than twenty years of Japanese-European contacts:

Just think of that; isn't it almost a new religion that these Japanese teach us, who are so simple and live in nature as if they themselves were flowers? And we wouldn't be able to study Japanese art, it seems to me, without becoming much happier and more cheerful, and it makes us return to nature, despite our education and our work in a world of convention⁴.

Regarding the items that appeared in Europe, the scope of interest in Japan was extremely wide. Europeans collected ceramics, military items, clothing, home furnishings, and *ukiyo-e* images. Artists also joined the group of collectors, along with the above-mentioned art dealers, critics, and a portion of the bourgeois society of that time. Considering the degree of fascination with this Far Eastern country, the quantity of Japanese items in Europe must have been enormous. The question naturally arises: how did this happen? The answer is a reflection on the internal situation of Japan, and thus on state protection of cultural goods.

Kanagawa jōyaku

In the first half of the seventeenth century, as a result of the decision of the shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu supported by Empress Meishō (1639), Japan was closed to the European countries and, later, to the United States. In this state of isolation, Japan, as

4 Gogh, Vincent van. *Letter to Theo van Gogh*. 23 Sept. or 24 Sept. 1888, Arles. <http://vangoghletters.org/vg/letters/let686/letter.html> [5 March 2017].

a *sakoku*, survived until the mid-nineteenth century when it came into contact with the Western world. However, the country was not completely closed to all contacts; one can cite a trade opening, entirely controlled by the shogun, that existed throughout the *sakoku* period. During this period, the European countries made many attempts to break Japan's isolation, but none succeeded. Change, imposed by military means, occurred only in the mid-nineteenth century.

The first treaty which opened Japan to Western influence was signed with the United States. Commodore Matthew C. Perry, under the threat of military force symbolized by the "black ships" (*kurofune*)⁶, oversaw the signing of a treaty of friendship and cooperation on the 31 March 1854. A breakthrough in the isolationist policies of Japan had been made. In the following years, similar treaties were signed with France, the Netherlands, Russia, and the United Kingdom. Japan became a part of the international community, and the efforts of its government and administration were directed towards eliminating educational, economic, and political differences. The treaties had profound and far-reaching consequences, as they led to the opening of Japan to and for the world. The policy of the Restoration, instituted by the government of Emperor Meiji, merits the highest admiration. Here, the extraordinary ability of the Japanese to adapt foreign patterns and solutions from almost every sphere of socio-economic life in the Western nations and to transfer them to their own country revealed itself for the first time.

In 1860, a diplomatic mission visited the United States to ratify the previously-signed Kanagawa Treaty. In 1862, Takenouchi Yasunori led the first diplomatic mission to Europe. Its objective was to ratify treaties and, at the same time, to delay the opening of Japan to the foreign exchange. Also, this goal was educational, consisting of acquaintance with the Western culture⁷. Within a year, the mission had visited France, the Netherlands, Prussia, Portugal, Russia, and the United Kingdom. A year later, another mission was sent from Japan to Europe, with France as the primary focus. This mission, led by Ikeda Nagaoki, was aimed at negotiating the opening of the port of Yokohama. These political missions were accompanied by a bilateral aura of cultural exoticism. The period of intensive meetings and political and commercial talks was also a time of intensive mutual learning.

One area of the Japanese culture needed no transfer of Western patterns for the achievement of a similar level of development; the situation here was reversed, and this area became an ideal, imitated by the fascinated Westerners. It was the Japanese

5 Sant, John Van. Mauch, Peter. Sugita, Yoneyuki. *Historical Dictionary of United States-Japan Relations*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2007, p. 222.

6 Ibidem, p. 54.

7 Ibidem, p. 79.

culture in its artistic form. It was at the same time a great paradox, manifesting itself in the “collision” of the two cultures, East and West. In parallel with its political opening to the world, Japan opened its culture. It was an opening without any restrictions, which, in a short time, led to the transfer of a considerable quantity of Japanese art and crafts to Europe. An important question naturally arises: how did it happen that such an enormous quantity of cultural goods was exported from Japan? Moreover, why were the Japanese authorities uninterested in this phenomenon and undisturbed by its magnitude?

Signed in 1854, the Japan–US Treaty of Peace and Amity consists of twelve articles, two of which, referring to trade, are of particular interest to us.

Article VI proclaimed:

If there be any other sort of goods wanted, or any business which shall require to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle such matters.

Article VII added:

It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin and articles of goods for other articles of goods, under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese Government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they are unwilling to exchange⁸.

None of the articles addresses the terms of export of artwork and crafts from Japan, or any reservations and restrictions placed on their trade. The only restrictions (natural, not legal) might have involved the ability to acquire suitable products on the Japanese side, and a lack of buyers on the European. In neither case were there any such problems. Hence, in several European countries, all the elements that constitute a well-developed art business were present: exhibitions, fairs, and galleries where buyers could select interesting works of art from a great number of available items.

Consequences of the treaty

Within a short time after its opening, the Japanese culture had captured the imagination and aesthetic taste of the Westerners. Art dealers, collectors, and critics, as a result of their high interest in Japanese works of art as new, fresh, highly valued products of this culture, contributed significantly to this phenomenon and exerted a significant impact on these changes. They collected ceramics, militaria, clothing

8 *Treaty of Kanagawa*, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Kanagawa [17 March 2017].

and home furnishings, fans, calligraphy, screens, dolls, netsuke, lacquerwork, narrative handscroll paintings, and sculptures. However, *ukiyo-e* prints achieved the greatest popularity. All of these elements became a source of inspiration for various groups of artists: Impressionist painters, artists and craftsmen of the Arts and Crafts Movement, and the artists of the Cubist, Secession, and Art Nouveau movements.

The depth of this fascination is shown by statistics referring to this period. Europeans and Americans interested in this culture accumulated several thousand to several tens of thousands of examples of this art in their collections. In aggregate, the quantity is difficult to estimate. Samuel Siegfried Bing possessed one of the largest collections in Europe, numbering over 50,000 woodblock prints. The Japanese merchant Hayashi Tadamasa brought 160,000 prints from Japan to France in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Art critics and artists such as Philippe Burty, Edmond de Goncourt, Edgar Degas, Vincent van Gogh and his brother Theo, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, and James McNeill Whistler and Frederick Richards Leyland also had their own collections. There were also collectors outside the main centers of contact with Japanese culture. In Poland, Feliks “Manggha” Jasieński possessed the largest collection, numbering about 20,000 pieces, including 6,500 *ukiyo-e* prints.

The Americans also created collections; the most important belonged to John Chandler Bancroft, William Sturgis Bigelow (who owned 4,000 Japanese paintings and more than 30,000 *ukiyo-e* prints), Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, Charles Lang Freer (who owned over 2,000 works of art and over 5,500 prints), Henry O. Havemeyer, Edward Sylvester Morse, and the artists Robert F. Blum, Samuel P. Isham (who owned 12,000 wood-block prints, including 4,000 by Hokusai alone), and J. Alden Weir. What Hayashi did for France and Europe in the context of Japanese art, Shugyō Hiromichi, who “stands out as a pioneer in introducing New Yorkers to the beauty of Japanese woodblock prints and illustrated books,”⁹ accomplished for the United States.

These private collections often, as a result of donations, became the foundations for the main parts of the public collections of the world’s major museums, such as the Louvre, the British Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Cincinnati Art Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Worcester Art Museum. These museum collections number tens of thousands of works of art; the largest Boston collection numbers over 100,000 copies (the Bigelow donation alone included 40,000 prints). As Meech-Pekarik notes:

9 Meech-Pekarik, Julia. “Early Collectors of Japanese Prints and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.” *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol. 17, 1982, p. 107.

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, when Japan was concentrating entirely on modernization, the earlier woodblock prints were apparently viewed as cheap export items. As a result, the largest and best collections of *ukiyo-e* ('pictures of the floating world') can today be found in the West¹⁰.

As art historians rightly note: "Today, there are ethical concerns about the great museums – the Louvre, the British Museum, and the MFA – all of which hoarded national treasures as prizes of war and acquisitions during an era of colonialism."¹¹ In this case, it is a question not of war but a form of socio-cultural colonialism.

All of this information points to an important question: how could it happen that so many works of art and artifacts were taken out of Japan in so short a period? The answer seems to be simple: no sufficient protection of national heritage existed. It took time to discern the country's needs and to organize appropriate agencies with proper laws for this particular purpose. The Japanese authorities were mainly interested in compensating for differences in technical development, and far less interested in securing and protecting the country's cultural heritage. Works of art were cheap and easily available from both poor temples and poor families. However, surprisingly, the lack of protection of works of art was not the result of a complete lack of awareness of the need to protect cultural goods.

In 1871 the Japanese Department of State issued a Plan for the Preservation of Ancient Artifacts to protect antiquities (*koki kyūbutsu* – antiques and relics). However, as William H. Coaldrake has written, the plan was unsuccessful because the Japanese were more interested in the radical Westernization of their country, adopting Western patterns uncritically¹². Secondly, the Japanese government allocated funds to protect ancient sanctuaries and temples, while neglecting, during the initial period, private property; "The law was limited to religious institutions, and the problem of privately owned art leaving the country continued."¹³ Similarly, two legal acts, the Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Laws (the *koshaji hozon hō*), were issued in 1897. They referred not to private works of art but to architectural works owned by religious institutions. Though these laws were not immediately effective, researchers point out that they were very modern¹⁴ and comparable to the laws of Europe-

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 93.

¹¹ Giuliano, Charles. "Hokusai Makes Waves at the MFA." *Berkshire Fine Arts*, May 25, 2015, http://www.berkshirefinearts.com/05-25-2015_hokusai-makes-waves-at-the-mfa.htm [18 March 2017].

¹² Coaldrake, William Howard. *Architecture and Authority in Japan*. London-New York: Routledge, 1996, p. 249.

¹³ Mackay-Smith, Alexander IV. "Mission to preserve and to protect." *Japan Times*. Apr. 29, 2000, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2000/04/29/arts/mission-to-preserve-and-protect/#.WQTHrvnyhPY> [10 March 2017].

¹⁴ Coaldrake, William Howard. op.cit., p. 249.

an countries such as England, France, or Greece¹⁵. At that time, at the end of the nineteenth century, a substantial change took place in the consciousness of the Japanese who began to perceive the value of their cultural heritage¹⁶. It is worth adding that a significant contribution to this transformation was made by Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, a lover and connoisseur of Japanese art and a lecturer at Tokyo Imperial University, who helped to create the legislation of 1897 and had a strong impact on the reform of the country's education.

A real change in the protection of cultural properties, both institutional and private, was made thirty years later. In 1929, the National Treasures Preservation Law (*kokuhō hozon hō*), which replaced the law from the end of the previous century, was passed. This law explicitly established the protection of all cultural property belonging to public and private institutions and individuals before its export from the country. In 1933 it was further strengthened by the Law Regarding the Preservation of Important Works of Fine Arts, which was the result of the worldwide economic crisis. By the outbreak of World War II, thousands of works of art and craft items were considered national treasures which prevented them from being sold and exported. In the post-war period, Japanese governments passed additional legal acts or amendments to existing acts, guided by the overriding interest in protecting the national heritage.

In 1950 the Cultural Asset Protection Act (*bunkazai hōgo hō*) was announced, which expanded its range far beyond its earlier forerunners. The new law recognized Tangible Cultural Assets, Intangible Cultural Assets with such unique category as Living National Treasures,¹⁷ Folk Cultural Assets, Archaeological Cultural Assets, Historical Sites and Natural Monuments. No doubts this Cultural Asset Protection Act was "one of the most comprehensive cultural preservation laws in the world," as Mackay-Smith declared.¹⁷ The lack of such legal protection in the short nineteenth-century period resulted in the loss to Japanese culture of many priceless, unique works of art and craftsmanship. These facts belong, however, to the shared history of colonialism.

Invasion of objects

The contents expressed by words ending in *-ism* play the roles of keys, using which the philosophical spaces of meanings and senses are opened. The problem with these words, however, lies in the fact that over a long period of use, the keys lose the power to open

15 Edwards, Walter. "Japanese Archaeology and Cultural Properties Management: Prewar Ideology and Postwar Legacies." *A Companion to the anthropology of Japan*. Ed. Jennifer. Robertson. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005, p. 36 – 37.

16 Henrichsen, Christoph. "Historical outline of conservation legislation in Japan." *Hozon: architectural and urban conservation in Japan*. Ed. Siegfried. Enders. Stuttgart/London: Edition Axel Menges, 1998, p. 12.

17 Mackay-Smith, Alexander IV. op. cit.

anything, thus becoming an encumbrance. Such words are explained by means of other fundamental concepts, such as tradition, heritage, or history, often with the addition of a community or social adjective. It was the state of affairs in the nineteenth century, when contacts with Japan were established.

Academism had lost its explanatory freshness and had become petrified, placing a burden on new artistic ideas significant enough to block their development. Change from within proved difficult. Help came from without, in the form of the “Japanese madness” that seized Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. The products of Japanese culture, both arts, and crafts, upset the existing equilibrium, freeing the energy of artists and critics in European countries. For the vast majority of nineteenth-century artists, academism was natural, and the convictions derived from it were self-evident, functioning as mental habits. Critical self-knowledge in this situation was difficult. However, many were aware of this state: philosophers and artists, full of intellectual and creative anxiety, for whom the existing metaphors and concepts of Greek, Judaic, and Christian mythology constituted an obstacle to free and creative thought. John Locke’s metaphor of candlelight and sunlight, although used in a different context, serves to sharpen the point of these remarks. He stated that the candle that shines within us shines quite clearly for all our needs and that the discoveries we can make in this light should satisfy us. The nineteenth century showed that such light fails to illuminate either practical or spiritual needs with sufficient clarity, and therefore, it is impossible to agree with this view. The true servant of culture (not Locke’s) is disobedient and courageous; candlelight is not enough for him; he wants to unveil the light of the sun.

The flow of new and diverse products of Japanese craftsmanship into Europe was at the same time a flow of many new ideas which had been previously more sensed than discovered. Thus their appearance in the Western culture constituted a shock, almost an enlightenment when they were implemented in the form of the Japanese artworks. These works moved the imagination and emotions and influenced the behaviour and thinking of contemporary Europeans, thus suggesting that these three spheres of human life had previously been blocked by the ideas established in the Western culture. It turned out that, despite geographic and what appeared to be cultural distance, the migration of objects essentially meant the migration of ideas. Paradoxically, the technical and formal dissimilarity of these objects did not equate to philosophical or ideological differences. Nor did linguistic or national differences hinder their acceptance. One more aspect here is worth noting, one almost absent from the discussion concerning the meeting of different cultures. The novelty flowing from the Far East did not surprise audiences with its foreignness, which might have

been expected, but with the intelligibility and timeliness of the ideas contained in them. What, then, constituted the ideas of that time?

The novelty of Japanese products has charmed and enchanted Western audiences from the very beginning. Though different to the point of strangeness, costumes, hairstyles, and behaviours did not lead to aesthetic or moral problems; instead, these differences possessed extraordinary power of attraction. From the beginning, it is difficult to speak of cultural foreignness and incomprehensibility. Japanese foreignness proved fascinating for Western observers, and the meeting of cultures was experienced similarly on the Japanese side. Nothing would ever be the same; the world had changed, along with the way in which it was perceived. Fascinated observers, having succumbed to the influence of Japanese culture, transformed their vision and ways of thinking about it. Some of them carried out a re-evaluation of European art.

Foreignness, as the American researcher Benjamin Lee Whorf rightly pointed out, is transformed into a new and penetrating way of looking at things¹⁸. Earlier premonitions and searches take on real forms. As Beata Szymańska adds, “only that which is different is capable of showing us the specific nature of what is ours.”¹⁹ This process was at the same time an indication of the direction of individual searches resulting from a comparison of what was one’s own with what was foreign. What the majority of the society had failed to perceive, taking it for granted even though artists had sensed it, made an enormous impact by striking differences. These differences revealed Europeans to themselves, showing them new dimensions of art and culture. Differences of language did not prevent understanding; different contexts of practical life expressed similar spiritual needs, which were revealed in the comprehensible meanings and senses of their products. Customs, tastes, beliefs, or fashions were localisms, manifestations of practical ideals, unified by the common desires of people to discover the world, to express themselves, and to perfect themselves in practical, intellectual, and spiritual senses. Standards of foreignness were transformed into positively valued ideals. The Japanese criteria for perfection did not deviate from European imaginations and thus received a positive response in the sensitive minds of the West. “Their philosophical significance and historical influence can be understood only by contrast.”²⁰

What appeared in Europe at this time? Woodprints, painting, sculpture, fabrics (mainly silk), ceramics, wooden products, lacquerware, enamelware, bronze, and military objects. Women were delighted with the artistry of women’s products, such as

18 Whorf, Benjamin Lee. *Język, myśl i rzeczywistość* [Language, Thought, and Reality]. Trans. T. Hołówna. Warsaw: KR, 1982, p. 355.

19 Szymańska, Beata. *Kultury i porównania* [Culture and comparison]. Cracow: Universitas, 2003, p. 35.

20 Lovejoy, Arthur O. *The Great Chain of Being*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1964, see Introduction.

kimonos, belts (*obi*), hairpieces (*kōgai*), combs (*kushi*) with intricate and beautiful ornamentation, fans, boxes and cases for calligraphy (*suzuribako*) or medicines (*inrō*). These were used by women in Japan – by those who could afford them, of course, i.e., geishas and courtesans who were simultaneously subject to and creators of fashion. In addition to their above-mentioned aesthetic qualities and traditional aesthetics in the European sense, they specifically embodied the Japanese aesthetic of touch (*l'esthétique du touché*), as described early on, with admirable accuracy, by Ernest Chesneau in his article “*Le Japon à Paris*”: “The forms of the objects they produce are calculated in a sophisticated manner, so as to awaken and caress the finesse of touch.” These exquisite details, such as those mentioned above, provoke the “caress of the hand,” continued Chesneau, because the fantasy of Japanese artists is “inexhaustible” and because they are “made to exactly match the shape of the hand and fingers.”²¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that all of these items were valuable and appreciated and became objects of desire for sensitive connoisseurs and specialist collectors.

What characterized Japanese artworks, and what differentiated them from European? Moreover, what did Japanese art bring to Europe? An apt characterization was presented by the Polish collector and expert on Japanese art, Feliks “Manggha” Jasieński: “Subtle gems, strange details; grace, elegance, a sunny radiance (...). Everything is present in this art: thought, soul, expression, broad momentum, horror, and melancholy.”²² He especially appreciated two Japanese artists, Katsushika Hokusai and Utagawa Hiroshige. In his opinion, “[t]hese two artists, through acquainting European artists with their own way of looking at and recreating nature, caused a revolution in nineteenth-century European landscape painting.”²³ Their influence, however, was broader and more profound, corresponding to the properties of this art, in which crafts were also unhesitatingly included. Several characteristic features, different from the European understanding of space, representations of nature, composition, completion of a picture, and brushwork, were discovered in the woodcuts of the passing world (*ukiyo-e*), stencils for dying textiles (*katagami*), paintings of birds and flowers (*kachō-ga*), kimonos, masks, and illustrated books (*ehon*).

21 Chesneau, Ernest. “Le Japon à Paris.” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1.IX. 1878, p. 386; quote for: Kluczevska-Wójcik, Agnieszka, “Motywy japońskie w europejskim i amerykańskim rzemiośle artystycznym końca XIX wieku – źródła, wzory, interpretacje.” *Sztuka Japonii. Studia*. Ed. idem, J. Malinowski Jerzy, Warsaw 2009, p. 90.

22 Jasieński, Feliks. “Wystawa drzeworytów japońskich” [Exhibition of Japanese woodcuts], *Chimera* 1901, I, no 1 (), p. 349.

23 Jasieński, Feliks “Manggha”. *Promenades à travers le monde, l’art et les idées*, Paris: Fiszer 1901. See MiodońskaBrooks, Ewa and CieślaKorytowska, Maria. *Feliks Jasieński i jego Manggha* [Feliks Jasieński and his Manggha], Cracow: Universitas 1992, p. 351.

Japanese ceramics also contained many features that none would have dared to include earlier within the set of artistic and aesthetic values, such as irregularity (expressed as an oppositional juxtaposition of asymmetry and particular harmony), a patina of time and even a suggestion of wear, delicate modelling and ornamentation, simple forms, natural materials, combining traditional local techniques with Japanese methods learned in the course of the exchange of knowledge and experience between designers and artists. The feature of naturalness in reference to representations of nature and depictions of culture was especially emphasized. One synonym of naturalness was the simplicity of order, which was identified with natural beauty. In his article on Japan in Paris, Chesneau wrote:

The characteristic features [of Japanese art] are asymmetry, style, colour, and above all invention, imagination transforming nature, wisely learned, deeply studied, so as to bend it to the expressive needs of art; let us recall the extremely accurate sense of colour contrasts, thanks to which Japanese artists do not retreat from any intensity of effect; (...) their inexhaustible fertility, the ease with which they change the best-known motifs into infinity, giving them the spirit, grace, and taste of something completely unexpected²⁴.

In the nineteenth century, the West faced the migration of objects expressing the specific philosophy according to which they had been created, and the resulting ideas and values. It was not a philosophy of aggression; on the contrary, it expressed ideals, principles, and norms of peace and self-control, coexistence, and cooperation, mindfulness and sensitivity, generally respecting the world of nature and the world of culture. European culture has developed in accordance with the direction indicated by Japanese philosophy and art. Though this conclusion is surprising, it is difficult to reject it, even in the name of the most profound Eurocentrism. A separate issue, to be considered elsewhere, involves two questions or problems. First, to what extent did this represent authentic Japan, and to what extent and in what way was it modified and reduced, in line with the expectations and imaginations of Europeans, to the form of Japonism? And, secondly, how did this Japanese art, following its assimilation, influence the development of European art?

²⁴ Chesneau, Ernest. op. cit., p. 90.

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Summary

Contacts between nations and countries have always contributed to mutual understanding between peoples and their cultures and customs. It is true of contacts between Japan and the Western world. The nineteenth century was a breakthrough for Japan, although its evaluation is still the subject of discussion. The following remarks are devoted to the encounter of these two cultures following the Kanagawa Treaty from the perspective of the protection of cultural heritage. The different histories of Japan and the Western countries created different cultural and national identities, resulting in different understandings of works of art and craft items, and hence the different status of each side's sense of values: artistic, cultural, and national. It is one of the important reasons the Japanese forfeited so many items representative of their arts and culture.

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Immobility and Impersonality: Phenomenology of the Comatose Body

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Rendered separate from the kisses of her loved ones, we see the sight of a comatose female body, suspended between life and death. Despite her immobility, however, does this disconnected subject actually merit the term “isolation”? Is the comatose body dead in a social and phenomenal sense? Moreover, in what way, if any, may we speak of a phenomenology of comatose experience, an experience of vegetative or near-death states? In short, what can phenomenology make of passive durations, those hours, days, months, perhaps even years during which certain individuals lie in a state of suspension? Definitions such as organic and inorganic, mobile and immobile do not quite seem to do justice to this dreadful state. The stroke or accident or shooting that traumatized the body to such an extent takes away a whole array of possibilities from the damaged life subjected to a cruel twist of fate. This unjustifiable end, this cruel and sudden death is, for some, an event that allows for the opening of new possibilities. Liminal experiences are never simple. Even the most faulty of damaged intimacies allows for penetration into new ways of play. Disjuncture breaks apart the lifeworld, injecting disjunctures into the patient’s narrativity, shattering their lives and that of the loved ones, until these relations are cast into a corrosive worklessness. Even so, in some cases, the disjuncture is not as complete as it may seem. Unresponsiveness is a two-way street, negativity whose impurity does not allow for even a semblance of finality. The comatose body is not purely negative, for “it,” in its objectivity and abjection, is still there. And underneath layers of skin, there is somehow, somewhere, a person.

In what sense may we speak of personhood in the case of the immobilized? Penetrating the patient’s world, negativity would seem to have gained the upper hand. Reconfiguration, at first, would seem to be something of an understatement when it

comes to immobile, suspended bodies. I nevertheless argue that the comatose body is never entirely passive. Instead, it is intra-acted through the mutual agency of a wide variety of components. Even brain dead patients intra-act with their surroundings through their bodies and the various materializable meanings their presence conveys. Following Karen Barad, we may identify phenomena in general as “the ontological inseparability of agentially intra-acting components.”¹ As a phenomenon, the comatose body, even in a brain-dead state, is composed of components that interact with one another, and it comes into connection with a meaningful environment, even if this immobile body is apparently foreclosed to immediate personal contact. The notion of “intra-action” identifies agency as being always already composed of integrated, mutually entangled agencies. According to Barad’s view, the agency is never pure. Intra-action stands opposed to the more traditional term “interaction,” which works from the assumption that individuals may be identified and abstracted from their relations. Agents enact themselves through networks. In Barad’s ontology, “individually determinate entities do not exist”; rather, entities “emerge from their intra-action.”² Through the introduction of this neologism, Barad attempts to render objects inseparable from their relations. The object of measurement, for instance, cannot be entirely detached from the instruments utilized to make their presence observable. Ostensibly, the comatose body would seem an ideal candidate for the application of such a correlation. One could make the argument, as Sharon Kaufman has done, that the comatose body is situated within a network of technologies, institutions, hopes, desires, and ethics. In particular, Kaufman emphasizes the disruptive role of artificial respirators in the construction of the vegetative body:

[...] as reproductive technologies have destabilized knowledge and rules about how and when life begins, who controls that process, and what a family is, so to have respirator technologies, along with the clinical skills surrounding them, muddled notions about the »normal« cessation of life and »natural« death, the meaning of personhood, the goals of medicine, and what acts constitute family responsibility³.

To be comatose is to be dependent upon technologies designed to prolong life. However, even the mere “opportunity,” if that is not too inane an expression, to live in a vegetative state is, in itself, a product of technological and medical advances.

Before elucidating the phenomenological implications of coma experiences, I seek to interrogate Barad’s concept and see whether it applies to such suspended

1 Barad, Karen. *Meeting the Universe Halfway. Quantum Mechanics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007, p. 33.

2 Ibidem, p. 128.

3 Kaufman, Sharon R. “In the shadow of” »death with dignity«: medicine and cultural quandaries of the vegetative state.” *American Anthropologist* 102.1, 2000, p. 73.

corporealities. Every object is supposedly actively engaged in the world, “an active participant in the world’s becoming, in its ongoing intra-activity.”⁴ Even supposedly passive and lifeless entities cause some changes in the world, however minute. Entangled agency transcends ontological dualities such as “organic/inorganic,” “artificial/natural.”⁵ Materiality is never entirely passive, for matter itself is an emergent characteristic of intra-activity. Actions do not have to be connected, at least for Barad, with any consciousness or purpose. Even inorganic particles are capable of intra-activity. Phenomena do not correlate with consciousness, for even inanimate objects may phenomenally encounter one another.⁶ What is at stake in Barad’s ontology is the extension of activity to cover as many realms as possible. Everything is an emergent product of relations, and every single being is performative, enacting itself, unleashing its forces into the cosmos. Graham Harman’s critique of Barad relates precisely to this exclusive emphasis on activity and performativity. If everything is in a perpetual state of self-enactment, then what room do we have in our ontology – provided we accept the universal nature of the activity – for potentiality, passivity, indeed, change in general?⁷ There can be no space left for change if intra-activity is all there is. The negative scission enacted by the onset of the coma introduces a suspension of the patient’s life, so much so that immobility becomes sovereign. Admittedly, we cannot state that the disjuncture does not exist. To be comatose means to be irredeemably marked by a personal disaster, while being situated, for a perhaps indefinite duration of time, within an elementary dimension of anonymity.

Disjuncture exists, irreversibly wounding ruined corporeality. Marked by disaster, the suspended body is reworked, toyed with, all the while emplaced within a clinical setting. Liminality is the most elementary dimension, for it is the most basic of impurities, the generative, existential condition of presence. The comatose patient often declines gradually into complete unresponsiveness. What kind of personhood corresponds to that of complete immobility? The question of personhood is inseparable, from corporeality. In front of us, there lies a body formerly characterized by movement. To be lively is to move in the sun, joyfully soaking in its rays through our pores, opening our eyes to the sunlight. As opposed to ambient daylight, the coma is a dark separation that nevertheless contains traces of light, albeit of a different kind to that of the Sun’s infinite generosity. Nobody who has not been in a comatose state can adequately understand this experience, so we are told. Phenomenology must, above all else, exercise self-restraint when confronted with incarnations of limit-experiences.

4 Barad, Karen., op. cit., p. 136.

5 Ibidem, p. 362.

6 Ibidem, p. 361.

7 Harman, Graham. “Agential and Speculative Realism: Remarks on Barad’s Ontology.” *Rhizomes* 30. (2016): n. pag. Web. accessed: 19 Oct. 2017.

An Israeli patient describes a strange kind of light, a light that is indescribable, in the context of an audio-visual tapestry rich in color:

I began to ascend with a huge light... like a pipe, a huge tube illuminated with a huge light... it's a light that doesn't exist here... it's impossible to understand this, it's a light we don't have here... it's not like a light you turn on, not hot, not cold... light is usually warm when you touch it, but here there's no heat. How can I explain? Babies singing... I cannot explain it. Tremendous... babies singing.⁸

The elementary dimension of anonymity is far from indeterminate, the amorphous experience of chronic liminality far from uneventful. Many patients give an account of out-of-body experiences whose traces remain etched in their memories until the date of their final death and dissolution. Intra-activity resides nested within immobile passivity. At the limit, experience blends with passive states, melding these coma patients with their terrible circumstances, transforming them into liminal beings. They are both here and not here, present while absent. Modern medical science participates actively in the construction and maintenance of what Kaufman calls “liminal beings,” patients confined to vegetative states, all in the forlorn hope that one day they may be reanimated, reawakened, brought back to presence.⁹ They are not here, but they could be at any moment, these shadows of their former selves. In such circumstances, we tend to search for meaning, to search for a way that could justify the calamity that has affected our loved ones or us. While the religious strive for redemption, the irreligious also make peace with their inner demons, or the vastness of the world, or the shadowy realm of infinite death. Liminality is a shadow realm, a suspension that cannot be reduced solely to a medico-cultural context. Comas are more than cultural, more than constructs. The state of living death, the non-existential condition of suspension transcribes death onto the patient, rendering the ill body uncanny, dislocated, fragmented and desolate.

Richard Zaner has argued for a concept of corporeality that emphasizes the double-sided nature of vulnerability. Not only is corporeality vulnerable to outside interference and disruption, as in the case of a steel vehicle colliding with soft tissue, but the subject herself is vulnerable to her own body. As Zaner writes, “if there is a sense in which my own-body is “intimately mine,” there is furthermore, an equally decisive sense in which I belong to it – in which I am at its disposal or mercy, if you will.”¹⁰ This sense of the subject's vulnerability to her bodily frailty renders the lived body

8 Meoded Danon, Limor. “Between My Body and My »Dead Body« Narratives of Coma.” *Qualitative health research* 26.2, 2016, p. 7.

9 Kaufman Sharon R., op. cit., p. 78.

10 Zaner, Richard. *The Context of Self. A Phenomenological Inquiry Using Medicine as a Clue*. Athens, OH.: Ohio University Press, 1981, p. 52.

uncanny. Life is always lived in the shadow of illness, death and the many in-between states located along this continuum. While some patients neatly, one could almost say, rationally, situate their coma among the many other profane challenges of life, others view the comatose state as a dislocated continuation of their conscious lives. Meoded Danon has called these latter types of patients “dead-alive subjects.”¹¹ Such persons have survived their comas and lived to express their narratives in the form of interviews to social sciences researchers or stories related to loved ones and constitute medical miracles in the most literal sense of the word. A common theme among Danon’s interviewees is a sense of lost control and inhibited agency. Perhaps most radically, the coma signifies the uncanniness of the body, an incipient possibility that is always present in the form of an insidious eventuality, a potential lying in wait, ready to take the body hostage. Fredrik Svenaeus, about the ill body in general, states that “illness is an uncanny and unhomelike experience since the otherness of the body then presents itself in an obtrusive, merciless way.”¹² Those whose lives have been suspended by trauma or the sheer force of the world’s contingency are mercilessly prevented from living their lives.

Living death circumscribes agency, so much so that they feel as if they were completely rendered separate from their bodies. An out-of-body experience is a pathway; a means of escape that provides one a comforting way of escaping, if only momentarily, the incoming immobility of irreversible death. As one patient puts it, “you want to wake up but you really can’t and you know that you should, you must wake up.”¹³ Awakening is a necessity. Awakening is life. “Awakening,” Alphonso Lingis explains, “is a being born.”¹⁴ Could it be that the potential awakening enacted by the comatose subject is, in a sense, a rebirth, a birth that returns us to presence? The ultimate danger of immobility is the ever-present possibility that she, the patient we have been staring at in these moments, so rudely, indelicately and indiscreetly, shall never reawaken to presence again. Within the coma, the subject as liminal being is confronted with the possibility that she shall be forever rendered separate from her resources, means of sustenance, implements, pathways, loves, and hatreds, desires, and fears, realities and fictions, passions and nightmares. There is a genuine possibility that she shall never again come into contact with either significant others or complete strangers. Agonizingly, even in instances when the patient reawakens, brain-damage can be so severe that even intimate relations and family members become strangers to the ill

¹¹ Meoded Danon, Limor., Danon op. cit., p. 4.

¹² Svenaeus, Fredrik. “The body uncanny – Further steps towards a phenomenology of illness.” *Medicine, Health Care and Philosophy* 3,2, 2000, p. 131.

¹³ Meoded Danon, op. cit., p. 10.

¹⁴ Lingis, Alphonso. *Dangerous Emotions*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000, p. 104.

person's anguished gaze¹⁵. Reawakening, it should be emphasized, far from guarantees a reawakening to presence. When the brain has been injured beyond repair, reawakening opens up to a living hell of perpetual forgetfulness, an anguished reality that erases the faces of loved ones or, even more cruelly, eventuates an alternation between moments of clarity and amorphous inattention. It is then that tears flow, hearts break, and the children make plans to confine their parent to a nursing home, unable to cope with the agony of such a situation. Tears, as Jerome Neu reminds us, are "emotional things," liquidities saturated with emotional energies and cultural meanings¹⁶. No tear is entirely meaningless, but neither may it be reduced to either biological exigencies, subjective or cultural dimensions.

The imminence of death, the possibility that reawakening shall never commence, is the possibility of our own decay into nothingness. Even the most dispassionate of observers cannot fight the stream of tears that rushes forth when even thinking of traumatically faulty reawakenings or the possibility of complete, irreversible immobility. Once separated from the reality of the world, the comatose subject becomes himself an obstruction, from a cold, utilitarian, inhumane perspective, a burden upon society, a cost rather than a benefit, an unproductive worklessness that may even be said to border upon economic worthlessness. However, such a viewpoint is rightly rejected by most people. Svenaeus provocatively contends that we view the ill body as a Heideggerian "broken tool."¹⁷ While there is no space at this point for a complete elucidation of Martin Heidegger's concept as it appears in *Being and Time*, I would emphasize the productivity of the ill body as "broken equipment." Such a characterization by no means entails that bodies are any more or less instrumentalizable than tools in particular. Instead, what must be emphasized is that all objects have a presence that cannot be exhausted by any relation whatsoever. When bodies appear as damaged equipment that recedes from the presence, this retreat entails a diversion of their productive corporeal potential. Even the most passive of objects is productive in some minimal way. At the very least, the unresponsive body produces tears, emotional reactions permeated by cultural meanings and subjective feelings, as well as notions of personhood and attachment far too varied to be fully registered. There comes a time when the Other must die. What happens to personhood when the threshold of death is reached, when movement subsides into immobility and confinement?

Some interviewees speak of the coma in terms that remind one of imprisonment¹⁸. Solitude before death is a situation one must endure alone, for the suspended, liminal

15 Svenaeus, Fredrik, op. cit., p. 133.

16 Neu, Jerome. *A Tear Is an Intellectual Thing. The Meanings of Emotion*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

17 Svenaeus, Fredrik, op. cit., p. 134.

18 Meoded Danon, op. cit., p. 10.

subject cannot possibly hope to communicate with either the hospital staff or her relatives, should they visit at all. The comatose state opens up time to an amorphous, uncertain duration, an experience that seems to be outside of mundane temporality. Lingis' description of the body nearing death, the unconscious person slipping into the unknown depths of lifelessness, serves as a haunting reminder of the observer's impotence before the Other's experience of her own annihilation:

[...] the time in which the other pursues his own tasks and approaches me is also a time of suffering and dying. There comes the time when the other can do nothing more, but has still to die. The time of his or her dying opens the black hole of a time that is not that of the common world. It is already present in the weariness and suffering that he or she has to endure alone¹⁹.

Nothing is what we have in common, but this nothingness, the vacuity of death, cannot, by its very nature, be experienced collectively. This is the paradox of both unconscious experience and death alike. Vegetative states allow us to conceptualize a notion of community beyond the presence/absence dichotomy. Comatose bodies are, to paraphrase Lingis, "black holes" that open up a time outside any commonality. Deathly temporality is abnormal, beyond belief and disbelief.

What do vegetative states imply for any philosophy of personhood? Suspension as an ontological condition inevitably implies the rejection of any dialectics. The comatose body, as enacted through medico-cultural worlds, is neuter, excluded from discernment, judgment, and propriety. Traumatized and ruined, the life of the immobile, unresponsive patient becomes transfigured. No matter how hard we try, all the wishful thinking in the world cannot possibly return the comatose patient to even a semblance of normality. What happens, then, to the person? What kind of person is this ruined existent? Continental philosophy, phenomenology included, has been preoccupied with the dyad of "I" and "you." Roberto Esposito identifies this dyad as one of the fundamental themes of twentieth-century Continental philosophy²⁰. A key tension contained within this dyad is the issue of alterity, and the question of whether we may identify an Other who is wholly sovereign in relation to the I, an Other whose otherness is not construed in relation to ourselves²¹. The "you" always seems to imply an "I" that tyrannically rules over the landscape of this dualistic relationship. As opposed to both "I" and "you" stands the realm of the impersonal. Personhood is commonly understood as being the characteristic of responsive

19 Lingis, Alphonso. *The Community of Those Who Have Nothing in Common*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994, p. 99.

20 Esposito, Roberto. *Third Person. Politics of life and philosophy of the impersonal*. Trans. Zakiya Hanafi. Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2012.

21 Ibidem, p. 105.

individuals engaged in some form of dialogue. The impersonal, by definition, cannot be restricted to a personal being. According to Esposito, “it is a non-person. Its peculiarity, to be more precise, resides in it being neither singular nor plural. Alternatively, in being both: singular/plural.”²² Impersonality escapes enumeration, for it is a true plurality, a dimension that is infinitely more than the sum of its expressive abilities. Here we see the limitation of a relational ontology such as Barad’s. In an ontological system that equates the being of any existent with its expressiveness, little room is left for dormant, immobile or otherwise inactive entities. The positioning of an “impersonal substance,” what Esposito calls “the third person,” allows us to break the Gordian knot of dialogic thinking²³.

No longer can the dyad contain the potentialized expressive energies residing, unacknowledged, within its labyrinthine interior. Immobile, vegetative and dormant states demand a phenomenology and an ontology that takes the third person into account, the impersonal personality that gains expression through the very absence of responsiveness. One can be a person without fulfilling any of the criteria necessary for the attribution of personhood. This is an especially important consequence of comatose states. Personhood cannot be reduced to consciousness. As we have seen, dormancy does not preclude some form of experience. Phenomenal experience does not cease after the annihilation of consciousness, as the near-death experiences of coma patients make evident. Even after the liquidation of intersubjective presence by the onset of the coma, revived patients routinely describe “the feeling of a close presence” or “the sight of a brilliant light and the feeling of being surrounded by it.”²⁴ Such accounts imply that presence, within impersonality, presents itself in the form of “the feeling of presence.” The impersonal changes everything. For most people, immobilization is a transitory condition, a liminal state situated between life and death. Responsivity, for the most part, is a necessity of life. This unresponsive creature lying before us is, for all intents and purposes, dead, even if artificially kept alive through feeding tubes and mechanical lungs. Transfiguration ensures a transgressive crossover between supposedly separate states. But is the state of impersonality purely negative? Conceptualizing impersonality as an unending array of absences would seem to be too simplistic. The impersonal is a relationship without relations, “a relationship without personhood and, at the same time, a person without relationship: it is the unrelated, the irrelative.”²⁵ Certainly, such a description veers close to a full affinity with the inorganic, the nonliving, all that which is dead. However, the impersonal is

²² Ibidem, p. 109.

²³ Ibidem, p. 114.

²⁴ Charland-Verville, Vanessa, et al. “Near-death experiences in non-life-threatening events and coma of different etiologies.” *Frontiers in human neuroscience* 8, 2014, pp. 1–8.

²⁵ Esposito, Roberto, op. cit., p. 118.

anything but pure death, for its impurity also implies the feeling of a presence, not only on the part of the patient, whose inner world is convulsed by religious visions, hallucinations and/or memories, but also on the part of hopeful family members. The person who has slipped into the abyss of impersonality is still very much a person, but a person that does not connect.

Instead of a “who,” this impersonal person has become an obstruction, a blockage, a tear within the fabric of time. Dispossession is a semblance of dying, a feeling of absence approaching, drawing ever nearer, like a dark light surrounding us. When referring to the impersonal, we always refer to a “that.” But the loved ones of the impersonal person nonetheless cling to their hope. They have the feeling of a presence, a desire to experience the individual idiosyncrasies, laughter, and joy of their immobilized, latent relative. The reality, augmented by technologies of medico-cultural representation such as the cardiac-monitor, allows them to dream, perhaps even hallucinate. As long as her heart rate is displayed upon a black screen, at the very least, we have the feeling of her presence, even though she is, in her actuality, absent, latent, distant, separate from the realm of mundane projects, lifeworlds, and work. The third person, identified as the impersonal, is more than a mere negation or the fragment of some formerly whole existence²⁶. The third person is a different subjectivity, a liminal state that is no longer interchangeable or exchangeable with either conscious being or inorganic lifelessness. Following Maurice Blanchot, Esposito argues that thought cannot render the “neutral,” the “neuter,” intelligible. The non-neutralizable remainder, this is the neuter, the “ultimate possibility” of being²⁷.

How can phenomenology account for the neuter, the in-between, the liminal, that which refuses any simple categorization into “positive” or “negative,” “living” or “dead”? The impersonal third person, the liminality exemplified by the comatose body, is a neuter that is insurmountable for thought. However, if we accept Esposito’s arguably speculative proposition, we must resituate neutrality at the apex of being and thought in general. Its very inaccessibility does not mean that philosophy should surrender to the unproductivity of silence. If neutrality truly is the “ultimate possibility” of being, then we have no other choice but to consider impersonality as the ultimate stage of personhood. Such a position invariably risks collapsing into a kind of perverted mysticism that fetishizes unconscious states, a true nightmare for anybody who is intent upon rationalizing phenomenal experience or life in general. However unimaginable such a value-hierarchy may seem, it is a common theme of mysticism. Joseph Brenner, a twentieth-century American mystic, speaks of a “Divine Impersonality,” self-expression of presence, an excess that breaks upon the subject until all

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 125.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 130.

phases of personality are subsumed within this loss²⁸. Neither the mind nor the intellect may persist in the state of mystical impersonality. However, this final phase is no mere negation of rationality or experience. Impersonality is not disappearance, but a rebirth, a reawakening to the feeling of presence. Consciousness, in impersonality, becomes the trace that bears all the hallmarks of an elementary dimension, operating invisibly upon the neuter that barely speaks, whose words and visions are nothing more than feelings of presence. Always already dispossessed, the person realizes its oneness with the sovereign, beloved night.

²⁸ Brenner, Joseph. *The Impersonal Life*, stillnessspeaks.com. Web. accessed: October 19, 2017.

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Summary

In this article, I seek to conceptualize a phenomenological approach to comatose, vegetative states. In my view, immobility and the absence of responsiveness need not entail the complete absence of personhood. Instead, the commencement of the coma also brings about the transformation and depersonalization of the ill person. Experience, as we know from accounts given by patients who have been revived from comatose states, does not cease. The coma is definitely not a state of living death, at least in most cases. Instead, personality shifts to a mode of dormancy and latency. Relational ontologies such as that of Karen Barad fail to account for hidden potentials, unresponsive entities, and inaccessible agents. Therefore, I propose a phenomenological approach that takes into account depersonalized modes of personhood. Borrowing Roberto Esposito's concept of the "third person" and the "impersonal", I seek to identify the comatose body as an impersonality, a liminal mode of personhood that cannot be easily situated upon the continuum of life/death, presence/absence. Impersonality also transforms experience, and is productive of what the literature calls "the feeling of presence." Such feelings, as enacted in medico-cultural settings, point toward impersonal neutrality that constitutes the ultimate possibility of experience.

Weronika Kostecka

Once Upon a Time There Was a War: The Use of Fairy-tale Conventions in Contemporary Polish Literature for Children about Refugees

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Introduction

Issues of war being addressed in Polish literature for children are nothing new. For decades Polish writers have developed novels and tales about World War Two, describing the Poles' and Jews' struggle for survival and liberation¹. However, over just the last few years we have witnessed a renaissance of children's literature dealing with war. Generally, two different trends are being observed. The first concerns stories about Polish children's experiences during the World War Two, including the Holocaust, that are frequently based on true biographies. They often deal with famous Polish citizens who helped Jewish children to survive, like Janusz Korczak and Irena Sendlerowa². Yet a new topic of great social significance has started to dominate, and this is the second literary trend – namely, tales about wars fought outside Poland,

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- 1 See Kulickowska, Krystyna. "Typy współczesnej prozy o tematyce wojennej dla młodzieży." Eadem, *W świecie prozy dla dzieci*. Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia, 1983; Skotnicka, Gertruda. *Barwy przeszłości. O powieściach historycznych dla dzieci i młodzieży 1939–1989*. Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz terytoria, 2008.
 - 2 See for example: the book series published by Wydawnictwo Literatura "Wojny dorosłych – historie dzieci"; Rudniańska, Joanna. *Kotka Brygidy*. Łasek: Wydawnictwo Pierwsze, 2007; eadem. *XY*. Warszawa: Muchomor, 2012; eadem. *Bajka o wojnie*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Bajka, 2015; Chmielewska, Iwona. *Pamiętnik Blumki*. Poznań: Media Rodzina, 2011; Szczygielski, Marcin. *Arka czasu*. Warszawa: Stentor, 2013. For research on this kind of children's literature, see: Sikora, Aleksandra. "W jaki sposób mówimy dzieciom o wojnie? Charakterystyka prozy o tematyce wojennej na podstawie wybranych książek dla dzieci." *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Librorum*. 2 (2014), pp. 25–44; Skowera, Maciej. "Polacy i Żydzi, dzieci i dorośli. Kto jest kim w *Kotce Brygidy* Joanny Rudniańskiej i *Bezsensowności Jutki* Doroty Combrzyńskiej-Nogali." *Konteksty Kultury*. 11 (2014), pp. 57–72; Wójcik-Dudek, Małgorzata. *W(y)czytać Zagładę. Praktyki postpamięci w polskiej literaturze XXI wieku dla dzieci i młodzieży*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2016.

frequently in contemporary times: in Ukraine, Syria, African countries, and so on. Moreover, these stories tell about people being forced to leave their homes and migrate to Europe as a safe haven. Significantly, these authors, while bearing in mind the perceptual abilities of young readers, tend to shun graphic literalism, opting for conventions of the fairy tale³. In this way, they can present war, trauma, and forced migration as a universal problem, and thereby provide the recounted events and phenomena with a timeless character.

The aim of my paper is to examine contemporary Polish tales inspired by this fairy-tale trend. I wish to discuss three texts, each of them published recently, in 2016: *Wędrowka Nabu* (*The Journey of Nabu*) by Jarosław Mikołajewski⁴; *Kot Karima i obrazki* (*Karim's Cat and Pictures*) by Liliana Bardijewska⁵; and *Hebanowe serce* (*The Ebony Heart*) by Renata Piątkowska⁶. My analysis will concern the use of fairy-tale conventions to speak about refugees' experiences, which according to Cansu Oranç and Ilgim Veryeri Alaca may be traumatic at every stage:

[...] refugees undergo forced displacement. Their relocation is not a choice but a necessity in terms of their very survival. Their life is disrupted long before they receive refugee status, encountering adversity at each step of the way: as they are forced to leave home, during their journey, during their reorientation someplace new, and during their eventual resettlement⁷.

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- 3 I use the term "fairy tale" instead of "folktale" as I work on the assumption that "[t]he folktale is a form of traditional, fictional, prose narrative that is said to circulate orally. In both colloquial use and within folkloristics, the term 'folktale' is often used interchangeably with 'fairy tale,' 'märchen,' and 'wonder tale,' their histories being interrelated and their meanings and applications somewhat overlapping. [...] the folktale was conceived of as oral, whereas—although fairy-tale themes exist in folktales—the 'true' fairy tale was a literary genre, and the ambiguous märchen and wonder tale were deployed to reinforce the requirement of orality in the more general folktale"; see JoAnn Conrad, "Folktale." *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales*. Ed. Donald Haase. Vol. 1. London: Greenwood Press, 2008, p. 363. In turn, I don't use terms "wonder tale" nor "magic tale," following Donald Haase's findings: "[...] whereas we understand the magical reality depicted in the fairy tale to be fiction, we and the characters in the fairy tale accept it without question. [...] From this perspective, 'fairy tale' is again defined specifically in terms of the magic or wonder tale, which can appear either in oral or in literary form. It might be simpler if the term 'wonder tale' were to replace 'fairy tale' altogether, but the history of the term and its popular usage make that unlikely." See Haase, Donald. "Fairy tale." *Folktales and Fairy Tales: Traditions and Texts from Around the World*. Ed. Anne E. Duggan, Donald Haase, and Helen Callow. Vol. 1. Santa Barbara: Greenwood, an Imprint of ABC-CLIO, 2016, p. 322.
- 4 Mikołajewski, Jarosław. *Wędrowka Nabu*. Kraków, Budapeszt: Wydawnictwo Austeria, 2016.
- 5 Bardijewska, Liliana. *Kot Karima i obrazki*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Literatura, 2016.
- 6 Piątkowska, Renata. *Hebanowe serce*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Literatura, 2016.
- 7 Oranç, Cansu, Ilgim Veryeri Alaca. "Tarik and the White Crow: Refugee Children Bridging Gaps through Picturebooks." Ed. Ana M. Ramos, Sandie Mourão, and Maria T. Cortez. *Fractures and Disruptions in Children's Literature*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, p. 152.

The hypothetical young readers of the tales discussed are encouraged to work out their own emotional and intellectual strategies for taking a stance on the important phenomena and problems of the present day. I am most interested in how the above-mentioned stories present and explain to young readers the disruption in life indicated by Oranç and Ververi Alaca, as well as migration as a refugee experience. My intent is to examine how the authors construct the child's way of thinking about refugees⁸. As Maria Nikolajeva indicates in her meaningful book *Reading for Learning*, in which she discusses a cognitive approach to children's literature:

[...] cognitive engagement with fiction is a two-way process: life-to-text and text-to-life (or put in a more scientific way, practice-to-theory and theory-to-practice). We use our real-life experience to understand fiction, and we gain experience from fiction to explain and understand the real world. As all dynamic systems, it is a powerful mechanism of learning⁹.

We may, therefore, ask what kind of experience the child-reader gains from the tales by Mikołajewski, Bardijewska, and Piątkowska, and consider how that experience helps explain today's situation of refugees – including children – migrating from many different regions of the world to Europe.

None of these texts is a fairy tale in terms of literary genre, yet all three of them apply certain fairy-tale conventions: a telltale narration, schematic plotlines, and marvelous elements. Thus, the analysis of the three Polish stories should be preceded by short characterization of these three conventions.

In traditional fairy tales, the narration is concise. For example, Jack Zipes refers to the Grimms who “combined the elegance of the simple, paratactical oral narrative with the logical, succinct, economic prose of the middle classes to establish the conventional form of the fairy-tale narration, one that became a model for more fairy-tale writers and collectors in the nineteenth century – and not only in Germany.”¹⁰

Plot construction in fairy tales could be described as ‘from misfortune to happiness’ and is the result of the protagonist's confrontation with the antagonist¹¹. Nikolajeva

8 For research on contemporary attitudes of Polish citizens towards refugees and immigrants – see Smoter, Katarzyna. “Literackie obrazy ‘Innego’ w procesie kształtowania postaw wobec imigrantów i uchodźców.” *Edukacja Elementarna w Teorii i Praktyce*. 12.3 (2017), p. 103–105.

9 Nikolajeva, Maria. *Reading for Learning: Cognitive Approaches to Children's Literature*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014, p. 125.

10 Zipes, Jack. *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p. 119. Cristina Bacchilega describes this genre as an “artfully simple narrative that relies on dialogue and single strokes of color to produce a feeling of familiarity and wonder at the same time.” See Bacchilega, Cristina. *Postmodern Fairy Tales: Gender and Narrative Strategies*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997, p. 28.

11 Wróblewska, Violetta. *Przemiany gatunkowe polskiej baśni literackiej XIX i XX wieku*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2003, pp. 34–35.

summarizes the basic plot of fairy tales as follows: “the hero leaves home, meets helpers and opponents, goes through trials, and returns home [...]”¹² As I will show in my analysis, the three stories discussed inherit all these conventional elements of the fairy-tale plotline except the last one mentioned by Nikolajeva.

In fairy tales, marvels coexist with the real world in a way that doesn’t need any rational explanation¹³. According to Maria Tatar, in the fairy tale “[t]he supernatural is accepted as a part and parcel of everyday reality. [...] Not a single fairy tale character marvels at the marvelous”.¹⁴

These three fairy-tale conventions significantly shape the content and form of the tales by Mikołajewski, Bardijewska, and Piątkowska. Although other characteristics of the fairy tale, like a deterministic vision of the world, magic helpers, and magical objects, do not appear in the texts examined, *The Journey of Nabu*, *Karim’s Cat and Pictures*, and *The Ebony Heart* are clearly influenced by the fairy-tale trend in Polish literature for children.

The fairy-tale narration

As in traditional fairy tales, the narration of the three tales simplifies the events and characters described, as well as passes over unimportant details¹⁵. Though the reader may associate the events in the story with a particular region of the world, nonetheless space and time are not clearly indicated, especially in Mikołajewski and Piątkowska’s tales. This lack of space-time directions signals the fairy-tale universality of these texts, in that they create a generalized model of the situation presented.

The Journey of Nabu is a timeless tale about the loss of home, and sense of security as well. The titular heroine is a young refugee trekking to Europe to find a safe home. Nabu used to live somewhere beyond the sea, in a village that was continually harassed by conflagrations. We can only guess that malevolent others had been setting

12 Nikolajeva, Maria. “Fantasy Literature and Fairy Tales.” *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales*. Ed. Jack Zipes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, p. 182. The author refers here to Vladimir Propp’s famous structural concept. It is worth noting, however, that his approach to the fairy tale has been criticized. For example, Steven Swann Jones argues that: „[...] in *Morphology of the Folktale* (by which Propp meant the fairy tale or wonder tale [...]), Propp attempts to identify a sequential pattern of 31 elements of the fairy tale’s plot structure, some of which refer to the undertaking of a quest. There are a number of problems with Propp’s structural definition of the fairy tale genre. His elements are too general, such that his structure can be applied to any narrative, not just fairy tales”. See Swann Jones, Steven. *The Fairy Tale: The Magic Mirror of Imagination*. New York, Routledge, 2002, p. 14.

13 KostECKA, Weronika. *Baśń postmodernistyczna: przeobrażenia gatunku. Intertekstualne gry z tradycją literacką*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo SBP, 2014, p. 119.

14 Tatar, Maria. *The Hard Facts of the Grimms’ Fairy Tales*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 61.

15 KostECKA, Weronika., op. cit., p. 120.

fires and destroying the inhabitants' homes. One day Nabu decided to escape from her war-torn country. The description of her journey is simplified as much as possible. She roams the desert, but we do not learn its name; all we know is that Nabu "walked alone, for ten days and for ten nights."¹⁶ She also swims across a huge sea – and we can only guess that it is the Mediterranean Sea, where so many refugees drown nowadays. On her way, she encounters soldiers, customs officers, and policemen who attempt to stop her. The narrator does not specify which countries or organizations they represent as they are like fairy-tale characters without names who disappear immediately after they have carried out their tasks¹⁷. We cannot recognize the borders that are established by the wall and the barbed-wire fence. For it is the meaning of their existence which is significant, rather than their localization: Nabu is not a welcome guest in the spaces she roams.

Karim's Cat and Pictures is a tale told from the cat's perspective¹⁸. This pet, named Biss, belongs to Karim – a little boy born in Syria, who escaped with his mother and grandmother from his town at war and, after many tribulations, arrived in Poland. The flashbacks that present his exhausting and dangerous journey across borders, mountains, and the sea, are characterized by a fairy-tale narration. The reader encounters repeated formulas that refer, on the one hand, to fairy-tale poetics¹⁹, and on the other to the endless march of refugees: "Shoes after shoes, shoes after shoes, shoes after shoes. Bags, rucksacks, bundles"²⁰; "Mom clasps Karim's hand, grandma clasps the suitcase, Karim clasps Biss"²¹; "They sit, wait, sit, wait. They sleep – they don't sleep."²² The simplified narration and the repeated phrases create the impression of an incredibly tiresome, seemingly endless journey that is very difficult to survive. Yet the fairy-tale convention of storytelling gives the reader hope for a happy turn of events.

Finally, *The Ebony Heart* tells the story of a little boy called Omenka who runs away with his mother – and many other inhabitants – from his African village (probably located in Nigeria²³) when it is attacked by cruel soldiers: "a bunch of men covered in dust, in torn shirts, barefoot or in stolen boots, but armed to the teeth."²⁴ The description of the exhausting journey across the Mediterranean Sea is interspersed with short stories of a fairy-tale character. The child protagonist listens with

16 Mikołajewski, Jarosław., op. cit., p. 17. Working translations of all excerpts are by the author.

17 Kostecka, Weronika., op. cit., p. 120.

18 See Rąbkowska, Ewelina. "Zwierzęcy uchodźcy w literaturze dla dzieci i młodzieży." *Ryms*. 29 (2017), pp. 2–3.

19 Wróblewska, Violetta., op. cit., p. 36.

20 Bardijewska, Liliana., op. cit., p. 19. Working translations of all excerpts are by the author.

21 Ibidem, p. 20.

22 Ibidem, p. 42.

23 The reader can draw such a conclusion by looking at the map on the book's endpaper.

24 Piątkowska, Renata., op. cit., p. 26. Working translations of all excerpts are by the author.

great pleasure to his mother telling about the brave warrior Ozyrion (the only thing Omenka managed to take from his home is a little ebony figure of Ozyrion), who defeated his dangerous enemy and rescued a beautiful princess. Omenka also enjoys the enlightening tale about a hippo, with the clear message that calmness is always better than panic, anger, fear, and acting without deliberation. He also recalls what his grandmother told him about witches gathering in his village during the night. All these fairy-tale-like stories enable Omenka to survive the real emigration by “mental” emigration, into his mind. The journey across good memories and tales of healing accompanies the traumatic journey that he experiences as a refugee.

However, it must be mentioned that in the case of all three tales discussed, the fairy-tale narration relieves, but by no means eliminates the sense of trauma. As the reader may come to understand, although one can start a new life, the experiences of war can never be wiped from one’s memory. Nevertheless, the authors, by applying fairy-tale narration, pass over the causes of the acts of aggression and wars they mention. They focus on their course and, especially, on their outcomes. Thus, Mikołajewski informs the reader about the fire that consumes Nabu’s home village, Bardijewska depicts the air raid of Damascus, and Piątkowska presents the child’s memories of assailants destroying everything in their path – but these descriptions are very economical. They are just short relations of events. We do not know who started the fire in Nabu’s village and for what reason, nor why aircraft bombed Damascus, nor who are the people attacking Omenka’s village.

Julia Hope, a British scholar who worked as a Refugee Support Teacher in Inner London primary schools for many years, researches on responses to literature for children about refugees in the primary classroom. She has analyzed a variety of books for children about refugees published in the last decade of the 20th and the first decade of the 21st century. On the basis of her analysis, she points out that:

Literature for children about the refugee plight can highlight many different situations and locations, historical and geographical, adding insight to individual events, and taking selective parts of the refugee experience, or attempting to deal with it in its totality. In this way it is a perfect vehicle for disseminating information about diverse experiences, adding depth and understanding to what otherwise tends toward generalisation, homogeneity and stereotyping [...] ²⁵.

25 Hope, Julia. “‘One Day We Had to Run’: The Development of the Refugee Identity in Children’s Literature and its Function in Education.” *Children’s Literature in Education: An International Quarterly*. 39.4 (2008), n.pag. Web. 25 October 2017. In this article published in 2008, Hope discussed about 20 books for children. Eight years later, in 2016, she asserted: “Since the millennium there has been a rapid increase in the number of books published for children that take the refugee situation as their theme (200 or more published in English) and aimed at an everyounger audience”. See Hope, Julia. “‘The Soldiers Came to the House’: Young Children’s Responses to *The Colour of Home*.” *Children’s Literature in Education: An International Quarterly*. (Published on line: 23 November 2016). Web. 03 February 2018.

In the case of these three Polish tales, what we are dealing with is undoubtedly a particular part of the refugee experience. We can assume that when reading as a kind of fairy tale (that, as has been said, simplifies the events described) by the potential child-reader, these texts do not need any detailed explanation of the main character's initial situation. Having faced a lifetime disaster, the protagonist must leave home and look for happiness. Yet if these tales are to be read as texts intended to explain events in today's world, it has to be stated that they offer only a fragmentary picture.

Schematic fairy-tale plotlines

The initial situation of a traditional fairy tale frequently explains why the protagonist has to leave home. In the case of the three Polish texts, there is only one explanation: war and the sense of imminent danger. The happy ending of the fairy tale is a result of a confrontation between the protagonist and the antagonist. In the stories discussed it is a collective antagonist – namely, aggressors who destroy towns and kill other people. From a different perspective, one that might be intelligible for the child-reader only after an explanation provided by an adult, the part of the antagonist is played by world politics and the struggle for particular interests that lead in turn to armed conflicts. Moreover, in the tales by Mikołajewski, Bardijewska, and Piątkowska we can talk only about a potentially happy ending: the initial misfortune will probably turn into happiness, the presence of danger turns into the possibility of overcoming it. While a typical protagonist of the fairy tale, as Nikolajeva pointed out, “[...] returns home having gained wealth and high social status”²⁶, the characters of the texts discussed have to find their new homes and probably – as we may guess being aware of the political and economic situation in Europe – they can hope neither for wealth, nor for satisfying social status.

The initiation scenario for Nabu follows a representative fairy-tale pattern. As the protagonist wants to change her life and find a safe home for herself and her family, she chooses a lonely trek. Nabu roams vast spaces, and the people she meets try either to discourage or to frighten her. After she has swum across the sea and reached the shore where lots of carefree people are relaxing and playing, the child-reader expects a happy ending. However, what we confront here is an open ending, one that is only potentially happy:

In her research, Hope concentrates on children's literature about refugees as an educational tool that can “serve a dual function, to educate all children about the experience of persecution, flight and resettlement, as well as reassuring refugee readers that there is new life and hope for the future in an adopted country.” See Hope, Julia. “Flightlines: Exploring Early Readers For Children About the Refugee Experience.” *FORUM: for Promoting 3–19 Comprehensive Education*, 49.3 (2007), p. 297. See also: Hope, Julia. *Children's Literature About Refugees: A Catalyst in the Classroom*. London: Trentham Books, 2017.

26 Nikolajeva, Maria, “Fantasy Literature and Fairy Tales,” p. 182.

Half of the crowd was pointing at houses, and half at the sea. In fact, it wasn't that they were pointing, but that they are. Right now. At this very moment. When this very moment is gone, Nabu will go warm up and get some rest. Or she will go back into water again²⁷.

Significantly, the author does not seek the people who are guilty of the fire that destroyed Nabu's home village. Moreover, the question hidden in this tale directed at the child-inhabitants of a safe European country is not if they will help Nabu or if they will not. Nikolajeva argues that:

Open endings, becoming more and more common in contemporary children's literature, lead to thought experiment: what would have happened if the character made a different choice? How would I act in such a situation? What would the consequences be of the options offered? The model of 'narrative possibilities' (Bremond 1996) can also provide good training in ethical thought experiments. Learning from independent thinking is arguably more efficient than accepting ready-made solutions²⁸.

Indeed, Mikołajewski provides "good training in ethical thought experiments." However, the reader is encouraged to think not how he or she would act as the protagonist of the tale being read, but as a person the heroine meets on her way, during her journey. Thus, the question hidden in Mikołajewski's story may be decoded as follows: would you welcome Nabu, here and now, or would you not? How would you – or, actually, how will you – influence her fate? Would you let her change her identity from what is determined by being the refugee to that of being a member of the local community?

The story of Omenka is based on the initiation scenario, as well. Having escaped his home village during a war, he travels in quest of happiness – in this case: a new home, safety, and peace. The role of his dreamt of the fairy-tale kingdom must be played, at least for a while, by the refugee camp. A truly happy ending is possible, yet in Piątkowska's story it has only the form of the protagonist's dream: he grows up to be a mature and resourceful man, he has a new home and a job he likes; moreover, his father, whom he misses so much, finally finds him and is proud of his son. As a typical fairy-tale hero who has traveled a long and dangerous way: "From now on Omenka will not be scared of anything."²⁹ However, the reader will never learn if this dream comes true. If we assume that it reflects what the protagonist perceives as the most important things in his life, and at the same time, what he lost and misses so much, the message of *The Ebony Heart* becomes simple and clear: the experience of being a refugee deprived the protagonist of a sense of security and stability, as well as the guarantee of a good future.

²⁷ Mikołajewski, Jarosław., op. cit., p. [52].

²⁸ Nikolajeva, Maria. *Reading for Learning*, p. 194.

²⁹ Piątkowska, Renata., op. cit., p. 46.

A truly happy ending comes to Karim and his family. After a long, extremely tiring, and dangerous journey, they finally reach Poland. At first, they stay at a refugee camp. When a Polish teacher asks the protagonist about his plans for the future, Karim replies that he simply wants to be happy; and this is the goal of every typical fairy-tale character, after all. However, what does it mean in this case, to be happy? This is another question directed to the child-reader. Karim starts feeling happy when his family finds a new home, regains a sense of security, and is finally accepted by the Polish neighbors who were initially quite mistrustful and impolite. It is worth mentioning that, differently than in fairy tales, evil is not punished or eliminated³⁰. It cannot be – as it is not personified. There is no evil stepmother or wicked witch to judge. So here is another hidden question for the children-audience: what can be done – what can we do – to help the protagonists live happily ever after?

Marvelous elements

In *The Journey of Nabu*, the marvelous, fairy-tale-like elements highlight the situation of the protagonist as a refugee. The soldiers warn Nabu of the wall functioning as a border, but this wall is invisible; despite this, she hurts herself badly when she tries to press on. The barbed-wire fence seems not to exist, as it is invisible too – but Nabu cuts herself and is bleeding. On the contrary, the boat that might be used to sail safely across the sea is invisible to the customs officers. It is why Nabu cannot board it, as her feet land directly in the water. Presumably, for the child-reader these elements are fairy-tale-like motifs; for adults, it is a clear symbol of the dependences between the refugees escaping their war-torn countries and the officials of other countries. Hence, *The Journey of Nabu* is a cross-over tale about the cultural, social, and political relations between people in today's world. For on her way, as a stranger coming from a different culture, Nabu is being stopped by people who do not necessarily want to learn anything about her, yet they represent a group having power, one that is able, somehow, to influence the region Nabu comes from.

Piątkowska intersperses her realist story with fairy-tale-like elements. Unlike Mikołajewski's book, Piątkowska's story gently suggests disturbing the realist order, all of them connected with the mysterious little figure of the ebony warrior. Ozyrion is a toy made by Omenka's father, but at the same time, he is a participant of the events described and a traveling companion, as he pursues his secret yet real life. If only for the child-protagonist, his existence is meaningful and of great significance:

30 Kostecka, Weronika., op. cit., p. 119.

These soldiers take everything they can, even worn-out clothes, pots, rice, and millet. [...] And when they pillage everything, they kill those who have not managed to escape – and then move on. [...]

“May the Sahara devour them forever”, the ebony warrior wished them.

Omenka placed him now on the bottom of the boat. With a menacing face, armed with a spear and shield, Ozyrion was standing on the deck.

“Good thing you are here”, whispered the little boy, almost hearing the brave, ebony heart of the warrior beating bravely³¹.

This is also Ozyrion, who – as written in the last sentence of Piątkowska’s tale – protects the dreaming Omenka like a guardian angel. He is the patron of the protagonist’s journey from a dangerous African country to a safe region of the world, and, on the broader sense, of the protagonist’s journey across the life. As the reader may see, the title of the story – *The Ebony Heart* – refers to him not without reason, as he is indeed the heart of this story.

In reference to the modern metamorphoses of the fairy tale (in literature, cinema, etc.) Cristina Bacchilega points out:

The contemporary proliferation of fairy-tale transformations in convergence culture does mean that the genre has multivalent currency, and we need to think of the fairy tale’s social uses and effects in increasingly nuanced ways while asking who is reactivating a fairy-tale poetics of wonder and for whom. [...] This multiplicity of position-takings does not polarize ideological differences, but rather produces complex alignments and alliances in the contemporary fairy-tale web³².

Bacchilega’s observations and inquiries concern the transformations of classic fairy tales, yet we could table the hypothesis that they might be applied to the three Polish texts discussed, as well. In this case, the three Polish authors – apparently supporting the idea of helping refugees or, at least, being aware of the dramatic situation they have to face – reactivate a fairy-tale “poetics of wonder” and use the marvelous elements to create stories for the child-reader, an inhabitant of a safe European country. Moreover, it is perhaps the fairy-tale poetics of wonder that allows this to occur, without the device of direct didacticism. As Xavier Mínguez-López indicates: “While children’s literature undeniably includes an educational component, this may

³¹ Piątkowska, Renata. op. cit., p. 26–27.

³² Bacchilega, Cristina. *Fairy Tales Transformed?*, p. 28. One of Bacchilega’s source of inspiration for using the notion of wonder understood as the fairy-tale convention was Marina Warner’s definition (quoted by Bacchilega as an epigraph of one of her book’s chapter – see ibidem, p. 189): “Wonder has no opposite; it springs already doubled in itself, compounded of dread and desire at once, attraction and recoil, producing a thrill, the shudder of pleasure and of fear.” See Warner, Marina. *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers*. New York: Noonday Press, 1999, p. 3.

not be necessarily moralistic or didactic.”³³ Indeed, the fairy-tale-like universality provides the stories discussed here with a kind of educational function, not necessarily in the sense of the didacticism of the text, but rather in the sense of shaping the reflective attitude of potential child-readers.

Conclusions

Each of the stories discussed above mold the child’s way of perceiving, understanding, and interpreting events that are taking place in the real world and that are reported in the news every day. Interestingly, none of the three texts indicates how to avoid war. Nonetheless, they do show just what war is: a complete breakdown of the known world and destructive chaos that forces people to flee their hitherto lives – and one which offers in return nothing but fear, pain, and trauma. Oranç and Veryeri Alaca describe the consequences of such a dramatic situation in the following way:

A comprehensive review of twenty-two studies conducted with refugee children found that these children suffered from serious levels of post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, as well as emotional and behavioural problems. These are due to both pre-migration (e.g. separation from parents) and post-migration experiences such as uncertainty about the future, language and financial problems³⁴.

What Mikołajewski, Bardijewska, and Piątkowska concentrate on is the traumatic experience of migration and becoming a refugee – the latter understood in a socio-political, but also a psychological way. Although the three discussed texts differ in the poetics the authors apply, they present similar constructions of the refugee – mainly as someone who is: (1) deserving of compassion; (2) dependent on someone’s help and at somebody’s mercy; (3) a stranger – until accepted by the local community.

As John Stephens indicates, “[...] at the inception of multicultural children’s literature cultural flows tended to be in one direction, because perspective and focalization were usually located with a principal character from the dominant, or majority, culture.”³⁵ As we may assume, the primary goal of Mikołajewski, Bardijewska, and Piątkowska was not to depict the multiculturalism of today’s world or our European region in particular but to present the extremely difficult situation of refugees – especially children. Moreover, the refugee is always perceived, by definition, as someone

33 Mínguez-López, Xavier. “Exploring Education and Children’s Literature.” *Thinking through Children’s Literature in the Classroom*. Ed. Agustín Reyes-Torres, Luis Villacañas-de-Castro, and Betlem Soler-Pardo. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2014, p. 27.

34 Oranç and Veryeri Alaca., op. cit., p. 152.

35 Stephens, John. “Schemas and Scripts: Cognitive Instruments and the Representation of Cultural Diversity in Children’s Literature.” *Contemporary Children’s Literature and Film: Engaging with Theory*. Ed. Kerry Mallan, Clare Bradford. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011, p. 18.

from outside the dominant culture and local community. Nonetheless, although in all three tales the narration is from the child refugee's perspective (in Piątkowska's text, it is the perspective of the child's cat), in the narratological sense we hear the voice of the European storyteller, willing to help people who suffer³⁶. As we can see, these literary visions of refugees are always constructed in reference and in opposition to other people, that is, to the inhabitants of European countries, and thus to the potential readers of these books. This dichotomy is as simple as it is evident: strangeness *versus* familiarity, victims *versus* saviors. Like protagonists of traditional fairy tales, the heroes and heroines of the stories by Mikołajewski, Bardijewska, and Piątkowska take the matter into their own hands. Yet the final decision of their fates is made by others. On the one hand, it obviously limits the identities of the protagonists having the status of refugee. On the other, it highlights the ethical responsibility of the potential readers of these texts.

All three authors make attempts to signal other dimensions of the protagonists' identities. Indeed, they outline (again, economically) the lives the characters had before their flight. Nabu used to live in a beautiful, comfortable house and play with her brother; Omenka had many friends; Karim has a talent for painting, so presumably, he liked this artistic activity before he left his country. Hope indicated in 2008 the "contemporary view that refugees should be seen as ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances [...]"³⁷ Indeed, due to few plot details provided by the authors, the reader of the three tales discussed here has a chance to reconstruct the more complex identities of the characters; however, it is the status of refugee that defines them. As such, presumably, the child-reader perceives them not as "ordinary people," to quote Hope once again.

Since the authors emphasize dramatic escapes from homelands and the traumatic experience of migration, it can be argued that the construction of the refugee is defined mostly by his or her journey (Piątkowska even allots an entire chapter of her book to the stories of journeys told by other children living in the refugee camp). Thus, the journey as the most important migration experience seems to be characterized by: (1) lack of the traveler's affiliation to any place nor community; (2) the unknown and unpredictable course and, consequently, the unknown and unpredictable

36 In reference to contemporary research on the situation of refugees, Hope expresses a reflection that might be referred to children's literature, as well: "Refugees lack stability and security and if, as is often the case, they have left at short notice, they can arrive in a host country feeling disoriented and bewildered. They are unable to interact satisfactorily with others because of language barriers, and their previous lives are unknown or do not translate across cultures. Refugees, both young and old, may thus be isolated and friendless. However the 'traumatisation' of the refugee situation has dominated research to the extent that it has presumed a homogeneity amongst refugee children, an assumption which needs to be broken down [...]" Hope, Julia. "One Day We Had to Run," n.pag.

37 Ibidem.

future; (3) the traveler's dependency on other people (inability of surviving without help), both in the ethical and political sense; (4) danger, harm, and injustice. The authors especially highlight the latter aspect of the refugee journey: the characters have to deal with hostile soldiers, customs officers, and policemen, dishonest guides and steersmen, etc. They roam dangerous spaces (deserts, mountains, seas), face dire weather conditions (heatwaves, the cool of the night, storms), and watch their companions lose their lives in deep water, etc. Therefore, the refugee journey yields many important experiences, but they are always ones of a traumatic nature. As such, these literary visions of refugee migration are meant to elicit the child-reader's empathy. Moreover, empathy very often leads to a reflective attitude, especially if it is supported by the adult reader. Since – as Nikolajeva argues – we gain experience from fiction to understand and interpret our reality, this reflective attitude should be considered the significant lesson from the tales by the three Polish authors. It is important also because, as Katherine J. Roberts points out, “children are particularly impressionable. [...] Thus, childhood experiences permanently shape the adults that children become.”³⁸

The Journey of Nabu, *Karim's Cat and Pictures*, and *The Ebony Heart* may serve as a literary cross-generational platform for important social discourse. As Maciej Skowera puts it, in reference to recent Polish literature for children that addresses the contemporary refugee issues:

These works [...] have the potential to sensitize the young audience to the experiences of their peers from different countries, nations, and cultures. This observation confirms that the notion of “anthropologically sensitive literature” [a term provided and explained by Danuta Świerczyńska-Jelonek³⁹] may be referred in a justified way not only to the youth prose, but also to the literary output for children⁴⁰.

Significantly, the fairy-tale conventions applied by the authors make these stories universal – mainly, they refer not only and not necessarily to one region of the world, nor to any particular act of aggression or armed conflict. As such, they may be deemed to have a broader impact on the potential child-reader, and, paradoxically, to provide greater meaning to the problems raised. To conclude, although the authors focus on outcomes of tragedies, not on the causes behind the situation of refugees in general

38 Roberts, Katherine J. “Once Upon the Bench: Rule Under the Fairy Tale.” *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities*. 13.2 (2013), p. 508.

39 See Świerczyńska-Jelonek, Danuta. “Baśniowość i antropologiczna wrażliwość współczesnej odczytawanej i psychologicznej literatury młodzieżowej”. *Sztuka dla dziecka. Tradycja we współczesności*. Ed. Grzegorz Leszczyński. Poznań: Centrum Sztuki Dziecka, 2011, pp. 153–175.

40 Skowera, Maciej. “Różne odcienie dzieciństwa w utworze Agnieszki Suchowierskiej *Mat i świat*.” *Litteraria Copernicana*. 3.23 (2017), p. 137. [Translation by the author].

(perhaps this perspective is still a challenge for children's literature in Poland), hopefully, such mediated experiences as gained from literature may help many children to understand better the events happening in the contemporary world. Perhaps these stories also may, one fine day, help them to make wise decisions on the world's fate.

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Summary

The aim of this paper is to examine three contemporary Polish tales about refugees: *Wędrówka Nabu* (*The Journey of Nabu*) by Jarosław Mikołajewski; *Kot Karima i obrazki* (*Karim's Cat and Pictures*) by Liliana Bardijewska; and *Hebanowe serce* (*The Ebony Heart*) by Renata Piątkowska. My analysis concerns the literary strategies these authors employ to speak about refugees and their trauma via the use of fairy-tale conventions. I am interested in how the above-mentioned stories present and explain to young readers migration as a refugee experience and how the authors construct the child's way of thinking about refugees.

Anna Kuchta

The Journey of Memory. Migration, Postmemory and Family Relations in Mikołaj Grynberg's *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* [*I Blame Auschwitz. Family Tales*]

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– *Who are you?*
– *Polish Jew*
– *Interesting*¹

Mikołaj Grynberg's *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* (the title can be translated into English as [*I Blame Auschwitz. Family Tales*]) is a collection of twenty-four² narrative interviews with persons brought up by Holocaust survivors, which was published in Poland in 2014. Conversations included in Grynberg's work center around the issues of family relationships, memory, postmemory as well as migration, as his respondents live not only in Poland, but also in the United States of America and Israel. They share a similar experience of being born after Second World War (from the late 40s to 70s) and being raised by Holocaust survivors, but their narratives differ as they grew up in different countries and, thus, in different life circumstances. The aim of this article is to analyze selected narratives provided by Grynberg's respondents and compare how the parents' decision either to stay in Poland after the war or to

1 Grynberg, Mikołaj. *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne*. Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2014, p. 259. All fragments from Grynberg's work were translated by Anna Kuchta.

2 Selected personally by the author from many more he has been collecting through many years. While Grynberg does not explain clearly on which criteria he based his choices whether to include an interview in *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* or not, he shares some insight in his decision-making process during the conversation with Doron and Roger. Cf. Ibidem, p. 259. Grynberg also does not provide any analysis of the interviews – he presents them without comments (only revealing basic information about each respondent – name, country, the language in which the conversation takes place), perhaps hoping to stimulate the readers to form their own interpretation of the presented material.

migrate to the USA or Israel affected their lives – and via transgenerational transmission of memories – the identities of their children as well.

Analyzing *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* in the context of migration and memory may show how the experiences of the representatives of the “generation after” vary in different social, political and cultural circumstances depending on the place their parents have chosen to live in and can result in a better understanding of the phenomenon of postmemory.

Postmemory in Grynberg’s Collection of Interviews

The term “postmemory,” coined by Marianne Hirsch during her research on the phenomenon of transgenerational trauma transmission, can be defined as “the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they »remember« only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up.”³ This so-called “second” or “next” generation is virtually shaped and defined by the damage that occurred in their parents’ life – the damage they have no personal knowledge of – and they “connect so deeply to the previous generation’s remembrances of the past that they need to call that connection memory.”⁴ As a consequence, such memories begin to influence – and often even dominate – their own daily lives. Thus, describing the situation of the second generation – of those who grew up immersed in their parents’ traumatic stories – is often a challenge. Their own emotions are marked by painful family narratives and – paradoxically – by memories “of not remembering and not being there”⁵ and a past that has not been their own, that they have inherited from the previous generation. While it is not possible for the second generation to experience the trauma identical with the one their parents had and postmemory (unlike the memories of survivors themselves) lacks a direct connection to the past,

3 Hirsch, Marianne. “The Generation of Postmemory”. *Poetics Today* 2008, vol. 29:1, p. 106. “Postmemory” is a term primarily used in the context of the Holocaust, however, as Hirsch states herself, it may be just as relevant in describing other generational trauma transmissions. Cf. Hirsch, Marianne. “Past Lives: Postmemories in Exile.” *Poetics Today* 1996, 17:4 (Winter 1996), p. 662.

4 Eadem, *The Generation of Postmemory*, op. cit., p. 106.

5 Sicher, Efraim. “Postmemory, Backshadowing, Separation: Teaching Second-Generation Holocaust Fiction”. *Teaching the Representation of the Holocaust*. Ed Marianne Hirsch and Irene Kacandes. New York: Modern Language Association, 2004, p. 264. Sicher describes postmemory as “memory of a void”, recalling Henri Raczymow’s concept of “memory shot through with holes”. Cf. Raczymow, Henri. “Memory Shot Through With Holes” translated by A. Astro. *Yale French Studies* 1994, 85: *Discourses of Jewish Identity in Twentieth-Century France*, pp. 98–105.

Hirsch notes that representatives of the second generation identify with the victims of Holocaust trauma and on some level adopt their memories⁶.

The cases described in Grynberg's work are no exception; his respondents struggle with memories that preceded their birth and yet contribute to shaping their own identities. They all carry the stories of their parents⁷ while, simultaneously, they are searching for their own places in history, trying to regain balance between the trauma from the past and the present challenges. However, their experiences differ due to different countries – different social and cultural context – they were growing up in. For the purpose of the interviews, Grynberg visits Warszawa, New York, and Tel Aviv, meeting with children of survivors from three very different countries. Each of these places has its own characteristics, distinctive history, and unique atmosphere and the comparison of selected conversations included in *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* shows that the parents' decisions either to stay in Poland or to migrate to USA or Israel has deeply affected the children lives.

Poland

The case of Poland, where – despite the painful memories and the trauma of Holocaust – a number⁸ of Jewish survivors decided to stay after the war is extremely

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- 6 Hirsch, Marianne. "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory" *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 2001, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 10–11. It should be added that the extent to which children of survivors identify with their parents' memories differ in every case and the process of adopting parents' stories is never an easy one. Raczynow explains that representatives of the second generation are in a difficult position – on some level they adopt their parents' painful memories but at the same time they know they have no direct connection with the trauma and thus they often question their right to speak. Raczynow, Henri., op. cit., p. 98.
 - 7 It is common for the representatives of the "generation after" to feel burdened with the purpose of remembering and sharing their parents stories, protecting them from being forgotten. Grynberg's respondents express their feelings using various metaphors, Most often they choose the word "baggage" to describe how they feel having inherited their parents memories (Grynberg, Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 149, 211, 221, 270). Fire-related metaphors are also popular, for instance Doron mentions having to keep "memorial flame" (Ibidem, p. 260) alive and carrying his parents' past like a "torch" (Ibidem, p. 262) he will soon hand over to his own children (the third generation). For more detailed analysis of the language Grynberg's respondents use to express themselves, see: Kuchta, Anna. "Zawłaszczone narracje. Obrazy postpamięci w zbiorze *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne Mikołaja Grynberga*". *Konteksty Kultury* 2015, Tom 12, Numer 2, pp. 251–264. Cf. also the work of Suzanna Eibuszyc who, like Doron, metaphorically connects memory with fire and uses the term "memorial candle" to describe her role as a person from the second generation who carries and guards the story of her mothers' trauma. Eibuszyc, Suzanna. *Memory Is Our Home. Loss and Remembering: Three Generations in Poland and Russia, 1917–1960s*. Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2015, p. 65.
 - 8 Numbers and statistical data in relation to Jewish population in Poland after the war is a complex issue itself and requires a more detailed commentary. First of all, a vast majority of Jews died during the Second World War and the Holocaust: Wolfgang Benz estimates the death toll of Polish Jews as 2,700,000 (similar numbers are provided by Norman Davies as well) while Gunnar Paulsson illustrates

complicated. As Grynberg's respondents collectively point out, on the one hand, it is important for them that as a result of their parents' decision to stay in Poland they were able to live in the same places, the same hometowns – and sometimes even the same houses – as their families lived. Thus they felt that they are a part of a family history that started long before the war. Grynberg, who is also a person from the “generation after” (born in 1966), states that he lives in Poland because this is where his parents lived⁹, and that thanks to this decision, his “children live in the house where my grandfather lived, and my father grew up.”¹⁰ Halina¹¹, one of his respondents, shares similar sentiments and mentions that her father had decided to stay Poland after the war, because he kept hoping that some of his relatives or friends survived the war and may still return to Częstochowa¹², their hometown.

On the other hand, it seems that geographical proximity does not guarantee the knowledge of family history or the understanding of the past tragedy. Grynberg's respondents explain that those who chose to stay in Poland were forced – by the political and social situation under Communist Party rule (repatriations, antisemitism¹³,

the scale of genocide in his study of the city of Warsaw during the years 1940–1945 and notes that 98% of Jewish people in Warsaw died. Those who survived could have either stayed in Poland or left the country – Polish sociologist Paweł Śpiwak estimates the number of Jews in Poland right after the war (1946) as between 250,000–400,000 and explains that about half of them chose to migrate to various countries during the next few years. However, any kind of data collected after the war has to be treated with caution, as it is reasonable to suspect that some survivors – especially those who decided to stay in Poland – kept their Jewish identity hidden and therefore may not be included in any statistics. Cf. Benz, Wolfgang. “Death Toll.” *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Ed. Walter Laqueur. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 137–145.; Davies, Norman. *Europe: A History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.; Paulsson, Gunnar. *Secret City – the Hidden Jews of Warsaw 1940–1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.; Śpiwak, Paweł. *Żydokomuna. Interpretacje historyczne*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Czerwone i Czarne, 2012.

9 Grynberg, Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 60.

10 Ibidem, p. 40.

11 To refer to Grynberg's respondents I am going to use names as they are provided by the author, despite the fact that some of the names that appear in Grynberg's work have been changed at request of the respondent to remain anonymous. Cf. Ibidem, p. 154.

12 Ibidem, p. 248.

13 The issue of antisemitism in Poland after Second World War was (and continues to be) a topic of various studies from historical, sociological, political perspective. For the purpose of this article it seems mostly relevant to mention Bożena Keff's remarks who addresses the subject of antisemitism on a very personal level, as she is a daughter of Holocaust survivor. In her autobiographical works Keff focuses on two painful subjects: her troubled relationship with her mother and her – equally troubled – relationship with the motherland. While describing the situation of Jews in Poland under Communist control she underlines the importance of March 1968 (also referred as “1968 Polish political crisis” in non-Polish sources and literature on the subject) – particularly the outburst antisemitic propaganda and campaigns – which forced Polish citizens of Jewish origin to choose between their Polish and Jewish identity and resulted in major emigration of them. Cf. Keff, Bożena. *Antysemityzm. Niezamknięta historia*. Warszawa: Czarna Owca 2013.

anti-Jewish riots¹⁴, and other “traumatic experiences of Jews in Poland *after* the war”¹⁵, as phrased by Tony Judt) – to hide the truth about their Jewish heritage. While the topic of the Second World War was widely discussed¹⁶, it was necessary for them to hide their Holocaust trauma and suffer in silence, which only contributed to their pain. As Dori Laub points out, the untold stories, “more and more distorted in their silent retention”¹⁷ often “contaminate the survivor’s daily life.”¹⁸ Thus, the children were growing up in the atmosphere of secrets, sometimes even deception (“At home we said our mother’s father was Italian and she was French,”¹⁹ “Mother has always said grandfather was an only child, today we know it is not true.”²⁰) and fear, without knowing the whole story of their parents’ tragic experiences. However, as postmemory may be transmitted involuntarily, nonverbally and even without awareness of the process itself²¹ – they still inherited some of their parent’s fears. Bella Brodzki notes that “omission, negation, deflection”²² can all serve as effective means of transmission of the trauma and Grynberg’s respondents recall that their parents’ secrecy had not saved them from receiving their stories (often it was just the opposite, as they tend to use the words “aggressive” or “brutal” to describe the silence they remember from their childhood²³). Silence, warns Krzysztof Szwejca, impairs communication and thus has

¹⁴ E. g. pogrom in Kielce on 4 July 1946.

¹⁵ Judt, Tony. “The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe.” *Daedalus* 1992, Vol. 121, No. 4, “Immobile Democracy?” (Fall, 1992), p. 104.

¹⁶ It is important to point out that often the topic of the Second World War (and the collective memory of it shaped by official narrative) was used by the government to legitimize their decisions and maintain power. Anna Mach’s addresses this issue in the context of postmemory in her study *Świadkowie świadectw*. Cf. Mach Anna. *Świadkowie świadectw. Postpamięć Zagłady w polskiej literaturze najnowszej*. Warszawa-Toruń: Fundacja na rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 2016.

¹⁷ Laub, Dori. “An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival.” *Testimony: crises of witnessing in literature, psychoanalysis, and history*. Ed. Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub. New York: Routledge, 1992, p. 79.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ Grynberg, Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 43.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 49.

²¹ Hirsch writes specifically about “the language of family, the language of the body: nonverbal and non- cognitive acts of transfer” that occur between survivors and their children. Hirsch, Marianne. *The generation...*, op. cit., p. 112.

²² Brodzki, Bella. “Teaching Trauma and Transmission.” *Teaching the Representation of the Holocaust*, op. cit., p. 128.

²³ Grynberg, Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 203. Cf. Przymuszała, Beata. “Zagłada rodziny – Mikołaja Grynberga rozmowy z naznaczonymi traumą.” *Ślady II wojny światowej i Zagłady w najnowszej literaturze polskiej*. Ed. Barbara Sienkiewicz and Sylwia Karolak. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Nauka i Innowacje, 2016, pp. 245–269.

a deep impact on family relations²⁴. “At home we knew mother and grandmother were in Auschwitz. (...) I did not know they were Jewish,”²⁵ explains Piotr, whose mother told him about the war, but not about her Jewish identity. She offered her son a piece of her history – and, unintentionally, a fair dose of her suffering – but she also left him with gaps and persistent questions about his own identity. Dorota’s case is even more extreme, as her mother “kept her isolated from everything,”²⁶ which, as a consequence, made her feel that she had “no insight”²⁷ in her mother’s past and – even – present.

Respondents who grew up in Poland point to the importance of the year 1989 and the country’s transition from a Communist regime to a Western-style democratic political system. Then, many Holocaust survivors had started publicly speaking about their traumas and sharing their memories from the war (Michał Głowiński metaphorically refers to this moment as finally having “escaped from the cellar”²⁸) and long belated discourse about the trauma of the “generation after” could finally take place²⁹. For some families, it is only after the year 1989 when the parents openly admit their Jewish heritage to their children and thus, for those representatives of the second generation, it is only then when they learn the whole truth about their identities. As Anka Grupińska, who prepared an *Introduction* to Grynberg’s collection of interviews, diagnoses, being a Polish Jew – a person brought up with no connection to “Jewish world”³⁰ – poses a great challenge for representatives of the second generation. Grynberg’s respondents usually describe their reactions to having learnt the truth about their families’ Jewish heritages as general confusion, denial, and feeling lost. Ela recalls that it took her a decade from the revelation of her mother’s secret

24 Szwajca, Krzysztof. “Tortura i nakaz pamięci. Drugie pokolenie Ocalałych z Holocaustu.” *Pamięć wędrowki. Wędrowka pamięci*. Ed. Anna Lipowska-Teutsch and Ewa Ryłko, Kraków: Towarzystwo Interwencji Kryzysowej, 2008, p. 17.

25 Grynberg, Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 82.

26 Ibidem, p. 203.

27 Ibidem.

28 “Polskie gadanie. Z M. Głowińskim rozmawia T. Torańska”. *Gazeta Wyborcza. Duży Format* 2005 no 19: <http://www.otwarta.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Polskie-gadanie.pdf>. Web. 21 Sep. 2017. Głowiński (who belongs to so-called “generation 1.5”, those, who were children during the war and Holocaust) refers here his publication of *Czarne sezony* in 1998. For more information about generation 1.5 see, for example, Suleiman, Susan Rubin. “The 1.5 Generation: Georges Perec’s *W* or the Memory of Childhood.” *Teaching the Representation of the Holocaust*, op. cit., pp. 372–385.

29 Moreover, the Poland’s democratic transition allowed people to confront Polish narrative about the Second World War and the Western discourse about Holocaust and memory. For more detailed study on the issue of the belatedness of Polish discourse on postmemory see: Szczepan, Aleksandra. “Rozrachunki z postpamięcią.” *Od pamięci biodziedzicznej do postpamięci*. Teresa. Szostek, Roma Sendyka and Ryszard Nycz. Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2013, pp. 319–320.

30 Grupińska, Anna. “Wysłuchiwanie Zagłady i rozmawianie o schedzie pozagładowej”. *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne*, op. cit., p. 11.

to finally reaching an understanding of what it means for her personally. "After I had heard my mother was »a Jew« it took me about ten years to realize, that this means I am Jewish as well,"³¹ she explains. For many representatives of the "generation after" this sudden discovery means revealing a whole new family history that has been hidden for ages, hearing about relatives previously not mentioned at all, or even having to change their everyday behavior and customs to embrace their newly discovered heritage. "Being a Jew" is a challenge for Piotr, who longs to be Jewish but believes he is not fully "allowed to use this title."³² and especially in comparison with "people, who were growing up in families that were always Jewish"³³ he feels "not good enough."³⁴ Similarly to Piotr, Ela recalls feeling torn and having to choose between her Polish and Jewish identity and family history³⁵. In the end, she chooses for the Jewish one, not unlike many other Grynberg's respondents, who treat such choices as a kind of moral obligation to their lost relatives.

The United States of America

Unlike the situation in Poland, those who chose to migrate to the United States of America were able to speak freely – at least from a political point of view³⁶ – about both the trauma of war and Holocaust and about their Jewish heritages. Even if – for personal or family related reasons – some of the survivors kept their Holocaust trauma a secret, they did not need also to hide their Jewish heritage. Grynberg's respondents recall that from early childhood they knew their parents' religion, went to synagogues, attended Jewish schools, and – generally – felt that they belonged to much bigger (more or less traditional) Jewish communities that formed in American multicultural society. As noted by Natan Kellermann, the acceptance of survivors' and their children's Jewish identity and the possibility of discussing the parents' experiences in "sympathetic communities"³⁷ may play a "mitigating role"³⁸ in the process of transmission and, therefore, allow the children to develop "coping mechanisms"³⁹ that

31 Grynberg Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 233.

32 Ibidem, pp. 89–90.

33 Ibidem.

34 Ibidem.

35 Ibidem, p. 232–3.

36 Efraim Sicher gives a detailed report on how the topic of Holocaust fits into the American narrative. Cf. Sicher, Efraim. "The Future of the Past: Countermemory and Postmemory in Contemporary American Post-Holocaust Narratives." *History and Memory* 2000, vol. 12, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2000), pp. 59–63.

37 Kellermann, Natan. "Transmission of Holocaust trauma – An integrative view." *Psychiatry* 2001, no. 64, p. 264.

38 Ibidem.

39 Ibidem.

help to withstand the received trauma. Daniel explains that while his parents very rarely mentioned their traumatic war experiences (rather, they had put a lot of work into keeping their tragic past hidden⁴⁰), they were open and willing to celebrate all important aspects of Jewish religion and culture when he was growing up. Moreover, he confesses that “up to some moment [he – AN A.K.] had not one friend who was not a Jew” and that he “never thought one could feel so socially alienated”⁴¹ as those representatives of the “generation after” who were growing up in Poland, without knowing the whole truth about their families and without the possibility to manifest their religion and culture. Esther, who also grew up in the USA, has a similar observation, as she states that “one hundred percent of [her – AN A.K.] parents’ friends are other [Holocaust – AN A.K.] survivors.”⁴²

Lea, another American citizen interviewed by Grynberg, self-diagnoses that while both she and Grynberg are representatives of the second generation the differences between them are the result of different countries they were growing up⁴³ in and the challenges each of them faced. For Lea, it is important to note that thanks to her parents’ decision to leave Poland and migrate to the USA, she was allowed to be free as a Jew when she was growing up (“We [in the USA – AN A.K.] were free, also as Jews”⁴⁴). However, she realizes that the price she pays for that freedom is not having roots (“I never had and will never have roots”⁴⁵) and often she wonders about or perhaps even longs for the life that could have been if her parents had stayed in their Polish hometown, Częstochowa, along with other survivors they knew before the war⁴⁶. It is the loneliness they are left with that makes the “generation after” seek connections, explains Laurence L. Langer⁴⁷, and Lea wishes for connections both with people and places that would let her regain what the Holocaust took away from her family.

Grupińska notes that representatives of the second generation whose parents decided to migrate to the USA usually dislike Poland⁴⁸ – or sometimes entire Europe,

⁴⁰ Grynberg, Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 28.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 40. Grynberg’s conversation with Esther may also serve as a good illustration of these differences, as she asks him if he lives in Jewish quarter in Poland and he has to explain that “there are no Jewish districts in Poland anymore”. Ibidem, p. 134.

⁴² Ibidem, p. 119.

⁴³ Ibidem, p. 216.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 216.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 208.

⁴⁶ “I would be in Częstochowa, a daughter of a rich lawyer, I would marry a nice man,” she imagines. Ibidem, p. 208.

⁴⁷ Langer, Laurence. *Holocaust testimonies. The ruins of memory*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1991, p. X.

⁴⁸ Grupińska, Anna., op. cit., p. 11.

like Sara, who refers to it as “a continent soaked through with blood”⁴⁹. This is most likely because they connect it with their parents pain (“Do you know what they do to Jews there?”⁵⁰, asks Sara) and also because they blame it for their uprootedness and for losing the connection with family history. Lea’s longing is rather unusual, as most often their feelings are closer to “anger mixed with raw pain,”⁵¹ because – as explained by Doron and Roger who live in the USA but visited Poland together with their parents – “nostalgia cannot be inherited,”⁵² unlike pain and fear.

In addition, Grynberg points out that during the interviews he is often asked why first his parents and then he decided to stay in Poland, rather than choosing to leave the country where Holocaust took place. The question is sometimes asked with pure curiosity, sometimes in an aggressive manner, and often it is not even a question, but a bitter reproach (“I heard that Poland is not a place of the Jews, that one cannot live in the graveyard and how I can bring up children there”⁵³) or even in insults (“You are crazy! You have lost your mind! It is a high time you leave that place,”⁵⁴ “You are an idiot”⁵⁵).

Israel

Similarly to many American representatives of the second generation, Mosze, who lives in Israel, also makes a point to tell Grynberg that he should not be living in Poland (“Poland is not your country”⁵⁶) and explains that there is a different country for him. “Here is your country,”⁵⁷ he says, referring to Israel, another major place of postwar migration of Jewish people. Ela, who herself lives in Poland but sometimes wonders how her life could have been somewhere else, describes moving to Israel as finally reaching “peace with one’s identity”⁵⁸ for many representatives of the second generation, including her son⁵⁹, because – just as Grynberg has been told many times by his respondents – this is exactly the country they (as the postwar Jewish generation) should live in. However, the conversations included in *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* prove that leaving Poland does not equal leaving the traumatic memories behind and that survivors and their children continue to feel the trauma

49 Grynberg Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 58.

50 Ibidem, p. 60.

51 Grupińska, Anna., op. cit., p. 11.

52 Grynberg, Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 274.

53 Ibidem, p. 39.

54 Ibidem, p. 55.

55 Ibidem, p. 59.

56 Ibidem, p. 295

57 Ibidem.

58 Ibidem, p. 243.

59 Ibidem.

and its consequences even after moving to the place that – unlike the one they had escaped from⁶⁰ – is supposed to make them feel safe finally.

Moreover, while representatives of the “generation after” who grew up in Israel mention that the topic of Holocaust was ever-present in their homes (Orit simply says that it was a constant element of her everyday life⁶¹, while Jossi uses a dreadful metaphor of being “brought up in Auschwitz”⁶² to describe his childhood in the shadow of his parents’ painful past), Grupińska points that it had not always been a welcomed element of public, national discourse⁶³ and that survivors often felt ashamed of their personal traumas. Their children also admit that it was particularly hard for their parents – and themselves – to adjust to a whole new reality, different country, culture, society, even climate (“everything there was different than in the parents’ world”⁶⁴). Dahlia mentions the struggle connected with learning a new language:

- Were your parents speaking Polish at home?
- After I was born they decided not to speak Polish anymore.
- Had they known Hebrew before coming to Israel?
- No.⁶⁵

Dahlia recalls that despite the fact her parents made a decision to stop speaking Polish after her birth – perhaps so that she would not receive their memories along with the language – she still heard it at home for many years as it was so hard for them to give it up. It was even more complicated in the case of Lili, as she recalls that the knowledge about her family being scarred by war trauma, and thus different, made her feel that she had never actually belonged in Israel. Instead, she struggled with overwhelming feeling of alienation, “otherness,”⁶⁶ as she describes it, because “not everyone came from Poland and not everyone was from families of survivors.”⁶⁷ Similar observations are noted by Yehuda who remembers that “[society was divided]

60 Lili, whose family also lives in Israel, recalls the time they visited and explains that “for this whole time my mother was frightened. (...) She was completely terrified”. Ibidem, p. 73–74.

61 Ibidem, p. 291.

62 Ibidem, p. 19.

63 Grupińska, Anna., op. cit., p. 12. Grupińska diagnoses that the acceptance of the topic of Holocaust in the public discourse was limited due to the fact that it did not correspond with national objective of building “a new, strong country” which needed to be founded on something else than suffering. Grynberg’s interview with Dahlia may serve as a good example here, as she mentions that during her childhood Holocaust survivors (like her mother) were considered to be a weak link of Jewish society in Israel. Grynberg, Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 179.

64 Grupińska, Anna., op. cit., p. 12..

65 Grynberg, Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 178.

66 Ibidem, p. 64.

67 Ibidem.

into two groups: those, who came before the war and second-class citizens, those who came after the war.”⁶⁸ Moreover, those who came after the war often felt that they do not belong, that they are not really in their own country.

Conclusion

Grynberg explains that his respondents share the fact that their families lived “in the shadow of a great mourning”⁶⁹ and that Holocaust trauma was ever-present in their lives. However, the ways they manifest their grief, the ways they respond to such trauma – both in private and in public space – differ. Often, despite evident and profound similarities they share, it seems hard for them to reach an understanding.

- And could you understand the fact that I was the only Jewish kid at school? Or that we had no Jews among our neighbors?
- I am sorry.
- Nothing to be sorry about, we all missed something. Did you had Jewish friends at school or in the neighborhood?
- Of course. I had no other friends. I attended Jewish school with Yiddish language⁷⁰.

In the interview with Daniel, Grynberg stresses the differences between himself (born and brought up in Poland) and his respondent, who grew up in the USA, and later he explains that each of them missed something, as there is no ideal solution, no place that serves as a perfect cure for those affected by the trauma of war and post-memory (“each alternative is burdened with certain flaws”⁷¹). The interviews selected by Grynberg show a multitude of reactions the “generation after” may show when confronted with their parents’ trauma and the variety of approaches to received memories. As explained by Sicher, the second generation has a chance to reclaim their parents’ past⁷² and create their own stories – and the comparison of interviews collected in *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* in the context of migration shows that the place where children of survivors were growing up proves to be a crucial factor contributing to their narratives. Therefore, aiming for a better understanding of the phenomenon of postmemory it should be analyzed in national context and with attention to historical and cultural circumstances the process of transmission happened, which as Aleksandra Szczepan shows in her analysis of the second generation of Pol-

68 Ibidem, p. 280. The story of Zygmunt, who lives in Poland and whose mother kept her Jewish identity hidden, is also akin, as he recalls that while visiting Israel he felt like „half-Jew” only. Ibidem, p. 53.

69 Ibidem, p. 17.

70 Ibidem, p. 10.

71 Ibidem, p. 39.

72 Sicher, Efraim., *Postmemory, Backshadowing, Separation...*, op. cit., p. 268.

ish Jews, may provide additional insights to Hirsch's concept⁷³. "The personal story and the national are interconnected"⁷⁴ and, depending on the country representatives of the second generation lived in, they faced different problems, different difficulties, and challenges which deeply impacted both the process of trauma transmission itself and their experiences and thus shaped their identities. Those, who stayed in Poland had to suffer through prolonged silence and secrecy and were denied real knowledge about their identities until adulthood. Those, who lived in the USA had to face the challenge of living in a land so far from their hometowns that they felt deprived of important family ties and roots. And the ones who lived in Israel struggled with the lack of sense of belonging and constant feeling of their own inadequacy.

However, despite the differences, every story, every interview shows that representatives of the second generation are torn between looking back and reliving their parents' stories and memories and creating their own narrations. No matter where they live and what challenges they face, they always struggle with the same thing – postmemory, their "primary wound,"⁷⁵ and its consequences: the ever-present trauma that shaped their families' narratives and that overwhelms their emotions and identities. The stories they shared during their interviews show their journeys to reclaim fragmented memories they received in the process of transmission and create their own narratives. In the words of one of Grynberg's respondents, Daniel, one may say that they share "completely different stories that were totally similar."⁷⁶ Thus, it is important to point out that the interviews presented in *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* prove that representatives of the second generation strive to understand each other, despite said differences and difficulties they face when trying to communicate with one another. The conversations often end with Grynberg and his respondent calling each other "brothers" (or "brother" and "sister")⁷⁷, which is both a sign of mutual understanding and also a way of seeking connections, as described by Langer. It may suggest that the representatives of the second generation consider the very fact that they are children of Holocaust survivors as more important than the dissimilarities connected with their different upbringing. Their shared experience of postmemory allows them to communicate and connect with each other, which shows that what used to alienate them while growing up may also serve as a common ground leading to understanding each other and (on a symbolic level) creating "family ties" they long to have.

73 Szczepan, Aleksandra., op. cit., p. 319. Hirsch's concept of postmemory was initially created basing on her research concerning graphic novel *Maus* by Art Spiegelman and her own experiences, therefore had an American national and cultural context.

74 Sicher, Efraim., *The Future of the Past...*, op. cit., p. 60.

75 Ibidem, p. 67.

76 Grynberg, Mikołaj., op. cit., p. 41.

77 Ibidem, p. 38, 99, 219.

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Summary

The subject of the following article centers around the issues of migration and post-memory (a term by M. Hirsch), using, as a research material, Mikołaj Grynberg's *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* (2014), a collection of narrative interviews with persons brought up by Holocaust survivors. Grynberg's respondents were born and grew up after Second World War and in Poland, in the USA or in Israel. The authoress analyses selected narrations provided by Grynberg's respondents and compares how the parents' decision either to stay in Poland after the war or to migrate to the USA or Israel affected their memories – and via transgenerational transmission of trauma – the memories and identities of their children. Analyzing *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne* in the context of migration and memory may show how the experiences of representatives of the second generation vary in different social, political and cultural circumstances depending on the place their parents have chosen to live in and may result in better understanding of the phenomenon of postmemory.

Wawrzyniec Miślicki

“The journey and the night were interminable.” The paradigm of life in motion in Leopold Buczkowski’s *Black Torrent*

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Leopold Buczkowski (1905–89) was a Polish writer, who in his works described the Holocaust and the accompanying extermination of the multinational population of his native Galicia and neighbouring Volhynia¹. The novel *Black Torrent*² is his very first attempt at depicting that genocide from the eye-witness perspective. Episodic, experimental in language and structure, devoid of linear narrative and with the unspecified subjectivity of heroes, and simultaneously saturated with extremely suggestive, brutal descriptions of the hell of the Holocaust³, to this day it intrigues critics and readers. The novel recounts the destruction of Szabasowa *shtetl*⁴ and chronicles fates of the survivors from the massacre hiding in the area, hunted continuously by

1 For biographical information on Leopold Buczkowski see: Trziszka, Zygmunt. *Leopold Buczkowski*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1987; Tomkowski, Jan. *Wspomnienia o Leopoldzie Buczkowskim*. Ossa: Dom na Wsi, 2005; for short biography in English see: Brenner, Rachel F. “Leopold Buczkowski’s Czarny potok: Commemoration of a Shtetl as a Humanistic Crisis.” *The Polish Review*, Vol. 61, No. 2, 2016, pp. 19–44. It should be pointed out that the writer constantly changed accounts of his life, for his autobiographical dialogues and his theoretical take on his work see: Buczkowski, Leopold. *Wszystko jest dialogiem*. Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1984; Idem. *Proza żywa*. Bydgoszcz: “Pomorze,” 1986.

2 Buczkowski, Leopold. *Czarny potok*. Warszawa: Pax, 1954; in this paper I refer to English translation of the novel: Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*. Trans. David Welsh. Cambridge, London: The M.I.T. Press, 1969.

3 Polish reviewer for first edition of the book noted that: “It should have had a warning sign: read on your own volition.”

4 Shtetl is a Yiddish term for a town which is populated by a large group of un-assimilated Jews in Central or Eastern Europe.

German gendarmerie and Ukrainian militiamen⁵. Buczkowski himself described it as a 'documentary'⁶. However, even a brief reading allows to state that it is not about the documentation of specific historical events, but it depicts a particular cultural process, a pattern, and the experiences of heroes become a metaphor pertaining to the entire civilization. The purpose of this paper is to present an outline of this metaphor based on the analysis of the central theme of the novel – topos of motion, which becomes the design principle of both the narrative structure and the universe of the novel.

Buczkowski's work is one of the most interesting phenomena within the Polish literature of the second half of the twentieth century. Combining an avant-garde approach, an excellent formal workshop, analysing fundamental problems of culture, while referring to the breakthrough events in European history witnessed by the writer, it is continuously present in the academic discourse. Thus, exists a plethora of various comprehensive attempts to capture the totality of Buczkowski's writing, stressing the analogies between individual works, from the *Black Torrent* up to the *War Diary*, which was published posthumously. Ryszard Nycz, who interpreted works of Galician writer as part of postmodern *silvae rerum*, put particular emphasis on the issues of the poetics of reality perception, the role of the narrator and its descriptive strategies which could be perceived as being parallel to survival strategies during the war. They could be captured with the formula: "to be, is to see and not to be seen."

⁷ Agnieszka Karopowicz, when analysing the structure of Buczkowski's works based on the technique of collage, emphasized the re-building role of it, where the writer would be seen as a caretaker of the museum of collective memory, a solitary remains after the culture destroyed during the Holocaust⁸. Others have emphasized the narrative similarities or the axiological unity of the novels⁹. Finally, in English reception of Buczkowski's work a new approach was proposed by Rachel F. Brenner, who interpreted *Black Torrent* through the perspective of the humanistic crisis¹⁰.

The subject of this essay, however, will not be to look for common themes but to accentuate the difference. It does not offer a comprehensive approach to Bucz-

5 Apart from German gendarmerie and Ukrainian militia: "Mazepincy," the collaborators represent a plethora of nations of pre-war Poland (Ukrainians, Germans, Poles). It should be stated that the question of nationality is never really raised in the novel, which is a sticking contrast to mainstream of literature of cultural borderlands.

6 Buczkowski, Leopold. *Wszystko jest dialogiem...*, p. 14.

7 Nycz, Ryszard. *Syłki współczesne*. Kraków: Universitas, 1996, p. 186.

8 Karopowicz, Agnieszka. *Kolaż. Awangardowy gest kreacji: Themerson, Buczkowski, Białoszewski*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2007.

9 Indyk, Maria. *Granice spójności narracji: proza Leopolda Buczkowskiego*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1987; Błażejowski, Tadeusz. *Przemoc świata. Pisarstwo Leopolda Buczkowskiego*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1991.

10 Brenner, Rachel F., op. cit.

kowski's work, but a careful analysis of a selected aspect of one particular novel – *Black Torrent* (*Czarny potok*). The novel itself, most acclaimed amongst Buczkowski's work¹¹, despite similarities with his other works (in particular with *A Doric Gallery*¹², as they share a similar universe) is built almost entirely around the basis of a subject of motion that permeates all its aspects. The title itself, a hieroglyphic in nature¹³, evokes a figure of a stream that is rushing, changing, always in motion. In my analysis I will try to demonstrate that the notion of movement is conceived as the guiding principle of building the universe of the novel: on the one hand, the paradigm of 'life in motion' is contrasted with the 'still life' of death. However, it can also be understood as the primary mode of existence in the world. In *Black Torrent*, a motion is both a narrative function – reality is perceived through movement, and as a symbol of the rebirth of the world; on the ruins of civilization, the survivors organize themselves into a community for whom life in motion will be the principal mode of survival. Through the process of cultural transformation, a sedentary civilization will give way to nomadism, which will become survivors' way of life.

Traditional cultural anthropology, although trying to free itself from valuing terms, still captures the history of human culture in the classical categories of progress, this time understood more as environmental adaptation and development of the societal organization, devoid of traditional references to savagery and state of nature. In this view, cultures are equal on the symbolic level, but the vector of progress is still active, it leads from nomadism to a settled economy through temporal changes. It should be stated, that the very issue of progress is relative, i.e. progress is measurable towards some factor, hence the use of this concept will depend on the preconstructed framework of the description of culture. For John C. Caldwell,¹⁴ a demographer and historian, progress is a measurable result of production growth, and therefore the history of humanity can be divided into three stages, characterized by its output: hunter-gatherers, agricultural and industrial production. Interestingly, these adaptations are not a linear one-dimensional temporal precession, currently all three are still functioning in the 21st-century world, but they are not at all equivalent – in this view the predominance of production surplus determines the direction of change, but the concept of change itself is not a value. A more traditional approach equates this one particular factor with progress in itself. In accordance with the civilizational progress, hunter-gatherer's communities are the simplest, most primitive form of existence, and it is the Neolithic revolution succeeding the period of their

11 It had seven Polish editions, as well as it is so far the only Buczkowski's novel translated to English.

12 Buczkowski, Leopold. *Dorycki krążganek* [A Doric Gallery]. Warszawa: Pax 1957.

13 See Nycz, Ryszard., op. cit., p. 38.

14 Caldwell, John C. "Demographic Theory: A Long View." *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 30, No. 2, Jun., 2004, pp. 298–299.

dominance which brings the first complex societies. Cultural progress closely follows the production growth: "In traditional anthropology the predominance of *settled way of life* over nomadism has become so explicit in the discourse that even processes not strictly related to *settlement* are described with the help of these concepts."¹⁵

In traditional discourse, a nomad is perceived as an anterior, a figure from the pre-civilised period and a member of primitive society. However, recent decades brought a turn in the discourse, which began to treat phenomena such as nomadism, nomadic lifestyle, or the general movement of people, not as primary relics or the consequence of specific events, but as a full-fledged way of life. "Movement conceptualized as a mode of human being ramifies into all manner of arguments concerning socio-cultural life and identity."¹⁶ It is no longer perceived "as an awkward interval between fixed points of departure and arrival, but as a mode of being in the world."¹⁷ The notion of fluidity and apparent lack of fixed or clear borders which dominates contemporary anthropology demand a revaluation of the position of the nomad, the refugee, of the category of homelessness and even the concepts and institutions integrally associated with the sedentary lifestyle, like home or community¹⁸.

Remarkably, both of these perspectives were reflected in the world constructed in *Black Torrent*. Buczkowski's novel, from one point of view, could be read as a vision of the aftermath of the Holocaust, or more generally – a catastrophe. Destruction of the civilization forces the survivors to return to the primordial way of life, nomadism, which can be understood literally as a survival strategy, and at the same time has a metaphorical dimension, as the motion represents life. However, from the other point of view, although this vision begins with the moment of regress, the retreat from civilization, and thus treats nomadism as something primitive, it does not close itself in such assessment, quite the opposite. The notion of movement which governs the world enables reconstruction of culture that is not only meant to replace a destroyed civilization but claims to be an alternative to it. Thus, the status quo of pre-war society is being re-evaluated by the new mode of being.

The world of Buczkowski's fiction continually presents new cultural transgressions, which are always rooted in a catastrophe. Critics have pointed to particular the way of representing the war, or more specifically – the Holocaust, by the writer, as it is often

15 Rapport, Nigel, Joanna Overing. *Social and Cultural Anthropology; The Key Concepts*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 261–269: "To know (oneself, one's society), it was necessary to gain a perspective on an environment from a single, fixed and homogeneous point of view."

16 Ibidem, p. 261.

17 Carter, Paul. *Living in a New Country. History, Travelling and Language*. London: Faber, 1992: pp. 7–8.

18 Rapport, Nigel, Joanna Overing., op. cit., pp. 263–268.

described in the language of a natural disaster¹⁹. The destruction of Szabasowa appears through the first part of the novel in a series of views, separated images of almost oneiric nature, from which it is difficult to draw any coherent description. The proper plot, including the one pertaining to another element of historical Holocaust; hunting down Jewish survivors, is described differently. Buczkowski delimits the moment of Szabasowa destruction, which for him is the very beginning, the first cause opening the continuous movement taking over the book. After this act of annihilation, the characters are sent into a state of eternal wandering, they start to exist in constant motion, and the burned Szabasowa remains in a state of stillness signifying death:

I at once turn into the ghetto area. Already there was nothing there, a few blackened chimney stacks still rise, but there are no yards, fences, walls. Nothing moves, everything is dead or turned to stone, scattered with snow.

No, not that way. I had got lost. The cold shook me. I walked slowly, listened, looked around. I was looking for our house (...) I was thinking calmly, without bitterness. (...) There is no road anywhere. All here life my mother never dared go far; she only knew her own neighborhood. (...) People, children – all had sunk into the earth; nobody mourns for many.²⁰

Buczkowski juxtaposes the description of inertia ruling the destroyed town with the movement of life whose rhythm has been intact by the collapse of civilization:

Szabasowa was still smoldering. Stiffing smoke hung over the ground. Children's voices resound with despair around planks of the burned-down school. Coffins were standing in the narrow little street. (...)

Autumnal scarlet is reddening behind the huts and agricultural machinery, by the maidenly paths of phlox. In fine September, a bee files up to the phlox. The undergrowth turns moldy; a cock chases ducks, tries to mount them with all the enthusiasm of a lover. The ducks squat. They like this wandering existence.²¹

Nature returns to the place previously occupied by humans:

The yards of Szabasowa were already overgrown with thick undergrowth, wet burdocks could be smelled on the burned ruins, scarlet reddened under overturned fences, and peonies damaged by fire had faded. The crooked alleys were empty, but amidst throughs from burned cellars black stoves stood, with silent wag-tails sitting by them. Oats sprouted on the paths. Charred cherry trees were spun with cobweb.

19 Faltyn, Arkadiusz P. "Czarny potok Leopolda Buczkowskiego jako wypowiedź literacka i filozoficzna." ...zimą bywa się pisarzem...: o Leopoldzie Buczkowskim. Ed. Sławomir Buryła, Agnieszka Karpowicz, Radosław Sioma. Kraków: Universitas, 2008, pp. 83–99.

20 Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, p. 176 (all citations from *Black Torrent* are given in text from English edition).

21 Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, pp. 41–42.

In the morning the joy of birds resounded in the gleam of dew. From the pink East, a warm river flowed into the high sky. Jasmine was scattered on the lake by the cemetery, bronze dust strewn the mirror, and the depth were not to be seen, nor the reflection of clouds, nor the fresh greenery stretching like frogs' plankton. Blackthorn shivered at the gate of the crossing of Szerucki's place, pushed by the merriment of sparrows, and beetles dried out on the thorns.²²

The parallels between still life and life in motion are striking. These descriptions, similar to each other, build a coherent vision of a world that is above the human catastrophe, as a nature that does not know the vacuum occupies abandoned – left in immobility – places. Nature which has taken over *shtetl*, superimpose the civilization, and that is precisely why it will be from this moment the only reference point for characters who, fleeing from the extermination, switch to the nomadic lifestyle:

„We are going to Talesnia” says she.

“Well, and what shall we do in Talesnia and what shall we eat, you think they don't kill people there? Surely Mama doesn't know what is happening in the world. I suggest we stay here. Partly in the forest, partly in the fields. And here I feel everything is stupid. What does ‘in the forest, in the fields’ mean?”²³

These words spoken by the main narrator of the novel – Heindl – introduce the elements of the first two phases of a rite of passage: preliminal and liminal stage. The protagonist together with his mother is no longer a part of civilization to which *shtetl* had belonged but have not yet accepted their new nomadic status which is perceived by them as the state of homelessness, the absence of civilization rather than a different mode of existence.

At first glance, the paradigm of the return of nature to the human domain after the catastrophe does not have an absolute meaning. The non-Jewish city still stands, along with its houses, police station, pharmacy and all facilities of the civilization, which in itself creates a distinct contrast with the state of nature, the only remain after those intended for extermination²⁴. The destruction of the civilization of victims is total, as it is not only the *shtetl* which is the target but also nearby villages, one by one, are being burned down during pogroms. One of the protagonists, father Banczycki, is already being introduced as a parson of the extinct parish. It is said that he “passed the scattered fireside of Zalaski, crossed himself by the collective tomb of his parishioners and disappear into the fields,”²⁵ and his rectory is the only standing building in burned Huciska village. However, in this context, a city which has survived physically, on the

²² Ibidem, p. 59.

²³ Ibidem, p. 147.

²⁴ Ibidem, pp. 153, 163–165.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 138.

ontological level is identified with the civilization of stillness of death, as it remains indifferent towards cultural transgression, which on the symbolic level has the absolute nature. As such, nomads-survivors would endlessly circulate on the peripheries of civilization, having severed all the connection with it, as they now belong to a different mode of being. Even the memories linked to specific places become sterile and devoid of meaning. Horse-faced, a shabbos goy²⁶, while standing in his own burned cottage can only recall memories without having an emotional connection to them:

Horse-face crept into the orchard and looked at the burned cherry tree for the last time. Once, leaning against it, he had kissed Emilka's warm lips. He turned to the yard and knelt on the threshold, on which his mother had stood in March to scatter grain for the hens. The he pulled an ax out of the ashes, and looking around at Tombak's dark and silent hut, he strode into the cemetery.²⁷

Lack of affection, or total absence of any sentiment for that matter, is even exaggerated by the fact that he can recall specific events. A traumatic event could result in complete repression of memory, but here he remembers events, yet the emotional link is severed, and they do not summon any feelings. Memories evoked by the place give way to practical activities – foraging and gathering – acquiring an ax, a tool necessary for survival, displaces emotional attachment. The catastrophe transforms the habitat of the survivors, it is no longer could be defined as relational, historical or concerned with their identity, and thus it falls into the category of non-places coined by French anthropologist Marc Augé²⁸. The burned town, desolated house, roads leading nowhere, do not provide any function of a place since no respite could be given to the hunted, even elements all-encompassing nature is described in non-place terms: “In fall, the fields watch, the forest listens. A barren landscape is the enemy of a pursued man.”²⁹

In Buczkowski's work stillness symbolises death and motion life, in fact, the movement even exceeds this dichotomy as it signifies being-in-the-world, in a Heraclitan figure of perpetual metamorphosis. The *Black Torrent* begins and ends with a figure of movement³⁰ which constitutes a frame for the whole narration. This motif operates on two levels: in the universe of the novel and as a narrative structure. For the character

26 Shabbos goy is a non-Jew who performs certain types of work which Jewish religious law prohibits the Jew from doing on the Sabbath; here is used in more liberal term, as a non-Jew who works for and within Jewish community.

27 Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, pp. 59–60.

28 Augé, Marc. *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. Trans. John Howe. London, New York: Verso, 1995, pp. 77–78.

29 Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, p. 42.

30 Opening sentence is cited in the title of this paper, closing scene depicts protagonists wandering into the forest while trying to engage and simultaneously avoid a round-up: “We moved down the slope to the death body. We wandered in the dusk seeking a dark strain in the snow”, Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, p. 200.

to be in motion is to be alive, hence 'life in motion' acquires literal meaning. To be moving is to exist in a world where everything else was annihilated. Even momentary stillness brings the impending destruction:

Chaim survived the death of his father-in-law and his mother; he sat through the whole night in a cellar with his dying wife, and it was not until morning, after making sure she was really dead, that he (...) jumped out of the cellar, and at once began running blindly about the ruins.³¹

[Chaim] used to lie for whole days at a time in the straw under the rectory shed (...)and any horse's neigh would frighten him. (...)»³²

Teamster Tombak, thanks to his profession, can survive, being in perpetual motion, despite having continuously been under the investigation of *Kripo*³³ officers, who – ironically – need him for movement. His cab is used by them to drive around the town (this habit is peculiar given the size of the Szabasowa)³⁴, as if they do not pose any means of being in motion on their own, as representatives of the death-still world. Finally, teamster is released from his ordeal by the policeman with short: “‘Now go’ said the agent to Tombak”³⁵, which sound almost as a command to live.

The whole existence is reduced to motion; characters do not stop:

Buchsbaum was walking after Flying-carpet.

(...) They were walking along a high field edge; harvested ricks of corn flapped. Across the path were many trampled footprints, some photographs lying about trampled by a boot. Further on trampled corn and someone lying there killed. He lay with the face to the sky. There was a red stain on the shirt of this corpse, and greenery thrust into his mouth.³⁶

Again, the movement is contrasted with the stillness of death. The journey is the only means to retains any form of interpersonal contact in the desolated world, hence: “Next day Szerucki found Chaim in the gamekeeper’s hut near the Trojnoga forest.”³⁷ And also: “Not until spring that Flying-carpet meet Szerucki. Szerucki was lying on the forest edge, resting after a deadly forced march, with sunken eyes, almost stupefied with exhaustion.”³⁸ A character is always depicted in its relation to the movement, as being found, finding, etc., it becomes entangled in a perpetual journey.

³¹ Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, p. 12.

³² Ibidem.

³³ Kriminalpolizei was criminal police in Nazi Germany, in Eastern Europe Kripo formed core of the Einsatzgruppen task with extermination of Jewish population in given area.

³⁴ Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, pp. 17–32.

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 32.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 96.

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 100.

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 102.

Nomadism becomes an ontological category; Heindl, posing as a narrator, declares: „Now forget me. I am a faithful dog, wandering with children in a certain far corner of the earth.”³⁹ – this passage is directly linked to the anaphora which is repeated in two separate paragraphs:

What does a wise child ask?
 What does a simpleton say?
 (...)
 What does a wise child ask?
 What does a simpleton say? What's this? And what's this?⁴⁰

It, on the one hand, invokes the category of fable or fairy tale⁴¹, which gives novel's universe a supra-realism trait. However, it is most of all, a metaphor for the transition of the world. Wise child and a simpleton represent two extreme epistemic positions, yet they ask the same question. This rhetorical device devalues pre-catastrophe civilization as its knowledge is presented as fruitless attempt to understand reality.

Movement becomes the determinant of the text, the frame of the narrative. The scene begins with motion, continues in motion and ends with motion, other elements are redundant and thus excluded from it, as seen on the example of the structure of the scene of Cirla's escape from Szabasowa:

Cuddling the child, Cirla was running. She could see the dahlias in the mud and rusty toads. A dog run full-pelt after her, excited, his tongue hanging out, ears pricked. They ran past the haymaking into the forest.
 (...)
 Cirla ran into obscure hallway, jumped behind a coop, and sat down. Mrs. Arbuz barricaded the door.⁴²

Then, immediately after this first movement comes another instigating a new event:

“Someone is knocking on the front door,” whispered Cirla.⁴³

39 Ibidem, p. 52.

40 English translation distorts the meaning of this fragment:

“What does a prudent child ask for?

What does a simpleton say?”, Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, p. 32.

“What does a wise child ask for?

What does a simpleton say?

What's this? And what's this?”, Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, p. 52.

Translator failed to acknowledge anaphora, and changed the meaning of child's question, so that they both look like separate sentences.

41 See: Brenner, Rachel F., op. cit., pp. 29–32.

42 Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, p. 42.

43 Ibidem.

The reader is left dazzled by the sudden appearance of a spy, who is presented right after Cirla had run into the house, yet the spy arrives sometime later (she did not see Cirla running). A conversation follows, but this also ends abruptly and without explanation as another movement appears:

"I know you have a Cirla child in there."

A patrol emerged palely from the blariness of wind and mist.⁴⁴

However, the gendarmes invade the farm sometime after the conversation, but Buczkowski had completely deleted this time-link. The movement of Nazis instigate another motion, the spy reappears, and soon everything is turned into motion – everyone, both the spy and Cirla and Mrs Arbuz, run away⁴⁵.

This scene has a distinctive oneiric tone. The time-continuity is abandoned in favour of a set of images joined together by the category of motion. The motion is the only factor with the capacity to carry on the narrative structure. Regarding scene-building, the text looks like large segments of it (which would be found in a traditional narration) almost necessary for the proper understanding of events were removed intentionally. Buczkowski had cut out all depictions of 'still life' from the scene. Movement as a plot axis, from appearance to escape is not only a property reserved for the survivors. It could be used to describe a spy, who imitate nomads. The scene of the fight of the father Banczycki with a 'hunchback' is analogous: 1) the spy appears 2) fight begins in motion 2) fight ends with an escape:

Wasicinska managed to hit the little sparrow with a yoke. He fluttered his hands, fell on his back, rapidly jumped up and ran out off the gate, dragging his cattails, and disappeared into the wintry weather.⁴⁶

The scene is self-contained within the movement, and it is not linked with the larger narrative. The conclusion of a fight is crucial, it does not end with death but with escape; stillness is substituted with motion, which suggests its eternal, cyclical nature. To escape means to live, and this becomes a universal category in the universe of the novel.

As a new mode of being in the world nomadism creates new habits and interpersonal relations, re-organizing life. As the new world emerges a new existence within it must be started from the beginning. One of such transitions is the elevation of food into primary categories for human surviving. Endless foraging consuming much of the characters time is viewed almost as a ritual. The band becomes a basic social unit,

⁴⁴ Ibidem.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, pp. 43–44.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p 48.

which here is very vividly reminiscent of the organization of hunter-gatherers. Such groups are highly diverse; however, some general descriptions of their core features are strikingly similar and are constantly repeated by anthropologists. According to famous anthropologist, Eleanor Leacock: “[Band] does not include specialization of labour beyond that based on sex, nor include class divisions, a formal priesthood, or hierarchical political organization. In addition, basic sources of livelihood are not privately owned.”⁴⁷ These rules are almost a verbatim repetition of the code of the main band of survivors in *Black Torrent*. To become a member Heindl has to pass a rite of passage. Two of the first stages of this symbolic ritual were already mentioned (see above). The third one, post-liminal rites, or incorporation into the new status, consist of ritual cleansing, after which a person is reborn and incorporated into the group:

I carried the dirty rags from myself deep into the undergrowth and washed myself thoroughly. They gave me a woolen shirt, a jacket of some rich person, and new military breeches. I ate some potatoes.

“You, Leit, talk to him,” said Chuny to the man in leather jacket.

And Leit (Flying-carpet) explained to me what it was all about. He said that all people gathered together here were brothers, my new family; not all were Jews, but that it was one family. One for all, all for one. Nothing to anybody about anything, it was necessary to talk only with a person who had to be talked to, but not with a person who could be talked to. Give up everything, share everything. The enemy must be killed; by knife, crowbar, whatever comes to hand. Never by prayer.⁴⁸

This symbolic moment of transition between old and new families is depicted by Buczkowski in his distinctive manner, in which a symbolic event or a metaphor is at the same time a real event; symbolic and actual meaning are synonymous – Heindl’s mother is *really* shot, and the group saves him. It reveals a typical device employed by the writer, a tendency to materializing symbolism so that all readings would be confined to the domain of the real. For instance, the characters express subjective fluidity which is signified through the changes of names, because in reality, real people change their names to escape prosecution. It is the latter event which creates the former, a symbolic reading. Every metaphorical reference is articulated in the reality of the world of the text, hence Buczkowski’s documentarist stance⁴⁹. One can be tempted to state that the symbolic world exists in it as much as it is a derivative of real events, which is why the prayer has no place in it – it is a practice that does not affect reality, thus devoid of meaning. The symbol must work.

47 Leacock, Eleanor, “The Montagnais-Naskapi band”, *Contributions to anthropology: band societies*, ed. D. Damas, National Museums of Canada Bulletin 228, Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1969, p. 3.

48 Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, pp. 149–150.

49 Idem. *Wszystko jest dialogiem*, p. 14.

The network of this new social organization extends to the entire habitat previously occupied by the civilization, existing correspondingly and separately to its corrupted remains. The survivors move along the paths that are parallel to the main roads, they choose enclaves on borderlands, like a cemetery, burnt ruins, a cave, all abandoned by the civilization⁵⁰. Communication with the world outside of the network is provided via unique places that can be described in categories of 'anthropological place'⁵¹ – crucial to for the cohesion of the new mode of being. These places stand in direct opposition to the non-places, devoid of human relations, into which sedentism was transformed. Anthropological places are fixed points on routes of characters, places that a character can return to. The first one is a gamekeeper's hut near the Trojnoga forest⁵² only a quasi-anthropological place, destruction of which reinstates a state of continuous motion⁵³. The second and most important one is a rectory of Hucisk parish. It is above all a meeting place, where paths of nomads cross. It is even open for the intrusion of the outsiders, spies task with tracking survivors. These agents often adapt themselves to a nomadic life; being on the road for many days, wandering around, dressed in ragged clothes⁵⁴, as they understand that in order to defeat the new mode of being, they must imitate it. As it is a meeting place of the enemies, the rectory acquires almost sacral character, in which the sacredness does not come from the fallen religion (which represents old world), but from the will of the inhabitants of parallel orders, who chose the rectory as a place of truce and parley.

In this frame of reference, murder of police agent Gail in the rectory could be perceived as a kind of sacrilege, as it shatters the order of signs. Breaking the truce means that the rectory loses its sacred status and is subsequently destroyed and father Banczycki is murdered by the Nazis in retaliation for Gail's execution (similarly, earlier in the book, the gamekeeper's hut is also destroyed after a spy is caught and executed there⁵⁵). Consequently, the band is breaking up, as it loses the connection with the outside world along with its 'anthropological place'. Because Gail's murder was a conscious decision, a will to act on the Horse-faced part, a rift is created, as characters must now take sides, one (represented by Chaim) will embrace values but also will remain behind reverting to stillness. The other (Heindl, Chuny Szaja, and Horse-faced) choose a paradigm of life in motion. Embracing in its totality the transgressive

50 Idem. *Black Torrent*, pp. 9, 187.

51 Auge, Marc., op. cit., p. 51: "We will reserve the term 'anthropological place' for this concrete and symbolic construction of space, which could not of itself allow for the vicissitudes and contradictions of social life, but which serves as a reference for all those it assigns to a position, however humble and modest."

52 Buczkowski, Leopold. *Black Torrent*, pp. 5–6.

53 Ibidem, pp. 7–9.

54 Ibidem, pp. 46–47.

55 Ibidem, pp. 5–6.

attribute of the world, they would return to the continuous movement to reconstitute a new order, which is symbolized by the will to join forces with a neighbouring band and search for missing comrades. Through this episode, Buczkowski prepares another transgression of culture, another emanation, which will begin in motion and end with it. The plot point of this particular decision of characters is irrelevant in a wider context. Description of a new cycle of events (after protagonists join Czaczkie's band) would simply be a rewriting of the book's plot, a repetition, which is why Buczkowski leaves the ending open. Returning to the very beginning, to the motion, which would evoke change and which (as reader presumes) would be marking another transgression points, endless metamorphoses of reality. The open ending of the book is in a way connected with multiple open endings of particular scenes, which are never explained, but left alone, perhaps leading to another cycles and travesties. As is with the fight of father Banczycki with the police agent, as with the book's ending, it is also left unresolved, as both are a part of the broader sphere of movement which is an always-changing Heraclitan reality. Since the motion is the principle of the world the only way of survival for the characters is to exist through life in motion, align with the rhythm of the world, to: "see and not to be seen."

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Summary

The aim of this paper is the analysis of the paradigm of life in motion in Leopold Buczkowski's novel, *Black Torrent*, which recounts the events of the Holocaust in Galician shtetl. In the novel, a topos of 'life in motion' symbolising existence or being-in-world, is contrasted with 'still life' which signifies death. Buczkowski uses the category of movement as a narrative function – reality is perceived through movement, and as a symbol for rebirth of the world; on the ruins of civilization, the survivors organize themselves into a community for whom life in motion will be the principal mode of survival. Through the process of cultural transformation, a sedentary civilization will give way to nomadism, which will become a survivors' way of life.

Magdalena Piech

Building post-colonial identity. The metaphor of the nation in Salman Rushdie's *The Moor's Last Sigh*

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In the modern world, migrants constitute a significant part of the global network society. One of the biggest is the Indian diaspora, comprising more than 30 million people around the globe¹. Thus, the fiction produced by them constitutes a large portion of literature, which cannot stay unnoticed both by ordinary readers and academics. Among those authors, one of the most renown and simultaneously controversial writers of Indian origin is Salman Rushdie, a representative of the Anglo-Indian and migrant as well as the postcolonial writing. In this paper, I would like to focus on one of his most important, though not so well known novel, *The Moor's Last Sigh*, as an image of Indian cultural identity. The primary aim shall be to analyze the book in the historical context of nation building through the lens of the characters' individual stories.

Rushdie, as proved in his numerous works, such as *Midnight's Children* (1981), *Satanic Verses* (1988) or *Shalimar the Clown* (2005), just to mention a few novels, is a keen investigator of not only an individual human being but also society. Representing a complex identity, of a minority as a Kashmiri Muslim², post-colonial – as a member

1 "Population of Overseas Indians." Ministry of External Affairs (India), 31 Dec. 2016. Web. 28 May 2016. http://mea.gov.in/images/attach/NRIs-and-PIOs_1.pdf.

2 A community residing in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, the only Muslim-majority state in India, mainly in the Valley of Kashmir along the Jhelum river. Together with other Kashmiris (Hindu, Buddhists) they have a particularly strong regional identity, based on shared culture and history. The key concept for this identity is the idea of *kashmiriyat*, traditionally linked to religious tolerance and syncretism. Besides, Kashmir used to be a separate princely state and there has been a dispute over the region between India and Pakistan since 1947. The tumultuous situation adds on to the Kashmiris' feeling of distinctness, resulting in some separatist tendencies, particularly from the part of Muslims. See e.g., Chowdary, Rekha. "The Muslim Identity and the Politics of Fundamentalism in Kashmir." *Reader in Political Science*. Jammu: University of Jammu, 1998.

of an ex-colonial society, and finally transnational – as a migrant, he is a carrier of an uncommonly multicultural perspective he is consciously making use of. Born in 1947, the year in which Indian and Pakistan emerged as independent republics, he represents the first generation of post-colonial India society, along with which he grew up and which was put by him under scrutiny in numerous works. Rushdie spent his childhood in Mumbai, one of the chief trading cities of colonial India. He was a Kashmiri Muslim by origin, though his family was not a religious one. In 1960, as a 13-year-old he moved to United Kingdom where he studied and spent most of his life, firstly as a copywriter, then as an author of numerous widely recognized books³. However, despite physical migration, his mind never entirely left India. He eagerly returns there in both in person and in the guise of his characters. It turns into a significant background for the narration, not only with its diverse scenery but also historical richness.

While some argue that as an expatriate Rushdie has no right to describe the land and reality, he no longer belongs to⁴, or at least such a description cannot be seen as accurate. Rajakrishnan notices:

As far as the émigré writer is concerned, his geographical sense of distances and isolation enables him to view in perspective the predicament of his people who having lost their significant connections with the past and being confronted with sudden gaps and silences in their immediate view of reality, are left to lead an empty life. His art thus becomes the defense against collective amnesia⁵.

Rushdie, defending himself as an author, sees the matter as follows:

If literature is in part the business of finding new angles at which to enter reality, then once again our distance, our geographical perspective, may provide us with such angles. Or it may be that that is simply what we must think in order to do our work⁶.

He also stated that his role as a writer is to “look at the world as it is, and say something about it” but it does not necessarily mean resorting to realism. As Carl G. Jung

3 Ghosh-Schellhorn, Martina. “Salman Rushdie.” *The Literary Encyclopedia*. Volume 1.2.1.09: *Poetstar and Contemporary English Writing and Culture, 1945-present*. Ed. Charlotte Beyer, Irralie Doel, Dimitra Fimi, et. al., 16 May 2003. Web. 10 Oct. 2017. <https://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?UID=3889&rec=true>.

4 Dingwaney, Anuradha. “The Politics of Post-Colonial Identity in Salman Rushdie.” *The Massachusetts Review*, vol. 29, no. 4. 1988/1989, p. 609.

5 Rajakrishnan, V. “The Land of the Dead in Salman Rushdie’s *The Moor’s Last Sigh*, and some reflections based on Indian Response to the Theme of Exile.” *Indian Literature*, vol. 42, no. 3 (185), 1998, pp. 143–154.

6 Rushdie, Salman. “Imaginary Homelands.” *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*. Ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin, Oxford: Routledge, 1995, pp. 428–435.

stated in the first half of the 20th century, the symbol is a manifestation of inner experience perceived with senses, which neither encompasses nor explains anything, but instead points to some other, transcendent sense, impossible to express sufficiently with words of our human language⁷. Such understood symbols are at large in Rushdie's novels and play a crucial role to grasp the sense hidden underneath. Although every work by him is disparate and inimitable, most of them fall within the literary genre of magic realism, which means the introduction of some imaginary, supernatural elements into the apparently realistic image⁸. The novel *The Moor's Last Sigh* is not an exception here. This book, published in 1995, was written in the shadow of Rushdie's house arrest which may be the reason why it is most often analyzed within the exile discourse. However, this unrealistic, even peculiar story, may be understood in more general perspective as symbolically referring to post-colonial identity and the modern Indian nation. It was preceded by three other novels on a similar subject: *The Midnight's Children* (1981), *Shame* (1983) and *The Satanic Verses* (1988). As Anuradha Digwaney states, these three works represent parallels to three identities of Rushdie associated with the countries he is related to: England, India, and Pakistan (where his family lives)⁹. The abovementioned novels are portrayals of persons on a border, understood both as a physical and an imaginative one. The characters are placed on the verge of cultures, social backgrounds, etc., which makes them seek their own identity. It is a pattern used by Rushdie eagerly several times, also in his later works¹⁰. The situation of those individuals is comparable to what was experienced by those who faced the shift from a colonial to post-colonial reality, or of expatriates¹¹. However, *The Moor's Last Sigh* as following this trilogy, goes beyond any divisions, resembling an Indian *masala*¹² mixture of spices as it combines elements representing different cultures and times. The coming back to the beginnings and dealing with the matter of memory seems to summarize the issue of identity.

The novel concentrates upon the character of Moraes Zogoiby, called the Moor, and his family story. It may be referred to as a saga, placed among minority communities of Jews and Christians. The Zogoiby family is to be traced back to 15th century, to the famous Portuguese traveler, Vasco da Gama and has its roots in Islamic

7 Jung, Carl Gustav. *Rebis czyli kamień filozofów*. Warsaw: PWN, 1989, p. 241.

8 "Magic realism." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Web. 28 Feb. 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/art/magic-realism>.

9 Dingwaney, Anuradha. "Salman Rushdie." *Historia anglojęzycznej literatury indyjskiej*. Warsaw: Dialog 2007, p. 447.

10 E. g. *Shalimar the Clown*.

11 Dingwaney, Anuradha. *The Politics...*, pp. 614–617.

12 *Masālā* – (hi.) a mixture, mainly referred to the mixture of spices, as well as to Bollywood cinema, which combines various genres.

Andalusia of that time. The exact genealogy is drawn from Moraes' great-grandfather, Francisco, a spice-trader of Cochin in Kerala, supposedly one of da Gama's descendants. He and his wife, Epifania, had a son, Camoens, who was strongly longing for India to become a unified country. Unfortunately, he died in 1939, before having a chance to see the emergence of an independent Indian nation. It is his daughter, Aurora, who's the one to lead her existence on the threshold of modernity, as she witnesses the events of 1947 and what follows. She also chooses to live in between of two religions. She, herself being a Christian, marries to a Jewish clerk, Abraham Zogoiby, who is a misconduct, contemptible by both religious communities. But Aurora, an open-minded artist, ceases to pay much attention to what people say throughout her life. She and her husband move to Bombay¹³, the city dear to Rushdie, a 'borderland' where the land meets the sea by which the Europeans first arrived. It is an all-absorbing city where anyone is accepted or may even live to be officially non-existent. It is where Abraham changes his occupation and turns to trafficking and Moraes, the only son of Zogoibys', is born. The boy though possesses a physical impairment which is a distorted, club-shaped hand. Besides, due to some genetic fault, he is aging twice as fast as any other human being. Thus, his life is much more difficult than that of his peers, among whom he cannot find a place for oneself. Achieving the look of an adult too quickly, he receives his sexual initiation very early. These hardships also influence his mother, whose finds herself in a rather difficult position. Struggling toughly to develop any affection towards her son, she ultimately manages to reveal her hidden emotions through art. She starts to depict Moraes on canvas, though in quite an erotic manner. The kind of a perverse relationship lasts for some time but finally ends when the Moor meets Uma Sarasvati. Two women fight for Moraes' attention. Although both are painters, they represent the opposite poles of feminine character in the novel. Aurora is a rebellious and non-conformist activist (courageous enough to, e.g. confront the Hindu tradition by dancing during the annual Ganesh festival), which is why the society rejects her. Uma, on the other hand, is an ambiguous individual, prone to change her identity accordingly to current circumstances, which makes her able to ensnare Moraes. While her sculptures are generally appreciated, her affection seems rather all-consuming. As she fails to establish one stable identity, her relationship with Moor is doomed to failure, such as was the Aurora's. As the story develops, both women die in inglorious circumstances. The pattern is repeated by another female character, Aoi Ue, who appears only in the final chapters,

¹³ The name Bombay was introduced as the official one under the British Raj. It was changed to Mumbai only in 1995.

(for which Rushdie got criticized, as it breaks any rules of constructing narration)¹⁴. Aoi, a painting restorer of Japanese origin, meets the Moor in the Spanish palace of Vasco Miranda, former Aurora's lover. Due to envy, Miranda stole the series of Moor portraits painted by Aoi, and kidnapped her to restore one of the pictures, hidden beneath his self-portrait. While she is forced to do so, Moraes must be telling the story of his life. Finally, the palimpsest fails to be completely revealed, as Miranda destroys the canvas and kills Aoi. Moraes sees the whole picture just before he dies. It is only the story that survives, having already been written down when the Moor's last sigh is heaved.

The Moor's Last Sigh was written by Rushdie when his life was under threat of Ayatollah Khomeini's *fatwa* due to the publication of *Satanic Verses* in 1988. It must have shed a pessimistic light on Rushdie's attitude to various aspects of the existence, including his writing. Unable to leave his own, English house safely, he attempted to define himself anew, at the same time preserving the memories of the country he had left¹⁵. The colonial trauma the Indian nation experienced could have then been more vividly perceptible by Rushdie throughout the personal experience of imprisonment. Being under the British custody, as both he and India was, may have provoked the ultimate question about the influence of foreign rule on the nation as it is today, and if it is already a nation. An attempt to answer it resulted in an imaginary journey to the beginnings of Indian colonial history, which can be traced in *The Moor's Last Sigh*.

Delving back into the 15th century, Rushdie draws up a detailed historical background of the colonial rule in India, even before it officially started. It was the time when all the intercontinental contacts revolved around the spice trade. Beginning from the Moor invasion, through the British Raj, up to the emergence of an independent state under Nehru, and then the rule of Indira Gandhi, that history of the Indian nation narrated by Rushdie is an exact analogy of the story of the Zogoiby family, but in a bigger scale. It is full of greed, betrayal, misunderstandings, lack of acceptance, illicit affairs and struggles for power. It is only the figure of the Moor who is believed to fulfill all the lacks in the family. He symbolically seems to play a similar role in the whole nation – the character, and at the same time, the narrator personifies convoluted Indian history with his distorted hand as the symbol of impairment Indians suffer due to colonial rule¹⁶. This hand then turns into a powerful tool, means of

14 Coetzee, J. M. "Palimpsest Regained." *The New York Review of Books*, 21 March 1996. N.p. Web. 25 Jul. 2013. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1996/03/21/palimpsest-regained>.

15 Cook, Rufus. "Place and Displacement in Salman Rushdie's Work." *World Literature Today*, vol. 68 (1), pp. 23–28. For more details see: Rushdie Salman. *Joseph Anton. Autobiografia*. Poznań: Rebis, 2012, pp. 143–227.

16 Schultheis, Alexandra W. "Postcolonial Lack and Aesthetic Promise in *The Moor's Last Sigh*." *Twentieth Century Literature*, vol. 47 (4), 2001, p. 585.

executing the power of nationalists, led by the fictional character of Raman Fielding (mainly based on the figure of Bal Thackeray, leader of Shiv Sena). It is this political group which, according to Rushdie, should be blamed for the destruction of Bombay, the city of his childhood, which he used to cherish for its inclusivism. But now, he regrets, under the rule of Shiv Sena, it turned into a sectarian Mumbai. The narration depicts this view quite accurately. Moor's collapse and a crisis inside his family goes hand in hand with the degeneration of the city of Bombay. The moment when Moraes leaves his mother for Uma coincides with the State of Emergency instituted by Indira Gandhi. This event also casts a shadow on Aurora's painting, which then falls into a period of darkness and ceases to receive any public appreciation.

Moreover, Rushdie has some other pessimistic predictions about his motherland. It seems, as Alexandra Schultheis suggests that according to the author there is a strong possibility that the religious nationalism and economic corruption will take the place of modern plurality, which, to him, fails to establish its power¹⁷. The figure of the Moor's father, Abraham Zogoiby, who turns to illegal business, incarnates such an economic corruption perfectly. Abraham's own path towards modernity leads through the economic post-nationalism, the child of the colonial rule called wild capitalism, born as one of many false Edens of that times. There is no reluctance in him even to hire people unlisted on the recent census and thus declared by the government as non-existent, phantom-workers. As little money and no medical care is given to them, the costs of their labour would be minimum. It is the path that Abraham Zogoiby, as many real Indians followed at that time. It is also this historical lack that makes one not think of the nation as a unity, particularly on the level of the economic future of the country as a whole¹⁸.

Moreover, as far as the unity of the nation is concerned, one of the crucial symbols used by Rushdie in this novel is the one of Mother India. As Moraes Zogoiby states: "Motherness... is a big idea in India, may be our biggest: the land as mother, the mother as land, as the firm ground beneath our feet."¹⁹ However, is this ground still firm? The metaphor of India as a mother, though established a long time ago, was popularized in modern mass culture by one of the most important Indian 20th-century movies, a lavish production of Bollywood that was then in its early stages of development, *Mother India* (1957)²⁰. An association of the figure of the Moor's mother, Aurora, with this image, seems irresistible due to several reasons. Firstly, there is

17 Ibidem, p. 587.

18 Ibidem, pp. 589–590.

19 Rushdie, Salman. *The Moor's Last Sigh*. UK: Vintage, 1996, p. 221.

20 See more at: Kosińska, Karolina. "«Radha nie jest na sprzedaż!» Kobieta i wywrotowość w *Mother India* Mehbooba Khana." *Nie tylko Bollywood*. Ed. Grażyna Stachówna and Przemysław Piekarski. Kraków: Korporacja Ha!art, 2009, pp. 185–202.

a slight allusion in the year of Moor's birth which is also the year of the movie release. Secondly, there is some, though indirect, parallel between the movie background and an episode of Rushdie's story. Nargis, the actress playing Radha, the movie heroine, was actually married to Sunil Dutt, the actor playing her son. At some point of the book, Aurora mentions this fact, which, according to Schultheis, may suggest the character of her relationship with her own son²¹. This tricky play between the fiction and reality introduced by Rushdie through these references may, however, serve to open a broader comparison. Radha, bearing a name originating from Hindu mythology, is a character built for Indian women of that time to identify with, an image based on nationalistic tendencies that have been arising²². This newly-married peasant lady suffers a lot of misfortunes and hardships throughout her life. She loses her husband, is forced to make ends meet left alone with three children, survives natural disasters that come and destroy her field, tackles with her son's dangerous behavior, and finally has no other choice other than to kill her own child. She is presented as a persistent, hard-working woman, entirely devoted to what she believes in, even if it demands a supreme sacrifice. The metaphor of India as a mother, *Bharat Mata*, is not a new concept. Actually, she was considered as one of Hindu goddesses, and the character of Radha was partly created to represent such an image.

This allegory evolved as India changed. In modern times, for example, it was also used by an Indian painter, Maqbool Fida Hussein, whose image of a naked woman on the map of India titled *Bharat Mata*, along with a series of unique portraits of Hindu gods and goddesses caused controversies, especially among Hindu nationalists²³. However, as located outside India, Rushdie enjoys more freedom to use and transfigure the functioning and respected motives. Aurora being compared to Radha, the heroine of *Mother India*, seems to go beyond the pattern preserved in the movie. What is common between his character, Aurora Zogoiby, and the heroine, is that they are both mothers of a perseverant nature. However, it seems difficult to find any other similarities between those two. Primarily, Aurora is an urban aristocrat, living for oneself almost solely; she is an Indian, though not a Hindu. Her identity could be perceived as a one of a multicultural hybrid. Nevertheless, she is unified with her internal self and can make her son feel her protection. To create a shelter from the brutal reality, she brings him into the world of art. No matter how pessimistic the novel may seem, it is mainly thanks to Aurora that the future vision is not entirely apocalyptic. Her last

21 Schultheis, Alexandra W., op.cit., pp. 581–582.

22 Valanciunas, Deimantas. "Przedstawienie idealnej kobiety w popularnym kinie indyjskim." *Nie tylko Bollywood*. Ed. Grażyna Stachówna and Przemysław Piekarski. Kraków: Korporacja Ha!art, 2009, pp. 206–210.

23 "M. F. Hussain." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Web. 10 Oct. 2017. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/M-F-Husain>.

painting, seen by Moor just at the moment of his death, depicts the son and mother reunited: she is making a gesture of forgiveness, and he is sitting on the ground in front of her. This image seems to convey a meaningful message. India needs to be a new type of mother, and it is for its boundless acceptance, being inclusive, that makes coexistence of many varying individualities possible as one nation²⁴.

Apart from Aurora, though it is less obvious, the image of Mother India may as well be seen in the figure of Uma Sarasvati. She is a representative of the new generation, a product of the colonial past which has to face the upcoming modernization. She is presented as having multiple faces and identities, changed continuously according to the current needs and other people's expectations. What she stands for is only just temporary and shallow. She lacks cultural and historical roots, no matter how intense her attempts to include the pieces of Indian culture in her art are. She deceives Moraes and tries to gain power over him; it is due to her activity that he actually gets excluded from his family. Finally, she fails to overcome Moor's attachment to his mother and it is the latter with whom he ultimately reunites after death. Uma Sarasvati is a personification of a mythological goddess: she seems to have multiple incarnations, similarly to the goddess – the leading one being the destructive Kali. However, she aspires also to be perceived as the benevolent, powerful but stable Parvati, the holy mother. She is unsuccessful in her attempt, because the position is already occupied by Aurora. This character may be interpreted as a warning against the lifestyle of apparent multiplicity, lacking any substantial basis in one's personal beliefs, cultural eradication, and selfishness. According to V. Rajakrishnan, "her humiliation—and violent end—represented in some sense a defeat for the pluralist philosophy."²⁵

On the other hand, Rushdie touches the issue of masculinity as well. The magical figure of Moraes Zogoiby brings on numerous connotations, with sexual as one of them. His crooked hand seems a most intriguing symbol, due to its phallic shape. It may stand for impairment of vital forces: Moraes is never able to continue the legacy as he is unable to beget any descendant. However, the magical character of the Moor has numerous other dimensions. As a physically distorted and mentally struggling human being, a mixture of two minorities represented by his parents, he is a symbolic representation of the author's identity. He combines numerous cultures and communities, as it happens in a person of a migrant, continually negotiating between different selves. However, according to Jameson, the Third-World Literature regarding colonialism always contains some references to national identity. Even if a book is apparently only devoted to the character's personal issues, it is usually an allegory of a broader

24 Schultheis, Alexandra W., *op.cit.*, p. 588.

25 Rajakrishnan, V., *op. cit.*, pp. 143–154.

perspective²⁶. Thus, Rushdie's Moor should not only be perceived as a symbol of individual identity but of group identity as well. Therefore, he represents flaws in the society, for example, a tendency to passivity. As the Moor says at the very end of the novel:

I'll drink some wine; and then, like a latter-day Van Winkle²⁷, I'll lay me down upon this gravestone, lay my head beneath these letters RIP, and dose my eyes, according to our family's old practice of falling asleep in times of trouble, and hope to awaken, renewed and joyful, into a better time²⁸.

The emerging post-colonial Indian nation seems no less a hybrid than an expatriate, which is primarily visible in multicultural²⁹ cities such as Mumbai. As Schultheis explains: "Through the alignment of subject and nation, Rushdie reveals the traumas underlying postcolonial Indian identities: the lasting influence of British culture, the inaccessibility of a purely "Indian" past, and the problem of defining modernity without acquiescing to the narrative of capital expansion."³⁰

Nevertheless, Rushdie does not leave his readers in a state of utter hopelessness. The reader's identification with the character/subject, that is an intended part of the narrative reading process, functions here as a symbolic suture. It stitches the internal, mental wounds caused by some deficiencies in history. All those flaws are included in the figure of Moraes Zogoiby as a metaphor for the nation. The concept of suture reaches its peak and is revealed, in the very final chapters. It is personified in the image of Nadia Wadia, the beauty queen whose face was destroyed in an explosion. Despite the disfigurement, she makes a speech through which she spreads an optimistic message about the future. She does not perceive the stitches on her face as anything disqualifying her from public life. It is just a matter of getting used to new conditions. Similarly, the nation must come to terms with the changed reality; neither the present nor the past cannot be rejected.

Along with visual arts, Rushdie refers to the process creation of a literary work as well. According to the anti-mimetic postmodern view, nothing exists until it is made³¹. So Moraes' family history comes into being only as the Moor writes it down. He succeeds to finish the work just before he dies, enabling the story to survive as a piece of literature. This final scene supports the concept noticeable throughout the story: the best medicine to deal with life pessimism is to turn to art. A regenerative

26 Jameson, Fredric. "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism." *Social Text*, No. 15 (Autumn, 1986), pp. 65–88. Duke University Press.

27 *Rip Van Winkle* is a short story by an Englishman, W. Irving, published in 1819.

28 Rushdie, Salman., op. cit., p. 448.

29 Understood as diversity of ethnicities and religions.

30 Schultheis, Alexandra W., op.cit., p. 576.

31 Cook, Rufus., op.cit., p. 25.

function of aesthetics is the one that allows seeing the reality from a different perspective and in that way to build faith in the not-yet-existent nation³². No matter how disastrous may the consequences be, as it happened for Aoi, an attempt to reveal the past trapped in the palimpsest of times should be made. Finally, it is for the art that the ultimate unification of the characters turned feasible.

The Moor's Last Sigh, as an outcome of the Rushdie's complex personal background and traumatic experience, which preceded the publication of the novel, may be perceived as a diagnosis of the post-colonial Indian society. Through numerous multidimensional characters, the author managed to bring some interesting views on the identity issues and the problems the newly emerging nation has to face. The novel reveals that it is a gradual, long-term and strenuous process during which it is necessary to deal with the past to establish something new. To handle its pains and renegotiate one's identity does not mean to reject and forget. Every experience is relevant during the time of transition from the old to the new. If the nation's diversity is lost, it will eventually fall, as it happened to the Moor. What is eternal though is a narration, something necessary to preserve the nation's history. Salman Rushdie is one of those whose contribution to Indian narration is pretty recognizable which casts some light on the future of this nation.

32 Schultheis, Alexandra W., op.cit., p. 570.

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Summary

The subject of the article is *The Moor's Last Sigh* – one of the most important, though not so well known novels by Salman Rushdie. It was published in 1995 and is considered to be a combination of magical realism and historical fiction. It is full of symbols and references to the culture of India, the country of Rushdie's origin. The paper shall reveal multiple dimensions of the plot and the metaphor hidden beneath the fictional surface of narration. The principal aim is to analyze the book in the historical context of nation building through the lens of the characters' individual stories. The work also deals with the question of identity in the context of migration.

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Tradition and history in Icelandic musical documentaries¹

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Introduction

Idealization and ideologization of landscape elements, achieved through inscribing the thesis about their uniqueness into the structures of nationalistic discourse, and juxtaposition of the natural order with the threat of foreign influences constitute a rhetorical strategy that keeps recurring in the history of Iceland in the moments when the national identity is redefined². “Homeland of the Sagas” has been controlled by the foreign powers (first Norway, later on – Denmark) since the dawn of its history. The foundation for the “construction of the nation” rhetorics may be found for instance in the preserved writings of Icelandic intellectuals, who tended to refer to Johann Gottfried von Herder’s theses and to call for the liberation of their country from Danish influences. 19th-century nationalists used the figure of the so-called “Icelandic national trinity”. Its patriotic features may be summarized with the use of the verse written almost one hundred years later by Snorri Hjartson: “Land, nation, and

1 This text is a translated version of the Polish article that was originally published in *Panoptikum* journal. More information on the Icelandic music documentaries one may find in the sixth chapter of the book *Kino Islandii. Tradycja i ponowoczesność* [Icelandic Cinema: Tradition and Postmodernism] which is the expanded and reedited version of the article from *Panoptikum* journal. See Konefał, Sebastian Jakub. “Dźwięki przeszłości – tradycja i historia w islandzkich dokumentach muzycznych.” *Panoptikum*, no. 13, 2014, pp. 170–187; Konefał, Sebastian Jakub. *Kino Islandii. Tradycja i ponowoczesność*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo w Podwórkach, 2016, pp. 169–189.

2 Hobsbawm, Erich, Ranger Terence. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 9–22. Obviously, such a strategy is nothing unusual in the European culture and it used to be successfully applied in many other countries in order to resurrect or, referring to the famous Erich Hobsbawm’s concepts *of inventing the national identities*.

language, a trinity pure and true.”³ Figures that connect Icelandic language, which has remained unchanged since the Viking times (and kept alive in the national memory by historical sagas), with unique character of the island’s nature could also be heard in politicians’ speeches made on 1st April 1944, when the land of the sagas and scalds finally obtained the status of an independent republic⁴. At the beginning of postmodernism, the figure of “the island’s spirit,” closely related to the history and tradition, began to be used in the tourism industry as well⁵. Numerous Icelandic works of art created at the end of the 20th century apply structures that can be easily inscribed into “the tourist gaze” – the term used for instance by John Urry⁶. These structures are used not only in modern feature movies, but also in documentaries. Films about Icelandic popular music seem to be an especially interesting study of local and transnational forms of cultural and historical presentation. They can be perceived as advertising messages made by the artists born in the land of the volcanoes or as works that popularize the beauty of ascetic landscapes of Björk’s homeland. Nevertheless, they often present many meaningful examples of diverse forms that are used to portray the changes that take place in Nordic identity and the evolution of thought about the past and tradition.

Musical documentaries – short characteristics

In the 1960’s, people began to refer to the documentaries that tried to present the famous musicians’ performances and opinions as *rockumentaries*. The term was used for the first time in 1969, in Bill Drake’s radio broadcast titled *The History of Rock’n’Roll*. At that time, it was also promoted in *Rolling Stone* magazine⁷. And even though the first movies of that type began to appear in the USA already in the 1950’s (e.g., Bert Stern’s *Jazz on a Summer Day* from 1958), the roots of rockumentaries are in the works connected with direct cinema movement⁸. After the commercial success of *Woodstock* (1970), the music industry started to duplicate the ideas incorporated in Michael Wadleigh’s movie and in D. A. Pennebaker’s *Monterey Pop* (1968), which very quickly

3 Schram, Kristin. *Bordealism: Folkloristic Perspectives on Transnational Performances and the Exoticism of the North*. Edinburg: The University of Edinburgh, 2011. [PhD dissertation], p. 104.

4 Sigurðsson, Gísli. “Icelandic National Identity: From Romanticism to Tourism.” *Making Europe in Nordic Contexts*. Ed. Pertti J. Anttonen. Turku: NIF, 1996, p. 42.

5 Ibidem, p. 65. The appearance of the nationalistic discourse in advertisements is analyzed for example by Gísli Sigurðsson (1996).

6 Urry, John, Jonas Larsen. *The Tourist Gaze* 3.o. London, Los Angeles, Washington DC, New Delhi, Singapore: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2011, pp. 2–4.

7 Hopkins, Jerry. “»Rockumentary« Radio Milestone.” *Rolling Stone*, 5 April 1969, no. 30, p. 9.

8 Przyłipiak, Mirosław. *Kino bezpośrednie 1963–1970. Między obserwacją a ideologią* [Direct Cinema 1963–1970. Between the observation and ideology]. Gdańsk: Słowo/Obraz terytoria, 2013, pp. 117–119.

caused the conventionalization of this form of non-fiction cinema. Beata Kosińska-Knipper highlights the fact that

[modern] rockumentaries constitute a cheap documentary form, which can be easily adjusted to the marketing needs of music industry. Such movies are made as an attempt to present the scale of the given artists' musical talent, to depict their performances and audiences in an indiscriminate manner⁹.

On the other hand, Mirosław Przyłipiak legitimately notices the relation of this genre of cinematic expression with more or less recognizable forms of ideological involvement¹⁰. A "model musical documentary" may be defined for example as a mixture of scenes that present the well-known artists' performances and utterances, often diversified with filmmakers' comments, fans' thoughts, and archives. Of course, there are various departures from this scheme. Some rockumentaries may constitute a direct presentation of a performance made during a concert or a festival, an account from a specially arranged show (*Pink Floyd: Live at the Pompei*, made by Adrian Maben in 1972). Other may be constructed as a thorough psychological study of one person, as it is in the case of Pennebaker's *Don't Look Back* from the year 1967¹¹. Conventionalization of this cinematic form of utterance also resulted in numerous attempts at the ironic mockery of its repetitive structure and related ideological contents¹². Such a strategy is used for instance in the so-called mockumentaries – fake non-fiction forms, like Eric Idle's and Gary Weis' *All You Need Is Cash* (1978), Julien Temple's *The Great Rock 'n' Roll Swindle* (1980) or Rob Reiner's *This is Spinal Tap* (1984).

The aforementioned patterns will also be used by Icelandic creators of documentaries about music. In my analysis of themes related to Icelandic approach towards tradition, past and mythologized figures of collective memory, I will take a closer look on the attempts of duplication and creative reinterpretation of this transnational model of documentary cinema.

9 Kosińska-Knipper, Beata. "Mock-documentary a dokumentalne fałszerstwa" [Mock-documentary and documentary counterfeits]. *Kwartalnik Filmowy* [Movie Quarterly], no. 54–55, 2006, p. 210.

10 Przyłipiak, Mirosław., op. cit., pp. 97–121.

11 Cf. e.g. Roessner, Jeffrey. "The Circus is in Town. Rock Mockumentaries and Carnavalesque." *The Music Documentary: Acid Rock to Electropop*. Ed. Benjamin Halligan, Robert Edgar and Kirsty Fairclough-Isaacs. London, New York: Routledge, 2013, p. 162. Paradoxically, the investigators of non-fiction works are more willing to focus on the parody strategies, mocking the rockumentary convention, than on the genre features of the musical documentary.

12 Kosińska-Knipper, Beata., op. cit., p. 195. Kosińska-Knipper lists the characteristic features of musical documentaries: "talking heads", fragments of archive materials, cinéma vérité measures, such as the protagonist followed by the camera, experts' opinions, voice-over narration, photos of press articles and headings, informational captions.

Against traditions: Friðrik Þór Friðriksson's *Rock in Reykjavík*

Friðrik Þór Friðriksson's debut titled *Rokk í Reykjavík / Rock in Reykjavík* (1982) is considered to be the first non-fiction movie about rock music from the land of the sagas. It is a portrait of the newborn independent Icelandic music scene of the 1980's. Apart from the performances of exotic and eccentric bands, such as the legendary new wave Þeyr or Purrkur Pillnikk, Grýlurnar, Egó, Fræbblarnir and Q4U, the movie includes fragments of Tappi Tíkarrass' gig, with young and frantic Björk singing in her native language. Fond and afraid of the dynamics of social changes, Friðriksson's movie documents the moment of cultural chaos brought about by young Icelanders fascinated with foreign forms that gave birth to a new approach – protest against the great narrations of the past (such as *The Poetic Edda* or the pastoral literature).

Already at the very beginning of the movie, the old Icelandic traditions are suggestively contrasted with foreign cultural influences. The first artist featured in *Rock in Reykjavík* is an old singer, who solemnly chants a classical song – the so-called rímur¹³. His name is Sveinbjörn Beinteinsson, and he was an investigator of pagan rituals, tireless collector of folk songs and tales and one of the founders of Ásatrúarfélagið (The Esetroth Fellowship), whose followers worship old gods of Scandinavian sagas. Unfortunately, the poetic performance of the 20th-century scald is soon interrupted with a cut that takes us to a concert of a young punk rock band with a passionate vocalist delivering lyrics about his aversion towards the life in the capital city. This iconoclastic gesture of editing manipulation is supposedly meant to suggest that the inspiration with traditional sources became an anachronism in the clubbing spaces of Reykjavík. *Rock in Reykjavík* is also an intriguing portrait of the newborn Icelandic urban culture that purposely departs from the popular images of the unspoiled Icelandic landscapes, which were supposed to highlight the uniqueness of Icelanders.

However, the movie lacks consequence. For instance a moment later, the structure of the work returns to the analysis of the bond between the modernity and history. The subsequent scene shows the backstage of a radio broadcast recorded for American soldiers deployed in Keflavík. Images from the studio are accompanied with a voice-over commentary, referring to the processes of island's colonization with the use of the military radio and television.

Because at the time when rock musicians got acquainted with the U.S. NATO base radio and the music played there you could get a lot of work playing. I remember, maybe you had up to thirty, forty gigs a month. Many bands made a living out of it. And I think there are obvious

13 Rímur (Icelandic "ríma" means "rhyme") is an old Icelandic song. Rímur performers are referred to with a noun "kvæðamenn".

connections between Icelandic pop and the U.S. radio and many musical directions that were broadcast through it¹⁴.

Putting consistency and linguistic correctness aside, the author of the quoted utterance justly highlights the colonizing character of American pop-culture, propagated in Iceland by the U.S. Army soldiers deployed at the base in Keflavik since 1944. Hateful of the past and distrustful of the future, the musicians depicted in the movie seem to neglect this fact. Inspired by their foreign idols, they fiercely attack the ideals of the older generation. Countercultural power of the young spirit and aversion towards traditional values are also expressed by a defiant punk with a characteristic mohawk haircut, who claims to be the voice of his own generation:

It seems like the young kids get really into this. The grown-ups are so, you know, packed with opinions that there is nothing left but a file. But these kids seem to know what free thought means. They make up their own minds; others read it all in books.

And even though the solemn intonation and anti-ideology of most punk rockers may be nowadays perceived as ridiculous (one of the musicians depicted in the movie is a young vocalist who freely elaborates on various methods of glue sniffing), the presented utterances seem to evoke an important phenomenon. Description of the adults as the people who “read it all in books” refers to the motif of generational conflict, popular in Icelandic cultural texts, and to the negation of the urban life and utopization of pastoral themes. Such figures may also be found in the works of moviemakers from the homeland of the sagas. In the 1980’s, directors related to the idea of *heritage cinema*, created the foundations of national cinematography, adapting classical novels and focusing on the clash between the old generation, closely related to the land and tradition, and the youth, dreaming of modern, urban life. The opinions of punks, who despise the past tradition, announce the transnational turn of the Icelandic culture that would take place in the last decade of the 20th century¹⁵.

Let us now return to the anarchistic views of loud music fans, social changes taking place on the island and to foreign borrowings present in the structure of Friðriksson’s movie. Each performance is followed by a short utterance, made by the band leader, or an interview with all musicians. Frequently, the director tries to prove that in the opinion of the youth, the message is more important than the music. Mediocre technical skills of the artists constitute merely a background for their lyrics and overly-expressive (even theatrical) behavior, highlighted with the use of common

¹⁴ I would like to thank Jacek Godek for the translation of the movie.

¹⁵ Norðfjörð, Björn. *Icelandic Cinema: A National Practice in a Global Context*. Iowa City: University of Iowa, 2005. [PhD dissertation], pp. 266–276.

rockumentary means, such as guitars close-ups or unusual cropping of frames depicting the bands. The movie also includes utterances made by people fascinated with other “ideological novelties” imported from the western world, for instance with feminism, anarchism or ambiguously presented neo-nazism.

Here, we need to highlight the fact that apart from interesting shots, the debut of Friðriksson (who is a self-educated director) is based mainly on “the performance vs. talking heads scheme,” contains numerous editing errors and amateurish elements. For the foreign viewer, the lack of information about people talking on the screen may be the most irritating matter. Such mistakes, however, as well as the “dirty visual layer” caused by the low quality of the celluloid tape, may be treated as an example of the so-called “punk style” in cinematography, analyzed by Erich Hertz¹⁶. Hertz claims that movies full of voice-over commentaries and experts’ opinions are not able to recreate and analyze the punk rock phenomenon completely. He suggests that the movies about Sex Pistols, which in his opinion are “raw and messy,” constitute model documentaries that perfectly “capture the spirit of the times.”¹⁷ *Rock in Reykjavík* seems to be a similar case – an electrifying portrait of cultural ruckus, ideologically incoherent “audiovisual postcard from Iceland” of the first half of the 1980’s, which to this very day is perceived as a great documentary presenting the clash between tradition and modernity.

What is especially interesting, the local success of the first Icelandic rockumentary allowed Friðriksson to make another movie about music. *Kúrekar norðursins / Icelandic Cowboys*, produced in 1984, is a humorous and thorough presentation of the Wild West lovers, who arrived at country music festival organized in a tiny town of Skagaströnd. This movie is focused on similar matters, presenting the approach of Viking descendants, fascinated with postmodernism, towards their own tradition and history, and full of meditation on their changing, more and more globalized identity. The same motifs will creatively infect the imagination of other Icelandic creators of rockumentaries as well.

Between local and transnational – “selling out the tradition and history” in Ari Alexander Ergis Magnússon’s *Screaming Masterpiece*

Apart from two precursory movies made by Friðrik Friðriksson in the 1980’s and from the productions that continued his poetics, such as Ágúst Jakobsson’s *Popp í Reykjavík / Pop in Reykjavík* (1998) or Arnar Jónasson’s *Rafmögnuð Reykjavík / Electronica Reykjavík* (2008), the most famous work that portrays the panorama of Icelandic

16 Hertz, Erich. “The Anxiety of Authenticity. Post-punk film in the 2000s.” *The Music Documentary: Acid Rock to Electropop*. Ed. Benjamin Halligan, Robert Edgar and Kirsty Fairclough-Isaacs. London, New York: Routledge, 2013, p. 132.

17 Ibidem.

artists is *Gargandi snilld / Screaming Masterpiece* (2005) made by Ari Alexander Ergis Magnússon. The movie presents the musical life of the country from the perspective of more than three decades (even though its subtitle – *1000 years of Icelandic popular music* suggests a longer period of time).

The popularity of Icelandic music is inscribed here into narration that highlights “the exotic and unique” character of the northern island¹⁸. It can be perceived as a significant discursive shift in comparison to *Rock in Reykjavík*. Magnússon’s work is full of conservative, 19th century figures of nationalistic discourse, presenting Icelandic identity in terms of Nordic culture and the world of nature. Already at the beginning of the movie, we are confronted with a bird’s eye view of the frozen land, accompanied by a historical quotation:

They have their own alphabet and great stories about their triumphs. They still write down their history in songs and poems or they carve the words in stones, to make those stories immortal, unless the forces of nature erase them.

The meaning of this strange sentence is explained at the end of the “flight” scene. It is a fragment of *Saxo Grammaticus* – 12th-century text describing the life of Icelanders. What is especially interesting, in the moment the quotation is explained, the gentle and solemn soundtrack (traditional song performed by a folk artist Steindór Andersen) turns into a characteristic falsetto produced by the vocalist of Sigur Rós, which besides Björk’s Sugarcubes is one of the most famous Icelandic rock bands. Such an introduction is a periphrasis of the first Icelandic musical documentary. Even though the structure is similar to Friðriksson’s movie (Magnússon even used some fragments of *Rock in Reykjavík*), *Screaming Masterpiece* tries to prove the contrary thesis. *Rock in Reykjavík* constitutes an “exploding mixture” (characteristic for the whole Friðriksson’s career) of dismay and fascination with the variable character of Icelandic culture after its first contacts with popular culture. The director of *Screaming Masterpiece* tries to achieve a logically incoherent thing. Referring to the origins of his homeland, he tries to prove that Iceland is the birthplace of a unique “sound of the North.” The problem with such reasoning is that most of the featured artists use genres that were “invented” and popularized beyond Iceland. Whether it is Mugison, inspired by blues

¹⁸ Magnússon produced also another difficult and less mainstream work, composed of audiovisual portraits of Icelandic classical and avant-garde composers. So far, he has made two films about them. The first one is focused on Jónunn Vidar, a composer educated before the Second World War in Germany. She often used the elements of folk music in her works and is generally considered to be the “mother” of the first professional soundtrack to Icelandic movie (Óskar Gíslason’s *Síðasti bærinn í dalnum / The Last Farm in the Valley* from 1950), with a scene presenting Vidar’s choreography to the ballet of mountain elves. The second film is an extended interview combined with visualizations presenting the space of classical music of Magnús Blöndal Jóhannsson, a defiant avant-garde musician.

and country, Björk, focused on modern electronics and untypical vocals or Sigur Rós and Múm, oneiric and inspired by the sounds developed in the 1980's and 1990's in the Great Britain, proving the originality of their music is quite risky.

Filming over 20 years after Friðriksson, Magnússon understood the standards of transnational reception. Therefore he tries to diversify "the performance vs. talking heads convention" – inscribing his work into universal (but still painfully conventionalized) structures characteristic for most modern rockumentaries, often "adjusted to the marketing needs of the music industry"¹⁹. First of all, contrary to *Rock in Reykjavík*, each of the performing artists is described with a "digital subtitle," specifying personal data of the given musician. Editing convention of interlacing interviews with presentations of music is also frequently broken by informational interludes, integrated with the images of Icelandic nature or other touristically attractive historical artefacts (such as the old building of Icelandic parliament).

What is most important, however, is that the formula of *Screaming Masterpiece* tries to merge the modernity with tradition and transnationality of its message with local character of Icelandic identity. The strategy of inscribing the phenomenon of Icelandic popular music into the process of historical memory cultivation can be noticed in the whole structure of Magnússon's movie. The next scene depicts an electronically processed sequence depicting the ocean that smoothly turns into the presentation of an expressive performance of the Mínus band. We can see bare-chested, long-haired musicians playing various percussion instruments. A moment later, their performance is juxtaposed to the static utterance made by Hilmar Örn Hilmarsson – a folk musician that currently occupies the position of the Esetroth Fellowship's "pope." It should come as no surprise then that the words of The Ásatrúarfélagið leader refer to the text presented at the beginning of the movie:

I think that the roots of Icelandic music should be looked for in Viking times. Behind me, you can see a place, where the past tradition was born. Tradition that is still alive, due to its strong relationship with the rhythmical structure of poetry.

The geographical clue given by Hilmarsson is very significant, because Icelanders treat many elements of their country as monuments of their national memory. Þingvellir (Icelandic þing – "parliament," vellir – "plain"), located between two tectonic plates, is the most symbolic place in Iceland, kind of a proto-parliament – a meeting place for the representatives of various Viking clans. It was also the place where the independence of the country was declared on 17th June 1944. 50 years after this event, Icelandic Prime Minister Davíð Oddsson described this valley as the lieu de mémoire

19 Kosińska-Knipper, Beata., op. cit., p. 195.

(or “the heart of the nation”)²⁰. These words were later creatively reinterpreted by Björk in her song titled *Jóga* (1997) and its music video directed by Michel Gondry.

The following scene of the movie also attempts to merge the modern spirit with the past. The Esetroth Fellowship leader’s utterance is composed with the shots “from the bird’s eye,” presenting the night panorama of the streets of Reykjavík. The whole sequence constitutes a visual connotation of relations between the modernity and tradition. Digitally warmed shots are accompanied by subtitles describing the appearance of the Vikings on the island and their love for beautiful women and poetry. The next transition shows musicians from the band Múm playing some old instruments. This scene also supports the thesis about historical continuity of Icelandic culture. The emphasis put on the fusion of tradition with modernity can be noticed in other scenes and utterances as well. We may find a similar idea in the fragments depicting the works of folk singers. One of them is Steindór Andersen, singer collaborating with Sigur Rós. We can see him preparing for the performance of 800 years old Icelandic poem titled *Odin’s Raven Magic*. Sigur Rós represent the younger generation here. They came to visit their “older friend” at his farm in the countryside. We hear them improvise a musical background at Andersen’s studio, playing old instruments made of natural materials and wearing traditional Icelandic sweaters and woolen hats. In the following scenes, Magnússon uses editing to grade the transition from the local aspect of the meeting between two generations, through the presentation of their mutual work performed at a modest concert organized during the festival of pagan poetry and art, to Andersen’s performance with the band and choir at a great scene, in front of a huge audience.

This juxtaposition of cooperation between “the youth and the tradition” will appear again in section presenting the interest of Icelanders with punk music. This part of Magnússon’s documentary presents a completely different approach towards the punk revolution of the 1980’s. Sveinbjörn Beinteinsson – the researcher of pagan cults and the founder of Ásatrúarfélag church, who was featured in *Rock in Reykjavík*, appears here as well. His successor in the church, Hilmar Örn Hilmarsson, appears in the movie several times. The lover of tradition and writer of religious poems, Beinteinsson used to perform with punk rock band Parrkur Pillnikk in the 1980’s and was favorably received by the demanding underground audience. However, this fact was not mentioned in Friðriksson’s movie. Apparently, it was not compliant with the thesis about the anti-historical rebellion of Icelandic subcultures. The history of the country and its variable identity will be referred to later on in the movie by Björk, who also negates the observations made in *Rock in Reykjavík*:

20 Hálfdanarson, Guðmundur. “Þingvellir: An Icelandic »lieu de mémoire«” *History and Memory*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2000, p. 29.

I think that after Iceland gained its independence in 1944, the country still needed two generations to become truly self-confident. My parents were born in the end of the 1940's, but it was my generation that started to ask themselves questions about what it means to be an Icelander, how to be proud of it instead of feeling guilty all the time. We were like animalistic creatures, colonized by Danes for 600 years. Finally, we were able to become real humans. It was not easy, but when punk appeared in England in the end of the 1970's we became infected by it and we realized that it is not important what you can do, but what matters the most is what you actually do. We use this power to announce our musical declaration of independence.

This way, the same period of Icelandic culture history may be interpreted in two completely different ways. It is significant that the strategy of historical memory celebration and creative inspiration drawn from the reservoirs of tradition used in Magnússon's movie is also a clear-cut negation of thematic dominant, which is so characteristic for the most of Icelandic feature films made in the 21st century. The younger generation of Icelandic filmmakers criticizes the welfare state system, clash with the conservative admiration of history and tradition and protest against the celebration of nationalistic figures of collective memory.

Towards locality: community, nation, homeland as the elements of the "everyday patriotism"

The local patriotic character of the narration and "the tourist gaze" used to refer to the history and national myths are also used in the movie that documents Sigur Rós' tour in Iceland. *Heima*²¹ (2007) is an international co-production²², an audiovisual acknowledgment of the musicians' homeland. In the summer of 2006, after a tiresome tournee, the band members decide to start a journey around Iceland. Sigur Rós visit small towns and play concerts at the countryside "community centers," inviting local artists (such as the members of a brass orchestra) to perform with them and actively participating in the local cultural and social life. The theme of painting Icelandic names of places visited by the crew and the band constitutes a visual connector between various scenes depicting the performances. Nicola Dibben justly notices that such strategy is related to the metaphorical creation of the map of the island, which highlights its geographical and cultural isolation and which emphasizes the continuity

²¹ The title means "home".

²² See Giampoura, Aikaterini. *Manifestation of Icelandic-ness in the Music Documentary Film "Heima" of the Popular Icelandic Band Sigur Rós*. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Musikwissenschaft, 2013. [dissertation], p. 8. Band members did not want it to be directed by a person related to American or European movie industry. In their opinion, such a perspective would favor the stereotypic presentation of their country. Eventually, they decided to choose a Canadian director, Dean DeBlois, who in their opinion was able to create a less conventional work.

of tradition, so appreciated by its inhabitants. This motif is directly used in the audio-visual advertisement of the movie. The ad depicts an old map of Iceland from the 10th century, with marks at the places visited by the band²³. Dibben also declares that the references to the idea of common, bottom-up celebration of social bonds may be noticed in numerous utterances of the musicians and in several fragments of the movie.

Concerts were performed throughout the whole Iceland, both indoors and outdoors. They were free, so they attracted audiences that usually do not participate in alternative rock events. Integration is also visible in formal aspects of the movie: shots presenting the audience (unusual in the formula of concert movies), static camera, people going in and out of the frame. People are also shown in locations that are not related to the places of performances. Such solution puts more emphasis on their everyday life than on their fan identities. Such techniques help to construct a vision of Icelandic community united by kinship, location and history²⁴.

In order to highlight such relations, Magni Ágústsson and Alana Calzatti take a look at Icelandic traditions, focusing on “small indicators” of their distinctness. Slow shots present the scenes of taking off shoes in public places or a multigenerational, collective feast composed of traditional meals, such as the famous smoked sheep jaw or infamous *bákarl*, culinary curiosity, which name can be translated as “rotten shark meat.”

The importance of healthy social relations is connected with the sensitiveness towards the nature of the island. In the last part of the movie, the band members become involved in a pro-ecological action, performing in a place where a huge water dam is going to be erected, causing the flooding of many intact terrains. Significantly enough, during this fragment of the movie, we may hear the biggest amount of political declarations, uttered by the musicians straight to the camera, without any embarrassment. Telling them, the artists use figures known from the 19th-century nationalistic discourse. Arguments related to the “purity and uniqueness” of Icelandic nature and statements of willingness to help to rescue the motherland are juxtaposed with the hostile, foreign powers that want to exploit and destroy the island’s distinctiveness²⁵. This way, the representatives of the youngest generation of artists unexpectedly refer to the theses characteristic for the 1980’s conservatives, which disappeared from modern Icelandic cinematography, but which paradoxically were greeted heartily in

23 Dibben, Nicola. “Nature and Nation: National Identity and Environmentalism in Icelandic Popular Music Video and Music Documentary.” *Ethnomusicology Forum*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2009, pp. 131–136.

24 Ibidem, p. 138.

25 Constant threat to the country’s stability posed by the foreign forces is used to consolidate the nationalistic discourse and is related to the notion of negative identity. This type of identity is constructed on the basis of opposition towards the country that colonized the given society (Danes, in this case). What is especially interesting, the aversion towards “selling Iceland to foreign powers” expressed by the band members in their utterances, used to appear in many moments of Icelandic history. This phenomenon was even jokingly reinterpreted by Halldór Laxness in his novel *Atómstöðin* (1948).

pro-ecological and alterglobalistic Icelandic documentaries, inspired by a popular novel *Draumalandið* written in 2006 by Andri Snær Magnason.

We also need to emphasize the fact that apart from the promotion of ecology, *Heima* exposes “the tourist gaze” as well. The filmmakers allow their audiences not only to listen to and admire the stage performances of Sigur Rós, but also give them the possibility to contemplate the picturesque landscapes of the island. As Dibben justly notices, the documentary uses “the minimum amount of editing and many static shots, most of which are associated to the landscape and not to the human actions; people and objects seem to rather flow through the frames than be traced by the camera. This way, the directors imply passivity instead of activity – static shots suggest that the landscape is an extension of human perception²⁶. Due to such means, human beings in the world of *Heima* appear to become the elements of the landscape, perfectly harmonized with nature. The nature, which connects the past and collective memory with everyday life. For instance, one of the scenes depicts Icelandic musicians performing a song at a desolate farm, wearing popular hats and traditional woolen sweaters. In another fragment, we may observe a man living his life away from the turmoil of the city, producing musical instruments made of plants he found or grew himself.

Such respect towards tradition and nature is also related to a distinct lifestyle promoted in *Heima*. A movie about the return of musicians tired with their fame to their homeland and about their love of nature becomes a manifest of the so-called “slow life” ideals and “anti-stardom” approach to the career in music. This audiovisual masterpiece, toned down, often focusing only on the images and sounds, managed to inspire other directors to create documentaries that try to present the phenomenon of Reykjavík’s artistic spirit. Their movies did not adapt the universalism and transnationality of form as indications of their originality, but are more focused on the “domestic approach,” amicable relations and aversion to big careers.

Coming out of an economic crisis: the reinterpretations of tradition or the abandonment of patriotic declarations?

Local character of the Icelandic music scene, which highlights the warm, intimate and slow lifestyle of the inhabitants of the “land of ice and fire” is also used by Árni Sveinsson in his *Backyard* (2010). Árni Rúnar Hlöðversson, the progenitor of the movie, invited bands such as Múm, FM Belfast, Hjaltalín or Sin Fang Bous to perform at his “patio.” The aforementioned musicians are renowned for their distinct styles of expression, ranging from acoustic performances, through electronics to funk and reggae. The documentary features young artists, musicians inspired by the folk-

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 138.

lore and lyricists who refer to the cultural tradition of their homeland. However, no one makes any political speeches here, nor any praise of the unique character of Icelandic identity can be heard. No one seeks for the roots of originality in the sounds of the past. Instead, the filmmakers try to prove their audiences that the artists depicted in their movie simply like to spend time together. Appreciating the idea of life in a community, the musicians presented in the documentary do not deliver any “elevated narrations.” They prefer to laugh at themselves while eating sandwiches prepared by the organizer of the event. The audience shown in the movie is also not a typical group of fans. Most of them are director’s friends, passersby, and tourists that got lost and arrived at Hlöðversson’s home. We may see some cheerful children, snacks lovers walking into the frame (and ruining the shots) and elder people, interested in unusual noise on their street.

Backyard gracefully portrays the friendly relations and appreciation of relaxed existence, which also constitutes a social reaction towards the financial disaster that painfully affected the island’s economy. After the crisis of 2008, many Icelanders understood that their aspiration of prosperity is a consumer illusion and that the true meaning of life should be looked for in other people. Mythmaking character of figures related to history and tradition of the island, so willingly used by various politicians praising the financial success of Icelanders, lost their charm during the financial collapse of the banking system. After the spectacular failure of “business Vikings” (Bowers 2009)²⁷ Icelandic documentaries started to appreciate the sense of humor as an effective panacea for social traumas related to the crisis. The message of *Backyard* may be summarized by Hlynur Helgason’s words related to one of the characteristic notions used in Icelandic culture:

We witness the birth of a new generation of artists who want to focus on social and political issues both in their art and their actions. ... Their actions concentrate on communication, construction of groups and networks and on positive social practice. Simultaneously, they critically approach the most important social, political and global problems. Generally speaking, the artists demonstrate the need to look for the commune solutions²⁸.

Maybe such actions prove that Icelanders are very close to the idea of bottom-up expression and reconstruction of their own national identity. Their behavior can be easily inscribed into the conception of “banal nationalism” described by Tim Edensor

27 See Bowers, Simon. “Iceland’s Vikings Face a Long Winter.” *The Guardian* (9. Feb. 2009): n. pag. Web. 10 Feb. 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/feb/09/iceland-economy-credit-crisis>. Such a notion was introduced by foreign media to describe people responsible for the crisis in Iceland.

28 Helgason, Hlynur. “Narodziny i upadek islandzkiej oligarchii” [The birth and fall of Icelandic oligarchy]. *Islandia. Przewodnik nieturystyczny* [Iceland. Non-tourist guide]. Ed. Zespół KP [KP Team] Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, p. 80.

and Michael Billig. Edensor justly notices that the evoked traditions are not stiff, but are constantly reinterpreted in various contexts and forms²⁹, despite the fact that “national elites try to construct culturally an ancient national lineage.”³⁰ Their receivers and co-creators are mostly people from beyond the intellectual circles, busy with the “everyday flagging of their homeland” and participating in various mass events, such as rock concerts³¹ (Billig, 1995: 43). Michael Billig also proves (citing the words of Ernest Renan) that the “nation’s existence (...) is a daily plebiscite,”³² through which every one of us contributes to the process of national identity reconstruction.

Conclusion

Movies analyzed in this article present the evolution of the approach to the history and national memory figures. For more than thirty years of its existence, Icelandic musical documentary cinema has alternately attacked and celebrated the tradition, only to finally find its own way, adapted in the late 1990’s by Icelandic feature movies. In the postmodern world, the collective memory, past and national myths became the elements of a demystifying game or reinterpretation play. Time will tell whether such an approach towards one’s heritage will harm or help Icelandic cinematography, which is still looking for the recipe for transnational success.

29 Edensor, Tim. *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Oxford, New York: Berg, 2002, p. 13.

30 Ibidem, p. 5.

31 Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London, Los Angeles, Washington DC, New Delhi, Singapore: SAGE Publications Ltd, 1995, p. 43.

32 Ibidem, p. 95.

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Summary

Icelandic music documentaries represent an intriguing evolution of approach to the issues related to the expression of respect for tradition, history and collective memory. National identity for the characters of Friðrik Þór Friðriksson's *Rock in Reykjavík* (1981) is a relic of the past and incomprehensible obsession of the older generation. Directed by Ari Magnússon *Screaming Masterpiece* (2005) presents Icelanders as a nation which is proud of its past and highly inspired by the history and traditions of their homeland. Another rockumentary, *Heima* (2007), emphasizes the social aspects of the everyday re-creation of the national community, focusing on the small cultural differences and promoting the idea of local patriotism. Viking heritage, originality, and uniqueness of the Icelandic language of its nature no longer interest the authors of the latest non-fictional productions that are created after the financial crisis of the year 2008.

Agnieszka Kiejziewicz

From France to Japan. Migration of the surrealist ideas and its influence on Japanese avant-garde film

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Introduction

The ground for adopting surrealist ideas by the Japanese artists was prepared long before the current appeared in the Far East. As Chinghsin Wu observes, a great work towards popularizing modern art trends and Western concepts was done by a painter Kuroda Seiki (1866–1924), who introduced on the Japanese ground, for example, futurism, post-impressionism, and expressionism¹. The new ideas were digested by the artists not only through individual expression. They were also used to communicate and emphasize the socio-cultural and political transformations in Japan². As Wu further observes: “this enthusiasm for Western modern art trends reflected Japanese artists’ strong desire to integrate themselves into global artistic modernism, a desire that dated back to the Meiji period (1868–1912) and corresponded to the broader Westernization policies pursued by the Meiji government.”³

According to the above, when in 1920s Surrealism appeared on the Japanese ground, the artists had already developed self-awareness and were prepared not to copy Western style, but to produce distinctive art, full of references to Eastern culture⁴. It is also significant that the idea of surrealism migrated to Japan soon after its emergence, not, as it happened with different art currents – some years after the introduction on the Western ground. The first surrealist writings were brought to Japan in 1926 by a poet

¹ Wu, Chinghsin. “Reality Within and Without: Surrealism in Japan and China in the Early 1930s.” *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, Vol.26, December 2014, p. 189.

² Ibidem.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibidem.

Junzaburō Nishiwaki, what had a place just after publishing the famous *Manifestoes of Surrealism* by André Breton⁵.

Western Surrealism, the heir of Dada⁶ – a phenomenon representing anti-art, focused on paradoxes and stepping against the reason⁷, developed the thought that “human nature is fundamentally irrational.”⁸ The creators of surrealism, among whom Max Ernst, Salvador Dalí, Joan Miró, and André Masson should be mentioned, brought attention to the power of unconsciousness. They also crossed the traditional artistic conventions and, what seems to be most visible in the film art, made the understanding of the role of dreams the central subject of their pursuits⁹.

The oneiric mood and aesthetics of Surrealism influenced Japanese cinema and became an indispensable source of inspiration for the avant-garde authors. Following the goal stated by the Western artists – that the art should affect the viewer and the reception of the work of art should not be restrained to aesthetic pleasure¹⁰, the avant-garde Japanese film directors depicted the life as ruled by absurd and grotesque situations. Moreover, the protagonist was introduced as the one wandering in the mysterious atmosphere of the dream-like structured world. The surrealist Japanese avant-garde films also defamiliarized the contexts known to the viewer and deconstructed logic by using unexpected juxtapositions of events and everyday objects. Even though the plethora of problems the Japanese artists faced, as the lack of proper translations of the Western papers, the lack of availability and the difficulties with understanding the complex statements rooted in Western socio-cultural order – they managed to fulfill the gaps with own invention and concepts taken from Japanese culture.

The picture considered to be the first Japanese attempt to transfer surrealist ideas on the cinematic ground was *Page of Madness* (*Kurutta ippēji*, 1926) by Teinosuke Kinugasa. Later on, the references to surrealism returned in the works of such avant-garde artists as Masao Adachi, Shūji Terayama, Hiroshi Teshigahara, Toshio Matsumoto, as well as American-born Donald Richie. The surrealist aesthetics also found its proponents among the directors of experimental films as Takahiko Iimura and Mako Idemitsu. The echoes of the ideas transferred on the Japanese ground can

5 See: Breton, André. *Manifestoes of Surrealism*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1972, pp. 3–48.

6 Munro, Majella. “Dada and Surrealism in Japan.” *A Companion to Dada and Surrealism*. Ed. David Hopkins. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2016, p. 145. The synonym of Dada in Japan was a collective MAVO, led by Murayama Tomoyoshi. However, it should be noticed that Japanese Surrealism developed independently from Dada movement.

7 To read more about the history and objectives of Dada, see: Hopkins, David. *Dada and Surrealism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 1–29.

8 Hopkins, David., op.cit., n. p. [introduction].

9 Ibidem, [introduction], p. 18 [chapter III].

10 Ibidem, p. 2 [chapter II].

also be traced down to Japanese experimental films after the year 2000, as Takashi Makino, Rei Hayama, Shinkan Tamaki or Takashi Ito.

According to the above, the author of the presented article aims to depict on how Surrealism, perceived as the movement and the aesthetic, was transferred from one culture to another. The primary purpose is to trace the migration of the idea and its results on the field of early Japanese avant-garde film. Because Surrealism also influenced popular cinema (mainly horrors and animation), as well as found its reflection in the works of the experimental artists after the year 2000, the author focuses on the beginnings of the current on the Japanese ground¹¹.

Migrating ideas. The beginnings of surrealism on the Japanese ground

When it comes to Surrealism as an idea in shape it migrated to Japan, the Eastern authors focused mostly on what Breton proposed and manifested deep devotion towards his definitions. The concept of surrealism, defined as “psychic automatism in its pure state [...] dictated by thought, in the absence of any control exercised by reason, exempt from any aesthetic or moral concern,”¹² together with the emphasis on the role of dreams and unconsciousness became the basis of the Japanese movement¹³. However, as Wu indicates, from the beginnings the artists had their point of view on the idea that was transferred from abroad. What is significant, some of the passages of Breton’s *Manifestoes* (the first, written in 1924 and later on, the second one, written in 1929) were lost in translation¹⁴. Taking into consideration the Japanese commentaries from the early period of the existence of the idea in Japan¹⁵, it can be observed that Surrealism was perceived as “an attitude and action transcending the real world,” “a tool to [...] reach more complete reality” or a way of escaping reality¹⁶.

Except mentioned Junzaburō Nishiwaki, who brought the first surrealists’ text to Japan, also Katsue Kitasono¹⁷ spread the new idea on the East. In 1927, together with

¹¹ It is worth noticing that as the beginnings of the current on the Japanese cinematic ground should be perceived the rapid development of Surrealism in the 1960s. Even though Kinugasa’s film, described in the further parts of this article, appeared in the 1920s, it had no followers before the war.

¹² Breton, André., op.cit., p. 26.

¹³ Wu, Chinghsin., op.cit., p. 190.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 191.

¹⁵ For example the critique written by Giichi Minegishi or Koga Harue.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ Kitasono Katsue – “(1902–1978) was the best known Japanese poet-artist in Europe and the US during the middle half of the 20th century [...] Active from the mid-1920s as a pioneering avant-garde spirit, Kitasono made a priority of finding common ground with poets, artists and writers in Europe and the Americas. First entranced by Dadaism and Surrealism, he also thoroughly absorbed the ideas of Futurism,

poets Seichi Fujiwara, Kazuhiko Yamada and brothers Ueda – Toshio and Tamotsu, Kitasono established the first magazine promoting Japanese surrealism¹⁸. In monthly-published *Shōbi, majutsu, gakusetsu* (*Rose, magic, theory*) the reader could find the translations of the Western poetry and theoretical papers, as well as the original works of the Japanese authors. In the same year, Kitasono and Ueda brothers wrote *A Note—December 1927*¹⁹. That three-page text may be perceived as the first Japanese surrealist manifesto, as the authors stated that their primary objective of the further writings published in *SMG* would be Surrealism, understood as the only (possible) way to show “the progress of the senses.”²⁰ From the manifesto, it can also be learned that in the late 1920s the movement was divided into the people gathered around *SMG* and the group Fukuiku taru kafu yo (trans. O fragrant fireman) – which also had access to the French papers brought by professor Junzaburō Nishiwaki from his voyages. However, while Fukuiku remained loyal to Breton’s thoughts, *SMG* openly manifested that they will work on introducing “Japanese Surrealism.”²¹ It is worth mentioning that later on Kitasono also published, in the magazine *Bungei tanbi* (*Literary Aesthetics*), the Japanese translations of the poetry of Louis Aragon, André Breton, and Paul Éluard²² – continually aiming at the differences between the European Surrealism and the Japanese movement.

The ideas of surrealism spread in Japan, and it became recognizable also as a visual art movement, what happened after the Second Section Exhibition (Nikkaten) in 1929. There, a group of Japanese artists (such as Kongō Abe, Seiji Tōgō, and Harue Koga) exhibited a series of provocative works, considered by the critiques as “surreal.”²³ Japanese visual artists, except the written resources, were also influenced by Max Ernst²⁴. The second wave of migration of the surrealist ideas, tightly related to visual

Cubism, Abstract Expressionism and Minimalism [...] Kitasono edited and designed more than 500 magazines and poetry books, and created numerous covers for novels, trade journals and commercial magazines.” Retrieved from: N.a. “Kitasono Katue: Surrealist Poet.” *LACMA*. Pavilion for Japanese Art. 2013. Web. 30. Oct. 2017. <http://www.lacma.org/art/exhibition/kitasono-katue-surrealist-poet>.

18 Solt, John. *Shredding the Tapestry of Meaning: The Poetry and Poetics of Kitasono Katsue (1902–1978)*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999, p. 51.

19 Ibidem, p. 55. The manifesto was concluded as follows: “We hailed surrealism’s development of artistic desire or the development of perceptive ability. Our baptized intellect, accepting no limits, received a technique that uses material which has passed through the intellect. We, by our fated poetic operation, are constructing a condition removed from the human. This condition reminds us of something similar to the indifference of technique [...] We will continue surrealism. We praise the virtue of saturation.” [trans. J. Solt].

20 Wu, Chinghsin, op.cit., p. 190.

21 Solt, John, op.cit., pp. 51–52.

22 Wu, Chinghsin, op.cit., p. 190.

23 Ibidem, p. 190.

24 Ibidem, p. 195.

arts, started in 1930. In that year Giichi Minegishi had established the group called Association des Artistes D'Avant-Garde Paris-Tokyo, which had its premises in Paris. Working together with European artists (among whom Joan Miró, André Masson and Jean Arp should be listed) and inviting to cooperation Breton himself, Minegishi created a strong bond between the movements from two far distant parts of the world²⁵. His actions resulted in preparing the exhibition Paris-Tokyo (Pari-Tōkyō Shinkō Bijutsu Ten) in 1932²⁶. The event was considered to be the most important one introducing European Surrealism to Japan²⁷. Another essential exhibition, curated by Tiroux Yamanaka, was displayed in Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya and Kyoto in 1937²⁸. The Exhibition of Overseas Surrealist Works was one of the Yamanaka's ideas on how to pursue Japan-France reciprocal exchange²⁹. What is more, in 1936 he published a paper entitled *L'échange surréaliste*, describing the cooperation of two countries on the field of developing surrealist ideas³⁰. It is also worth indicating that Japanese Surrealism had still grown locally and as an individual practice, more than the national movement – what was, though, criticized by Yamanaka³¹. The local artists mixed Surrealism with regional cultural influences. For example, in Kyoto, the idea from France was influenced by Buddhism and the creators manifested an active interest in religious iconography, what they connected with psychoanalytic narratives³².

Migrating pictures. Surrealism and the beginnings of Japanese avant-garde film

Similarly to the manifestoes, poetry and visual arts, surrealist films were also brought to Japan by the passionate viewers and researchers, who encountered them during their travels. It should be pointed out that the number of available titles, among which appeared Man Ray's *The Starfish* (*L'Étoile de mer*, 1928) and *The Seashell and the Clergyman*

25 Ibidem, p. 196–197.

26 As Wu describes the exhibition: “[Minegishi] brought to Japan 116 works by 56 artists, including Miró, De Chirico, Ernst, Man Ray, Picasso, and Yves Tanguy. Many of these works were in a surrealist style and were seen by Japanese for the first time. The exhibition not only traveled to Tokyo, but also Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Kanazawa, Kumamoto, and even Dalian in Japanese-occupied Manchuria.”

27 Ibidem, p. 196–197.

28 Munro, Majella., op. cit., p. 149.

29 Ibidem.

30 Ibidem. See: Yamanaka Tiroux. 1936. “The internationalisation of Surrealist thought: postscript to exchange.” *L'échange surréaliste*. Tokyo: Bon Shoten, pp. 77–86.

31 Ibidem, p. 150. Yamanaka wanted Surrealism to develop as international movement, bringing together the ideas of the practitioners from all over the world.

32 Ibidem, p. 150–151.

(*La Coquille et le Clergyman*, 1927) by Germaine Dulac³³, was relatively small. The films mentioned above were screened in public for the first time thanks to the painter Asahara Kiyotaka, who supported the event in the Faculty of the Imperial School of Fine Arts in Tokyo³⁴. As Felicity Gee observes, it resulted in the small audience having the opportunity to embrace the new current³⁵. As the author further indicates, even though the critiques commented these films, “the very idea of the foreign avant-garde film came to be dissected, misappropriated, and misunderstood by individuals who had perhaps never seen the films themselves.”³⁶ According to the mentioned problem of reduced availability of screenings, also the Japanese filmmakers were able to reach surrealist films mostly by the connections with their acquaintances, already working within surrealist groups³⁷. Following the analysis of Mark Schilling, who deliberates on the impact of Western surrealist films on Japanese audiovisual works, it can be concluded that opposed to the theoretical papers; the European pictures did not influence the Japanese movement as much as the written ideas did³⁸. For example, before the II World War few of the Buñuel films were recognizable on the Japanese ground. The political climate and the censorship of the early 1930s made impossible to screen in public the pictures as *An Andalusian Dog* (*Un chien andalou*, 1929). However, the post-war period was the time of new freedom and the Japanese audience received access to films as *Beauty and the Beast* (*La Belle et la Bête*, 1946) by Jean Cocteau³⁹ or *The Forgotten Ones* (*Los olvidados*, 1950) by Buñuel. Later on, the last one mentioned had a significant influence on the works of such artists as Nagisa Ōshima⁴⁰.

Searching for the first traces of Surrealism in Japanese film it is impossible to ignore Teinosuke Kinugasa's picture *Page of Madness* (*Kurutta ippēji*, 1926). Even though, as James Peterson reminds – it is mostly considered by scholars as an isolated experiment, preceding the times of the rapid development of the interest in Surrealism after the II World War⁴¹, it brought new quality to Japanese cinematography.

33 Gee, Felicity. “Surrealist Legacies.” *A Companion to Luis Bunuel*. Ed. Rob Stone and Julian Daniel Gutierrez-Albilla. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2013, p. 572.

34 Munro, Majella., op.cit., p. 151.

35 Gee, Felicity., op.cit., p. 572.

36 Ibidem.

37 Ibidem, p. 573. For example, Hiroshi Teshigahara was introduced to the idea by his friend, a novelist Abe Kobo, with whom he later collaborated, working on, for example, *Otoshiana* (1962).

38 Schilling, Mark. “Japanising the Dark Side: Surrealism in Japanese Film,” *The Unsilvered Screen: Surrealism on Film*. Ed. Harper Graeme and Stone Rob. London, New York: Wallflower Press, 2007, p. 134.

39 Ibidem, p. 135.

40 Rosenbaum, Jonathan. *Goodbye Cinema, Hello Cinephilia: Film Culture in Transition*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2010, p. 163.

41 Peterson, James. “A War of Utter Rebellion: Kinugasa's *Page of Madness* and the Japanese Avant-Garde of the 1920s.” *Cinema Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Autumn, 1989), pp. 36–53.

Moreover, Kinugasa was mostly influenced by foreign films, not by the papers of the first Japanese surrealists. The filmmaker mentioned that the style of his picture was inspired by Robert Weine's *The Cabinet of Doctor's Caligari* (*Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, 1920), as well as *La Roue* (1923) by Abel Gance⁴². The film, based on the scenario written by Yasunari Kawabata⁴³, depicts the story of a retired sailor, who decides to spend his time in a mental asylum to be closer to his ill wife. The viewer, following the retrospections, discovers the couple's past, as well as learns about the fantasies the husband caretaker has about the future happiness of his daughter⁴⁴. Kinugasa's picture refers to the literature of the avant-garde Shinkankaku group⁴⁵, regarding the style, narrative and stylistics⁴⁶. Describing the film, Peterson observes that:

[...] *Page of Madness* constantly shifts between narrative levels. Further, since so much of the relevant story information concerns events that occurred before the film's first scenes in the asylum, even very basic exposition is filtered through characters' memories that may be tainted by insanity. Accordingly, viewers are not only challenged to separate the "real" world of the primary story level from the level of character subjectivity, they must also distinguish between two types of subjective images: images of past events (memories) and images of imaginary events (fantasies, hallucinations, and dreams)⁴⁷.

The deconstruction of narrative codes is one of the innovations in the field of the film techniques that allows connecting Kinugasa's work to Surrealism. According to that, it is possible to decipher the film as opposed to commercial pictures from the silent era⁴⁸ (also Western ones, as Noël Burch emphasizes⁴⁹). It is significant that later on Kinugasa returned to the traditional narration, leaving behind his early experiments.

The next wave of the development of Surrealism in Japanese film had started no sooner than during the post-war period⁵⁰. Even though with more freedom appeared more opportunities for the filmmakers, it was still relatively difficult to work under the label of "an independent artist." As Schilling indicates, in 1952 on the Japanese ground there were only five independent production studios and that number

42 Schilling, Mark., op.cit., p. 134.

43 Peterson, James., op.cit., p. 37. In 1968 Kawabata won the Nobel Prize for his literary works.

44 Ibidem, p. 39.

45 Ibidem, p. 38. Shinkakaku group, founded by Riichi Yokomitsu and Yasunari Kawabata, released its own journal, entitled *Literary Age* (*Bungei Jidai*), in which experimented with various modernist styles. Especially, the members focused on surrealism and expressionism.

46 Ibidem, p. 39.

47 Ibidem, p. 41.

48 Ibidem, p. 49.

49 Burch, Noël. *To the Distant Observer: Form and Meaning in the Japanese Cinema*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979, pp. 124–139.

50 Schilling, Mark., op.cit., p. 135.

decreased to two in 1960⁵¹. However, the practice was also developing outside the studio system and the release of wartime control in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in the emergence of the experimental film movement.

It is significant that as one of the influential filmmakers, who referenced to surrealist ideas, was American-born artist and critic Donald Richie⁵². Under the inspiration of Maya Deren, Cocteau and Buñuel (he considered himself to be his disciple), Richie created his short experimental works while staying in Japan as an expat⁵³. Among his films can be found the titles such as *Wargames* (*Sensō gokko*, 1962), *Atami Blues* (*Atami burūsu*, 1962), *Boy with Cat* (*Neko to shōnen*, 1967), *Five Philosophical Fables* (*Itsutsu no tetsugakutei dōwa*, 1967) and *Cybele* (*Shibēru*, 1968)⁵⁴. In the mentioned pictures the filmmaker dealt with the controversial topics, among which the viewer can encounter cannibalism, masturbation, group sexual intercourse or animal sacrifice by children⁵⁵. In his works, Richie mostly gives up on the dialogues and uses fragmented narration, as well as rapid camera movements to underline the psychological states of the protagonists and to introduce the oneiric mood. In the interview conducted by Jasper Sharp, the filmmaker admitted that his pictures were purely aesthetic exercise inspired by Surrealism and he did not operate within any particular movement⁵⁶.

Moreover, also another figure that created the beginnings of Japanese avant-garde, considered his early films as “exercise in surrealism.”⁵⁷ Masao Adachi, before he contributed to the development of the pink film’s genre while working for Wakamatsu Productions and even before leaving Japan to pursue his ideological goals⁵⁸, marked his presence on Japanese underground scene⁵⁹. While his ten-minute *Rice Bowl* (*Wan*, 1962) was the poetic exploration of the rice ceremony, *The Holeless Vagina* (*Sain*, 1963) was labeled obscene and banned from screens in Japan⁶⁰. The picture revolves around the depictions of the sexual intercourses, mutilation and ritualization of the sexual

51 Ibidem, p. 135–136.

52 More about Donald Richie, see: Sharp, Jasper. *Historical Dictionary of Japanese Cinema*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2011, p. 206.

53 Schilling, Mark., op.cit., p. 136.

54 See: Sharp, Jasper. “A Donald Richie Film Anthology.” *Midnight Eye. Visions of Japanese Cinema* (2005): n. pag. Web. 15 Nov. 2017. The mentioned titles were released in 2004 under the title *A Donald Richie Film Anthology*. The does not include Richie’s films as: *Small Town Sunday* (1941), *A Sentimental Education* (1953), *Aoyama Kaidan* (1957), *Shu-e* (1958), and shorter films, for example *Life* (1965).

55 Idem. *Historical...*, op.cit., p. 206.

56 Idem. “Donald Richie.” *Midnight Eye. Visions of Japanese Cinema* (2003): n. pag. Web. 14 Nov. 2017.

57 Dixon, Wheeler. *The Exploding Eye: A Re-Visionary History of 1960s American Experimental Cinema*. New York: SUNY Press, 1997, p. 7. [quoting Donald Richie’s comment].

58 In 1974 Adachi took part in the Palestinian Revolution and served in the Japan Red Army.

59 Sharp, Jasper. “Masao Adachi.” *Midnight Eye. Visions of Japanese Cinema* (2007): n. pag. Web. 13 Nov. 2017.

60 Dixon, Wheeler., op.cit., p. 7.

act – all presented in the oneiric mood, deprived of the sense of time passing and without the underlining the connections between the events and protagonists.

The traces of the surrealist ideas and aesthetics, mostly dream symbolism, depicting everyday objects in mysterious, uncanny ways, non-linear narration and the use of shocking images can also be found in films (and theatrical plays) of Shūji Terayama. The master of Japanese avant-garde, whose art has been, so far, thoroughly described by Carol Fisher Sorgenfrei⁶¹ and Steven Ridgely⁶², started making references to Surrealism while performing with his theatre group Tenjō Sajiki. Then, he combined “elements of surrealism and dream-work, folk, culture, machines and Brecht-like theatrics of defamiliarisation, with a critique of family and national structures.”⁶³ Moreover, in his *Manifesto* published in 1975, Terayama postulated engaging the viewer in the play or screening to the extent that will make him the co-creator of the event. In other words, he wanted to interact with the viewer by depriving him of the feeling of safety, what should, according to the artist, lead to the profound reflection on the existence⁶⁴. It is worth underlining that transforming the viewer into the active creator was one of the Western surrealists’ postulate, as it was mentioned in the first part of this article. Terayama’s films, among which are *Emperor Tomato Ketchup* (*Tomato kecchappu kōtei*, 1970), *Throw Away Your Books, Rally in the Streets* (*Sho o suteyo machi e deyō*, 1971) and *Pastoral: To Die in the Country* (*Den-en ni shisu*, 1974), bring together the surrealist collages of scenes. What is more, they emphasize abstraction of real-life scenes, depicting them as a balance between the symbolism and realism. The mentioned titles also deconstruct the social and cultural order known to the viewer.

The echoes of Surrealism, mostly perceived as aesthetic, also appeared in the films of Hiroshi Teshigahara and Toshio Matsumoto. However, when the first one mentioned linked himself with post-war surrealist group Century Club (Seiki no kai)⁶⁵ and underlined his inspirations with the style of Dalí⁶⁶, Matsumoto perceived surrealism more as a way of creating the distorted, dream-like narration – not believing

61 See: Sorgenfrei, Carol F., *Unspeakable Acts: The Avant-garde Theatre of Terayama Shuji and Postwar Japan*. University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 2005.

62 See: Ridgely, Steven C., *Japanese Counterculture. The Antiestablishment Art of Terayama Shuji*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 2010.

63 McKnight, Anne. “Terayama Shūji.” *The Encyclopedia of Contemporary Japanese Culture*. Ed. Buckley Sandra. London, New York: Taylor & Francis, 2009, p. 518.

64 Terayama, Shūji. “Manifesto.” *The Drama Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1975), pp. 84–85.

65 Spicer, Paul. “Japanese Cinema and Landscape.” *Cinema and Landscape*. Ed. Harper Graeme, Rayner Jonathan R. Bristol: Intellect Books, p. 238.

66 Here should be mentioned Teshigahara’s films that he created together with Abe Kōbō, an experimental writer. The references to the surrealist aesthetics can be found in the pictures such as *Woman in the Dunes* (*Suna no Onna*, 1964) and *The Face of Another* (*Tanin no Kao*, 1966).

in the revolutionary potential of the idea⁶⁷. Matsumoto's *Funeral Parade of Roses* (*Bara no soretsu*, 1969) – the first gay film on the Japanese ground, was a semi-documentary surrealistic examination of the everyday life of Tokyo sexual minorities in the 1960s.

Conclusion

Surrealism, the idea brought from France by curious writers, researchers and artists not only profoundly influenced Japanese cinema but also evolved, changed by the socio-cultural reality of the Eastern country. Even though it had been nearly forty years from its emergence on the Western ground, before the strong presence of the new movement and aesthetics developed in Japan, Surrealism became a great source of inspiration for the filmmakers. The authors connected to the beginnings of the Japanese avant-garde by referring to Surrealism received a new tool, opening the plethora of possibilities for their artistic pursuits.

In the next decades, Surrealism further developed and influenced not only the experimental filmmakers from 1970s and 1980s, such as Takahiko Iimura or Mako Idemitsu, but also appeared in popular cinema, mainly horrors and animation. The surrealist mood can be found, for instance, in Masaki Kobayashi's traditional ghost story *Kwaidan* (1964), *Black Cat* (*Kuroneko*, 1968) by Kaneto Shindo, Nobuhiko Obayashi's *House* (*Hausu*, 1977), as well as in newer horror films, such as Kiyoshi Kurosawa's *Cure* (*Kyua*, 1997). It is also Takashi Miike and Shinya Tsukamoto, who should be considered as the heirs of surrealist aesthetics. The pictures such as *Tetsuo: The Iron Man* (1989, dir. Shinya Tsukamoto) or *Visitor Q* (*Bijitā Q*, 2001, dir. Takashi Miike) can become the subjects of further research concerning the connection between Surrealism and body horror on the Japanese ground. The attention of the researchers could also be turned into the animated pictures of Satoshi Kon, the director of *Paprika* (*Papurika*, 2006) and Masaaki Yuasa, the author of *Mind Game* (2004).

67 Schilling, Mark., op.cit., p. 137.

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Summary

When in 1920s Surrealism appeared on the Japanese ground it was just after publishing the famous *Surrealists Manifesto* by André Breton. The creators of Surrealism, who brought attention to the power of unconsciousness and made the understanding of the role of dreams the central subject of their pursuits, firstly inspired the poets, painters and theorists. However, from the 1960s the aesthetics of Surrealism also became an essential source of inspiration for the avant-garde and experimental filmmakers. Following the goal stated by the Western artists, the avant-garde Japanese film directors present the life as ruled by absurd and grotesque situations, full of the mysterious atmosphere of the dream-like structured world. The references to Surrealism appeared in the works of such avant-garde artists as Teinosuke Kinugasa (early exception of the idea on the Japanese cinematic ground), Masao Adachi, Shūji Terayama, Hiroshi Teshigahara, Toshio Matsumoto and Donald Richie. The presented article depicts how Surrealism, perceived as movement and aesthetic, was transferred from one culture to another. The author focuses on the field of Japanese avant-garde and experimental film.

Piotr Wajda

Sex and the city. Around the topic of migration from rural to urban areas in early Nordic melodramas and sexploitation films

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Introduction

Since the 1800s, the discussion of the particular aspects of a migration continually returns on the Nordic ground. Firstly, in 1825 a group of religious minorities left Stavanger harbor in Norway to avoid repressions in, at that time, conservative country, what had started a wave of massive immigration to the United States¹. Later on, Swedish immigrants relocated to the United States in the 1840s, and the wave was growing until the beginning of the 20th century, excluding the period of the American Civil War². The described tendency appeared at the same time in other Nordic countries³, as a result of the series of political riots during European Revolutions and longstanding crop failures⁴. What is more, analyzing the history of the migration from impoverished regions, one should also focus on the inland movements, which began in the middle of the 19th century. It is worth mentioning that in the 19th-century literature⁵, the movement from rural areas to the cities was a source of social animosities, as towns were considered to be the corrupted places, influencing altogether its inhabitants and the ones coming from abroad⁶.

1 Semmingsen, Ingrid. "Haugeans, Rappites, and the Emigration of 1825." *Norwegian-American Historical Association*, vol. 5, 1983, p. 3.

2 "Swedish Immigration to America." *Emigration.info*. N.p. 2017, Web. 17 Oct 2017. <http://www.emmigration.info/swedish-immigration-to-america.htm>.

3 Kero, Reino. *Les Migrations Internationales de la Fin Du XVIII Siècle a Nos Jours*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980, pp. 392–400.

4 "Swedish Immigration...", op. cit.

5 Hammarström, Ingrid. "Urban History in Scandinavia: A survey of recent trends." *Urban History*, vol. 5, 1978, p. 52.

6 Ibidem. p. 51.

Moreover, the image of the city was contrasted with nature – presented as romanticized, idyllic rural landscape⁷. The described tendency was transferred on the cinematic ground as a reappearing motif, exploited in various movie genres. Following the pictures established in the literature, also in Nordic films, the viewer can encounter the depictions of the cities perceived as dangerous places, where the character arriving from the province is prone to losing all his (or, more often, hers) money, as well as dignity. After several misfortunes, the protagonist is forced to return to family and forget about the better life. Except in melodrama, the described narrative pattern can be found in the subgenres, such as “rural cinema” or “peasant melodramas.”⁸

When the popularity of melodramas on the Nordic ground has started to ebb, the topic of migration was transferred from beyond popular cinema. What is significant and will be the subject of the presented article, since the Cultural Revolution the movement to bigger cities was one of the recurring topics of sexploitation films⁹. This subgenre might be described as low-budget productions exploiting sex and nudity, in which the on-screen nakedness was implemented under any pretext. The mentioned productions initiated gradual vulgarization of a romantic depiction of the countryside, what was further developed in popular genres, especially during the times of sexual revolution in Northern Europe¹⁰. The status of the described phenomenon – mostly in Denmark and Sweden – was so widespread that the productions with more or less sublime erotic content were categorized in the rest of Europe (and later in the United States) as “Swedish film.”¹¹ The emergence of Nordic sexploitation films was an effect of moving further the boundaries of artistic freedom of speech. Well-respected artists, such as Ingmar Bergman or Arne Mattson, were trifling with binding rules of censorship since the early 1950s and, after overcoming difficulties, their films appeared in cinemas. Gradual concessions from national censors evoked a strange snowball effect, and as result of that process, the greatest filmmakers inspired creators of sexploitation films¹². Soon in Scandinavian cinemas appeared low-budget productions, constructed from the patterns already accepted by censorship. Furthermore, a significant amount

7 Ibidem.

8 Soila, Tytti. “Finland.” *Nordic National Cinemas*. Ed. Tytti Soila, Astrid S. Widding and Gunnar Iversen. London: Routledge, 1998, pp. 228.

9 The topic of the migration was exploited mostly in Swedish productions from the 60s and 70s.

10 This type of cinema was fruitfully developing from the 60s to 70s in Sweden and in Denmark for example thanks to liberalization of a law. Some of authors feature Swedish variation of a grindhouse cinema named *Svensk sensationsfilm*. More about Swedish grindhouse, see: Ekeröth, Daniel. *Swedish Sensations-films: A Clandestine History of Sex, Thrillers, and Kicker Cinema*. New York: Bazillion Points, 2011.

11 Stevenson, Jack. *Scandinavian Blue: The Erotic Cinema of Sweden and Denmark in the 1960s and 1970s*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2010, p. 59.

12 Larsson, Mariah. “Ingmar Bergman, Swedish sexploitation and early Swedish porn.” *Journal of Scandinavian Cinema*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2015, p. 50.

of adult content in Swedish cinemas caused abolition of obscenity law in 1971¹³. Despite its parallel development in Denmark, it is worth mentioning that Danish sexploitation films were the hybrids of multiple nude scenes and horror or even musical films¹⁴, where migration was not exposed as much as it was on the Swedish ground.

The aim of this paper is to show different dimensions of women's migrations presented in selected Nordic melodramas and sexploitation films. In the beginning, the described process was connected with melodramas – the most popular genre on the Nordic ground and then evolved, becoming the core motif of many sexploitation films. Similarly to melodramas, the images of migration in Northern European sexploitation films from the 1960s and 1970s revolved around the stories of young women, who traveled from villages to towns – tempted by the hustle and bustle of urban life. Unfortunately, the adventure usually turned into a dangerous and tragic plot. According to the above, the presented analysis will focus on the presentation of the mentioned pattern and tendencies in the chosen melodramas¹⁵ and sexploitation films¹⁶.

From rural production to syphilis drama

Since a silent cinema era, the town functioned in the Nordic cinematography as a symbol of various threats. For example, most of the male characters appearing in the pictures from that times, instead of finding well-paid jobs in cities, where they migrated, developed addictions from hazard or alcohol. The depictions of the alcohol threat in early Nordic films reflected actual moods in Northern Europe, where prohibition movements were influential, and a ban on beverage drinks was, at least partially, implemented¹⁷. Nonetheless, the migration from the country to the city was a source of much more severe struggles for young female characters. One of the first Norwegian full-length features was a rural melodrama film¹⁸, entitled *Anna, The Tramp* by Rasmus

13 Paasonen, Susanna. "Smutty Swedes: Sex films, pornography and good sex." *Tainted Love: Screening Sexual Perversities*. Ed. Darren Kerr and Donna Peberdy, London: I.B. Tauris, 2015. p. 5.

14 Sundholm, John, Isak Thorsen, Lars G. Andersson, et al. *Historical Dictionary of Scandinavian Cinema*. Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2012. pp. 146–147.

15 The author will focus on the titles such as: *Anna, The Tramp* (Fante-Anne, 1920), *The Girl and the Devil* (Flickan och djävulen, 1944), *One summer of happiness* (Hon dansade en sommar, 1951), *Summer with Monica* (Sommaren med Monica, 1953).

16 Among the chosen titles are: *Maid in Sweden* (1971), *Sensuela* (1973), *Anita: Swedish Nymphet* (Anita – ur en tonårsflickas dagbok, 1973).

17 Froese, Wolfgang. "Ruch abstynencki i ograniczenie sprzedaży alkoholu" [Abstinent movement and limitation of alcohol sale]. *Historia państw i narodów Morza Bałtyckiego* [History of nations and countries of Baltic Area]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 2007, pp. 276–277.

18 Wright, Rochelle. "Immigrant Film in Sweden at the Millenium." *Transnational Cinema in a Global North: North Cinema in Transition*. Ed. Andrew K. Nestingen and Trevor G. Elkington. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005, pp. 57–58.

Breistein. The titular protagonist, a Romani girl, was adopted by a renowned family and grew up in the countryside with Haldor, who fell in love with her. Despite their feeling, the couple was not allowed to be together. After the series of unfortunate events (Haldor is going to marry another woman, and Anna falls in love with the man sentenced for being the arsonist), the protagonist decides to move to the city. She wants to be closer to Jon, her new lover, who took the blame on himself to protect Anna – responsible for setting the fire. However, in the final scene of the film, the couple is forced to leave Norway and decides to travel to the USA. Breistein's production was a rare example of a motion picture, where the characters, who migrated from village to city could not come back home. Also, the village portrayed in his film is far from the idyllic images of the countryside.

A significant number of Nordic films, depicting a story of young – mostly female – characters migrating from country to big agglomerations, emphasized a discord between village and city, where an idyll image of the countryside was nostalgic, and the city was a dangerous place. In forgotten Hempe Faustman's *The Girl and the Devil*, a migration of the main character is connected with destructive forces of sexuality¹⁹. Moreover, in *The Sins of Anna Lans* relocation from the country results in degeneration of a young and beautiful protagonist. The urban environment has a negative influence on the girl, but in Rune Carlsten's film the girl receives a chance to redeem herself, and she becomes a Salvationist²⁰. The image of the city in above-mentioned productions, portrayed as a tempting, yet a dangerous place for young women, was expanded in further Swedish rural melodramas produced in the 1940s. The described plot schemes increased nostalgia for structural changes that took place in Swedish society. As Tytti Soila notes, Swedish cinema of the 1940s was a response to industrialization and mass immigration from countries to the cities²¹. As a proof of this theory the researcher points out on *Rain follows the Dew* (*Driver dagg faller regn*, 1946). Gustaf Edgren's film follows a story of a young farmer's daughter, who falls in love despite her father's will and her visit to the town causes series of problems.

A melodrama has evolved since the silent cinema era, and different cinematic genres started exploiting this genre's formula. Stories about lovers started to appear in films considered to be a part of sexploitation cinema. Arne Mattson's *One summer of happiness* might be perceived as a link between traditional melodrama productions and sexploitation. The film tells the story of Kerstin and Göran, a young couple, who falls in love during holidays in the Swedish province. The film has a structure of

19 Soila, Tytti., op. cit., p. 177.

20 Ibidem.

21 Ibidem, p. 178.

a classic melodrama, where the lovers need to overcome several obstacles²². The couple tries to be together against a will of their relatives and other people from their village. The production sparked off a debate about the boundaries of artistic freedom across Sweden. Arne Mattson in *One summer* broke several taboos that functioned in Sweden right after the war. He told the story of an unmarried couple, and he used nudity, which caused a stir and accusations that film had a pornographic character²³. Two years later, in *Summer with Monica* Ingmar Bergman depicted a similar story of a young and unmarried couple that spends holidays together and fell in love in a rural surrounding. Their affair was not well seen, and the situation got even worse when the girl got pregnant. Bergman shocked the audience by a brave usage of female nudity. As it was pointed out above, the productions made by Arne Mattson and Ingmar Bergman might serve as the connection between Swedish rural melodramas and later sexploitation films. Controversies around *Summer with Monica* were so significant that infamous status of this Bergman's motion picture got through to the United States and described film was on screens in the same time not only in art-house movie theatres but also in obscure pulp cinemas, which specialized in controversial content²⁴. Moreover, *Summer with Monica* appeared with the title changed to *Monica – a story of a bad girl* and with the entirely new soundtrack²⁵.

As Per Olov Qvist and Peter von Bagh claim, rural melodramas were the most popular film genre in Sweden from the 1930s to the middle of the 1950s²⁶. However, it was not the only Nordic country glorifying traditional values. The idea of presenting young lovers in the rural landscape also migrated to Finland. Tytti Soila points out the fact that at the same time Finnish filmmakers developed another sub-genre of melodramas, in which one of the recurring themes was migration from hamlets to cities. Soila named them syphilis films²⁷, which lead to another connection between traditions of Nordic subgenres of melodramas and later sexploitation productions.

22 Flitterman-Lewis, Sandy. "The blossom and the bole: narrative and visual spectacle in early film melodrama." *Cinema Journal*, vol. 33, no. 3, 1994, pp. 5–7.

23 Sundholm, John. Thorsen, Isak. Andersson, Lars G. et al., op. cit. p. 209.

24 Schaefer, Eric. "Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!": *A History of Exploitation Films, 1919–1959*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999, pp. 335–336.

25 Larsson, Mariah. "Drömmen om den goda pornografin. Om sextio- och sjuttioårsfilmen och gränsen mellan konst och pornografi" [Dreaming about good pornography. About 60s and 70s film art and pornography]. *Tidskrift för genusvetenskap*, vol. 1, no. 2. 2007, p. 98.

26 Qvist, Per O., Peter von Bagh. *Guide to the Cinema of Sweden and Finland*. Westport, London: Greenwood Press, 2000, p. 92.

27 Soila, Tytti., op. cit., p. 64.

Let's get naked! Migration in sexploitation films

Looking at the plot schemes recurring in sexploitation films, it can be observed that many of them might be perceived as vulgarized versions of melodramas, as the patterns, constituted on the ground of the mentioned genre in the first half of the 20th century, were repeated in the naked films. It is possible to differentiate sexploitation films into few main categories, such as comedy, drama (including melodrama) and even horror. Although the films presented in this subsection were controversial, they share elements taken from Nordic rural melodramas, for example, migration from rural to urban areas and the consequences of visiting a dangerous place (the city).

The themes emphasized above appear, for example, in *Maid in Sweden* (1971) by Dan Wolman. The film starts with a scene depicting the parents send their teenage daughter, Inga (Christina Lindberg) to her older sister, who studies in Stockholm. In the beginning, the character played by Lindberg is naïve and unaware of her attractiveness and sexuality as well. When she travels across Sweden by train, suddenly the protagonist discovers that she is being observed by a peeping tom, while changing clothes. That incident might be seen as a warning and a forerunner of the upcoming events waiting for Inga in the new environment. Her initial shyness is perceived as old-fashioned, and the teenager is an object of jokes from her sister's boyfriend. After the first day in Stockholm, Inga acknowledges that her sister shares the apartment with her partner and he is not going to leave by night. These revelations shock the teenage, and when she tries to fall asleep, she hears lovemaking couple next door. Greta and Casten (her partner) unconsciously awaken Inga's sexuality – the newcomer has an erotic dream, in which everybody tries to exploit and rape her. After the dream episode Inga decides to spy on Greta – what influences the teenager and brings her the second dream – this time about masturbation. After that night Inga rapidly discovers that sexuality might be exploited. Later on, during a party, she is attacked and forced to have sex with a stranger. Ironically, Inga gradually falls in love with the men who previously abused her. Analyzing the scenes mentioned above, it can be observed that Inga's visit to Stockholm quickly becomes a source of problems for her older sister. What is more, Greta discovers that initially opponent and ironic Casten betrays her with Inga, what happens just before the youngster comes back to her hometown.

While Dan Wolman focuses on exposing the dangers of living in a city during the sexual revolution, *Maid in Sweden* can be perceived as a rare example of the production, in which migration to a city by young female protagonist might be an opportunity to find love. According to that, Inga treats her comeback to parents as a personal tragedy. At her final night, Inga sneaks out from the apartment to meet her lover and have sex for the last time. The city in Wolman's film offers a great deal of freedom and opportunities – not only on the ground of sexual intercourses. The last scene of the

film depicts the conversation of the protagonist and her man, interrupted by the boys, who want to go to the cinema with Inga. The availability of the entertainment shows the gap between the two places: the city and the rural area.

In 1973 Teuvo Tulio had transferred similar plot scheme on the ground of Finnish cinematography. The director was recognizable in Nordic countries thanks to his style, which was influenced by the productions of Rudolph Valentino²⁸ and is frequently described as overly melodramatic²⁹. A role that Teuvo Tulio played for Finnish cinema is comparable to Ingmar Bergman's career in Sweden. Since his early productions Tulio was creating art-house films and, same as Swedish director, he was playing with censorship by adding the erotic element to his productions³⁰. However, *an enfant terrible* of Finnish film, as describes him Tytti Soila³¹, did not intend to transfer the phenomenon of sexploitation from the much more liberal neighbor country. Ironically, Tulio's final production – *Sensuela* (1973), is currently known mostly as “the worst Finnish motion picture in history”³² and it is still a rare example of exploitation film from Finland³³. The director in his last film tells a story about a young girl named Laila (Marianne Mardi), a daughter of a wealthy reindeer herder in a small village in Lapland. Her ordinary life is interrupted by the aircraft accident. Then she meets a German Nazi officer – Hans Müller, who luckily survives despite massive injuries. The protagonist finds the survivor and takes care of him. During a process of treatment, Müller and Laila become lovers, but their feeling is interrupted by the fact that Finland joined the war and the soldier needs to run away to Helsinki, which is supposed to be a safer place than the desolated Lapland village. Shortly after, the main character decides against the will of her father to leave home and goes to Finland with her new partner. They live there for years, but their idyllic affair finally comes to an end during the sexual revolution. The first scene depicting the life of the couple in the city shows a party, during which Hans tries to convince one of his friends to go to bed with Laila. This situation leads to the argument. As a result, Laila breaks up with her partner and decides to move out to another apartment. She finds a new place in a notorious area, and her new roommate is a prostitute. What is more, the protagonist has constant problems with making payments on time, and she is fired from one job after another. Meanwhile, she starts dating a new, devoted and loving partner. Their romance is interrupted by the unexpected visit of girl's father, who saw Laila's nude

28 Soila, Tytti., op.cit., p. 64.

29 Kasman, Daniel. “The Strange Loves of Teuvo Tulio.” *theauteurs.com*. 27.02.2009. Web. 19 Oct, 2017. <https://www.theauteurs.com/notebook/posts/the-strange-loves-of-teuvo-tulio>.

30 Soila, Tytti., op.cit., p. 66.

31 Ibidem, p. 66.

32 Clements, Jonathan. *An Armchair Traveller's History of Finland*. London: Haus Publishing, 2014, n.p.

33 Sundholm, John, Thorsen, Isak. Andersson, Lars G. et al. op. cit., p. 147.

pictures in a calendar that was being sold in Lapland. The upset parent immediately decides to travel to Helsinki to force the daughter to behave appropriately. The protagonist tries to make Hans pretend that they are still together, in the case to soothe the father's anger. Surprisingly, the ex-boyfriend agrees, and the couple even organizes a fake marriage to calm down the visitor. As the ceremony is interrupted by Laila's real partner, the father discovers the intrigue and on the verge of the reason he beats and castrates Hans. Additionally, after observing the strange course of events protagonist's boyfriend decides to break up with her. Abandoned by everyone, she tries to commit suicide, but a man, who sees a desperate move convinces Laila to come with him. However, he turns out to be another person trying to exploit and abuse the Lapland beauty – she ends up in obscure vaudeville locals, where she shows her body to the visitors. Finally, she has an opportunity to return to her hometown – the only place where she is treated with respect.

It is noteworthy, that described plot was characteristic especially for Tulio's cinema, despite the fact that *Sensuela* was first Finnish sexploitation film. In the context of the mentioned picture, Tytti Soila uses a term "syphilis films"³⁴ to describe the presented plot scheme. The academic notes that "standard syphilis film told the story of a young, innocent woman who comes from country to the city. In the city she soon becomes corrupt and enters prostitution, eventually contaminating her lover with venereal disease."³⁵ *Sensuela* matches most of the plot schemes characteristic for syphilis films. Despite all misfortunes, Laila does not catch the sexually-transmitted infection; nonetheless, her former partner loses the ability to participate in sexual activities after being castrated by the girl's father. Finnish filmmaker created the story praising conservative values and condemning cultural changes that took place in the 20th century, in which the enamored, yet stubborn protagonist, had to be punished for her unwillingness. Her only chance for rehabilitation is a comeback. Tulio used this story in his classic syphilis films several times before *Sensuela* was released. Additionally, the described film is a remake of his *Cross of Love* (*Rakkauden risti*, 1946). However, in opposition to the production from the 1940s, in *Sensuela* the director uses an aesthetic characteristic for sexploitation films, as well as full frontal nudity³⁶. According to the scholars, *Sensuela* was the result of further development of elements characteristic for Finnish culture, previously presented in melodramas³⁷. *Sensuela* is one of several examples of Nordic sexploitation films, where migration was present on many levels.

34 Soila, Tytti., op.cit., p. 64.

35 Ibidem, p. 64.

36 Sundholm, John. Thorsen, Isak. Andersson, Lars G. et al., op. cit., p. 147.

37 Ibidem.

It is significant that Teuvo Tulio had introduced the schemes characteristic for melodramas on the Finnish *exploitation* cinema ground.

A different approach to the subject of migration might be observed in Torgny Wickman's *Anita: Swedish Nymphet* (*Anita – ur en tonårsflickas dagbok*, 1973). The titular character is the young teenage girl, who migrates from the province to the capital of Sweden, because of her notorious reputation. Anita has compulsory need to have sexual intercourses with accidentally met men, which results in ostracism from the family and other students. The people surrounding Anita represents hypocrisy, as at the same time they insult the girl and discuss her sexual life, pointing out on her "achievements." The teenager decides to run away from home and takes a train to Stockholm. She continues to have sex with random partners, and straight after her first intercourse in the capital, she has an accident – a scorched man runs on her and unintentionally blacks girl's eye. Erik, the college student who injured, Anita tries to help the girl and takes her to his place. From then, the teenager starts to reveal her past to Erik, who works to overcome her addiction and diagnoses her as a nymphomaniac. Anita's sexual compulsory behaviors are connected with constant disappointment. Additionally, during their first conversation in the apartment, the protagonist tried to seduce the student, but he refused to take advantage of the situation. Erik tells the girl that her problems will be gone when she will find sexual fulfillment, but initially proposed solution cause other misadventures. Finally, Erik's feelings towards Anita start to grow. In the final sequence of the film, the young people have sex that is full of passion and differs from girl's previous experiences.

The contrast between big city and rest of a country is still visible in the described film; nonetheless, Torgny Wickman concentrates on criticizing small-town and rural hypocrisy. Stockholm serves as a safe place for Anita – who was forced to leave family, who was ashamed of the girl. The director used a migration in this sexploitation film to depict less visible, yet present, aspect of small communities: bigotry and hypocrisy. This image of the village appeared in, already mentioned in this paper, *Anne*, *The Tramp*, where the protagonist was also forced to leave her home due to similar problems or in *One summer of happiness*, where a small community cannot accept a couple of lovers, who live without marriage.

Conclusions

A motive of the migration is deeply rooted in Nordic culture and cinematography. It had appeared long before the sound revolution and was a continuation of traditions taken from a literary heritage. The images of migration in the film were inspired by

a history of Nordic nations that faced many socio-cultural and economic problems, such as longstanding crop failures in the 19th century.

Moreover, the migration to bigger cities relatively often appeared in “nude films.” Such filmmakers as Torgny Wickman and Dan Wolman expanded the motif known from silent cinema era and transferred it to the middle 1950s sexploitation pictures. Most of these filmmakers used traditions developed in melodramas only as an opportunity to explicitly showing female breasts or genitals. As Mariah Larsson observes, that tradition appeared in Nordic sexploitation films as well³⁸. The scholar proves that idyllic images of the countryside had found its echo in the pictures designed mostly to provide pure entertainment. Even though the prominent position of sexuality in the mentioned films, the motif of migration became a critical background, allowing to motivate protagonists’ actions.³⁹

The examples presented in this paper only adumbrate subject of migration in Nordic cinema, which is also present in the recent Northern European cinematography. Mass immigration to Scandinavian countries (mostly Sweden) since the 1990s caused a new wave of interest in the ways of depicting the newcomers – this time not only the inland migrants but also the ones coming from abroad in search of a stabilized economic situation.

38 Larsson, Mariah. “Introduction: Beyond Swedish Summers.” *Swedish Cinema and the Sexual Revolution: Critical Essays*. Ed. Mariah Larsson and Elisabet Bjorklund. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2016. pp. 1–10.

39 Marklund, Anders. “It Started with a Kiss: Sexuality and Swedish Film in 1951.” *Swedish Cinema and the Sexual Revolution: Critical Essays*. Ed. Mariah Larsson and Elisabet Bjorklund. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2016. pp. 21–36.

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Filmography

- Anna Lans* [*The Sins of Anna Lans*]. Dir. Rune Carlsten. Perf. Viveca Lindfors, Arnold Sjöstrand. Film AB Lux, 1943.
- Anita – ur en tonårsflickas dagbok* [*Anita: Swedish Nymphet*]. Dir. Torgny Wickman. Perf. Christina Lindberg, Stellan Skarsgård. Swedish Film Production, 1973.
- Fante-Anne* [*Anne, The Tramp*]. Dir. Rasmus Breisten. Perf. Einar Tveito, Lars Tvinde. Kommunenes Filmcentral, 1920.
- Rakkauden rist* [*Cross of Love*]. Dir. Teuvo Tulio. Perf. Regina Linnanheimo, Oscar Tengström. Tuxan Film, 1946.
- Flickan och djävulen* [*The girl and the devil*]. Dir. Hampe Faustman. Perf. Kolbjörn Knudsen, Ingrid Borthen. Terrafilm, 1944.
- Hon dansade en sommar* [*One summer of happiness*]. Dir. Arne Mattson. Perf. Edvin Adolphson, Ulla Jacobsson. Nordisk Tonefilm, 1951.
- Maid in Sweden*. Dir. Dan Wolman. Perf. Christina Lindberg, Monica Ekman. Cannon Films, 1971.
- Sensuela*. Dir. Teuvo Tulio. Perf. Marianne Mardi, Mauritz Åkerman. Teuvo Tulio, 1973.
- Sommaren med Monika* [*Summer with Monika*]. Dir. Ingmar Bergman. Perf. Harriet Andersson, Lars Ekborg. Svensk Filmindustri, 1953.

Summary

The presented article aims at analyzing the motif of migration of the female characters from the province to the big cities in the chosen Nordic films. The author focuses on the examples of the melodramas (and its regional subgenres), popular during the 20th century, as well as sexploitation pictures. The analysis starts with the brief introduction of the development of North-European sexploitation film, which is deeply rooted in the art-house cinema tradition. Furthermore, the author emphasizes on the tendencies, which emerged right before the sound revolution, to portray the contrasts between the city and the province as the reasons of potential conflicts, related to the people's migration from the rural areas. The author also underlines the importance of the transfer of romantic ways of describing nature and the countryside from the art-house cinema to the cinema of exploitation.

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Beyond Caligula. The reflection on adding pornographic scenes to nonpornographic films in post-production

Introduction

The representations of the sexuality in pornography have been legitimized as academic studies¹ that focus on the influence of the genre on other cultural forms, the aesthetics of the chosen productions, its history and significance for the viewers². Feona Attwood and Clarissa Smith, the editors of *Porn Studies* journal, observe that the interest in sexually explicit works among the historians and art researchers arose around the 1960s³. However, it was no sooner than the 1990s when the ‘porn debate’ was introduced to the academic discourse by Linda Williams. In her book *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the ‘Frenzy of the Visible’*⁴ pornography was studied not through the lenses of its harmfulness, but as one of the factors changing the culture⁵. As Williams indicated: “a wide range of contemporary examples show [...] how new forms of pornography have become part of the fabric of everyday life.”⁶

As the researchers observe, the definition of pornography constantly evolves and the debate (as well as the critique of the explicit films) changes, depending on the historical, social and political factors. For example, Robert Jensen points out that the diversity of the pornography films, the critique (mostly from the feminist movement)

1 Williams, Linda. “Porn Studies: Proliferating Pornographies. On/Scene: An Introduction.” *Porn Studies*. Ed. Eadem. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004, pp. 2–3.

2 Attwood, Feona, Clarissa Smith. “Porn Studies: an introduction.” *Porn Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1–2, 2014, p. 1.

3 Ibidem.

4 See: Williams, Linda. *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the ‘Frenzy of the Visible.’* Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1989.

5 Attwood, Feona, Clarissa Smith., op. cit., p. 1.

6 Williams, Linda., “Porn Studies...,” p. 6.

and the constraints introduced by the political sides leads to “dodges and distortions,”⁷ which prevent from giving one definition⁸. However, he agrees that “what is pornographic” is subjective and depends on the cultural background and point of view of the observer⁹. Jensen argues that there are two main definitions of pornography: it can be perceived as “the material sold in pornography shops for the purpose of producing sexual arousal for most male consumers” or as, taken from the feminist analysis, “a specific kind of sexual material that mediates and helps maintain the sexual subordination of women.”¹⁰ On the contrary, a philosopher Slavoj Žižek defines pornography as something that “goes too far.”¹¹ Creating the definition out of the comparison with the nonpornographic films, he writes:

[...] in a “normal,” nonpornographic film, a love scene is always built around a certain insurmountable limit; “all cannot be shown.” At a certain point the image is blurred, the camera moves off, the scene is interrupted, we never directly see “that” (the penetration of sexual organs, etc.). In contrast to this limit of representability defining the “normal” love story or melodrama, pornography goes beyond, it “shows everything.”¹²

When searching for the representations of transgressive sexuality in film, it should be mentioned that the pornographic scenes also appear in the nonpornographic films (for example thrillers). To describe this phenomenon, Linda Williams coined the term ‘on/scenity,’ what is described as “the gesture by which a culture brings on to its public arena the very organs, acts, bodies, and pleasures that have heretofore been designated ob/scene and kept literally off-scene.”¹³ Through the cinema history, there can be pointed out several examples of such films, and the release of almost every one of them was accompanied by the controversies, censorship’s actions, and public disturbance. It is enough to mention the films of Nagisa Oshima (e.g., *In the Realm of the Senses*, 1976), Shūji Terayama (e.g., *Emperor Tomato Ketchup*, 1971) or, on the Amer-

7 Jensen, Robert. “Pornographic Dodges and Distortions.” *Pornography: The Production and Consumption of Inequality*. Ed. Gail Dines, Robert Jensen and Ann Russo. New York and London: Routledge, 1998, pp. 1–8.

8 Ibidem, p. 2. The author observes: “The three common dodges – definitional, constitutional, and causal – often derail conversations and crowd out analysis of the production, content, and use of pornography with diversionary arguments.”

9 Ibidem.

10 Ibidem, p. 3.

11 Žižek, Slavoj. *Looking Awry. An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture*. Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1991, pp. 110.

12 Ibidem.

13 Williams, Linda., op. cit., p. 3.

ican ground, *Cruising* (1980) by William Friedkin¹⁴. The pornographic scenes were cut out from the mentioned pictures in postproduction, or they were entirely banned in some countries. However, there also exists a group of films in which the pornographic scenes were added in postproduction – what reverses the regular practice.

The aim of this article is to show, on the chosen examples of the films that later on were labeled as ‘cult productions,’ how and why the directors, such as Bo Arne Vibenius or Tinto Brass, decided to add pornographic scenes to their films. The main concern of the authors of this paper will be the implications of the directors’ decisions and the ways they reversed the meaning of changing the film in post-production. Starting from the analysis of the emergence of the dark legend of Luis Buñuel’s *The Age of Gold* (*L’âge d’or*, 1930), the authors aim at summarizing the history of adding the pornographic content to the nonpornographic films, what is observed through the lenses (and methodologies) of production studies. The films mentioned in this article come from different cinematographies, periods and genres. However, the common feature that allows to analyze those titles as representatives of the described phenomenon is that their popularity bases on their critical success. The “cult status” they gained was tightly connected to the controversies the directors ignited by adding extra scenes (Vibenius and Brass) or the gossips about such (the case of Buñuel).

Imagined pornography – the case of *The Age of Gold*

When searching for the first cases of diffusion of the pornographic content from the peripheries of the film culture to the nonpornographic films, the controversies around *The Age of Gold* should be analyzed. After the successful performance of *An Andalusian Dog* (*Un chien andalou*, 1929), Buñuel¹⁵ was eager to continue working with Salvador Dalí – a co-author of the picture. Their new project, initially entitled *The Andalusian Beast* (*La bête andalouse*), was designed with the help of Viscount Charles de Noailles and his wife, the wealthy patrons¹⁶, who even allowed to shot the significant part of the film in their mansion and made a financial backing for the project¹⁷.

¹⁴ Williams, Linda R., *The Erotic Thriller in Contemporary Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005, p. 135.

¹⁵ Luis Buñuel (1900–1983) was a Spanish filmmaker who greatly contributed to the development of Surrealism (the movement) and surreal film aesthetics. In his films, Buñuel combined the plethora of genres (e.g. documentary, drama, satire or audiovisual experiment) with the wide range of socially and politically actual subjects. More about the director’s style and the history of his films can be found, for example, in Raymond Durnat’s publication. See: Durnat, Raymond. *Luis Bunuel*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977, pp. 6–21.

¹⁶ Edwards, Gwynne. *A Companion to Luis Buñuel*. Rochester: Tamesis, 2005, pp. 29–30.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 35.

However, Buñuel discarded Dalí's ideas of adding pornographic scenes¹⁸ and even changed the title for the one known today. It is worth underlining that the decisions the director made deprived the film of explicit sexual intercourses and the pictures of genitalia – what Dalí perceived significant to the plot.

The picture revolves around the critique of the traditional norms and denudes the hypocrisy of the bourgeois aristocracy. Here also appears the critique of the Catholic church. However, as Buñuel pointed out in later commentaries, he focused on showing “the violence of love when that passion was impregnated with the splendor of Roman Catholic myth.”¹⁹ For the purposes of this article, having in mind the plethora of interpretations of the symbolic scenes concerning political and religious subjects, we will focus on the lovers and their interactions. As Gwynne Edwards observes:

Oblivious to all social and moral impediments, the two young people live for each other. When they are set upon by the enraged onlookers and dragged away, their physical separation cannot obliterate their thoughts of or feelings for each other²⁰.

The lovers appear in the second part of the film – in the scene of laying the foundation rock for the Golden Age by the Majorcan Bishops, who won the war with the guerrillas²¹. The couple disturbs the ceremony, as they squirm in the paroxysms of ecstasy in the mud – in front of the crowd gathered on the spot. However, it should be pointed out that they are fully dressed, and the pretended sexual intercourse is perceived by the people around as the attack on the social norms. The lovers are quickly torn apart by the citizens and appear again in the next part of the film – in the “Imperial Rome.”²² They meet again during the party in the mansion house, belonging to the woman's parents. After the lovers sneak out to the garden, they want to make violent love, starting from biting each other fingers. Edwards notices that “[...] in the behaviour of the lovers there is, then, a ferocity that ignores the narrow-minded propriety demanded by the society in which they live. They exist only for the fulfillment of their sexual longing for each other.”²³ Nonetheless, they are disturbed by the other quests and external factors – during the first kiss the man spots the white, marble feet of the nearby statue,

18 Ibidem, p. 30; Gibson, Ian. *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí*. London: Faber & Faber, 1997, pp. 245–249. For example, in his letters Dalí suggested that the famous love scene in the garden should be more drastic and sexualized. In the final Buñuel's version, the lovers suck each other's fingers and the woman licks the toe of the marble sculpture. Dalí wanted to show the man ripping the woman's toe nail with his teeth and then the next shot was to show the dissolve of the female protagonist's lips into vagina.

19 Durgnat, Raymond., op. cit., p. 45.

20 Edwards, Gwynne., op. cit., p. 32.

21 Durgnat, Raymond., op. cit., pp. 38–39.

22 Ibidem, p. 39–40.

23 Edwards, Gwynne., op. cit., p. 32.

and the woman, focusing on the same, starts kissing the exposed, cold toes. The sexual anxiety, as Edwards further observes, is defeated by the social norms and restraints²⁴. The passion is never consumed and, contrary to what Dalí wanted to show in the mentioned scene, the intercourse remains symbolic. The last part of the film also revolves around crossing the sexual norms. The place of action changes from the “Imperial Rome” into the medieval castle and the subtitles explain that in the premises there happened the 120-days orgy – what is an allusion to Marquis de Sade’s *The 120 Days of Sodom*²⁵. However, what is most significant in the context of searching for the reasons of adding pornographic scenes to the films – the orgy does not appear on the screen. The director’s attention is focused on the symbolic meaning of the murder committed by one of the orgiasts, Duc de Blangis, who bears a resemblance to Jesus Christ²⁶. The sexual transgression remains only in the form of written words, and it depends entirely on the viewer how he will imagine the orgy happening behind the closed door.

Instead of the actual content of the film, the picture was banned by the censorship. It is significant that after the first viewing (around 29 September 1930), *The Age of Gold* was given a visa and allowed to be screened²⁷. Though, as Paul Hammond finds out analyzing the resume²⁸ presented to Buñuel by the Commission, the censors did not watch the film. After the first public screening, organized by Noailles on 22nd October, the aristocrats, outraged by the critique of their social group presented on the screen, took actions to ban the picture. The following screenings were accompanied by the protests and demonstrations, what led to the withdrawn of the granted visa²⁹. However, explaining the reasons for banning the picture, the Commission de Censure did not point out the political critique presented in the film. Instead, the censors lied that “since their first viewing certain ‘pornographic’ scenes had been added.”³⁰ The Commission did not precise what scenes they meant and what was considered to be obscure. Therefore, it can be assumed, that they lied about the last part of the film and “the orgy” described before the action, as after the protests they demanded to cut off the last scene immediately³¹. The controversies around the supposed pornographic content in *The Age of Gold* led to creating the dark legend, spread mostly by those who

24 Ibidem, p. 33.

25 Durnat, Raymond., op. cit., p. 45.

26 Ibidem. The fake Jesus murders a woman, who tries to escape from the orgy. She is, perhaps, one of the lovers appearing in the previous parts of the film.

27 Hammond, Paul. “L’âge d’or.” *British Film Institute. Film Classics*. Vol. 1. Ed. Edward Buscombe and Rob White. London, New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, p. 131.

28 Ibidem.

29 Ibidem, pp. 131–132.

30 Ibidem, p. 132.

31 Ibidem.

have not actually seen the film³². However, Buñuel's picture was "dead and buried"³³ – there left only seven copies, which were distributed further by the private collectors³⁴.

Analyzing the history of the controversies around *The Age of Gold* in the context of the appearance of the pornographic scenes that "were not there," it is worth mentioning the project entitled *Deep Gold* (2013), directed by Julian Rosefeldt. In this film, released over eighty years after Buñuel's picture, the author refers to the dark legend of the 'imagined' sex scenes. Rosefeldt's picture is the part of the anthology film *The Scorpion's Sting* (2013–2014), designed by the artists focused on the reinterpretations of *The Age of Gold*³⁵. The filmmaker shows the interest in the last part of the picture and depicts his vision of the infamous orgy. He reinterprets the epilogue as the feminist manifesto, so "his version shows a world full of lust and desire, in which a weak male protagonist becomes overwhelmed by omnipresent female sexuality."³⁶ The orgy has a place in the burlesque club called Deep Gold. Furthermore, the author mixes the aesthetics known from the Buñuel's film (e.g., the fragmented narration or the mysterious atmosphere of the black and white shots) with the moral standards known from the modern times. The world he presents had its sexual revolution, and the pornography is easily accessible³⁷. In this case, the author substitute the anti-bourgeoisie character of the original picture with the open critique of the pornographization of the cultural industry and the shape of the modern society, in which obscenity is a part of daily routine. The director juxtaposes this picture with the sexuality in Buñuel's film to underline the moral changes, brought, in his optics, by the traumatic events of the two world wars. As Linda Williams observes, Buñuel in his film was "questioning of society and [showed] illusory unity of the social body [...] through the disruptive force of erotic desire"³⁸ – what can also be said in the context of Rosefeldt's work. However, it is worth mentioning that in the film from 2013, the author presents the pornographic scenes in a grotesque manner – the protagonists wear the costumes resembling naked bodies with enormously enlarged genitalia. The costumes that pretend to be the real bodies relate to the manner in which Buñuel presented sexuality and violence in his film. As Williams notes, the director, for the most of his picture, does not present them explicitly – even though the plot revolves around the trans-

32 Ibidem, pp. 131–132. Hammond observes that around the 1930s the film was seen by no more than three hundred viewers.

33 Ibidem, p. 133.

34 Ibidem, pp. 133–134.

35 Galería. Helga de Alvear. "Julian Rosefeldt. Deep Gold." *Galería. Helga de Alvear*. 16 Feb. 2017. Web. 10. Feb. 2018.

36 Ibidem.

37 Ibidem.

38 Williams, Linda. *Figures of Desire: A Theory and Analysis of Surrealist Film*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, p. 109.

gression from one (violence) to another (sexual desire)³⁹. The same happens in Rosefeldt's film – the enlarged genitalia refer to the surrealist depictions of the figures of desire as symbols not fully revealed on the screen.

Rape and revenge: Swedish style

Thriller – a cruel picture (*Thriller – en grym film*, 1973) is one of the films with pornographic content intentionally added during the post-production process by its director – Bo Arne Vibenius. However, what is also significant while analyzing the impact of this act on the further history of the picture, is the fact that the director transgressed the determinants of rape and revenge subgenre. He depicted the rape as the action that can sexually stimulate the viewer, what, after adding extra scenes showing it, changed the meaning of the protagonist's suffering.

It is worth underlining that the decision about adding pornographic content in post-production was related to the director's need of improving the financial situation. His previous production, a family picture entitled *How Marie met Fredrik?* (*Hur Marie träffade Fredrik*, 1969), caused Vibenius's bankruptcy. The unfortunate course of events made the director search for the means of expression that, as he believed, will bring the audience to the cinema – transgression, perversion and explicit sexuality⁴⁰. It is worth pointing out that *Thriller* was released two years after the removal of the abolition of obscenity clause from the Swedish constitution⁴¹. One of the results of that change was an expansion of nudity and pornography – from that moment it could be legally produced, watched or bought by every Swedish citizen above 15 years old⁴². Although the 1960s and 1970s were the decades of liberalization⁴³, pornographic scenes of sexual intercourse, with the penetration portrayed explicitly, were not allowed. Soon, legalization of pornography showed that adult content might be very profitable, as it was observed in Denmark – a Scandinavian pioneer in removing obscenity clauses from the law⁴⁴. Bo Arne Vibenius was aware of the fact that in the

39 Ibidem, p. 142.

40 Heller-Nicholas, Alexandra. *Rape-Revenge Films. A Critical Study*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2011, p. 40.

41 Hedling, Edwin. "Breaking the Swedish Sex Barrier: Painful Lustfulness in Ingmar Bergman's *The Silence*." *Film International*, vol.6, no.6, 2008, p. 17.

42 Paasonen, Susanna. "Smutty Swedes: Sex films, pornography and good sex." *Tainted Love: Screening Sexual Perversities*. Ed. Darren Kerr, Donna Peberdy. London: I.B. Tauris, 2015, p. 5.

43 Larsson, Maria. "The Death of Porn? An Autopsy of 'Scandinavian Sin' in the Twenty-first Century." *A Companion to Nordic Cinema*. Ed. Mette Hjort, Ursula Lindqvist. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2016, p. 568.

44 Stevenson, Jack. *Scandinavian Blue: The Erotic Cinema of Sweden and Denmark in the 1960s and 1970s*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2010, p. 116.

Northern Europe nudity was at the pick of its popularity, so he even advertised his picture as “the first film banned in the history of Swedish cinema.”⁴⁵

Thriller tells the story of a girl raped in childhood by a perpetrator never convicted of his assault due to the mental illness. Madeleine⁴⁶, who has post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and remains mute since the attack, lives with her parents on a family farm, where she works. Once, while she is waiting for the bus that goes to the closest town, the girl is interrupted by a handsome car driver, who offers her a lift in his sports vehicle. The girl agrees and decides to eat dinner with newly met character, who gives her poisoned wine. While Madeleine sleeps for three days, the culprit injects her drugs. Addicted from heroine, she is forced to become a prostitute. Vibenius creates typical *rape and revenge* plot, where the raped girl tries to run away from the antagonist. However, when she discovers that her parents committed suicide after reading hateful letters sent under extortion, she starts seeking for vengeance.

The dark legend and controversies around the film have been growing since its premiere in Cannes in 1973⁴⁷. The Swedish film contains pornographic inserts in the form of multiple close-ups depicting vaginal and anal penetration. Through adding pornographic content, Vibenius tried to increase marketing value of his film and improve his financial situation. Later on, in an interview conducted by Jan Bruun, the director admitted that his picture was not of great value⁴⁸. Making efforts to increase interest in the film, Vibenius hired Christina Lindberg, who was well-known for her role in *Maid in Sweden* (1971). Before, the young starlet played in several sexploitation films, which, despite highly titillating scenes, did not offer pictures of sexual intercourses⁴⁹. The explicit sex scenes with a famous actress, added to *Thriller* in post-production, were supposed to be attractive enough to interest fans of her lighter, soft-core erotic pictures. It is noteworthy that Lindberg did not participate in scenes of sexual intercourses and, according to information given by the actress, hardcore scenes were played by a performing couple, who used nicknames “Romeo and Juliet.”⁵⁰

Bo Arne Vibenius, in an interview conducted by Jan Bruun, exposed that his second picture was produced with the aim to become “the most commercial film ever made.”⁵¹ However, the Swedish filmmaker has violated one of the most fundamental

45 That statement was a marketing gimmick, as *Witchcraft Through the Ages* (*Häxan*, 1922) was first banned Swedish film in history. See: Stevenson, Jack. *Witchcraft Through the Ages: The Story of Häxan, the World's Strangest Film & the Man Who Made It*. Farleigh: FAB Press, 2006, pp. 117–118.

46 In dubbed film version this character is named Frida.

47 Larsson, Maria. “Ingmar Bergman...,” op. cit., p. 55.

48 Heller-Nicholas, Alexandra., op. cit., p. 40.

49 Ibidem, p. 41.

50 Larsson, Maria. “Ingmar Bergman...,” op. cit., p. 55.

51 Heller-Nicholas, Alexandra., op. cit., p. 40.

rules of *rape and revenge* subgenre. According to Alexandra Heller-Nicholas, by adding hardcore scenes, Bo Arne Vibenius intended to make rape sexually titillating⁵². Pornographic excerpts appear during sexual intercourses between the protagonist and her clients, who are brought by the kidnapper. Moreover, the visitors do not hesitate to use the violence against abused Madeleine. In one of the interviews, Christina Lindberg revealed that she did not know about adding explicit scenes in post-production, but she admitted that she was not surprised. She commented on the situation: “this was typical Vibenius to add even more,”⁵³ what indicates that since the beginning, the director’s primary purpose was to include anything that could increase the commercial value of the production.

Hardcore inserts, which were supposed to arouse the viewers, differs *Thriller* from rest of the most significant *rape and revenge* pictures because of their meaning for the film. For example, Meir Zarchi, the director of infamous *I Spit on Your Grave* (1978), also presented extended rape scene, which lasts for over 30 minutes. However, according to the words of the producers, the sexual violence was supposed to terrify a viewer not to attract and arouse him⁵⁴. After the premiere, the film has quickly gained a notorious reputation, but Zarchi tried to stand for his project during screenings and interviews. The director underlined that in *I Spit on Your Grave* he condemned sexual violence against women and he tried to make the film undertaking critical social issues. Zarchi truly believed that “he was making a feminist film and an anti-rape film.”⁵⁵ On the contrary, Vibenius used the adult content without discussing the social implications of the protagonist’s trauma. Instead, the added scenes aim at showing the variety of possible sexual intercourses with someone under oppression. The case of *Thriller* – the picture changed by the pornographic scenes added to entertain the viewers, strongly reminds the case of *Caligula* (1979), described in the following part of the article. In both projects, the leading actors were not aware of producers’ hidden intentions and the plans to add pornographic content during the post-production process.

52 Ibidem.

53 Carlsson, Ronny. “Visiting Christina Lindberg.” *Film Bizarro*, 2009. Web. 10 March 2018. <http://www.filmbizarro.com/christinalindberg.php>.

54 Ebert, Roger. “I Spit on Your Grave.” *Rogerebert.com*. 17.07.1980. Web. 17 Feb 2018. <https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/i-spit-on-your-grave-1980>. The film was inspired by the event the director experienced. During a walk, Zarchi saw a woman covered with blood, who was walking naked around park. He noticed that the girl was attacked and raped, so he instantly called the police and tried to help the victim and was one of witnesses in court.

55 Crowdus, Gary. “Cult Films Commentary Tracks and Censorious Critics an Interview with John Bloom.” *Black and White Photographs*, vol. 28, no. 32–34, 2003, p. 33.

Deep throat of Caligula

While writing about the controversies that arose around the production of Tinto Brass's⁵⁶ film, it should be mentioned that the producers managed to hire such well-known actors as Hellen Mirren, John Gielgud, or Malcolm McDowell (in the titular role). The film was financed by *Penthouse* – widely known as the producer of adult magazines and videos. Despite that, it was possible to gather respectable actors on the *Caligula's* set mostly because *Penthouse* group had been already involved in film production before. The American company has co-financed three different feature films⁵⁷, which received a lot of significant awards (e. g., Oscars nominations), as well as did well in box-office. Therefore, *Caligula* was the company's first attempt at financing film production without cooperating with any other subjects⁵⁸. The experience as co-producer of Oscar films in the past helped Bob Guccione⁵⁹ – the leading producer – to attract big stars and talented crew. He agreed on Gore Vidal, with whom he co-worked on *Ben Hur* (1959) script, to write a screenplay of the story inspired by the vivid character known from the history of the Roman Empire. The producers have spent a splurge budget that finally rose from 17 to 22 millions of USD, as they aimed to increase the artistic values of their project⁶⁰.

Nowadays, Tinto Brass' film is mostly recognized as a big-budget porn production. It is significant that during the shooting the actors had no clues about the final shape of *Caligula*. After the final shot on the set, Bob Guccione and his assistant took over film reels and rented a studio, where they recorded additional six minutes of pornographic hardcore material. New scenes were edited and included in the film, despite the disapproval of Tinto Brass, who demanded the removal of his name from credits⁶¹. The scenes shot without the involvement of Italian director had strictly pornographic character and did not have any direct impact on film's plot, yet caused controversies. Additional footage presented not only vaginal penetration but also depictions of ejaculation.

Adding hardcore sex scenes caused distribution problems of Brass's film. At first, Guccione refused to send the copy of the picture to the American board responsible for assigning ratings – Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA). The produc-

56 Tinto Brass – known as a director of erotic and soft-core films, such as *Salon Kitty* (1976).

57 Here should be mentioned the films such as *Chinatown* (1974), or *The Day of The Locust* (1975).

58 Volkman, Ernest. "Bob Guccione Caligula Interview from Penthouse May 1980." *Penthouse*, Vol. 5. 1980. Ed. Bob Guccione. Web. 19 Feb 2018. <https://web.archive.org/web/20140808055043/http://www.malcolminterviews.com/lu.com/guccione80.html>.

59 Bob Guccione – The founder and editor of *Penthouse* magazine, which offered more extreme erotic content than, for example, Hugh Hefner's *Playboy*.

60 Hawes, William. *Caligula and the Fight for Artistic Freedom: The Making, Marketing and Impact of the Bob Guccione Film*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2009, p. 83.

61 Volkman, Ernest., op. cit.

er claimed that the MPAA would have given this film “X” rating, which, according to him, would be “unfair,” considering the effort put to create such monumental picture. Instead, he decided to rate *Caligula* as suitable for the mature audience only – what could have helped to avoid censoring the material⁶². It is significant that MPAA’s “X” category would increase problems with promotion and distribution, as in the 1970s many pornographic productions used the same rating to attract the potential viewers, promising the adult content. According to Guccione, this rating would be unfair, as *Caligula*, despite explicit sex scenes, should not be classified as porn production. He defined pornography as “a work of bad art, as opposed to good art”⁶³ – what, in his optics, did not describe his film at all. To avoid connotations with adult cinema, the producer had even decided to book the particular cinemas, specializing in foreign and art films, to screen *Caligula* for the selected audience⁶⁴.

According to William Hawes, despite the fact that box-office results indicated that the audience preferred the unrated version of the film⁶⁵, the producers decided to release alternative versions of the picture, due to problems with distribution. Because Guccione decided not to send film copy to MPAA, it was almost impossible to screen uncensored production and, as a result, gain financial profits from *Caligula*. In this case, in October 1981, the producers finally decided to release the “R” rated version that featured many alternate angles and was cut from 156 to 105 minutes⁶⁶. Despite the fact that notorious reputation caused financial problems during theatrical release, the film quickly gained cult status, what was related to the critical success it gained. The audience, lured by the dark legend of the “big-budget porn production,” strived to obtain the copy of the picture from the video market – on which the MPAA had not significant influence..

It is worth mentioning that the pornographic scenes added to *Caligula* in post-production stimulated the imagination of the other directors – mostly related to the porn business. The further versions of the possible sexual intercourses of the Emperor (and his court) have appeared in other costume porn productions since the 1980s. Among them, the film by Joe D’Amato, entitled *Caligula: The Deviant Emperor* (1997) and its sequel *The Emperor Caligula: The Untold Story* (1982), seems to gain the most considerable interest of the publicity⁶⁷.

62 Ibidem.

63 Ibidem.

64 Price, Stephen. *A New Pot of Gold: Hollywood Under the Electronic Rainbow, 1980 – 1989*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, p. 349.

65 Hawes, William., op. cit., p. 188.

66 “Caligula (1979). Alternate Versions.” *IMDb*. Web. 15 March 2018. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0080491/alternateversions>.

67 See: “Caligula: Follia del potere (1997).” *IMDb*. Web. 14 March 2018. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0167068/> and “Caligula (1982).” *IMDb*. Web. 15 March 2018. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0082133/>. According to the commentaries on IMDb website, as well as *Porn Hub* portal, D’Amato’s films have

Conclusion

The films presented above state the vivid examples of the productions transgressing the popular practices of the directors, who decide to depict human sexuality on the screen. As it can be observed from the analysis of the chosen cases, adding pornographic content in postproduction causes controversies and problems with distribution. However, while the dark legend of *The Age of Gold* arose because of the actions that were taken by the censorship, as a result of the transgressive potential of the film and the public disturbance it caused, *Caligula* and *Thriller* were edited on purpose. By using pornographic content, Bo Arne Vibenius aimed at creating the ultimate product that was supposed to gain him profits, while Bob Guccione tried to create an “explicit adult film within a feature film narrative with high production values.”⁶⁸ The presented pictures are the exceptions in the film history, as the explicit scenes were (and still are) often cut out in the postproduction process.

Aforementioned examples show that the tendency to exploit sex themes and explicit depictions of sexual intercourses appeared mostly in the 1970s. Regardless the transgressive potential of the earlier examples, as *The Golden Age*, adding pornographic scenes to nonpornographic films on purpose remains the domain of the directors and producers of the times after sexual revolution. Cultural changes in Europe and the United States caused sex to become one of the most popular (and well-selling) subjects in cinema. The presented analysis can be the starting point to further research on using sex as a factor increasing the commercial potential of the film.

the community of fans and are in the top searching results (source: *Porn Hub*) among other productions concerning the character of Caligula.

68 *The Encyclopedia of Epic Films*. Ed. Constantine Santas, James M. Wilson, Maria Colavito, et. al. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014, p. 115.

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Summary

The presented article analyses the reasons and results of adding pornographic scenes to nonpornographic films by the chosen Western directors. The authors, starting from the case of the of the dark legend of Luis Buñuel's *The Age of Gold* (*L'âge d'or*, 1930), summarize the history of the phenomenon and observe it using the methodologies of production studies. Furthermore, concerning on the films by Bo Arne Vibenius or Tinto Brass, the authors research on the implications of the directors' decisions and the ways they reversed the meaning of changing the film in post-production. The examples of the films mentioned in this article come from different cinematographies, periods and genres, what underlines the unique character of the chosen cases.

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Reflection on Postmodern Nomadism in French Science Fiction Games (1987–1992)

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As it is known, the products of popular culture reflect the contemporaneity of everyday life in “a particular culture that entangles meaning, materiality and social practice”¹. Film, television, digital games, and other types of mass media are rooted in their respective cultures, simultaneously shaping and reproducing users’ views on social practices, as well as on political and socioeconomic processes ruling in societies. Moreover, it is sometimes the case that popular culture becomes a language for articulating the hopes and fears of society. As regards films and television, this case was thoroughly examined by numerous researchers, especially regarding ideology articulated within particular genres². Furthermore, digital games are not free from socioeconomic conditions which constitute them, and some publications devote specific attention to their connections with neoliberalism and capitalism³.

What often binds digital games with genre studies is the popular convention used by this type of media. Science fiction, defined as literary fiction featuring subjects or themes such as “spaceships, interplanetary or interstellar travel; aliens and the encounter with aliens; [...] time travel; [and] futuristic utopias and dystopias”⁴, does not necessarily mean pure escapism. Moreover, as Donald M. Hassler and Clyde Wilcox

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- 1 Storey, John. “Culture: The ‘Popular’ and the ‘Material.’” *Materiality and Popular Culture: The Popular Life of Things*. Ed. Anna Malinowska and Karolina Lebek. New York and London: Routledge, 2017, p. 18.
 - 2 See for example Turner, Graeme. *Film as Social Practice*. London and New York: Routledge, 1999; Neale, Steve. *Genre and Hollywood*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000, p. 208–217; Altman, Rick. *Film/Genre*. London: British Film Institute, 1999, p. 94.
 - 3 Dyer-Witheford, Nick and Greig De Peuter. *Games of Empire: Global Capitalism and Video Games*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.
 - 4 Roberts, Adam. *Science Fiction: Second Edition*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 12.

state, “[t]he best science fiction frequently includes a sophisticated depiction of political interactions”⁵.

This article examines an extraordinary example of using science fiction iconography in digital games to expose preoccupations with the future state of the particular country. As the time of analysis, the period between 1987 and 1992 was chosen, which marked a significant emergence of French games commenting on the mentality of contemporary citizens within the science fiction convention. It is worth mentioning here that France, contrary to the United States and the United Kingdom, had not been specialized in science fiction games, and French programmers had a stronger predilection to use contemporary or historical settings for their computerized works⁶. The literary science fiction in France, once having held a high position in the 1970s, in the 1980s was also in crisis⁷, and in the same year 1987 the most significant avant-garde SF comic book magazine, *Métal Hurlant*, was closed. Despite unfavorable conditions for the development of science fiction in France, however, this literary convention became present in French digital games. This article aims to prove that French science fiction games notably expressed the general condition of the domestic society in an era dominated by progressive globalization and reappearing nomadic lifestyles. For the following analysis four games popular at the time – *Captain Blood*⁸, *Les voyageurs du temps*⁹, *Another World*¹⁰, and *Flashback*¹¹ – were chosen. All of them resonated with gaming communities, with *Flashback* achieving the most spectacular international success¹². Thus, they could represent the spirit of the players of that time. The analysis presented here will necessarily be limited, textual and include the following fragments of the games, marked with brackets:

- beginning sequences [B];
- ending sequences [E];
- the suggested material situation of the protagonists [MS];
- kernels, significant events affecting this situation [K];

5 Hassler, Donald M. and Clyde Wilcox. “Introduction.” *Political Science Fiction*. Ed. Donald M. Hassler and Clyde Wilcox. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1997, p. 1.

6 Donovan, Tristan. *Replay: The History of Video Games*. Lewes: Yellow Ant, 2010, p. 128.

7 Lanuque, Jean-Guillaume. “La Science-Fiction Française Face Au «Grand Cauchemar Des Années 1980» : Une Lecture Politique, 1981–1993.” *ReS Futurae* 3.3 (2012): n. pag. Web. 17 Oct. 2017.

8 Ulrich, Philippe, Didier Bouchon, and Jean-Michel Jarre. *Captain Blood*. Vers. Atari ST. Paris: ERE Informatique, 1987. Computer software.

9 Cuisset, Paul, and Eric Chahi. *Les Voyageurs Du Temps: Le Menace*. Vers. Amiga. Paris: Delphine Software International, 1989. Computer software.

10 Chahi, Eric. *Another World*. Vers. Amiga. Paris: Delphine Software International, 1991. Computer software.

11 Cuisset, Paul. *Flashback*. Vers. Amiga. Paris: Delphine Software International, 1992. Computer software.

12 Blanchet, Alexis. “France.” *Video Games Around the World*. Ed. Mark J. P. Wolf, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2015, pp. 182–183.

- implied style of gameplay [S].

Then these games will be placed in the context of postmodern and existential philosophies, as expressing the atmosphere dominating in French society of the 1980s and 1990s.

The Sociopolitical Background

In 1981, the parliamentary elections in France were won by left-wing Socialist Party; its leader, François Mitterrand, was subsequently elected the President. Having gained the confidence of the people, Mitterrand enacted several economic reforms which aimed at the reinstitution of welfare state and strengthening the position of public institutions. However, the nationalization of banks and enterprises, along with increased expenditure on pensions and benefits, did not lead to increased economic growth. In 1983, the country encountered a crisis, resulting in reduced expenses and the resignation of Pierre Mauroy, the first Prime Minister after Mitterrand presidency, a year later¹³. Although Mitterrand stayed in office, the 1986 parliamentary elections resulted in removing Socialists from power and conservative measures adopted by neo-Gaullists, with Jacques Chirac becoming the Prime Minister. The following cohabitation between two opposing centers of power resulted in political instability and undermined public confidence in the state, as previously nationalized public enterprises were being sold again, even despite the presidential resistance.

The bleak economic situation of France influenced public atmosphere and feeling of unhappiness. With the country sailing towards neoliberalism, there was a significant change in the experiences of both the May 1968 generation and the 'génération Mitterrand.' As Luc Boltanski and Éve Chiapello claim, while the decade 1968–1978 marked high trade unionism, stable jobs, and ubiquitous interest with social class, during the analogous decade 1985–1995 trade unions became weaker, and the position of workers worsened¹⁴. Ultraliberal turns occurring in Thatcherian Great Britain, and the Reaganian United States were visible in France as well, leading to desperate measures. Not coincidentally, the 1986 suicide rate in France reached 24.2 per 100000 persons, the highest level documented in the history of the country¹⁵.

13 See Cole, Alistair. "French Socialists in Office: Lessons from Mitterrand and Jospin." *Modern & Contemporary France* 7.1 (1999), pp. 73–77.

14 Boltanski, Luc and Éve Chiapello. *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. Trans. Gregory Elliott. London and New York: Verso, 2007, pp. 167–168; See also W. Rand Smith. *Crisis in the French Labour Movement: A Grassroots' Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987.

15 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. "Suicide Rates." OECD: Paris, 2017. Web. 10 Oct. 2017.

Such depressing stagnation of France coincided with an ongoing global tendency to reinstate nomadic style of life. Zygmunt Bauman writes in his book *Liquid Modernity* that contemporary modernity brought the domination of mobile over the settled. “[T]he settled majority is ruled by the nomadic and exterritorial elite”¹⁶, which means that success, just like in the premodern era, became again a domain of people who can move instantly from one country to another. To survive, the generation of the liquid modernity must be mobile, the truth well known from such films as *Up in the Air*¹⁷. Thus nomadism, romanticized by Western philosophers and writers glorifying its supposed freedom of choice¹⁸, according to Bauman became more of the coercion. Neoliberalism brought higher freedom of expressing individuality, but along with freedom came uncertainty: “responsibility resting on one’s own shoulders” portends a paralyzing fear of risk and failure without the right to appeal and seek redress.”¹⁹ Nan Ellin notes that while confronting with such fears, postmodern individuals responded with “retribalization, nostalgia, escapism, and spiritual (re)born.”²⁰ Escapism, here considered as withdrawal from participating in monotonous social life, became a landmark of the playable characters in French science fiction games.

Living in the Shadow of Postmodernity

The beginning sequences of the analyzed French science fiction games, while explaining the initial situation of the playable characters, characterize severe conditions of living in postmodern society. As Michelle Rodino-Colocino reminds, the 1980s marked the high popularity of computing, as well as the emergence of the ‘geek’ culture composed of white male adolescents with knowledge about computers²¹. The protagonists of two titles, *Captain Blood*’s Bob Morlock and *Another World*’s Lester Chaykin, are depicted as programmers who built their alternate worlds. As the player can learn from the *Captain Blood* manual, Morlock is a Parisian who becomes trapped in his program and duplicated several times within his alternate universe. Of course, this is not yet the actual game, but the background for the character is not revealed further in the game. However, the intro of *Captain Blood* depicts an illustration of

16 Bauman, Zygmunt. *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001, p. 13.

17 *Up in the Air*. Dir. Jason Reitman. Perf. George Clooney, Vera Farmiga. Paramount Pictures, 2012.

18 This topic is thoroughly discussed by Peters, John Durham. “Exile, Nomadism, and Diaspora.” *Visual Culture: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*. Ed. Joanne Morra and Marquard Smith. London and New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 141–160.

19 Bauman, Zygmunt, op. cit., p. 19.

20 Ellin, Nan. “Shelter From the Storm, or: Form Follows Fear and Vice Versa.” *Architecture of Fear*. Ed. Nan Ellin. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997, p. 26.

21 Rodino-Colocino, Michelle. “Geek Jeremiads: Speaking the Crisis of Job Loss by Opposing Offshored and H-1B Labor.” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 9.1 (2012), p. 29.

multiplied fetus skeletons, strongly inspired by the works of Swiss surrealist painter H. R. Giger, which connotes the multiplication of the hero [B]. In turn, a cinematic intro informs the player about the background for Chaykin's situation, and during the beginning sequence, one can see him working on a scientific project, totally separated from other beings. Chaykin dwells in a bunker surrounded by barbed wire, and the name of operating system used by him – "Peanut" – emphasizes the isolation of the hero [B]. However, Chaykin's hermit lifestyle is interrupted when electromagnetic discharges, disrupting his experiment, transfer him to an alternate reality populated by aliens [K]. Apart from these two titles, which use clear self-referential threads²², there are also two games featuring the same type of a broke, precarious protagonist. The anonymous hero of *Les Voyageurs du temps*, whose name is not even known, works as a window cleaner doing his tedious job on a skyscraper, while its owner insults him from the top [B]. However, during the progress of the game, the player can discover a time machine, which sends the hero to a different, medieval reality; there the protagonist learns that the Earth will be attacked in the distant future by aliens, and joins the resistance [K]. Finally, the protagonist of *Flashback*, Conrad Hart, wakes in the middle of a jungle, far away from his homeland planet occupied by an alien race [B]. He neither remembers his identity nor has the money required for the return trip, and the only possibility to gather the funds is the participation in a reality show relying on killing other contestants [K].

As we can see, the motivation for the player is built upon several features absent in the player characters' situation [MS]. They are inauthentic (*Captain Blood*), lonely (*Another World*), occupy lower social positions (*Les Voyageurs du temps*) or do not know the past (*Flashback*). During the 1980s and 1990s, these values could be attributed to the postmodernity. First of all, according to Guy M. Thompson, the postmodern condition rejected the Heideggerian notion of authenticity, the capability of "accepting the anxiety and hardship that our everyday existence entails."²³ Martin Heidegger, attributed traditionally to "solid" modernity, among the contemporary habits of humanity, indicated living inauthentically – which means that people do not consider the possibility of their death in the future, are displaced from the world and fall into alienation²⁴. Nonetheless, postmodern generations forgot about such admonitions,

22 The creator of *Another World*, Éric Chahi, confirmed that Chaykin is the *alter ego* of himself. See Ichbiah, Daniel. *Eric Chahi: parcours d'un créateur de jeux vidéo français*. Cergy: Ed. Pix'n Love, 2013, p. 114.

23 Thompson, Guy M. "Postmodernism and Psychoanalysis: A Heideggerian Critique of Postmodernist Malaise and the Question of Authenticity." *Way Beyond Freud: Postmodern Psychoanalysis*. Ed. Joseph Reppen, Jane Tucker, and Martin A. Schulman. London: Open Gate Press, 2004, p. 186.

24 Martin Heidegger. *Being and Time*. Trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962, pp. 222–223.

celebrating inauthenticity as such²⁵. The careful reflection about the past was replaced by “living the moment to the full,”²⁶ without looking forward to the future. Nonetheless, the future has been out of sight due to postmodern thinking about social issues. According to Peter Taylor-Gobby, the supporters of postmodern thought such as Jacques Lyotard ignored the issue of increasing social inequalities caused by neoliberalism²⁷. When the boss scorns the player character at the beginning of *Les Voyageurs du temps*, the simple frame composition reveals the economic difference between the “top” and the “bottom” of the social ladder [B].

An Illusion of Happy End

To these factors forming the postmodern condition – inauthenticity, alienation, living the moment, and poverty – one can also add detachment from the homeland. The science fiction convention includes time and (especially) space travel, and thus constant movement. In the times of increasing social mobility, this convention seemed to accurately express the condition of modern society, whose rhizomic structure condemns individuals to be rooted out and drifting²⁸. This state of rootlessness is visible in French science fiction games, whose heroes have to be always in motion. For example, the gameplay of *Captain Blood* is limited in time. As time goes by, the protagonist diminishes, slowly losing his life in favor of his clones, which he must destroy to survive. Without knowledge about the coordinates, the player has to travel from one planet to another, receiving the data suitable for discovering the locations of the clones [S]. Therefore, the gameplay of *Captain Blood* requires constant wandering from the player, which demonstrates the nomadic lifestyle, with the continuous fight for the protagonist’s authenticity in a world where “we are no longer ourselves.”²⁹

Flashback’s gameplay does also include a sequence based on constant moving in the world. The city of New Washington, where the critical part of the game begins, is divided into four sectors symbolically named after four terrestrial continents: America, Africa, Asia, and Europe. The player transports himself or herself by train, performing tasks on all the ‘continents’ [S]. One can realize that the New Washington is a symbolic *ecumenopolis*, to dwell in which means to move consistently. Visiting a city is like visiting the whole world; instead of becoming a “global village,” the Earth

25 Thompson, Guy M., op. cit.

26 Bauman, Zygmunt. *Consuming Life*. Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007, p. 105.

27 Taylor-Gobby, Peter. “Postmodernism and Social Policy: A Great Leap Backwards?” *Journal of Social Policy* 23.3 (1994), pp. 385–404.

28 Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Trans. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005 [1987], pp. 1–25.

29 Ibidem, p. 5.

turned into the “global city.”³⁰ The uncontrolled development of the cities in such games as *Flashback* and *Les Voyageurs du temps* seems to result only in huge Molochs.

In contrast to *Captain Blood*'s rhizomic structure, *Another World* appears to be more linear, but here the player also is obliged to instant action. After Lester being materialized in an alternative world, the gameworld forces the player character to continuous escape from danger. If Lester stops for a moment in front of the pool, he will be captured by an octopus. If, after he has escaped from the cage into which the aliens put him, he stops only for a moment, he will be shot dead by a guard who appears from nowhere. Consequently, apart from shooting aliens in the act of defense, the player character must almost perpetually “run forward” [S]. In J. Glenn Gray's interpretation of Heidegger, “running forward” equates with experiencing “not yet,” the future, seen as “a realm of present possibility.”³¹ The player's actions in *Another World*, while taking place in the futuristic world, are then directed to survive in the present: the present postmodern world.

The latter example shows us that the French science fiction games from the 1987–1992 period, while containing the iconography specific to a given genre, are suspended in the present – as well as the protagonists. These games conclude themselves with similar, illusory happy ends [E]. For example, *Another World*'s Lester finds a native, who becomes his ally and friend. *Captain Blood*'s Bob Morlock destroys all his clones and seduces an anthropomorphic female. The anonymous protagonist of *Les voyageurs du temps* saves the futuristic Paris from alien invaders and gains the respect he desired. Finally, *Flashback*'s Conrad Hart recovers his memory. These endings, however, have a hidden agenda since the main problem with which the players fought – rootlessness – was not resolved. At the end of *Another World*, Lester saves his life but loses consciousness, and his friend flies away with him, sitting on the dragon. They float toward the blue eternity, staying in the state of nomadic limbo. In turn, Hart after destroying the headquarters of aliens realizes that his spaceship will never locate his homeland planet, and hibernates himself to float in the black eternity. Similarly, the *Captain Blood* and *Les Voyageurs du temps* protagonists remain in the alternate worlds, never returning to contemporary Paris. The player has to leave his or her characters in the liminal state, from which there is no return.

Conclusion: Reflection and Post-Reflection

French game developers during the 1987–1992 period had a right intuition about what was supposed to happen not only to France but also to all developed countries at the

30 Afshar, Farokh. “Balancing Global City with Global Village.” *Habitat International* 22.4 (1998), pp. 375–387.

31 Gray, J. Glenn. “The Idea of Death in Existentialism.” *The Journal of Philosophy* 48.5 (1951), p. 123.

time of increasing globalization and the triumph of postmodernism with its neo-liberal demands. Mitterrand's governments did not prevent a global trend towards dismantling the "welfare state." In 1993, the Socialists failed to win parliamentary elections, which paved the way for the right-wing parties to continue reprivatizing state-owned enterprises and to adopt the French economy to the needs of the free market. At the same time, the preservation of privileges for administrative staff and experienced employees placed the French economy in a liminal state – no longer social, but not yet libertarian. Timothy B. Smith's statement that "France is in crisis"³² would correspond with the discussed period. However, after the defeat of the Socialists, both gaming and literary science fiction in France slowly homed in for the Francis Fukuyama's "end of history" paradigm³³. As neoliberalism became more deeply rooted in the French economy, game developers were less willing to focus on its negative results. When the majority of examined games (*Captain Blood*, *Another World*, *Flashback*) were followed by their respective sequels (*Commander Blood*³⁴, *Heart of the Alien*³⁵, *Fade in Black*³⁶), the issues of postmodern condition were not as highlighted as in the original games. Only nomadic lifestyle was still an object of admiration. The ending sequence of *Fade to Black*, concludes the player's actions with such words: "Your courage has given back to our race the very essence of its being: freedom."³⁷ Instead of stimulating reflection with dark visions of the future, French science fiction game developers began to console him or her with hope for a better tomorrow, hope to find himself or herself in neoliberal France.

32 Smith, Timothy B. *France in Crisis: Welfare, Inequality, and Globalization since 1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

33 Bréan, Simon. "Histoires Du Futur et Fin de l'Histoire Dans La Science-Fiction Française Des Années 1990." *ReS Futurae* 3 (2012): n. pag. Web. 17 Oct. 2017.

34 Ulrich, Philippe, and Didier Bouchon. *Commander Blood*. Vers. Windows. Paris: Cryo, 1995. Computer software.

35 Barnes, Jeremy M. *Heart of the Alien*. Vers. Sega CD. Los Angeles, CA: Interplay Entertainment, 1994. Computer software.

36 Cuisset, Paul. *Fade to Black*. Vers. PlayStation. Paris: Delphine Software International, 1995. Computer software.

37 Ibidem.

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Summary

The science fiction genre convention is typically used to articulate fears and hopes of contemporary society. This article aims to prove that between the 1980s and 1990s, this genre was used for the first time in French digital games to describe the situation of contemporary society allegorically. Making use of postmodern and existentialist philosophy, the author argues that the heroes of four examined games personify the consequences of French transformation from the “welfare state” to free market – inauthenticity, loneliness, living the moment, and poverty. These factors result in the nomadic (as considered by Zygmunt Bauman) lifestyle of the games’ protagonists. Consequently, the analyzed games offer an insight into the economic and social changes in France.

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The Possible Application of the Relative Acculturation Extended Model in Selected Fields of Social Sciences

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I. The Evolution of Acculturation Models

Smokowski, Rose, and Bacallao¹ claim that acculturation was first defined as a sociological process in which cultural change resulted from contact between two autonomous and independent cultural groups². Then, we can observe the two parallel ways of defining acculturation processes: one group of researchers stipulates that acculturation is a unidimensional construct that can be conceptualized along a single continuum, ranging from the immersion in the person's culture of origin to the immersion in the dominant or host culture³. On the other hand, we have the perspective which argues that acculturation consists of two distinct independent dimensions: adherence to the dominant culture and maintenance of the culture of origin⁴.

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- 1 Smokowski, Paul R., Roderick Rose, Martica L. Bacallao. "Acculturation and Latino Family Processes: How Cultural Involvement, Biculturalism, and Acculturation Gaps Influence Family Dynamics." *Family Relations*, vol. 57, 2008, pp. 295–308.
 - 2 Redfield, Robert, Ralph Linton and Melville J. Herskovits. "Memorandum for the study of acculturation." *American Anthropologist*, vol. 38, 1936, pp. 149–152.
 - 3 See Cuéllar, Israel; Lorwen C. Harris and Ricardo Jaso. "An acculturation scale for Mexican Americans normal and clinical populations." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 2, 1980, pp. 199–217; Gordon, Milton M. "Assimilation in America: Theory and reality." *Daedalus*, vol. 90(2), 1961, pp. 263–285.
 - 4 See Berry, John. "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation." *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, vol. 46(1), 1997, pp. 5–34; Magaña, J. Raul, Olivia de la Rocha and Jaime Amsel et al. "Revisiting the dimensions of acculturation: Cultural theory and psychometric practice." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 18(4), 1996, pp. 444–468; Marín, Gerardo, Raymond Gamba. "A new measurement of acculturation for Hispanics: The Bidimensional Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (BAS)." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 18(3), 1996, 297–316; Rogler, Lloyd H., Dharma E. Cortés and Robert G. Malgady. "Acculturation and mental health status among Hispanics: Convergence

The classic division of Berry's acculturation strategy assumed that acculturation is a process the effect of which depends on preferences expressed in two different dimensions: the preference or rejection of one's own culture and the preference or rejection of the host culture. As a result of the intersection of these dimensions, the matrix arrays four possible strategies of acculturation: marginalization (the separation of both cultures), separation (preferring one's own culture and rejecting the culture of the host country), assimilation (the rejection of one's own culture with the preference of the host culture) and integration (the preference for both cultures). Such a four-element matrix, however, seems too simple to be used for detailed analysis of the acculturation process.

The subsequently extended model was designed by Bourhis et al.⁵ It, in order to analyze the intergroup relationships, presents the acculturation process as a more complex phenomenon which is influenced not only by the acculturation strategies of immigrants but, above all, by the interaction of these strategies with the acculturation strategies expressed in the expectation of a group of newcomers from the members of their host society. It results in consensual, problematic or conflictual relations between the two groups. The acculturation strategies preferred by both groups are based on the ethnic origin of immigrants, psycho-social factors (gender, age, social class, etc.) and the political and economic determinants of the country of origin and the host country. The general ideology and policy of immigrants in each country are also important. It precedes and conditions the development of individual attitudes in a given culture⁶. Piontkowski's⁷ new contribution is to highlight the importance of psychosocial factors such as the in-group bias, the intra-group bias, the intergenerational similarity and the perceived enrichment of the culture of the host country. The author postulates the study of acculturation styles in various communities and

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- 5 Bourhis Richard Y., Léna Céline Moïse, Stéphane Perreault and Sacha Senéc. "Towards an Interactive Acculturation Model: A Social Psychological Approach." *International Journal of Psychology*, vol. 32(6), 1997, pp. 369–386.
- 6 Navas Luque, Marisol, Pablo Pumares Fernández, Juan Sánchez Miranda et al. "Estrategias y actitudes de aculturación: la perspectiva de los inmigrantes y de los autóctonos en Almería." 2004. Web. 21 Nov. 2017. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262764590_Estrategias_y_actitudes_de_aculturacion_la_perspectiva_de_los_inmigrantes_y_de_los_autoctonos_en_Almeria; Dejko, Katarzyna. *Poszerzony Model Akulturacji Relatywnej – prezentacja modelu w kontekście migracji Polaków*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2012.
- 7 Navas, Marisol, María C. García, Juan Sánchez, et. al., "Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM): New contributions with regard to the study of acculturation." *International Journal of Inter-cultural Relations*, vol. 29, 2005, pp. 21–37.

contexts which leads to the verification of assumptions about preferred immigrants and the indigenous strategies of acculturation.

The latest model which comprehensively describes the acculturation processes is the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM). In the RAEM model, migrants may use various strategies of acculturation in different areas of life (political, occupational, economic, social, family, religious, and philosophical). The ideal plane and the so-called real plane are also distinguished. This model takes into account the acculturation strategies chosen by both the migrants and the host community, and those relationships can be consensual, conflicting or problematic. It also introduces the diverse groups of migrants on the basis of their ethnic and cultural background and takes into account the psycho-social factors, as well as specific behavioral indicators such as⁸: in-group bias, identification with their own group, perceived enrichment of culture, prejudice against other groups, perceived similarities, intra-group and intergroup differences, inter-group contact, intergroup bias, collectivism, use of the language of immigration and participation in public life. Such a detailed and multi-faceted approach makes the RAEM a valuable tool which, with appropriate adaptation, can be used to study the intergroup relations in different cultural contexts.

RAEM seems to be a very complex model and because of its profoundness can be applied in wide range of disciplines in social science even though the authors may not expect nor plan that. The fields of cross-cultural psychology, social psychology, anthropology, and sociology have produced a knowledge base that has laid the theoretical and empirical foundations of acculturation research⁹.

II. Application of RAEM in Psychology

Social Psychology

At first, we would mention the Social Psychology, the discipline of psychology in which the model was designed by Navas et al¹⁰. Why does the RAEM model fit in this field of psychology? Social psychology deals with extensively understood social impact. Moreover, social psychology attempts to answer the question: how do people feel and think about the others and how those emotions and attitudes of people from one group impact on what others do, feel and think? It is an empirical science and the basic research method in this field of psychology is the experiment¹¹. Besides

8 Dejko, Katarzyna., op. cit., p. 15.

9 Cabassa, Leopoldo J. "Measuring Acculturation: Where We Are and Where We Need to Go." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 25(2), 2003, pp. 127-146.

10 Navas Luque, Marisol, Pablo Pumares Fernández, Juan Sánchez Miranda, et al., op. cit.

11 Wojciszke, Bogdan. *Psychologia społeczna*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2013, pp. 17-44.

that, observation (both participant and systematic), correlation methods measured by questionnaires, estimated scales, sounding, computer models as well as neuroimaging are being implemented. A wide range of research in social psychology is dedicated to social cognition, social roles but also intergroup relations.

Navas et al.¹² were inspired by classic acculturation models of Berry's and Piontkowski's while they designed the RAEM model as a part of social psychology. First of all RAEM model takes into consideration perspectives of both groups: hosts and immigrants, so it gives the opportunity to observe the dynamics between both groups, and compare attitudes towards acculturation process. Moreover, it also predicts the influence of power (mostly caused by the higher status of hosting group) even though the assumption of the RAEM is that the acculturation context affects the majority group as much as the minority group. Navas et al.¹³ assume that acculturation attitudes preferred by both populations in contact with another will be influenced by some psychosocial and sociodemographic variables, such as age, gender, education level, religious and political orientation, reasons for immigrating, duration of stay in the host country, etc. They are all taken into consideration in the RAEM model. Examples of these variables are: in-group bias, perceived in-group/out-group similarity, perceived cultural enrichment, and permeability of the group boundaries. Navas et al.¹⁴ claim that the more powerful society is, the fewer changes and compromises its members are forced to make as a consequence of their relations with other cultures. As authors sum up in their article, they hope to achieve an accurate evaluation of the intergroup relationships and of the acculturation process which is taking place in their social context. They attempt to achieve it by using the complex framework of the variables studied in the RAEM (real and ideal situations; acculturation domains; predicting psychosocial and modulating variables; behavior indicators and socio-demographic variables), both in the native population and in the different immigrant groups.

Developmental Psychology

Developmental psychology describes the development of a person in various periods of his or her life. The task of developmental psychology is to collect data in the form of general judgments and empirical data which allows observing the essence of development and will show individual development paths. From a historical perspective, the basic method in developmental psychology is observation which is later being analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The other methods are a developmen-

¹² Navas Luque, Marisol, Pablo Pumares Fernández, Juan Sánchez Miranda, et al., op. cit.

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

tal interview and experiment both conducted in the laboratory and in ecological conditions¹⁵. The Spanish researchers have also adopted the RAEM model to children and adolescents research by highlighting the domains important for this group, such as school, consumer behavior, family relationships, religion, and values¹⁶. They removed domains as politics and government, economics and designed a relevant questionnaire for children and adolescents. The study on a group of young people aged 13–18 shows that strategies adopted by young people in both Spain and Italy lead to the conclusion that immigrants prefer to preserve their culture in the central spheres (separation strategies), and integrate into the peripheral spheres. The host society in real plane express a desire to let immigrants maintaining their own culture in central areas, but in the ideal plane, they would prefer immigrants to take over the host culture both in central and peripheral areas¹⁷.

In future research, the RAEM model could be used in the comparison of adaptation strategies of children and their parents. It would give the opportunity to see in which domains parents and children use the same strategies and in which the strategies are different. As far as we know for adolescents, the peer group starts to be more influencing rather than parents. Moreover, usage of RAEM model could help in analyzing the impact of migration on child development and family functioning.

Intercultural Psychology

Singelis and Karasz¹⁸ claim that in conventional cross-cultural psychology research designs culture is often conceptualized as a category – a grouping variable – for making comparisons. The contents, processes, and structures that constitute culture are not specified in these designs. As a result, the findings of psychological differences in such studies are peculiarly uninformative¹⁹. A second problem cross-cultural psychology has to confront with is the transferability of theoretical constructs. Because western, middle-class psychologists have developed most theories, it has been pointed out that they may be ill-suited to the study of other groups. The authors claim that the qualitative research provides the way to meet those challenges.

15 Kielar-Turska, Maria. „Kształtowanie się naukowej psychologii rozwoju człowieka. *Psychologia Rozwoju Człowieka*. Ed. Janusz Trempała, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2011, pp.3–27.

16 López-Rodríguez, Lucía., Benedetta Bottura, Marisol Navasand Tiziana Mancini. “Acculturation strategies and attitudes in immigrant and host adolescents. The RAEM in different national contexts.” *Psicologiasociale*, vol. 2, 2014, pp. 135–157.

17 Ibidem.

18 Karasz, Alison, Theodore M. Singelis, “Qualitative and Mixed Methods Research in Cross-cultural Psychology: Introduction to the Special Issue”, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol. 40(6), 2009, pp. 909–916.

19 Ratner Carl, Lumei Hui. “Theoretical and methodological problems in cross-cultural psychology.” *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, vol. 33(1), 2003, pp. 67–94.

RAEM model was designed as a quantitative method, but some researchers use it both for the qualitative and quantitative method, as for example in the article “Applying the Relative Acculturation Extended Model to Examine Black Americans”: Perspectives on African Immigrant Acculturation” that appeared in *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. In this paper, Thelamour²⁰ explores the perceptions of, as well as preferences for, African immigrants acculturation to the Black American host culture in seven life domains (social relationships, values, spending, family dynamic, group educational concern, race relations, and political engagement). She applies the Relative Acculturation Extended Model and measures it both using qualitative and quantitative methods. The results show that Black Americans perceived African immigrants as integrated. However, more than half of the domains were found to be under the separation acculturation strategy. In addition, integration was the most preferred strategy. Marginalization was not an acculturation strategy that Black Americans observed or wanted. Moreover, she claims that further research on the relationship between Black Americans and Black immigrants are needed.

As it was mentioned above, RAEM model seems to be useful in cross-cultural psychology paradigm. First of all, it can be both used as a qualitative and quantitative method. Moreover, it is a very complex model, which realizes that people adapt differently in different domains and that in more private domains (religious beliefs, ways of thinking: principles & values, social relations, family relations) people maintain their culture more often than in other domains, as economic, work, politics & government. The construct also enables intercultural comparisons.

III. Application of RAEM in Other Fields of Social Sciences

Sociology

Due to the detailed, multi-faced approach which is the basis of the RAEM model it can be easily adapted for sociological research. Social psychology, the original field where RAEM was created, and sociology have a lot in common, although their focus of interests and scope of practice separates the two fields. In simple words, social psychologists focus on how individuals cope with society, while sociologists are more interested in understanding the behavior of groups of people. Some scholars argue that the direction of strongest influence has run from psychology to sociology, since “sociologists generally devote their efforts to identifying which social phenomena have effects on individuals while psychologists specialize in identifying the mecha-

²⁰ Thelamour, Barbara. “Applying the Relative Acculturation Extended Model to Examine Black Americans’ Perspectives on African Immigrant Acculturation.” *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol. 48(9), 2017, pp. 1457–1471.

nisms or processes through which social phenomena have their effects on individuals. Consequently, sociologists often use, explicitly or implicitly, the work of psychologists to fill in the missing links that tie society to the individual.”²¹

Regardless of our stance in this discussion, it can be seen that the RAEM model can serve both purposes. Its advantage over basic Berry model, as well as many other models, is especially the distinction which is made into the desirable strategies (the so-called ideal plane) and the implemented ones (the real plane). It allows the researchers to study both humans’ attitudes or perceptions and actual behavior, as well as the relation that occurs between those two.

It is worth mentioning that one of the first researchers exploring the phenomenon of acculturation was Polish sociologist Florian Znaniecki. He studied Polish immigrants who arrived in the United States in the first half of the 19th century²². Although in the understanding of the acculturation process the emphasis in sociology and social psychology is put on somewhat different aspects. Instead, it directs the researchers towards specific concepts with which the acculturation is associated and does not restrict them methodologically or theoretically. In sociology, the acculturation is linked to such concepts as socialization, cultural diffusion, social integration, social anomie, cultural alienation and social identity. In the case of social psychology, acculturation is linked to intergroup relations, social impact, coping with stress, social/cultural identity and adaptation. Regardless of what approach would take towards the phenomena accompanying acculturation, as long as we are interested in both analytical levels – real plane and ideal plane – the RAEM model will be a good choice.

Law - Sociology of Law / Socio-Legal Studies

Due to its characteristics, the RAEM model can be used in many sub-disciplines of sociology as well as in empirical legal research. At this point, we would like to consider its relevance to researchers working in the field of sociology of law and socio-legal studies, i.e., at the border between sociology and law. Sociology of law is a specialized research field, which deals, in the broadest sense, with the relationship between law and society. Its main achievements are the theories of social law-making, the functioning of legal institutions and the shaping of social order by law²³. In other words,

21 Thoits, Peggy A. “Social Psychology: The Interplay between Sociology and Psychology.” *Social Forces*, vol. 73(4), 1995, pp. 1231–1243.

22 Znaniecki, Florian. *Ludzie terażniejsi a cywilizacja przyszłości*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PWN, 2001/1934.

23 Pałeczki, Krzysztof. “Sociologia Prawa.” *Leksykon socjologii prawa*. Ed. Anna Kociolek-Pęksa, Mateusz Stępień. Warszawa: C.H. Beck, 2013, p. 332.

sociology of law seeks to know social reality insofar as it is related to the legal factor, as well as how social reality can and has influenced this factor²⁴.

The issue of migration and migrants is not absent in the sociology of law. In fact, it is often the main subject of interest for researchers in this field. Among the issues that are closely related to the sociology of law, and which are, or may be, related to migration it is worth to mention the issue of legal pluralism, the issue of communicating the law or the issue of “cultural defense.”

Legal pluralism is the co-occurrence of two or more separate legal systems: internally related but not necessarily internally coherent and consisting of norms of any character, including the customary norms²⁵. Legal pluralism may have various sources as a phenomenon and may be described from a variety of theoretical perspectives, including those related to migration sciences. The term was introduced during decolonization to describe the way of governance applied by colonial powers in colonized territories, involving the use of conquered populations customary law and their traditional dispute resolution institutions²⁶. It may also have cultural roots, and result from the penetration and contact of groups belonging to different cultures. This situation may be related to the cultural dominance of a majority group, which is reflected in state law. Pluralism of this kind is often generated by migration, e.g., phenomena related to the presence of Islamic minorities in Europe²⁷.

Communicating the law can be understood as a whole process of gaining orientation in the law of a given territory, both as a result, of acquiring knowledge of legal norms from legal acts, media reports or other people’s comments, as well as from convergence of non-legal norms of desired behavior²⁸. Undoubtedly, gaining an orientation in the law functioning within a given community is a particular case and a part of gaining orientation in its social life and thus it an element of adaptation for new individuals, i.e., migrants. For more information about communicating the law to people in foreign territory (e.g., tourists or migrants), see the work of Michał Dudek²⁹.

“Cultural defense” is a defense strategy in criminal cases, which, for the generally perceived leniency of the perpetrator’s responsibility, is based on arguing that his action was motivated by a specific cultural imperative, characteristic for the minority

24 Pieniążek, Antoni. “Metody i techniki badań socjologiczno-prawnych.” *Leksykon socjologii prawa*. Ed. Anna Kociołek-Pęksa, Mateusz Stępień. Warszawa: C.H. Beck, 2013, p. 130.

25 Winczorek, Jan. “Pluralizm prawny.” *Leksykon socjologii prawa*. Ed. Anna Kociołek-Pęksa, Mateusz Stępień. Warszawa: C. H. Beck, 2013, p. 181.

26 Benton, Lauren. *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History*, Cambridge: Cambridge, 2002.

27 Winczorek, Jan., op. cit., pp. 183–184.

28 Dudek, Michał. „Znajomość prawa.” *Leksykon socjologii prawa*. Ed. Anna Kociołek-Pęksa, Mateusz Stępień. Warszawa: C. H. Beck, 2013, p. 450.

29 Dudek, Michał. *Komunikowanie prawa w dobie pluralizmu kulturowego*, Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS, 2014.

culture to which the perpetrator belongs³⁰. It is a kind of legal reaction for the cultural, ethnic, religious pluralization of a society within a specific legal order³¹.

The above examples show that migrants, migration and acculturation processes, in particular, their relationship with the legal factor, lies within the scope of interests of socio-legal studies. Hence, it is necessary to include into the sociology of law the methodological and theoretical instruments originating from other social sciences which often deal with such processes. It is worth noting, however, that due to the specific subject of socio-legal research, these instruments will often require special modifications or should be used with particular caution and with specific reservations³². Due to its nature as a field of science, sociology of law places particular demands both on the methods and techniques of empirical research and on the theoretical models to be applied for these studies.

First and foremost, sociology of law is a relational science. Thus it concentrates its research not on the ontological issues, but on relations between objects, and the environment of these objects in search for causal and functional dependencies³³. Consequently, models of acculturation focusing on existential theories ("is, is not x," "x has characteristics of y"), as well as definitions ("x means y"), such as the classic Berry model, may have only limited application for socio-legal studies, as it ultimately aims to determine the degree of accuracy of relational assertions, which is beyond the scope of interest of the above-mentioned model. The RAEM model goes beyond the classic Berry matrix and allows explaining specific relations and dependencies, making it a useful tool for socio-legal studies.

In this context, the most essential element of the RAEM model is the fact that it takes into account the acculturation strategies chosen by both the migrants and the host community, as well as the characteristics that may lead to a compromise, problematic or conflictual relations between these groups. Relations between the preferred and implemented strategies of acculturation in the migrants and the host community can be analyzed from at least two perspectives within the sociology of law. First, taking into account a particular group of migrants and a particular segment of the host community or its entirety and focusing on those elements of the strategy and the relations between them that relate to the law. Secondly, one can also analyze the relationship between migrants and legal institutions. It is possible due to a specific understanding of legal institutions within the framework of socio-legal studies, closer to the one present in sociology and anthropology than to concepts originating from

30 Renteln, Alison Dundes. *The Cultural Defense*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 187.

31 Dudek, Michał. „Znajomość...,” p. 172.

32 Pieniążek, Antoni., op. cit., p. 130.

33 Palecki, Krzysztof. „O przedmiocie socjologii prawa raz jeszcze.” *Prawo w zmieniającym się społeczeństwie*, Ed. Grażyna Skąpska. Kraków: Adam Marszałek, 1992.

legal sciences. For a sociology of the law, institutions are the normatively, organizationally and materially distinct groups of people who have the competence to perform certain activities and appropriate equipment to carry out normatively set goals and tasks for other people and their organizations³⁴. As a result of this understanding of institutions in general, and therefore also of legal institutions, it is possible to attribute to them certain preferential acculturation strategies within the RAEM model and consequently to analyze the relations between these strategies and those preferred and implemented by migrants. In this context, the RAEM model can be extremely useful for the sociology of law.

Anthropology

Migration is an important research topic for cultural anthropologists dealing with the study of what is culturally distinctive. Through their research, we have access to some valuable ethnographic descriptions of various migrant communities. Studies have shown that migration does not necessarily lead to social disorganization and has emphasized the importance of networks for migrants. Anthropologists have focused on the concept of transnationalism, in which mobile communities give people the opportunity to have asocial, cultural, and political presence in more than one nation at a given time. An anthropological approach to migration studies also has looked at the nuances of social, cultural, and political incorporation into new societies³⁵. The role of anthropology in migration studies is not limited to these ethnographic descriptions but also allows for the elaboration of theoretical and methodological issues. According to Heyman³⁶:

[...] recently, critical anthropologists have turned their fine-grained ethnographic focus to the articulations between migrants and dominant populations, including the division of labor and business markets into migrant and non-migrant segments, the mechanisms of exploitation of the surplus produced through that segmentation, and the borders and other devices of the legal classification and enforcement that the migrants encounter in their journeys across nation-states³⁷.

Undoubtedly, the issue of acculturation lies within the interests of anthropologists dealing with migration issues. The RAEM model can be a useful tool for them. Philip Carl Salzman³⁸ in Brix's *Encyclopedia of Anthropology* describes anthropology

34 As in: Malinowski, Bronisław. *Prawo, zwyczaj, zbrodnia w społeczności dzikich*. Warszawa: De Agostini, 2001, p. 19.

35 Heyman, Josiah McC. "Migrations." *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. Ed. H. James Brix. London: SAGE Publication, 2006, p. 1600.

36 Ibidem.

37 Ibidem.

38 Salzman, Philip Carl. "Anthropology, characteristics of." *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. Ed. H. James Brix. London: SAGE Publication, 2006, pp. 142–144.

as a science characterized by the following three characteristics: (1) existing and ongoing debate between evolutionism and cultural relativism, (2) the use of cross-culture comparison, and (3) ethnographic research based on participant observation. If we follow that description, we can easily notice, that while the theoretical stance in evolutionism vs. cultural relativism debate is a matter of individual preferences of researchers, the next two characteristics are of a methodological nature.

The RAEM model, even though it was not designed for it, can be used for both cross-culture comparison and research based on participant observation. Division of social life into several domains, distinction between ideal plane and real plane, inclusion of psychosocial and sociodemographic variables, as well as recognition of the role of both migrant and hosting communities – all of these characteristics of RAEM model can be applied to cross-cultural research, as it was mentioned before while analysing application of RAEM model in intercultural psychology. On the other hand, particular tools that were used by Spanish researchers were designed to study acculturation mostly among migrants in Spain in Almeria region³⁹. Nonetheless, a successful adaptation of RAEM model and related tools was made in countries other than Spain, e.g., in Poland⁴⁰.

At this point, taking advantage of the opportunity, we would like to propose very interesting, although not yet explored, approach with the use of the RAEM model. If we look at it in a broader context, it can be seen that the process of acculturation, defined as a process in which cultural change resulted from contact between two cultural groups, is not by its nature limited to migration issue. The RAEM model can be used by anthropologists and other social scientists to study cultural change also in a non-migration context. It can be seen as a general model of a relation between dominant group and any possible distinguished group of “others,” e.g., group of new employees transferred from a closing factory to another workplace or a class of children that was moved from a school which is being shut down. Of course, the model will need some adaptation to meet the requirements of such research. Notwithstanding this, it might be a useful tool for non-migration studies as well.

39 See Navas, Marisol, María C. García, Juan Sánchez, et al., op. cit.

40 Latacz, Sylwia. *Acculturation of Polish Migrants in Barcelona, Spain*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2014; Olejko, Katarzyna. *Akulturacyja studentów obcokrajowców w Krakowie*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2014; Rychlicka, Lukrecja. *Proces akulturacyji polskich migrantów w Republice Federalnej Niemiec*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2012; Wójtowicz, Weronika. *Proces akulturacyji ukraińskich migrantek w Polsce*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2014.

IV. Limitations of the RAEM model

Haugen and Kunst⁴¹ claim that even though the Berry's model assumed that acculturation is a two-way process concerning both immigrants and host societies most of the research focus on immigrants' perspective or is just mapping out host society acculturation expectations. In their research, they found out that host society tends to change more in private rather than in public domains. Furthermore, no assimilation strategy was observed. By now, the RAEM model was never used to measure adaptation process of the host society, but it is the recommended direction for future research.

Moreover, the tools for RAEM model are designed by Spanish researchers, especially for quantitative research. It is worth noting that using this kind of methods can result in losing the essential individual perspective of the context of migration history. On the other hand, as we mentioned before, some researchers modified those methods by adding open questions.

Last but not least, the model was designed particularly in Spanish cultural context, in a specific area, Almeria, where there is the considerable density of North African immigrants due to the need of workers in the rural field. That is why every time the model is being used outside Spain it needs to be adapted to new cultural contexts.

V. Conclusions

In the light of the above, it is justified to say that the Relative Acculturation Extended Model can be applied in various fields of social sciences, including social psychology, developmental psychology, intercultural psychology, sociology, law, and anthropology. Thus, it meets the requirements of such an interdisciplinary field like migration studies. However, it should be noted, that to be used in research both theoretical and methodological framework related to RAEM has to be adapted to the specific characteristics of the particular field of study and local culture. The arguments mentioned in this paper, as well as examples of studies that had been given⁴², indicate that it is possible.

The RAEM model expands Berry's idea in a more complex and nuanced manner than most of the other available theoretical frameworks. This way it becomes more susceptible to adaptation.

So far the RAEM model has not been used very often for researching on Polish territory. It was applied only in psychological works, mostly in unpublished disser-

41 Haugen, Ingvald, Jonas R. Kunst. "A two-way process? A qualitative and quantitative investigation of majority members' acculturation." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 60, 2017, pp. 67–82.

42 Thelamour, Barbara., op. cit.

tations, master's and bachelor's theses⁴³. In our opinion, it is one of the best possible choices for researchers studying the phenomena of acculturation regardless their primary field of study. Thus we encourage everyone to consider using Relative Acculturation Extended Model in their study.

43 Latacz, Sylwia. op. cit.; Olejko, Katarzyna. op. cit.; Rychlicka, Lukrecja., op. cit.; Wójtowicz, Weronika. op. cit.

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Summary

Migration studies are a rapidly growing, interdisciplinary field of science which draws on anthropology, history, economics, law, sociology, psychology and postcolonial studies. This interdisciplinary approach makes it particularly common for researchers identifying with one discipline to use the methodological and theoretical achievements of another discipline. Methodological approaches and theoretical models developed within the framework of migration studies, therefore, have to meet specific requirements for their adaptability to the specificities of particular disciplines that contribute to migration studies. Our aim in this text will be to look at one of the theoretical models used in the migration studies for the research on acculturation. The Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) has been created on the ground of social psychology, but we will try to prove that, due to its many characteristics, it can be applied in migration studies within other fields of science – sociology, anthropology and various approaches in psychology.

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Reincarnation in Empedocles of Akragas

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The belief in reincarnation is one of the most recognizable elements of the doctrine of Empedocles of Akragas. His poetry is traditionally divided into two poems, *On Nature* and *Purifications*, due to the reference in Diogenes Laertius¹. While the first work seems to be focused on the theory of the cosmic cycle, the latter one is considered as the religious poem about reincarnation. This division was rarely questioned until 1991, when the only manuscript with the fragments of the poem from the direct transmission, the famous Strasbourg Papyrus, was published². It is still the matter of discussion if Empedocles wrote two, or only one poem³; however, thanks to the manuscript, it became clear that his two central themes – about the cycle of the universe and the cycle of reincarnation of the enigmatic *daimon* – are somehow related to each other.

The aim of this article is to analyse Empedocles' theory on reincarnation. I focus especially on the fragment B115⁴ from his poem, which explains the reason why the *daimones* undergo reincarnation and how this process looks like. What I am especially interested in is the question if reincarnation concerns every being or only distinguished individuals of divine nature. I also focus on the problem who is the *daimon*

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- 1 Diogenes Laertius. *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*. Ed. R. D. Hicks. Cambridge (MA.): Harvard University Press, 1972, 8.77.
 - 2 Martin, Alain. Oliver Primavesi. *L'Empédocle de Strasbourg (P. Strash. gr. Inv. 1665–1666). Introduction, Edition et Commentaire. With an English summary*. Strasbourg; Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999.
 - 3 Arguments on only one poem see: Osborne, Catherine. "Empedocles Recycled." *Classical Quarterly* 37 (1987): 24–50. On two separated poems: Kingsley, Peter. "Empedocles' Two Poems," *Hermes* 124 (1996): 108–111.
 - 4 The numbering of all fragments of Empedocles comes from *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, griechisch und deutsch* by Hermann Alexander Diels and revised by Walther Kranz (Berlin: Weidmann, 1912).

and what was the character of the murder described in B115. I present three possible interpretations of this fragment: according to the first one, the bloodshed took place in the golden age, according to the second – the murder is an allegory of the dismemberment of the *Sphairos*, and the last – the *daimon* murdered a being from the mortal world. In the first two cases, reincarnation concerns every being, while in the last one – only a few punished gods. Moreover, I analyse how the adoption of these interpretations may influence the reading of other Empedocles' fragments, especially those concerning vegetarianism.

The problem of B115 in the light of Empedocles' doctrine

Before analysing the fragment B115, it would be useful to summarize Empedoclean theory of the cosmic cycle. According to the poet from Akragas, there are six eternal entities: four elements (earth, water, fire, air), and two forces – Love (*Philotes*) and Strife (*Neikos*). Love and Strife constantly fight for the advantage in the universe – when Love wins, all four elements are merged into one divine form, called *Sphairos*. When Love is defeated by Strife, the elements are separated into four pure cosmic masses. Between those two periods, four elements create the world and all mortal forms by the forces of attraction (Love) and repulsion (Strife). As the fight between Love and Strife is eternal, the whole cosmic cycle repeats indefinitely in the following scheme: four pure masses → growing strength of Love creates the mortal world → the *Sphairos* → growing strength of Strife creates another mortal world → four pure masses.

A reference to this concept can be found *inter alia* in the longest survived fragment concerning reincarnation in Empedocles' work, marked by Hermann Diels as B115:

There is an oracle of necessity, an ancient decree of the gods,
eternal, sealed with broad oaths:
whenever one, in his sins, stains his dear limbs with blood
... [the text is corrupt here] by misdeed swears falsely,
[of] the daimons [that is] who have won long-lasting life,
he wanders for thrice ten thousand seasons away from the blessed ones,
growing to be all sorts of forms of mortal things through time,
interchanging the hard paths of life.
For the strength of aither pursues him into the sea,
and the sea spits [him] onto the surface of the earth and earth into the beams
of the blazing sun, and it throws him into the eddies of the air;
and one after another receives [him], but all hate [him].
I too am now one of these, an exile from the gods and a wanderer,
trusting in mad strife⁵.

5 Unless otherwise stated, the translation of all fragments of Empedocles in English comes from the edition of Brad Inwood (*The Poem of Empedocles. A Text and Translation with an Introduction by Brad*

This fragment can be divided into three parts. In the first (verses 1-4) Empedocles explains under which circumstances the process of reincarnation starts. In the second (5-12) he describes how the cycle of incarnations proceeds. And finally, in the third part (13-14), Empedocles confesses that he is one of those beings that had been exiled 'from the gods' what means that he is also drawn into the process of reincarnation. The connection between the general view on reincarnation described in B115 and the experiences of Empedocles himself is more explicit in B117:

For I have already become a boy and a girl
and a bush and a bird and a fish [corrupt text] from the sea.

In B115 Empedocles, describing the sufferings of the *daimones*, enumerates the elements of the mortal world into which they are thrown: the sea (water), the earth, the sun (fire) and the air. It is possible that B117 could also be treated as a reference to the four elements. In this case, a boy, a girl and a bush would be, respectively, the beings connected with the earth, a bird – air, and a fish – water⁶. Also Herodotus mentions that in the Greek concept of reincarnation the soul needs to pass "through all creatures of land, sea, and air."⁷ He does not record the names of philosophers believing in this concept. However the date of his works suggests that he refers to either Pythagoreans or Empedocles. His description might be an interpretation of B117 or similar, not survived, fragment.

In the verse 14 of the fragment B115 Empedocles informs us that "one [element] after another receives [the *daimon*], but all hate [him]." According to Oliver Primavesi a similar motif can be found in the fragment B142, possibly also concerning the *daimon*:

Neither the covered halls of aegis-bearing Zeus
nor the solid roof of Hades do anywhere receive him...⁸

Zeus and Hades are mentioned in fragment B6 as two of the four elements, called by Empedocles as 'roots' (*rhizomata*) of everything. According to Primavesi, these roots should rather be named as divine masses, because they remain separated and pure during the period of the full victory of Strife. Elements, on the contrary, form

Inwood. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

6 Cf. *ibidem*, p. 59.

7 Herodotus. *The Histories*. Ed. A. D. Godley. Cambridge (MA.): Harvard University Press, 1920, 2.123.2.

8 Translation after: Primavesi, Oliver. "Empedocles: Physical and Mythical Divinity." *The Oxford Handbook of Presocratic Philosophy*. Ed. Patricia Curd, Daniel W. Graham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 263.

the mortal world. Therefore in B115 elements (as parts of the mortal world) receive the *daimon*, but as pure cosmic masses they refuse him⁹. A similar motif can be found in Cicero, who states that both earth and water do not want to accept the bones of a patricide¹⁰. It is because masses, treated as pure entities, may be polluted by contact with the murderer. It is possible that Empedocles treats them in a similar way and it is why pure masses refuse to receive the *daimon*, presumably the perpetrator of the murder mentioned in the first part of B115.

The nature of the *daimon*

The clue question is therefore who is the *daimon*. The first known attempt to interpret him in philosophical terms was made by Plutarch, according to whom the story of the punished *daimones* allegorizes the imprisonment of incorporeal souls in mortal bodies¹¹: “By these lines he [Empedocles] means, though he does not say so directly, that human souls are imprisoned in mortal bodies as a punishment for the murder, the eating of animal flesh, and cannibalism”¹². Plutarch is here inspired by the concept of immaterial souls in the Platonic tradition. As Plato informs us, Orphics (presumably after Pythagoreans) believed that the body is a prison or even a grave for a soul¹³. Similarly, in the fragment B126 of Empedocles some being, possibly the *daimon*, is described as “dressed with an alien robe of flesh.” Therefore it is not surprising that the *daimon* is often identified with an immaterial soul (*psyche*) that is responsible for the continuance of the very self of the reincarnated being¹⁴. However in B115 Empedocles informs us that the murderer “stains his dear limbs with blood,” what would mean that he or she possessed a body in the moment of the crime. Moreover, the notion of individual transmigratory souls is entirely absent in the survived fragments of Empedocles¹⁵. Therefore identifying the *daimon* with an immaterial *psyche* is difficult to prove.

9 Ibidem, p. 263–264.

10 Marcus Tullius Cicero. *For Sextus Roscius of Ameria*, 69–71. In: *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*. Trans. C. D. Yonge. London: George Bell & Sons. 1903. I would like to thank Przemysław Biernat from Jagiellonian University for this comparison.

11 Primavesi, Oliver., op.cit., p. 251.

12 Plutarch. *On the Eating of Flesh*. 1.7, 996b–c. In: *Moralia*. Vol. XII. Trans. Harold Cherniss, William C. Helmbold. Cambridge (MA.): Harvard University Press, 1957.

13 Platon. *Cratylus*. Trans. Harold N. Fowler. Cambridge (MA.): Harvard University Press, 1921, 400 C.

14 See e.g. Cornford, Francis M. “Mystery Religions and Pre-Socratic Philosophy.” *Selected Papers of F. M. Cornford*. Ed. Alan C. Bowen. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1987, pp. 82–83 (568–569).

15 Primavesi, Oliver., op.cit., p. 251.

The term *daimon* in ancient Greek had several meanings, among which god, semi-god and spirit were the most common. For Hesiod, the *daimones* are the spirits of people from the golden race which after their death became guardians of the next generations of mortal men. He mentions them in two fragments of *Works and Days*:

First of all the deathless gods who dwell on Olympus made a golden race of mortal men who lived in the time of Cronos when he was reigning in heaven. And they lived like gods without sorrow of heart, remote and free from toil and grief: miserable age rested not on them; but with legs and arms never failing they made merry with feasting beyond the reach of all evils. When they died, it was as though they were overcome with sleep, and they had all good things; for the fruitful earth unforced bare them fruit abundantly and without stint. They dwelt in ease and peace upon their lands with many good things, rich in flocks and loved by the blessed gods. But after the earth had covered this generation — they are called pure spirits (*daimones*) dwelling on the earth, and are kindly, delivering from harm, and guardians of mortal men; for they roam everywhere over the earth, clothed in mist and keep watch on judgements and cruel deeds, givers of wealth; for this royal right also they received¹⁶.

For upon the bounteous earth Zeus has thrice ten thousand spirits (*daimones*), watchers of mortal men, and these keep watch on judgements and deeds of wrong as they roam, clothed in mist, all over the earth¹⁷.

Even if Empedocles' concept of the *daimon* differs significantly from the Hesiodic idea, we can find several similarities between the description from *Works and Days* and the fragment B115. The most striking is the number of the *daimones*, which are watchers of mortal men. There are thrice ten thousand of them, and the same number of years the *daimon* in Empedocles' view suffers his exile. In Hesiod, the *daimones* had been sent as guardians of mortal men. In Empedocles they had also been sent to the mortal world, however, they are not clothed 'in mist,' but in a mortal body, and they do not just observe human deeds, but take an active part in human history. In Hesiod the *daimones* control men against doing evil; in Empedocles, they are presumably the perpetrators of evil, who were sent to the mortal world as a punishment. Even though both visions differ in details, they have much in common and Empedocles, writing his poem, might be influenced by the Hesiodic vision of the *daimones*.

The Hesiodic influences on Empedocles are even more evident, where we analyse the fragment from *Theogony*, which – as observes Jackson P. Hershbell – is strikingly similar to the fragment B 115¹⁸:

16 Hesiod. *Works and Days*. Ed. Hugh G. Evelyn-White. Cambridge (MA.): Harvard University Press, 1914, pp. 114, 119–126.

17 Ibidem, pp. 252–254.

18 Hershbell, Jackson P. "Hesiod and Empedocles." *Classical Journal* 65 (1970), p. 150.

For whoever of the deathless gods that hold the peaks of snowy Olympus pours a libation of her water [Styx] and is forsworn, must lie breathless until a full year is completed, and never come near to taste ambrosia and nectar, but lie spiritless and voiceless on a strewn bed: and a heavy trance overshadows him. But when he has spent a long year in his sickness, another penance more hard follows after the first. For nine years he is cut off from the eternal gods and never joins their councils or their feasts, nine full years. But in the tenth year he comes again to join the assemblies of the deathless gods who live in the house of Olympus. Such an oath, then, did the gods appoint the eternal and primeval water of Styx to be: and it spouts through a rugged place¹⁹.

In both fragments, we can find a crime and a punishment which involves a temporary exile from the world of the gods/bless ones. On the other hand, the author of *Theogony* describes only a felony of perjury, while in Empedocles' view the main crime is a murder, and an oath breaking seems to have secondary importance. Unfortunately, the beginning of the fourth verse of B115 is corrupted, which makes it difficult to establish the relationship between the murder and perjury and answer the question whether both of them were necessary to receive punishment or only one of them? Alternatively, maybe a murder was treated as an oathbreaking? It is possible that the verse about perjury in Empedocles' poem is a later interpolation to the original text and comes from *Theogony*. It seems very plausible to me, although this hypothesis is not commonly accepted among scholars²⁰.

As Hershbell observes, in Hesiod's view an exiled god remains a god – "he is set apart from the human race, and the gap separating him from mortals remains the same in exile."²¹ We could argue with this statement, as the fragment in which the god lies in a trance, breathless and voiceless for one full year, without access to ambrosia and nectar, might be treated as a symbolic death (or descent to the level of a mortal being). However, it cannot be denied that the punishment of the Empedocles' *daimon* is much heavier – not only does he fall from his noble estate to be incarnated in all forms of mortal bodies, but also his exile lasts incomparably longer.

The hierarchy of incarnations

Another significant question concerning reincarnation in Empedocles is how it ends. To our times there survived three fragments that may help resolve this problem. The first one is B127:

Among beasts they become mountain-dwelling lions with lairs on the ground,
and laurels among fair-tressed trees.

19 Hesiod. *Theogony*. Ed. Hugh G. Evelyn-White. Cambridge (MA.): Harvard University Press, 1914, pp. 793–806.

20 Hershbell, Jackson P., op.cit., p. 150.

21 Ibidem, p. 150.

Aelian, who quoted this fragment in his book about animals, explains that according to Empedocles “the best change of dwelling [reincarnation] for man is to become a lion, if the lot should transfer him to an animal, and to become a laurel, if to a plant.”²² We cannot be sure if this fragment describes the end of the cycle, or if it just means that from randomly chosen incarnations a laurel and a lion are the best. Brad Inwood suggests that this fragment is about the final incarnation in each stage: in other words, the *daimon* firstly incarnates into plants, and the laurel is the last and best incarnation; next, he passes into animals, among which a lion is the final incarnation. After it, the *daimon* presumably achieves the human incarnation. It is the most intuitive understanding of this fragment, however, Empedocles nowhere mentions the hierarchy ‘plants – animals – humans’, which was not known in this form until Aristotle. On the contrary, in all fragments in which he enumerates different kinds of beings, he seems to describe them as equal ones. In fragment B103 he states that all beings possess thought, what is against the Aristotelian and Stoic concept in which animals are seen as irrational²³. Therefore it is possible that the last incarnation in the cycle is either a human or a lion or a laurel, as they are all treated as the best ones.

Among humans, the hierarchy of incarnations also exists. As we can read in B146:

And finally they become prophets and singers and doctors
and leaders among men who dwell on earth;
thence they sprout up as gods, first in their prerogatives.

This fragment presumably explains that the best incarnation among men is either a prophet or a singer or a doctor or a leader. It is not clear whether Empedocles means only talented and moral doctors, leaders, etc. or he believes that they are always the best possible incarnation, but whether the man will use the opportunity given to him to do good or not – depends only on him. It is also possible that the enumeration of occupations in this fragment should not be treated literally. It might be only a figure of speech and Empedocles might mean just that the last incarnation is a notable and respected man. After death, this man arises as a god. This concept is expanded in B147:

Sharing hearth and table with other immortals,
being free of manly woes, untiring.

²² Aelian. *On Animals*, 12.7, [in:] Inwood, Brad., op.cit., p. 130.

²³ Newmyer, Stephen T. *The Animal and the Human in Ancient and Modern Thought. The ‘Man Alone of Animals’ Concept*. New York: Routledge, 2017, pp. 14–15.

In fragment B112 Empedocles describes himself as an ‘immortal god’ (*theos ambrotos*). According to Inwood, it is because the poet from Akragas presumably perceived himself as a human in his last incarnation, so he felt to be justified in calling himself god already²⁴. The joy of the prospect of a return to the world of gods contrasts with the fragments probably describing distress of Empedocles, when he had seen the mortal world for the first time: “I wept and wailed when I saw the unfamiliar place” (B118).

It is significant that the fragments B115, B117, B127 and B146 suggest that the cycle of reincarnation lasts a specific number of years and proceeds in a more or less predetermined pattern²⁵. It would mean that the deeds from one incarnation do not influence the form of the next one, contrary to the vision of reincarnation known both from late antiquity and modern religions such like Buddhism or Jainism, according to which ones future incarnation depends on the behaviour in ones present and past lives. However, it is not clear if Empedocles perceived the cycle of reincarnation as predetermined. The number of thirty thousand years, an allusion to the number of the *daimones* in Hesiod, may not be treated literally, but interpreted as ‘many of years.’ The enumeration of incarnations that the *daimon* needs to pass may have the same function. However, the punishment of the god in Hesiod seems to last a fixed number of years, and it is possible that the Empedoclean idea was similar.

The problem of determinism in the Empedoclean vision of reincarnation is not the only one that comes to mind when trying to reconstruct his doctrine basing mostly on the fragment B115. Other difficult to answer questions are the following:

- Who is the murderer (is he or she identified with the *daimon* or not)?
- What does it mean to ‘stain dear limbs with blood’? Is it a literal murder?
- Does the process of reincarnation concern every being, or only some of them?
- When does the murder take place?

The question if the process of reincarnation concerns every being or not also entails the question of the motivation of Empedocles’ vegetarianism and his opposition to animal sacrifices, that seems to be evident in B137:

A father lifts up his dear son, who has changed his form,
and prays and slaughters him, in great folly, and they are at a loss
as they sacrifice the suppliant. But he, on the other hand, deaf to the rebukes,
sacrificed him in his halls, and prepared himself an evil meal.

²⁴ Inwood, Brad., op.cit., p. 58.

²⁵ The problem of determinism in the story of the *daimon* is analyzed by Catherine Osborne (“Sin and Moral Responsibility in Empedocles’ Cosmic Cycle.” *The Empedoclean κόσμος: Structure, Process and the Question of Cyclicity*. Ed. Apostolos L. Pierris. Patras: Institute for Philosophical Research, 2005, pp. 283–308).

In the same way, a son seizes his father and the children their mother,
and tearing out their life-breath devour their own dear flesh.

In this fragment eating of meat is compared not only to cannibalism, but also patri-, matri-, and infanticide. It seems reasonable to assume that this comparison results from the belief in reincarnation, as by killing animals, we may unconsciously kill our mother or father from our former life. However, it is only valid when reincarnation concerns all beings. But if so, it means that all beings that exist in the mortal world at the same moment of time, committed a murder in the world of the gods. If gods are not mortal then who might be their victims, since mortal beings had not existed before the first murder? These contradictions might be enumerated further. Some of them are difficult to avoid, what may result either from our erroneous assumptions (based on the fragmentary character of the sources) or the original mistakes in Empedocles' doctrine. However, I would like to propose three interpretations of the fragment B115, which – even if they do not eliminate all the contradictions – seem to be possible in the light of the whole Empedoclean doctrine.

First interpretation: the murder was committed in the golden age

In *Works and Days*, Hesiod describes the golden race of humans, who lived in the most blessed period of the human world. This concept was presumably borrowed by Empedocles, who in the fragment B128 describes his vision of the golden age:

They had no god Ares or Battle-Din,
nor Zeus the king nor Kronos nor Poseidon;
but Kupris the queen [Aphrodite] [...]

her they worshipped with pious images,
painted pictures and perfumes of varied odours,
and sacrifices of unmixed myrrh and fragrant frankincense,
dashing onto the ground libations of yellow honey [...]

[her] altar was not wetted with the unmixed blood of bulls,
but this was the greatest abomination among men,
to tear out their life-breath and eat their goodly limbs.

This period could probably be ascribed to one of the earliest periods of the mortal world, soon after the *Sphairos*. Although it is not clearly stated in the preserved fragment, Empedocles – like Hesiod – probably perceived this period as the happiest one in the whole history of humankind. He underlines that in this period people used to live in harmony with all animals, which were not killed and not sacrificed on altars.

We cannot find the information about the end of Empedocles' golden age in survived sources. In Hesiod, the passing into the next generation was connected with the

change of power among the gods, but in the human world no significant event took place. It is possible that Empedocles understood the end of the golden age in a different way. He might assume that the end of the golden age was marked by the first murder, committed by a person living in that period. One murder probably entailed the whole series of similar crimes, as people and animals tasted the blood and started to kill one another. No one probably remained sinless. That meant the end of the golden age and the beginning of the penitential exile. It is also possible – as suggests Osborne – that all *daimones* were polluted by the crime committed by one of them and therefore all were punished²⁶.

Although the flesh of people from the golden race was mortal, they are described as ‘long-living’ and, according to Hesiod, “worthless old age did not oppress them, (...) and they died as if overpowered by sleep.”²⁷ Therefore they were not punished by possessing a mortal body, but the body that was susceptible to disease, old age, and rapid death. Hesiod wrote that people from the golden age became the *daimones* after death; according to this interpretation, Empedocles might use the name of *daimones* to all beings living in the golden age.

The main weakness of this interpretation is that at the end of the exile the *daimon* should return to his previous form, namely to the golden age, while in B147 Empedocles mentions that at the end of the wandering the *daimon* will achieve the divine status. Why would his penitential exile end with the reward, instead of the forgiveness of sins? Of course, we may assume that Empedocles would like to emphasize the final reward to gain more followers. It is also possible that he equates people from the golden age with gods, because of their blessed status. We may also assume that the victory of Strife is not inevitable: by avoiding killing, both humans and animals, we may help Love to maintain the predominant status. If so, the return to gods would mean the return to the golden age with the predominant role of Aphrodite.

The second interpretation: the murder as an allegory

It is not clear if the murder in B115 was committed by the *daimon*, or other entity. Therefore it is possible that *daimones* were exiled not as a punishment, but as a result of the original crime. The murder might be committed during the period of the *Sphairos*, and it might be only an allegory. Fragment B28/B29²⁸ informs us that the *Sphairos* has a divine character and an ideal form:

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 290.

²⁷ Hesiod. *Works and Days*, 116–118.

²⁸ Fragments marked by Diels as two different in Inwood's edition were merged into one.

For two branches do not dart from its back
 nor feet nor swift knees nor potent genitals [...]
 but it indeed is equal <to itself> on all sides and totally unbounded,
 a rounded sphere rejoicing in its surrounding solitude.

However, at a certain point, the Strife enters into this ideal mixture, what is described in fragments B30 and B31:

But when strife had grown [lit. been nourished] great within its limbs
 and leapt up to its prerogatives, as the time was being accomplished
 which has been established for each in turn by a broad oath.

For one after another all the limbs of the god were being shaken.

The verbal echo between fragment B115 and B30 (“broad oath”) is usually treated as an intentional cross-reference, suggesting the unity of the view exposed in the descriptions of the cosmic cycle and the story of the *daimon*²⁹. The broad oath may be treated here as a general rule of the cycle of cosmos and the cycle of incarnations, which suggests that on both universal and individual levels we are led by the Necessity. The uprising of Strife is inevitable, therefore as well the crime mentioned in B115. However, as the *Sphairos* is an ideal mixture, it is not possible for any element to commit a literal crime. Therefore it should be treated only as an allegory of the actions of Strife in the *Sphairos*. After Strife entering, the *Sphairos* was divided into different beings, what meant the first stage of the mortal word. All the *daimones* are exiles from the divine world, namely the *Sphairos*. It is also possible, that – as all the *daimones* had previously created the *Sphairos* – all are involved in the crime.

I suppose that in his vision Empedocles might be inspired by one of the mythological stories about the first shedding of blood, for example by the myth of god Dionysus, who had been deceived, led into a trap, killed, dismembered and eaten by Titans. This myth is interesting not only as the example of cannibalism but also as an allegorical story about the dissolution of the unity, as it was Dionysus, the son, and heir of Zeus, who had been dismembered and eaten. Therefore in this myth we can find the most important elements of the concept of ‘original sin’ in Empedocles view: hostile and hateful forces (Titans/Strife?), blood shedding, deception (oath-breaking?), dismembering of the god (Dionysus/*Sphairos*?), and punishment (Titans had been killed by Zeus).

However, when Plutarch compares Empedocles’ theory on ‘original sin’ with the myth of Dionysus, he does not mention about any influence, only the similarity of

29 E.g. Osborne, Catherine. *Empedocles Recycled*, p. 36.

these motifs³⁰. I do not mean that Empedocles inscribed this story to his vision. However, he might understand it as an allegorical description of the separation within the *Sphairos*. In that sense, it might have inspired his idea of the relations between the dissolution of the unity and the original murder.

The weakness of this interpretation is that in the last two verses of fragment B115 and in fragment B139 Empedocles seems to stress that he was the one who once committed a murder:

Woe is me! That the pitiless day did not destroy me
before I devised with my claws terrible deeds for the sake of food.

To defend this theory, we can assume that these two fragments, in fact, have nothing in common. In B115 Empedocles may lament his state not to show that he is a sinner, but that he is a miserable victim of Strife's actions. In B139, on the other hand, he may grieve his ignorance in one of the incarnations – if he knew that eating of meat is an act of cannibalism, he would never taste it.

The third interpretation: reincarnation does not concern all beings

It is possible that the *daimon* is a god, but of a lesser status than four masses (Zeus, Hera, Aidoneus, Nestis), Love (Aphrodite) and Strife, as it is the god that vanishes with the separation of all forms into four elements. To confirm this theory, we can quote four verses from the fragment B17 (lines 38–41):

From which [four elements] all things that were, that are, and will be in the future
have sprung: trees and men and women
and beasts and birds and water-nourished fish,
and long-lived gods first in their prerogatives.

According to this fragment, 'long-lived gods' arose from four elements, just as other mortal forms – humans, different kind of animals and plants. Therefore gods (*theoi*) are only one kind of beings created with the mortal world. It is essential that in any preserved fragment Empedocles does not mention that long-lived gods arose before humans, plants, and animals. According to the fragment B17, they were born simultaneously with other beings.

In this case, reincarnation does not concern all beings, but only the exiled *daimones*. In other words, two kinds of beings exist in the mortal world: those who are the incarnated *daimones* and those who are not. The second group does not reincarnate and

³⁰ Plutarch. *On the Eating of Flesh*, 1.7.

cannot return to the gods. On the contrary, the *daimones* were previously gods, who committed a murder – possibly killed a being from the mortal world, or accepted the bloody sacrifice from humans³¹. In B147 these gods are described as feasting at the table, so they are understood in quite different manner than for example the *Sphairos* – they are anthropomorphised, like gods in Homer and Hesiod, they possess bodies, and they are able to ‘stain their dear limbs with blood.’ We may assume that this interpretation is possible – in that case, Empedocles tries to emphasize his own story about exile and return to the gods. He does not show that it concerns everyone, but that he is a distinguished one. It may explain his arrogance in B112 – he perceives himself as a god because he used to be a god.

According to this interpretation, the *daimones* do not differ so much from mortal beings. They are long-lived, their lives are happy and blessed, but they do not belong to the quite different category of entities, like for example Aphrodite. It is, therefore, puzzling why in some fragments (for example in B128) Empedocles enumerates the names of the immortal entities as if they were equal to other gods, presumably treated as the ones from the category long-lived. On the other hand, in the only other fragment in which the word *daimon* appears (B59), this divinity seems to be rather a force (Love or Strife) or the element than the long-lived god from B115. The inconsistency of Empedoclean terminology is the main weakness of this third interpretation.

There is also one important consequence of the acceptance of this interpretation. If reincarnation does not concern all beings, then Empedocles’ vegetarianism cannot be derived directly from this belief, as the probability that by killing animals we may hurt other god is very small. Therefore B137 cannot be interpreted as connected directly with the belief in reincarnation. It is much more possible that Empedocles’ vegetarianism is related to his belief that all beings are our kin. This belief comes probably from the theory about the cosmic cycle, as we were all connected with each other in the period of the *Sphairos*³².

Conclusions

In his work *On Exile*, Plutarch informs us that the fragment B115 occurred close to the beginning of Empedocles’ poem³³. Thanks to Strasbourg Papyrus we know that it was not necessary the opening of *Purifications*, but it might be as well the introduc-

31 Trépanier, Simon. “From Wandering Limbs to Limbless Gods: δαίμων as Substance in Empedocles.” *Apeiron* 47 (2014), p. 207.

32 I develop this topic in the article *Animals and the vegetarian diet in Empedocles of Akragas* (*Maska* 36 [2017]). See also: Primavesi, Oliver., op.cit., pp. 266–268.

33 Plutarch, *On Exile*, 607c–d. In: *Moralia*. Vol. VII. Trans. Phillip H. De Lacy, Benedict Einarson. Cambridge (MA.): Harvard University Press, 1959.

tion to *On Nature*, perhaps the only work of the poet from Akragas. If so, B115 is not only the clue fragment concerning reincarnation in Empedocles but also a significant source to his view on cosmos, life, and morality.

Subsequently, referring to the fragment in which Empedocles calls himself an exile (B115.13), Plutarch writes that the poet indicates “that not he himself merely, but all of us, beginning with himself, are sojourners here and strangers and exiles.”³⁴ If Plutarch sees the need to explain this fragment precisely, it may mean that it was not evident in the original poem whether all beings undergo the process of reincarnation or only the distinguished ones. Therefore Plutarch might be wrong assuming that the *daimon* is identical with Platonic soul and that the reincarnation concerns everyone.

In this article I presented three possible interpretations of the fragment B115, focusing mainly on the problem who was the described murderer and what was the character of this crime. If we assume that Plutarch is right in his suggestion that Empedoclean reincarnation concerns every being, then the possible interpretation is either that the murderer was a person from the golden age or that the bloodshed was an allegory of the dismemberment of the *Sphairos*. Although these interpretations are not devoid of illogicality, in my opinion only by using them it may be explained how the reincarnation could concern every being.

It is however much more possible that Plutarch was wrong in his assumption. It is very likely that according to Empedocles only a few gods – including himself – were punished by the process of transmigration. In that case, the story of the *daimon* was placed at the beginning of the poem to show the poet as the distinguished person, full of wisdom, that is in fact a long-living god in a mortal incarnation. It is the kind of authority that Empedocles presumably bestowed also on Pythagoras in B 129, describing him as a person who “easily saw each of all the things which are in ten or twenty human lifetimes.” Due to the contradictory character of the sources concerning Pythagoreans, it is challenging to establish to what extent they had influenced Empedocles. It is possible, that the poet of Akragas borrowed from them the idea of reincarnation, but developed it in his own way, merging it with the concept of the punished god in Hesiod.

As a god who has passed through many lives (human, animal, and plant), Empedocles possesses knowledge to describe the nature of the universe. He also has an authority to speak out about morality. Empedocles does not forbid animal sacrifices and meat-eating because of the belief in reincarnation. He forbids it because he is a trans-migratory god and therefore he possesses knowledge about the kinship of all beings.

³⁴ Ibidem, 607d.

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Summary

The aim of this article is to analyse the problem of reincarnation in Empedocles' poetry, especially in the fragment B115. The fragment explains the reason why the *daimones* undergo reincarnation and how it proceeds. I focus on the problem if reincarnation concerns every being or only some individuals of divine nature. I also try to answer the question what might be the character of the murder described in B115, presenting three possible interpretations. According to the first one, the bloodshed took place in the golden age, due to the second one – the crime was an allegory of the dismemberment of the *Sphairos*, and according to the third one – it was the murder committed by a divine being on a being from the mortal world. I analyse also how the adoption of these interpretations may influence the reading of other Empedocles' fragments, especially those concerning vegetarianism.

This article is a part of "Geneza koncepcji metempsychozy w starożytnej Grecji" research project and was supported by the Jagiellonian University DSC fund for young scholars (Faculty of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University, No. K/DSC/004670).

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Animals and vegetarian diet in Empedocles of Akragas

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Empedocles of Akragas is known as one of the most influential philosophers, who believed in reincarnation. We also know from several fragments of his work¹, that he was a vegetarian and in his poem, he tried to persuade his audience to that diet. He was not the only one who connected in his thought the doctrine of transmigration with the abstention from eating meat. Pythagoreans and Orphics (although the sources on them are fragmentary and often contradictory) survived in Greek tradition as vegetarians and the adherents of the idea of reincarnation, similarly to many later philosophers, such like Plotinus.

The oldest fragment concerning metempsychosis in Greek is the story told by Xenophanes and transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, in which Pythagoras asks a man to stop beating a dog because in his screaming he heard a cry of his former friend². Although this anecdote may be an invention of Xenophanes, many modern scholars have treated it as an argument that in antiquity reincarnation naturally entailed the gentle approach to animals, of which vegetarianism was an obvious consequence. At first glance, this statement may be confirmed by the example of many contemporary religions, such as Buddhism and Jainism, whose followers are perceived, especially in Europe, as vegetarians. However, this observation is not entirely correct, as – firstly – in some cultures, especially in Mongolia, Buddhists are not vegetarians, and – secondly – in ancient India, which may be treated as the best example, the belief in metempsychosis and the virtue of *ahimsa* (non violence towards living beings) have

¹ B136, B137, B139. For the fragments of Empedocles, I follow Diels–Kranz’ numbering (Diels, Hermann, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, griechisch und deutsch*, Berlin: Weidmann, 1912).

² Diogenes Laertius. *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, trans. R.D. Hicks, Cambridge 1972, 8.36.

presumably developed independently of each other, and only later they were connected in a consistent doctrine³.

The conviction of the mutual relations between the belief in reincarnation and the abstention from the eating meat had a significant impact on the perception of Empedocles' thought. Despite the growing interest on animal studies among classical philologists, the problem of ethics towards animals in Empedocles is almost entirely absent in the works from this field, with some significant exceptions, like the latest book by Stephen T. Newmyer⁴. This lack of interest is to a large extent caused by the fragmentary character of the sources, what makes it difficult to say anything certain about Empedocles' attitude to animals. However, I have an impression that the shared conviction that the poet from Akragas did not eat meat because of his belief in transmigration is even to a greater extent responsible for this phenomenon.

In the first chapter of this article, I try to prove that Empedocles' vegetarianism cannot be derived from the belief in reincarnation. I analyse the fragment B138, in which the poet from Akragas compares animal sacrifices to killing own family members, to show that – on the contrary to the most intuitive impressions – this description is not connected with the belief in transmigration. My main argument is that reincarnation in Empedocles presumably does not concern all beings. Therefore, the kinship of humans and animals presented in B138 does not result from reincarnation. In the next two chapters, I analyse two other possible reasons, why Empedocles would promote a vegetarian diet. The first one is connected with the belief in the golden age, while the second – the conviction that all beings are kin. I try to show that the last concept is the possible one.

Reincarnation in Empedocles of Akragas

An explicit reference to vegetarianism can be found in three fragments of Empedocles. Let us start with B139, the fragment included in the Strasbourg Papyrus:

Woe is me! That the pitiless day did not destroy me
before I devised with my claws terrible deeds for the sake of food⁵.

- 3 Alsdorf, Ludwig. *The History of Vegetarianism and Cow-Veneration in India*. Trans. Bal Patil. London; New York: Routledge, 2010.
- 4 Newmyer, Stephen T. *The Animal and the Human in Ancient and Modern Thought. The 'Man Alone of Animals' Concept*. New York: Routledge, 2017, p. 14–15; idem, "Being the One and Becoming the Other. Animals in Ancient Philosophical Schools." *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 511.
- 5 Unless otherwise stated, the translation of all fragments of Empedocles in English comes from the edition of Brad Inwood (*The Poem of Empedocles. A Text and Translation with an Introduction by Brad Inwood*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

This fragment is important as a confession of Empedocles – he once ate meat, but now regrets it strongly. We do not know if he means the first bloodshed – that is presumably described in the fragment B115 (see below), concerning the reason why the *daimones* undergo reincarnation – or eating meat in one of his incarnations (past or present). As a former sinner, he can now emphasize the cruelty that he observes among other people (B136):

Will you not desist from harsh-sounding bloodshed? Do you not see
that you are devouring each other in the heedlessness of your understanding?

According to this fragment, Empedocles perceives meat-eating as cannibalism. He assumes that people kill each other because of ignorance and reluctance to accept the truth about man-animal kinship. Eating animals as an act of cannibalism can also be seen in the fragment B137:

A father lifts up his dear son, who has changed his form,
and prays and slaughters him, in great folly, and they are at a loss
as they sacrifice the suppliant. But he, on the other hand, deaf to the rebukes,
sacrificed him in his halls, and prepared himself an evil meal.
In the same way, a son seizes his father and the children their mother,
and tearing out their life-breath devour their own dear flesh.

In this fragment Empedocles describes the horror of a bloody sacrifice pictorially: the sacrificer offers his son, despite his supplications and cries, and then prepares a meal from his flesh. In this fragment we can find an accumulation of the most horrible crimes that a man, according to ancient Greeks, can do: patri-, matri- and infanticide, cannibalism, as well as preparing the body of own son in the feast to gods – the repetition of the mythological felony of Tantalus. The sacrificial context of this scene is significant: Empedocles criticises hypocrisy of people, who pretend to be godly, but in reality, they commit the crimes against the divine rules.

It is tempting to assume that in this fragment Empedocles refers to reincarnation. Mother, father, and son, all in changed forms – it can be easily associated to the concept of transmigration, as only in this process we can literally kill our parent – an animal that used to be a member of our family in the past incarnation. However, it is nowhere explicitly stated that this fragment refers to transmigration. Therefore let us take a closer look at the Empedoclean theory on reincarnation.

The longest and most significant fragment concerning this process is B115:

There is an oracle of necessity, an ancient decree of the gods,
eternal, sealed with broad oaths:
whenever one, in his sins, stains his dear limbs with blood

... [the text is corrupt here] by misdeed swears falsely,
 [of] the daimons [that is] who have won long-lasting life,
 he wanders for thrice ten thousand seasons away from the blessed ones,
 growing to be all sorts of forms of mortal things through time,
 interchanging the hard paths of life.
 For the strength of aither pursues him into the sea,
 and the sea spits [him] onto the surface of the earth and earth into the beams
 of the blazing sun, and it throws him into the eddies of the air;
 and one after another receives [him], but all hate [him].
 I too am now one of these, an exile from the gods and a wanderer,
 trusting in mad strife.

Starting from Plutarch, reincarnation in Empedocles was often interpreted in the light of the concept of immaterial souls in Platonic tradition. The wandering *daimon* from B115 would be, in this interpretation, identified with the *psyche*, imprisoned in a mortal body for some crime. According to Plutarch (himself a vegetarian), this crime was murder, eating flesh, and cannibalism⁶. Therefore Empedoclean vegetarianism would be strongly connected with reincarnation not only because by killing animals we may hurt the former member of our family but also because by abstaining from eating meat we may purify our souls from this original 'sin.'⁷

However, equating the *daimon* with the immaterial soul is difficult to prove, while basing on the existent sources on Empedocles. First and foremost, the notion of individual transmigratory souls is entirely absent in the survived fragments of Empedocles⁸. The word *psyche* appears only once in Empedocles, in B138, where it should be read as 'blood,'⁹ and, therefore, refers to life, instead to an immaterial soul responsible for the continuance of the very self of a reincarnated human. Secondly, Plutarch himself admits, that Empedocles nowhere tells directly about the imprisonment of human souls in mortal bodies and that it is only his interpretation¹⁰, resulting – as we know now – from decoding the poem in the light of Middle-Platonism¹¹.

Assuming that the *daimon* from B115 is the same as the Platonic *psyche*, Plutarch consequently states that reincarnation must concern every human. Referring to the

6 Plutarch. *On the Eating of Flesh*. 1.7, 996b–c. In: *Moralia*. Vol. XII. Trans. Harold Cherniss, William C. Helmbold. Cambridge (MA.): Harvard University Press, 1957.

7 On the purifying the soul see e.g. Cornford, Francis M. "Mystery Religions and Pre-Socratic Philosophy." *Selected Papers of F. M. Cornford*. Ed. Alan C. Bowen. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1987, pp. 82–83 (568–569). Cornford suggested that the Empedoclean *daimones* are souls consisting of the parts of Love and Strife and their aim is to purify from the elements of the latter one.

8 Primavesi, Oliver. "Empedocles: Physical and Mythical Divinity." *The Oxford Handbook of Presocratic Philosophy*. Ed. Patricia Curd, Daniel W. Graham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 251.

9 Ibidem, p. 269.

10 Plutarch. *On the Eating of Flesh*. 1.7, 996b–c.

11 Primavesi Oliver., op. cit., p. 251.

fragment in which the poet calls himself an exile (B115.13), Plutarch writes that Empedocles indicates “that not he himself merely, but all of us, beginning with himself, are sojourners here and strangers and exiles.”¹² It is a natural consequence not only of the previous assumption but also of the aims of Plutarch’s works. As a vegetarian, he tries to emphasize that the punishment, as well as the possibility of self-purification from the ‘sins’, is a shared fate of every human. Therefore each of us, his audience, should lead a moral life, including a vegetarian diet as one of the most important precepts.

It is however very likely that Plutarch is wrong in his assumptions that reincarnation concerns every human. As I wrote elsewhere¹³, in my opinion, there are three possible interpretations of B115. If the reincarnation concerns every being, then the bloodshed described in this fragment must have taken place either in the period of the golden age (and therefore the murderer would be a mortal being from the golden race, not a god) or in the episode of the *Sphairos*. In this second case, the ‘bloodshed’ would be only the allegory of the dismemberment of the divine sphere by the entrance of Strife on the stage. However, in my opinion, it is much more possible that reincarnation does not concern every being, but only some distinguished individuals of divine (or semi-divine, in comparison with the gods such like the four masses, Love and Strife) nature. In this case, only a few punished gods are being involved in the process of reincarnation, while the rest of the beings possess only one mortal life.

The acceptance of this interpretation entails two crucial observations on the nature of the relation between reincarnation and vegetarianism. First of all, if only a few beings of divine nature (unfortunately the number is not known, but we may logically assume that it is much less than the number of all other beings) are reincarnated, then the possibility that by killing animals you will hurt your former mother or father is minimal. Moreover, even if so, in my opinion, the statement ‘tearing out their life-breath’ (*thumos*) suggests that the animals that are being killed in this fragment will not reincarnate, but this life is their only and last (at least in this episode of the cosmic cycle).

The second and presumably much stronger argument is that the prohibition of eating animals in B136 seems to be directed to a broad audience, not only to the few punished *daimones*. This prohibition would make sense if Empedocles explained for example that ‘you are devouring divine souls imprisoned in the animal body,’ but instead he clearly states ‘you are devouring *each other*.’ It is evident that if the majority of his audience does not reincarnate, then they cannot kill their family members from the past or future lives.

12 Plutarch. *On Exile*, 607d. In: *Moralia*. Vol. VII. Trans. Phillip H. De Lacy, Benedict Einarson. Cambridge (MA.): Harvard University Press, 1959.

13 Kleczkowska, Katarzyna. “Reincarnation in Empedocles of Akragas.” *Maska* 36 (2017).

The belief in the golden age

Let us now consider the second possible reason of Empedocles' vegetarianism. In ancient Greek sources, the idea of the golden age appears for the first time in Hesiod. In *Works and Days*, the poet mentions the golden race of humans, who lived under the reign of Kronos, free from sorrows and toil, as "fruitful earth unforced bare them fruit abundantly and without stint."¹⁴ This idea, which has its counterparts in many cultures (e.g. garden of Eden), for centuries has been an inspiration not only for writers and artists, but also philosophers and religious leaders who believed that this peaceful and happy epoch could be – at least in part – restored by promoting a particular way of life. In early modern Europe, as a result of Enlightenment interpretations of the Bible, it has been observed that eating meat was forbidden before the Deluge¹⁵. It resulted in popularity of a meatless diet among the elites, who believed that in this way they might reach the paradisiacal happiness and long-living alike the patriarchs.

In the golden age, people lived in peace and harmony with animals, which at that time – as Plato informs us – were rational and talkative¹⁶. Only after the golden age the paths of people and various animal species have parted, what resulted in mutual hostility and killing. The longing for the Kronos' reign was echoed in the mythical figure of Orpheus, who – although himself not living in the golden age – propagated peaceful coexistence with animals. Consequently, the attitude to animals assigned to this figure was probably one of the main arguments for vegetarianism in Orphic tradition.

According to specific sources, Empedocles was a follower of the Orphic way of life¹⁷. It cannot be proved based on the extant fragments of his works. However, the utopian vision of the ideal harmony between people and animals is present in his poem, in the fragment B130 probably describing the golden age:

All were tame and gentle to men,
both beasts and birds, and loving thoughts blazed on.

The Empedocles' vision of the golden age – although not described in those terms – had a considerable impact on the vegetarian thought of the late antiquity. It was due to the fact that the philosopher from Akragas, to a much greater extent than

¹⁴ Hesiod. *Works and Days*. Ed. Hugh G. Evelyn-White. Cambridge (MA.): Harvard University Press, 1914, 117–118.

¹⁵ Stuart, Tristram. *Bloodless Revolution. A Cultural History of Vegetarianism from 1600 to Modern Times*. New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006, p. xviii.

¹⁶ Plato. *Statesman*. Trans. Harold N. Fowler. Cambridge (MA.), Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1921, 272b–c.

¹⁷ Syrianus. *Commentary on the Metaphysics*, 1000a19 [after:] Osek, Ewa. "The Orphic Diet." *Littera Antiqua* 10 (2015), p. 80.

Hesiod, focuses on the problem of human-animal interactions. Empedocles describes the first people of the world in the fragment B128:

They had no god Ares or Battle-Din,
nor Zeus the king nor Kronos nor Poseidon;
but Kupris the queen [Aphrodite] (...)
her they worshipped with pious images,
painted pictures and perfumes of varied odours,
and sacrifices of unmixed myrrh and fragrant frankincense,
dashing onto the ground libations of yellow honey (...)
[her] altar was not wetted with the unmixed blood of bulls,
but this was the greatest abomination among men,
to tear out their life-breath and eat their goodly limbs.

At the beginning of the world, when the force of Love was still strong, people used to be pious and live in harmony with all animals. Love, allegorically represented as the goddess Aphrodite, did not require blood sacrifices, but only fragrances of myrrh and frankincense, as well as libations of honey. It is possible that by this description Empedocles would also mean the lack of plant offerings – honey, imported myrrh or frankincense were probably not connected with the vision of a living, growing plant. It is interesting that in his vision Empedocles sets himself apart from the Hesiodic vision, in which it was Kronos who ruled in the golden age. Empedocles underlines that in his vision the ‘golden race’ did not worship any of male gods associated with the fight, murder and blood shedding (Ares, Battle-Din, Zeus, Kronos, Poseidon).

Let us now take a closer look at the eighth verse of the fragment. Empedocles mentions that the altar “was not wetted with the unmixed blood of bulls.” As we know from other sources, bovine meat was not the only kind of animals that were sacrificed on altars in antiquity. It seems that the usage of a bull in this context is only a figure of speech, *pars pro toto*, in which the bovine represents all sacrificial animals. We should remember that until the 5th century no generic word enclosing all animals could be found in Greek. Similarly, ‘eating limbs’ can be explained as ‘eating flesh.’ It was perceived as the “greatest abomination among men.” Therefore people from the golden age did not eat meat, what fits into the idea of peaceful coexistence of humans and animals. It is not surprising that this fragment was highly esteemed by the late antiquity vegetarians, such as Porphyry¹⁸. It contains not only the poetic descriptions of the tame predators living in peace with all other creatures but also believable actions that would make this harmony real (e.g., not sacrificing animals on altars).

18 Porphyry. *On Abstinence from Killing Animals*. Trans. Gillian Clark. London; New Delhi; New York; Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014, 2.20–22.

It is possible that the vision of the golden age, in which Empedocles was influenced by Hesiod together with older, oral tradition, had some impact on his vegetarian lifestyle. He presumably believed that this epoch had existed and was the happiest period in both human, and animal history. However, the question if he thought that the golden age could be restored (or not) by abstaining from eating meat and the prohibition of bloody sacrifices, is connected with the problem of Empedoclean determinism¹⁹. It is difficult to say whether he might believe that by moral life we can stop the growing power of Strife and restore the golden age. However, even if so, the belief in this blessed period cannot be the main reason of Empedocles' vegetarianism, as in fragments B136 and B137 he clearly states that animals are somehow related to humans, while in the golden age there are already different kinds of beings, living in common peace.

The kinship of men and animals

Let us now consider how the living beings are born. According to Empedocles' physical theory, the existence of the mortal world is possible in two episodes of the cosmic cycle: after the period of the *Sphairos*, when by the power of Strife the divine sphere is dismembered, and after the period of the four pure cosmic masses, when by the power of Love elements, and next organs and limbs are merged into more complex organisms. The process of creating the *Sphairos* and the four masses is described *inter alia* in the fragment B20, which can be found also in the Strasbourg Papyrus. Thanks to this manuscript, the fragment may be translated as follows:

to devise works of change,
on the one hand in the case of glorious bulk of human limbs:
at one time, through love, we all come together into one:
we parts that have acquired a body, at the height of flourishing life;
while at another time, again, torn asunder by baneful contentions
they [i.e. parts] wander each one apart on the brink of life.
the same holds, on the other hand, for shrubs and water-dwelling fishes,
and for beasts whose bodies are in the mountains and for birds moving with their wings²⁰

Before the publication of the Strasbourg Papyrus, it was difficult to understand the lines 2 and 3, as this phrase seemed to lack a main verb in the indicative. Previously the verse 3 was translated rather as 'parts coming together.' According to the

19 The problem of determinism in the story of the *daimon* is analyzed by Catherine Osborne ("Sin and Moral Responsibility in Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle." *The Empedoclean κόσμος: Structure, Process and the Question of Cyclicity*. Ed. Apostolos L. Pierris. Patras: Institute for Philosophical Research, 2005, pp. 283–308).

20 Translation of the fragment after: Primavesi, Oliver., op. cit. p. 266–267.

manuscript, the line should be translated as ‘we all come together.’²¹ It is the obvious example of Empedoclean theory about the kinship of all beings – by ‘we all’ he means humans, animal, plants and everything that comes to existence by the mixture of four elements. It is confirmed by the verses 6 and 7, in which the poet states that ‘the same holds’ for plants, fishes, beasts, and birds. Regarding origins, therefore, there is no difference between humans, animals, and plants: we used to be one in the period of the *Sphairos*, and we all will be separated into four cosmic masses.

How does this mixing of limbs, which I mentioned above, look like? After the period of four cosmic masses, elements were mixing to create different organs (e.g., eyes) and limbs. Then those limbs started to be merged randomly into more complex organisms, what resulted in creating hybrids. According to the fragment B 61:

Many with two faces and two chests grew,
oxlike with men's faces, and again there came up
androids with ox-heads, mixed in one way from men
and in another way in female form, outfitted with shadowy limbs.

As we can see, animal and human limbs arose at the same time and primarily tried to merge independently from the right species. From this point of view, we cannot find the distinguishing features of each species. The forms in which humans evolved, resulted from the best fitting of limbs, but we would have had animal elements as well. By these fragments, Empedocles presumably tried to underline, that the outer appearance is not important – we all were previously the same. The animal that I am sacrificing now, in the period of the *Sphairos* was, in fact, me, my mother, my son, etc. In the stage of mixing limbs – it had my arm or my eyes. Therefore even if its form is now changed (first verse of the fragment B137), we are all members of one family. It is also important that Empedocles did not share the concept known later from Aristotle or Stoics that only humans possess reason. According to B103 Empedocles stated that all beings possess thought²².

The most important source concerning the theory of the kinship of all beings in Empedocles we can find in the work *Against the Grammarians* by Sextus Empiricus:

[T]he followers of Pythagoras and Empedocles and the rest of the Italian group say that we have a kind of communion not only with each other and the gods but also with irrational animals. For there is one spirit penetrating the entire cosmos, like a soul, which also unites us with them. That is why if we kill them and feed on their flesh we will be committing injustice and impiety, by

²¹ Ibidem, p. 267.

²² Newmyer, Stephen T., *The Animal and the Human...*, pp. 14–15; idem, “Being the One and Becoming the Other...”, p. 511.

destroying our kin. So these philosophers also recommended abstinence from living things and said that men committed impiety 'by staining red the altar of the blessed ones with hot blood'²³.

Sextus makes it clear that Empedocles' vegetarianism did not come from the belief in transmigration of souls, but from the concept that all beings are kin, as 'there is one spirit penetrating the entire cosmos, (...) which also unites us with them'. Unfortunately, it is the only fragment in which this theory is stated explicitly. Maybe it is the reason why most scholars – with some notable exceptions, like Stephan T. Newmyer²⁴ and Oliver Primavesi²⁵ – consider metempsychosis as the main reason of Empedocles' vegetarianism.

The interpretation that his abstention from meat comes from the belief in the kinship of all beings has one weak point. At the stage of the *Sphairos*, we were merged not only with animals, but also with plants, which possess thought, and the spirit penetrating the cosmos unites us with them as well²⁶. Therefore according to this theory, Empedocles should have also avoided vegetal food. Some clues might indicate that Empedocles considered abstinence from killing plants as well. In his concept of the golden age, people worshipped Aphrodite by offerings which did not require killing any animal or plant (myrrh, frankincense, honey²⁷). Moreover, Porphyry claims that first people to exist did not have a happy life, because they abstained both from eating meat and plants, as all of these beings had souls according to the idea of reincarnation²⁸. The reason why he writes it is that he tries to emphasize the irrationality of old superstitions, in which there was no difference between killing an animal and a plant. He does not mention from whom this information is taken from. It must have been a source concerning transmigration, so it is possible that it was authored by Empedocles (as Porphyry esteemed him highly, it is possible that he preferred to leave unsaid the authorship of such a weird concept). Indeed, the common sense makes us believe that Empedocles himself did not abstain from eating plants. However, it is possible that such an idea existed in his philosophy, for example in the descriptions of the golden age.

23 Sextus. *Adversus Mathematicos*, 9.126–130 [after:] Inwood, Brad, op. cit., p. 147.

24 Newmyer, Stephen T., "Being the One and Becoming the Other...", pp. 511–512.

25 Primavesi, Oliver., op. cit., p. 267–268.

26 Sorabji, Richard. *Animal Minds and Human Morals. The Origins of Western Debate*. London: Duckworth, 2001, p. 174.

27 Porphyry claims that we do not hurt plants "when we take what they let fall, or crops, when we make use of crops from dead plants" (Porphyry, *On Abstinence from Killing Animals*, 3.26.12) That is why, according to him, we can also shear sheep and drink their milk, as well as eat honey from bees (Ibidem, 2.13.2).

28 Ibidem, 1.6. Cf. 1.21, 3.19.

Conclusions

In this article, I tried to show that the shared conviction that Empedocles' vegetarianism resulted from his belief in transmigration, cannot be proved based on the existed sources. It seems that in his point of view, reincarnation does not concern all beings, so the Empedocles' audience should not be afraid that they might hurt their family members when sacrificing an animal. It is much more possible that the poet of Akragas abstained from eating meat because of the belief in the golden age. In my opinion, however, the main reason why Empedocles was a vegetarian is that he believed that all beings were kin. This belief resulted from the theory that there was one spirit penetrating the whole cosmos and connecting humans with animals and plants, as well as from the conviction that all beings consisted with the same four elements and were united with each other in the period of the *Sphairos*.

Therefore Empedocles' approach to animals cannot be reduced to the care for men hidden in animal bodies. In any of the preserved fragments, he does not mention that the *daimon* might be identified with the human soul. It is instead an indefinite being of the divine origin, which can be dressed as well in human and animal flesh. If an animal is treated only as the container for a *daimon*, then a man as well should be limited to this role.

According to Empedocles eating animals (regardless of their kind – sacrificial, wild, domestic, etc.) is an act of cannibalism. Animals are humans' kin not due to the fact that our former relatives can incarnate into animal flesh, but because the origins of men and animals were common. Therefore it would not be an exaggeration to say that Empedocles was the pioneer of an ethical approach to animals, that achieved its ultimate expression in the works of Plutarch and Porphyry.

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Summary

The aim of this article is to present the reason why Empedocles did not eat meat. I would like to prove that – contrary to the most intuitive assumption – Empedocles' vegetarianism did not result from the belief in reincarnation. In my analysis, I focus especially on B138 in which the poet from Akragas compares animal sacrifices to killing own family members. I try to prove that this fragment does not speak about transmigration, as in Empedocles' view reincarnation does not concern all beings. Moreover, I analyse two other possible reasons, why Empedocles would promote a vegetarian diet. The first one is connected with the belief in the golden age, while the second – the idea that all beings are kin. The last one results from the assumption that there is one spirit penetrating the whole cosmos and connecting humans with animals and plants, as well as from the conviction that all beings were united with each other in the period of the *Sphairos*. Basing on the extant fragment concerning Empedocles, the last option seems to me as the most plausible.

This article is a part of “Geneza koncepcji metempsychozy w starożytnej Grecji” research project and was supported by the Jagiellonian University DSC fund for young scholars (Faculty of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University, No. K/DSC/004670).

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The journey of the Japanese sword

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In the contemporary world swords no longer are essential tools of warfare. They are but objects of historical armories, museums, scientific interests, enthusiasts' collections, paraphernalia supporting martial arts training or weapons of re-enactors. However, swords constitute a significant part of the modern popular culture. They appear abundantly in movies, books, and video games. Moreover, among swords, there is one specific type widely recognized around the world – the Japanese sword. Most people would not know what *montante*¹, *pata*², *shamshir*³ or *kora*⁴ is. But the word *katana* sounds familiar to them, just as its historical wielder – the samurai. And when in the movie *The Last Samurai*, directed by Edward Zwick and released in 2003⁵, captain Nathan Algren (Tom Cruise) receives a new *katana* from the samurai leader – a sword made especially for him – the audience knows, that the main character finally gained acceptance as an honorable man, real warrior and someone worth wielding his new weapon. For the Japanese, a sword somehow became a legend connected with honor and death. And to enhance the appreciation of the Japanese blades featured in the contemporary culture, in this paper, I would like to present the main characteristics of the Japanese sword, and its travel from Asian fields of battle to the Western world shortly. I am fully aware that the topic of the Japanese sword is exceptionally vast and each aspect raised in this paper (for example methods of production or presence of

¹ Type of the two handed sword of the Iberian Peninsula.

² Type of Indian one handed sword with distinctive gauntlet integrated with handle.

³ Type of Persian saber.

⁴ Type of Nepalese sword with wide and heavy upper end of the blade.

⁵ This movie is inspired by historical events of Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 but cannot be treated as a valid historical film.

katana in popular culture) could be expanded into thick volumes. I do not cover here the problem of spirituality connected with these blades.

Characteristics of the Japanese sword

Nowadays in the native language the Japanese swords are called *nihontō*. It is a broader term including many longer and shorter swords and knife types, such as *tachi*, *katana* (or *uchigatana*⁶), *wakizashi* and *tantō*, to mention only the more recognizable specimens. Among them, *katana* is definitely the most well-known example. The *katana* belongs to the class of *nihontō* called *daitō* – “big blades.” According to the modern classification *daitō* consists of Japanese swords with blades longer than two shaku (around 60.6 cm long). The typical blade of *daitō* is single-edged, slightly curved, has distinctive middle ridges, its flats are sometimes provided with grooves, and has a clearly defined point. However, blade shapes may vary and the ones with flat surfaces also appear. The Japanese blades consist of two types of material, softer core and back, plus harder steel of the surface and edge:

They are a composite of steels. Swords need to be able to flex and be resilient against the percussive impact of deflecting blows from other weapons as well as having a hard edge. They must be able to resist breakage or permanent deformation and be able to withstand the shock of contact against hard surfaces such as armour. Samurai didn't use shields, so even greater demands were placed on their swords for defence than their European medieval counterparts⁷.

However, the unique quality of Japanese swords lies in the unusual method of the heat treatment, involving partial tempering of the blade during the quenching process⁸. This practice creates a noticeable line dividing the hardened and not hardened steel in the blade, and is responsible for one of the most important aesthetical values of the Japanese sword – *hamon*. *Hamon* is fully visible only after meticulous polishing. Blades were sharpened from the guard towards the point thus no part of the edge was blunt.

The hilt consists of several elements. In the generally peaceful Edo period (1600–1868) these mountings, especially the guard called *tsuba*, were often made from precious metals and served as a kind of the samurai jewelry. The hilt of *daitō* is always two-handed, yet the sword itself is not so heavy and can be easily operated with only one hand if necessary.

6 The term *katana* in the Japanese theoretically applies to any type of bladed tool but nowadays it is mostly used for samurai swords. The type of sword popularly called the *katana* more properly should be named the *uchigatana* as this type of sword was called before Edo times. In this paper I will follow the established custom of calling it simply *katana*.

7 Mike Loades. *Swords and Swordsmen*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2017, p. 216–217.

8 It is normally done with the use of special type of clay.

A sword – no matter if straight or curved – is a highly universal weapon, which enables its wielder to cut, thrust or parry⁹. In other words, it can be used as an offensive as well as defensive device, it has considerable reach yet can also be used close in – “it was surely the one [weapon] that had the greatest potential in the greatest range of encounters.”¹⁰ However, despite their versatility, swords were not the primary battle weapon – neither in Medieval Europe nor Japan¹¹. Japanese swords, curved and single-edged, are usually treated as the prevalently cutting weapons¹². However, their curvatures are not so deep, and their points are very effective in thrusting. What is interesting, the general shape of *nihontō* stayed almost unchanged across the ages which might testify to their effectiveness on the battlefield or in the duels¹³. Of course, production methods evolved, and some minor changes in length, curvature, profiles or thickness and width of the blade were introduced. They depended mostly on the preferences of the swordsman and the blacksmith’s school’s style. When the samurai in the 16th century started to wear the *katana* edge up behind the *obi* sash as a part of their daily attire, their blades became shorter, in the case to draw them easier and faster when suddenly needed. *Katana* is the weapon of infantry, while older *tachi* belongs mostly to cavalry.

Swords in Japanese History

The journey of the Japanese sword begins not on the Japanese Archipelago, but in continental Asia, therefore *katana* seems to be migrating since its inception. As numerous other technological and cultural achievements, methods of manufacture and transformations of bronze and iron came to Japan from mainland China via the Korean Peninsula. Interestingly, both metals were introduced roughly at the same time. It occurred quite late – around 300 BCE – when the Yayoi (~300 BCE-250 CE) period began¹⁴. However, gaining proficiency in smithery and inventing original objects required time. Thus for many years, the people of the archipelago were copying the continental products, among them shapes of weapons used in Asia. Therefore one of the most popular arms of ancient Japan was not the iron sword, quite challenging

9 Igor D. Górewicz. *Miecze Europy*. Szczecin-Warszawa: Bellona, Triglav, 2015, p. 13; Martin J. Dougherty. *Cut & Thrust: European Swords and Swordsmanship*. Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2014.

10 John Clements. *Medieval Swordsmanship: Illustrated Methods and Techniques*. Boulder: Paladin Press, 1998, p. 33.

11 Ibidem, p. 29.

12 „Curved swords give a more efficient cut, imparting a slicing motion as they strike the target” – Mike Loades, op. cit., p. 4.

13 John Clements, op. cit., p. 34.

14 *The Cambridge History of Japan. Volume I. Ancient Japan*. Ed. John W. Hall. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 21.

to make, but a simpler, yet universal, hafted bronze tool of combat, known under a Chinese name *ge*¹⁵. With time, the Japanese people started producing swords. However, they also based on continental models. Nonetheless, even in the Kofun times (~250–710), the Yamato elite still imported iron from the Korean Peninsula, and its weapons were probably forged by Korean artisans¹⁶.

The most typical and ancient type of sword consists of a short, symmetrical double-edged blade and a symmetrical one-handed hilt. The earliest specimens were made of bronze, but later iron and steel were used, and the blades became longer. This type of sword was known in Japan under the names *tsurugi* or *ken*¹⁷. Apart from this classical form other types of edged weapons were invented by the ancient Chinese in centuries preceding our era – namely single-edged precursors of later sabers¹⁸. These single-edged swords were at first straight, and their blades were narrower than in double-edged weapons. Their hilts were either one-handed or two-handed. However, according to the Japanese tradition, this single-edged type of sword was created by the legendary blacksmith Amakuni around 700 CE¹⁹. In reality, sword blades resembling modern Japanese *katana* emerged in the Heian period (794–1185)²⁰. It is possible that mounted warfare played a part in the evolution of the curved Japanese blades and the curvature was, in fact, borrowed from the *emishi* tribes of northern Honshū, who were perceived by the Japanese court as barbarians²¹.

When the recently established class of professional warriors, called *bushi* or *samurai*, gained political power and installed a different type of government, the new era in Japan had begun – the Kamakura shogunate (1185–1333). At the time the primary weapon of the samurai was the bow and arrows, through mastery of horse archery. However, the sword and the knife were essential side arms of the mounted warrior and the longsword called *tachi*, being precious, expensive and difficult to make, was treated with honor. The Kamakura period is often considered “the golden era” of the sword production in Japan²². There were significant improvements in forging tech-

15 Stephen Turnbull. *Early samurai AD 200–1500*. Oxford: Osprey, 2001, p. 52.

16 Richard H. P. Mason, John G. Caiger. *A History of Japan. Revised Edition*. North Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing, 1997, p. 31.

17 Inami Hakusui. *Miecz samurajski [Nippon-tō. The Japanese Sword]*. Bydgoszcz: Diamond Books, 2009, p. 26.

18 Chris J. Peers. *Soldiers of the Dragon. Chinese Armies 1500 BC–AD 1840*. Oxford: Osprey, 2006, p. 67.

19 John M. Yumoto. *Miecz samurajski [The Samurai Sword – a Handbook]*. Bydgoszcz: Diamond Books, 2004, p. 16.

20 Leon Kapp, Hiroko Kapp, Yoshindo Yoshihara. *The Art of the Japanese Sword. The Craft of Swordmaking and its Appreciation*, Vercelli: Saviolo Edizioni, 2012, p. 72.

21 Inami Hakusui., op. cit., p. 27–28; Stephen Turnbull. *Katana: The Samurai Sword*. Oxford: Osprey, 2010, p. 17–18.

22 Among others – Inami Hakusui., op. cit., p. 32, Mike Loades., op. cit., p. 207.

niques. Firstly, the typical construction of the Japanese blade became a steel composite. Secondly, the larger part of the edge was hardened in the quenching process²³. Furthermore, the most famous of all Japanese blacksmiths, Masamune, was active at the time²⁴. Also, during the late 13th century classical Japanese blades had the chance to confront continental weapons when the Japanese people repelled dangerous Mongol invasions.

In subsequent centuries – especially the 15th and 16th century – the inhabitants of the coasts of China and Korea had reasons to fear the Japanese in the form of ruthless pirates called the *wakō*²⁵. The *wakō* became known on the continent as skillful swordsmen and their weapons – Japanese swords – soon gained a reputation, as Stephen Turnbull points out: “No pirate weapon was more feared or respected than the samurai sword. Zheng Sixiao²⁶ noted that »their swords are extremely sharp«.”²⁷ Since this type of weapon was sought after on the Asian continent, the Japanese started to export thousands of blades. And thus descendants of Chinese arms returned to China in the outstanding Japanese form, even if these weapons were in fact mass produced and not of the finest quality²⁸. They also returned to Korea, but this time in the hands of the samurai and not merchantmen or sea robbers, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi – the ruler of Japan at the time – decided to invade the continent in the last decade of the 16th century. In this era of turmoil and conflicts, some of the samurais traveled as far as Taiwan and Siam – modern Thailand – where they served local kings as bodyguards and mercenaries²⁹. Of course wherever the Japanese warriors migrated they took their already famous bladed weapons. But most of the Japanese swords were still used against other Japanese on main islands of the Archipelago. The 15th and 16th centuries are known in Japan as the *Sengoku jidai* – a period of almost constant civil war. Given this fact it is understandable that blacksmiths demanded substantial amounts of steel to forge large quantities of arms and armors. Furthermore, at the time Europeans started to roam oceans and were reaching further every year. In the 16th century, they started to trade with the Japanese and the steel was one of the products of old Europe. The Europeans, just as the Chinese before them, noted the excellent qualities of Japanese blades: “Their sharp swords could slice through a man in armour as easily

23 Leon Kapp, Hiroko Kapp, Yoshindo Yoshihara., op. cit., p. 73.

24 Inami Hakusui., op.cit., p. 36.

25 In fact not all *wakō* were Japanese – many Chinese, and in 16th century even Europeans, joined piratical groups.

26 He was a Chinese scholar of 13th and 14th century.

27 Stephen Turnbull. *Pirate of the Far East 811–1639*. Oxford: Osprey, 2007, p. 28.

28 Mike Loades., op. cit., p. 207.

29 Stephen Turnbull. *Samuraje. Dzieje japońskich wojowników [Samurai]*. Warszawa: Arkady, 2007, p. 94.

as a butcher carves a tender rump steak” observed Jesuit Caspar Vilela³⁰. It is interesting to note that today for a sword to be treated as a truly Japanese it must be made out of Japanese steel produced in the traditional *tatara* furnace³¹. Moreover, selling “the soul of the samurai” to the enemies of the *bushi* must sound as profanation to some enthusiasts of the Japanese culture. However, the celebrated sentence *katana wa bushi no tamashii* – “the sword is the soul of the samurai” – is in fact of quite a late provenance for it came from the will of Tokugawa Ieyasu, the founder of the Edo shogunate (1600–1868)³².

The journey of the Japanese sword was halted for a time since in the Edo period Japanese swords stayed on the Archipelago, just as their wielders. In the fourth decade of the 17th century the *shōguns* officially closed Japan to foreign influences, and since then foreign men, culture and trade goods arrived in relatively scarce supply. At the same time, the Japanese could not travel outside Japan under the threat of death penalty. Thus *nihontō* traveled rather only on the domestic routes behind the *obi* sashes of the samurai who at the time, were the only people allowed to carry fully-fledged swords. Sometimes merchants were allowed to carry shorter specimens of *nihontō*. Swords, known previously as noble and expensive weapons, demanding skill in using them effectively, thus, in addition, became a clear sign of social status³³. *Nihontō* served their purpose well during the two centuries of more or less peaceful times. In this period various schools of sword fencing (some focused primarily on the spiritual development through martial training) bloomed across the Archipelago since the samurai lacked conflicts in which more battlefield effective weapons like spears and guns could be employed, and *katana* was a weapon that every samurai carried all the time. However, the 19th century brought change to the world, and it came to Japan under the banner of new Western political powers. Seamen from Russia and other countries started to visit the coasts of Japan, and finally, in the year 1854, an American – Commodore Matthew Perry – and his black warships forced the shogunate to open their land to foreigners and the new technology. Among the Japanese population, discontentment increased. Subsequently, the last Tokugawa shogun lost his position when the power was restored to the emperor in 1868. However, it did not occur without bloodshed. In the last years of the old regime, *katana* was used exten-

30 Mike Loades., op. cit., p. 210.

31 Which is, in fact, of not very high quality, thus the process of making good weapon out of it is very demanding.

32 Henryk Socha. *Miecze japońskie Nihontō*. Warszawa: Bellona, 2002, p. 11; *The Japanese Sword. Katana wa Bushi no tamashii* (*The Sword Is the Soul of the Samurai*), “Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin”, Vol. 4, No. 21 (Aug., 1906), p. 29.

33 Stephen Turnbull. *Samuraje...*, op. cit., p. 82–83.

sively by the special police forces of Kyoto and their opponents³⁴. It was also wielded by the participants of the Boshin war of 1868–1869. The Westerners observed these conflicts. The usefulness of the blades at the end of the 19th century, aesthetical values and developed spiritual background of *nihontō*, as well as the mastery in fencing demonstrated by the samurai, not to mention *seppuku*³⁵ which made an electrifying impression on the foreigners – they all contributed to the modern legend of the Japanese sword.

Finally, the new Meiji government abolished older rules and rights, and the samurai lost their unique status as the highest rank in society. With the new era came the modern conscript army and navy, armed with western types of weapons, and the Japanese were prohibited from carrying Japanese swords in public in 1876³⁶. All of a sudden *nihontō* became obsolete, and the art of making them was endangered. But at the same time, at least some of the fine samurai blades traveled at last far into the West, finding their way into private collections and, more importantly, to the museum halls.

The new era for the Japanese swords began in the fourth decade of the 20th century even if nowadays the Japanese refuse to call these arms real *nihontō*. At the time the nationalistic imperial armed forces ordered the new model of a military sword – *guntō* – suitable for officers and non-commissioned officers. This time the weapon was based on the native design, yet the production differed from the time-honored methods. New military swords were not created from traditional steel nor were quenched in water to receive the hallmark of *nihontō* – *hamon*. However, they resembled the *tachi* in the general shape, and their blades were of good quality and sharp³⁷. Once again the Japanese carried their blades to continental Asia in another attempt to invade and conquer China. And once again they failed. Nonetheless the years 1937–1945 left a stain on the revered cold steel. It was caused by the atrocities of imperial military personnel, namely cutting off the heads of unarmed civilians and prisoners of war. More honorable acts with *guntō* in hand consisted of ritual suicides or charges into enemy lines without any chances of success.

After the capitulation of Japan, the isles were occupied by the allied forces. Americans banned “all swords and sword manufacture”³⁸ along with training of the Japanese martial arts, and destroyed thousands of *guntō*. Many more thousands of Japanese

34 Stephen Turnbull. *Katana...*, op. cit., p. 59.

35 *Seppuku* (called also *harakiri*) is form of ritual samurai suicide by disembowelment. Shorter blades were used in the process.

36 Edward J. Drea. *Cesarska armia Japonii 1853–1945 [Japan's Imperial Army: Its Rise and Fall, 1853–1945]*. Kraków: WUJ, 2012, p. 47.

37 Richard Fuller, Ron Gregory. *Wojskowe miecze japońskie 1868–1945 [Military Swords of Japan, 1868–1945]*. Bydgoszcz: Diamond Books, 2008, p. 26 and the following.

38 Mike Loades., op. cit., p. 210.

swords were taken to the USA as spoils and souvenirs, and among them were real historical treasures. In subsequent years the ban was removed, and blacksmiths once again started to create *katana*, yet their usage as the tool of war came to an end. When the Cold War began to rage, the relationship between Japan and the USA became warmer. The Americans started to appreciate the Japanese culture and the Japanese started to look at their own ancestry without remorse. In the following decades, Japan rose from ruins and rebuilt its economy.

Japanese sword in Contemporary Western Culture

The development of modern media, such as manga, anime and movie industry, played an important role in the Japanese economical growth. Finally, popular culture, apart from cars, motorcycles and electronics, triggered the recognition of Japan throughout the world. Cinema was the harbinger of this appreciation. In the year 1954 *Seven Samurai* was released – the production acclaimed internationally and retold numerous times. In this picture, the noble sword was showed in opposition to the gun wielded by the bandits. *Seven Samurai* was directed by Akira Kurosawa who also created other famous pictures, such as *Throne of Blood*, *Yojimbo*, and *The Hidden Fortress*. Of course, Japan gave birth to numerous directors who indulged in *chanbara eiga* – “sword-fighting movies.”³⁹ The genre lives to this day.

Hence *Seven samurai* was hardly the isolated case of the movie depicting samurai and their weapons. Japanese swords started to appear in various productions of diverse quality, and not all of them were historical productions. The *katana* became an arm used in action or martial arts movies as well and entered the western route where Hollywood welcomed it warmly. It featured already in a James Bond movie of 1967 *You Only Live Twice*, but it was the *Highlander*, a fantasy production of 1986, where it played a considerably superior role. In fact, *Highlander* was probably one of the most influential movies of the decade featuring the sword and sword fighting, even if both were depicted in highly untrue manner. The main character, Connor MacLeod, is an immortal swordsman from the Scottish Highlands who lives for several centuries and fights with other immortals, who can die in only one way – when they are decapitated. In his early years, Connor received a Japanese sword from his Spanish friend. According to the story this sword was created by genius Masamune in 6th century BCE. It looks like a highly decorative *katana*. With it, Connor manages to win the final “Prize” after killing the last surviving immortal, who is using an unwieldy sword loosely based on European medieval specimens (which are usually, yet untrue, pre-

39 More on the topic of samurai in cinema can be found in: Alain Silver. *The Samurai Film*. New York: The Overlook Press, 2005.

sented as heavy and cumbersome weapons). It seems like *Highlander* creators thought of *nihontō* not only as of extremely ancient and sharp weapons, but probably also as the best swords in the world (such claims can be found not only in publications of *katana* enthusiasts but even in books published by historians dealing with the Japanese weapons⁴⁰) since in the end, the Japanese blade triumphed. *Katana* was also one of the inspirations for the famous lightsabers – swords of the Jedi knights – from the Star Wars universe⁴¹.

In the last three decades, numerous Hollywood productions used the *katana* as the essential paraphernalia, but I would like to mention only one more movie, in which it played an important role as a highly honorable weapon used in personal, yet just, vendetta. The Quentin Tarantino's film⁴² called *Kill Bill* consists of two parts, released in 2003 and 2004 respectively. The protagonist, Beatrix Kiddo, is a martial artist. She obtains her sword from a renowned blacksmith⁴³ who forged it especially for her and her cause. In one scene Kiddo not only beats numerous enemies but literally cuts to pieces her opponent's blade – an inferior *katana* – with her own sword. Such a feat is, of course, fictional, yet Kiddo's *katana* is showed in the movie as something unusual and unique since its maker stated openly that it is his masterpiece. In fact, the whole *Kill Bill* is a homage to the classical Asian martial arts movies. Moreover, even in the infamous Polish *Wiedźmin* (*The Witcher/The Hexer*) produced in 2001 – a film adaptation of the acknowledged series of fantasy books by Andrzej Sapkowski – the main character's iconic straight sword was changed into a weapon resembling *katana*. And thus *nihontō* reached Central Europe.

Of course, *nihontō* are also an indispensable part of numerous video games' armory. In addition, they appear in literature – fantasy or historical books, and comics. For example, we witness a fight with the Japanese swordsman in a historical pirate series *Adventures of Hector Lynch* by Tim Severin, where in *Sea Robber* the *katana* is shown as an extremely sharp and agile weapon, able to cut off a man's head with ease. Even popular Polish fantasy writers utilize them in their stories. And in the historical comic book by Belgian

40 Like Stephen Turnbull in his numerous publications.

41 "The Evolution of the Lightsaber Duel" reveals true extent of kendo's influence on Star Wars movies [on-line:] <https://soranews24.com/2015/12/25/the-evolution-of-the-lightsaber-duel-reveals-true-extent-of-kendos-influence-on-star-wars-movies/> [02.23.2018]; Were the lightsaber fighting styles in Star Wars inspired by real life sword fighting technique? [on-line:] <https://www.quora.com/Were-the-lightsaber-fighting-styles-in-Star-Wars-inspired-by-real-life-sword-fighting-technique> [02.23.2018].

42 It is not the only movie from this director in which we can observe samurai equipment. For example, we can see *katana* in action in the famous *Pulp Fiction* (1994). Quentin Tarantino also starred in a Japanese production (kind of spaghetti samurai western) *Sukiyaki Western Django* directed by Takashi Miike.

43 His name is Hattori Hanzō. In fact a samurai of this name served Tokugawa Ieyasu in 16th century and become known as a ninja leader.

Jean-Yves Delitte *Le Sang des Lâches* (*The Blood of Cowards*), set in 17th century England, the main character – the king's officer – uses a *katana* to fight with evildoers secretly.

Nowadays the *katana* became a recognizable weapon and an important part of mass culture, usually presented as the exceptionally beautiful, noble, sturdy, sharp and ancient weapon, able to cut anything on its way. It is believed to be made by extraordinary blacksmiths, who are treating it as a sacred object or a living creature. However, it is not the only place where we can find Japanese swords. A more realistic approach can be seen in modern training rooms – *dōjō* – of various martial arts⁴⁴. Japanese swords – made of metal or wood especially for training purposes – are used mostly in *kendō*, *iaidō*, *kenjutsu* and *aikidō*. For example in *kendō*, which is the most sporty and most popular of the enumerated martial arts, practitioners use straight bamboo swords called the *shinai*, but only their one edge is considered “sharp.” *Shinai* are used in the normal contact training – sparring and *waza* technique drill. In the *kata* form drill the wooden *bokken*, imitating the *katana* is used. In fact, *bokken* or *bokuto* were tools also used by historical samurai to improve their skill in fighting. In the high level practice of *kendō* metal swords can be used, and in some shows, masters use even the true *nihontō*. In *iaidō*⁴⁵ practice at first *bokken* are utilized, but the normal training weapon is the *iaitō* – a sword looking like a real *katana* but blunt and made from the non-steel material. Only at a certain level sharp steel swords are used. They are called the *shinken* and those who can afford them buy real *nihontō*, but most practitioners are content with less expensive versions made in China or other countries. Usually, artificial *hamon* on such blades is obtained in the chemical or mechanical processes and not by the quenching. Even if the sword is made *lege artis* and of the highest quality, looking exactly like the Japanese *katana*, if it is made not by the Japanese, outside Japan, and without the traditional Japanese steel, it is not considered *nihontō*, and its value is low. In fact, nowadays many blacksmiths around the world are able to create plausible *katana*. They can be as sharp and good as their historical counterparts, but to some, they lack “the soul” and are treated as worthless, just like the military swords of the Pacific War⁴⁶.

44 More on the topic of Japanese martial arts can be found in: *Martial Arts of the World. An Encyclopedia*. Ed. Thomas A. Green. ABC-CLIO: Santa Barbara, 2001; Donn F. Draeger. *Modern Bujutsu & Budo*. New York: Weatherhill, 1996; Fumon Tanaka. *Samurai Fighting Arts; The Spirit and the Practice*. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 2003; Jinichi Tokeshi. *Kendo – Elements, Rules and Philosophy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.

45 Iaidō is a martial art focused on ability to quickly draw the sword and cut in response to sudden attack.

46 Mike Loades., op. cit., p. 208.

Concluding remarks

In the centuries past the Japanese swords traveled far from their cradle. From the humble origins of modest furnaces of Korean and Chinese immigrants on the Japanese soil two millennia ago to the well developed and celebrated blades created by the most renowned blacksmiths of medieval Japan. The finest samurai swords gained such honor and recognition that none of the European counterparts – even though in Europe swords were, and are, adored and treated as symbols of strength, chivalry, authority and law – can compete with *nihontō* when it comes to the state of conservation and the cult they enjoy in their motherland. The Japanese swords' reputation as extremely sharp yet beautiful weapons reached China, Korea, and Europe in the 15th and 16th century. In the 17th century, the sword became the soul of the warrior and the visible symbol of the highest status of its bearer and since then it could not be treated lightly and without respect. To this day this idealization of *nihontō* is visible in training halls of the numerous Japanese martial arts throughout the world⁴⁷. Japanese blades found their place also in the contemporary Western movies, games and literature. *Nihontō* became a hallmark of Japan and its culture, and an important element of the world's heritage. Perhaps the reason for this lies – like with other swords – in that “it is the weapon that gives the hope that skill can triumph over brute force”⁴⁸.

47 Where even wooden swords cannot be used for leaning – otherwise a typical sight in Historical European Martial Arts training rooms.

48 Ibidem, p. XIII.

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Summary

The article concentrates on the history of Japanese swords and their travel from Asian fields of battle to the popular culture of the Western world. The author presents the main characteristics of the Japanese sword and how it evolved from the ancient straight form borrowed from Chinese specimens to the recognized curved and single-edged weapon of the samurai. The article outlines the important role of the sword in Japanese culture and conquests and discusses how other countries learnt about the qualities of a *katana*. Subsequently, the process of popularization and usage of Japanese swords in the modern world is described.

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Maya Mythical Journey Through the Underworld: a Special Group of Funeral Pottery and Its Meaning

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The ancient Maya perceived the mythical world in a very straightforward way, thus they organized the environment to reflect their belief system: pyramids symbolized sacred mountains and tombs inside them represented caves¹. Similarly, funerary paraphernalia were highly significant: every object in a grave had its own meaning, particularly if it was placed on the head of the deceased individual, as for the Maya the head was the most important part of the body, where the soul and wisdom were located². The practice of placing inverted vessels over skulls of deceased individuals seems to have been a widespread phenomenon in the Maya area: it is found in graves located in dwellings, household shrines, ceremonial platforms, and plazas. It indicates that it was observed by numerous – if not all – Maya communities³. To better understand this specific funerary pattern, I analyzed one hundred burials from fifteen archaeological sites of Peten in Guatemala (Figure 1) and compared these results with the Maya belief system related to the afterlife.

Our knowledge of the Classic Maya beliefs regarding the underworld comes mainly from the rich iconography depicted on burial vessels, which scholars were able to compare with an important Colonial source written by the K'iche' Maya – the *Popol Vuh* epic. The story was written down in the sixteenth century, in consequence, differences are noticeable when it is compared with iconography from the Classic period (3rd–10th AD)⁴. The main difference is the vision of the nature of the under-

1 Fitzsimmons, James L. *Death and the Classic Maya Kings*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009, p. 18.

2 Coe, Michael D. "Ideology of the Maya Tomb." *Maya Iconography*. Ed. Elizabeth P. Benson, Gillett G. Griffin, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988, p. 223.

3 Welsh, Bruce M. *An Analysis of Classic Lowland Maya Burials*. Oxford: BAR, 1988, p. 64.

4 Fitzsimmons, James L., op. cit., p. 49.

world. In *Popol Vuh* it is depicted as Xibalba (*xib* – “fear, terror, trembling with fright”), the place of fear and the residence of the Lords of Death. On the other hand, the Classic period underworld was depicted as a watery world that could be entered via caves, wells (*cenotes*) or other bodies of water perceived as portals leading to the other-world⁵. Nevertheless, in both cases, death was seen as an initiation of a journey. First, the story of the so-called Hero Twins, who travel through the underworld to defeat the Lords of Death, was described in *Popol Vuh*⁶. Second, one of the most prominent Mayanists, David Stuart, identified the Classic period expression *och b'ib* as “road-entering,” which is currently understood as metaphoric commencing of the ultimate journey by the deceased person⁷. Furthermore, Mary Miller and Karl Taube stated that the Maya perceived afterlife as a tormenting journey, which could be accomplished in the same way as Maize God did it and therefore the Maya laid great emphasis on burials’ aspect⁸. The parallel journey of the Maize God through the underworld and its correlation with death will be develop below.

A tomb of Pakal the Great in so-called Temple of the Inscription from Palenque is the noticeable example of burial associated with a cosmological significance. The entire structure was erected after the ruler’s death in only one building phase. It means that this pyramid was constructed solely for sepulchral purpose and presently the tomb is interpreted as an analogy to the cave, from which Pakal the Great

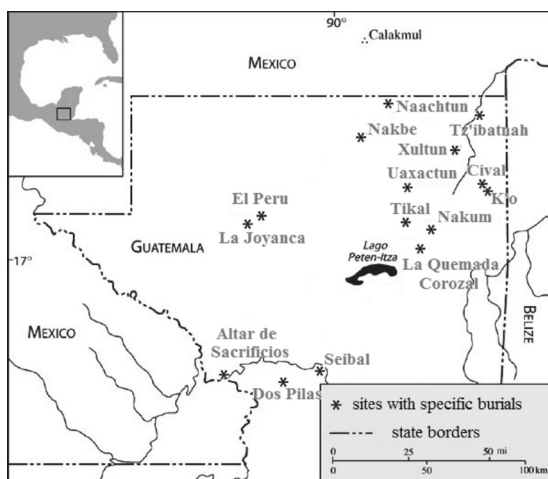


Figure 1. Department of Peten with 15 sites involving analysis

- 5 Schele, Linda, Marry E. Miller. *The Blood of Kings. Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art*. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1986, p. 267; Tuszyńska, Boguchwała. “Pozycja kobiety w świecie Majów w okresie klasycznym (250–900 N.E.).” *Gnieźnieńskie Prace Humanistyczne*, vol. VI, 2016, p. 299.
- 6 Hamann, Agnieszka. “Through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Death as a Typical Domain Requiring Non-Literal Treatment.” *Contributions in New World Archaeology*, vol. 10, 2016, pp. 16–17.
- 7 Fitzsimmons, James L., op. cit., p. 33.
- 8 Hamann, Agnieszka., op. cit., p. 16; Miller, Mary E., Karl Taube. *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya. An Illustrated Dictionary of Mesoamerican Religion*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1993, p. 39.

commenced his journey through the underworld⁹. Additionally, a recent investigation revealed channel located precisely underneath the Temple of the Inscription and ruler's burial¹⁰. This discovery corresponds to the Classic Maya belief system, due to the fact that water not only symbolized underworld but, above all, it was a portal leading to the otherworld¹¹. Furthermore, the Maya expression *och ha'* from Classic period (which literally means "water-entering") "refers to the travel of the soul into the watery underworld."¹² Arnaldo González Cruz, the director of the excavation in Palenque, claimed that this channel could be constructed by order of Pakal the Great¹³. If it had been his command to built both the channel and pyramid, it could be concluded that the ruler had organized his burial to support his entrance into the underworld and his last journey. The Maya may have equipped their burials with numerous grave goods due to the same purpose. Unquestionably, rich grave furniture comes from noble interments. American archaeologist, Michael Coe, have distinguished various classes of implements from elite burials, which mainly consisted of jade, paraphernalia for ritual bloodletting, mirrors, codices, musical instruments, flints, obsidians, and copal¹⁴. According to scholars, all these objects have their particular and symbolic meaning¹⁵, for instance, jade is perceived either as breath or as an ear of maize being the essence of life and vegetation. Consequently, placing jade beads in the mouth of a deceased person could have an ideological connection with cyclic death and re-birth¹⁶. Nevertheless, the most common furniture among the Maya burials and also the most significant for this paper is funeral pottery. There are many examples of burials equipped solely with ceramic vessels, even though it could be connected with the disintegration of the organic materials. The vessels may have been filled with food and beverages in case they are needed on the route during the last journey of the deceased person¹⁷.

9 Geller, Pamela L. "Maya Mortuary Spaces as Cosmological Metaphors." *Space and Spatial Analysis in Archaeology*. Ed. Elizabeth C. Robertson, Jeffrey D. Seibert, Deepika C. Fernandez, Marc U. Zender. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006, p. 39.

10 "Descubren Sistema de canales bajo el Templo de las Inscripciones de Palenque." Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. 2016. Web. 05 Mar. 2018.

11 Schele, Linda, Marry E. Miller., op. cit., p. 267.

12 Fitzsimmons, James L., op. cit., p. 35.

13 "Descubren Sistema...", op. cit.

14 Coe, Michael D. "Ideology of the Maya Tomb...", op. cit., pp. 224–228.

15 Ibidem, pp. 225–227; Fitzsimmons, James L., op. cit., pp. 87–90; Stuart, David. "Blood Symbolism in Maya Iconography." *Maya Iconography*. Ed. Elizabeth P. Benson, Gillett G. Griffin. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988, pp. 218–220; Tuszyńska, Boguchwała., op. cit., pp. 187–188.

16 Coe, Michael D. "Ideology of the Maya Tomb...", op. cit., p. 225; Fitzsimmons, James L., op. cit., pp. 87–88.

17 Tuszyńska, Boguchwała., op. cit., p. 309.

At this point it is essential to demonstrate the analyzed data regarding the particular group of funeral pottery, that is inverted vessels placed over or under the head of the deceased individual. The investigation is based on one hundred burials located in fifteen sites from the department of Peten. Table 1 provides a list of these interments with their characteristic features. The first data is the name of the archaeological site, from which these burials came. The second column provides information about burial number from archaeological reports also giving information about the amount of these burials per site. According to my analysis, this custom was the most common in Altar the Sacrificios (36 burials). The following part provides information about dating, types, and axis of graves. Next columns provide information about age, sex, body position and head orientation of deceased individuals. In the last part, the vessels' characteristic features are presented. Due to the number of information in the table, some abbreviations have been applied and elucidated below it. It has to be underlined that owing to limited access to data it is a statistical sampling based on available archaeological reports and articles concerning this specific custom. It was made in order to identify and juxtapose the distinctive features coming from these burials.

On the one hand, the exact dating of the majority of analyzed burials could not be achieved; on the other hand, scholars were able to establish at least from which period they came. The custom of putting inverted vessels over heads of deceased individuals starts in the Middle Preclassic period (ca. 1000–300 BC). The number of such graves increases in the Late Preclassic (ca. 300 BC–AD 250/300) and the Early Classic period (ca. 250/300–600 AD), to reach its peak in the Late Classic (ca. 600–800 AD). It is worth underlining that the Late Classic period was the time of great social changes in Maya Lowlands. The ancient civilization reached its highest artistic and intellectual point. What is even more important for this research, the most elaborate references to death rites and rituals come from the Late Classic period. According to my analysis, this funerary custom continued in the department of Peten until the tenth century or the Terminal Classic period (9th–10th AD) and was absent during the following Postclassic period.

Analysis of skeleton features presented in the middle part of Table 1 follows to several conclusions. Firstly, the custom of placing inverted pottery over the skulls of deceased individuals appeared mostly among adults (85%). Nonetheless, it has to be noted that infants buried inside or between vessels are perceived as cache deposits¹⁸ and therefore were not considered in the analysis. Secondly, although sex designation was not possible for 33 burials, according to remaining graves the male interments predominated among that characteristic funeral customs (male: 63%; female: 37%). Thirdly, the majority of deceased individuals were inhumed in the extended position

¹⁸ Welsh, Bruce M., *op. cit.*, p. 65.

on the back (42%), which Bruce Welsh recognized as an indicator of high-status burials¹⁹. On the other hand, the number of burials with individuals in flexed position is nearly the same (Figure 2). This similarity may imply that the practice occurred among both elites and people of lower status. Furthermore, based on Robert Hertz²⁰ and Christopher Carr's research²¹, it seems that covering the heads of deceased individuals was rather associated with religious significance than with social status. Thus, in my opinion, this custom results

from the Maya worldview and their belief system. Finally, more than 60% of graves were located on the north-south axis, and 37 of these burials were facing to the north. Interestingly, according to some researchers, the first royal graves were located on the north-south axis, due to the idea that it could reflect the axis of the world – *axis mundi*²².

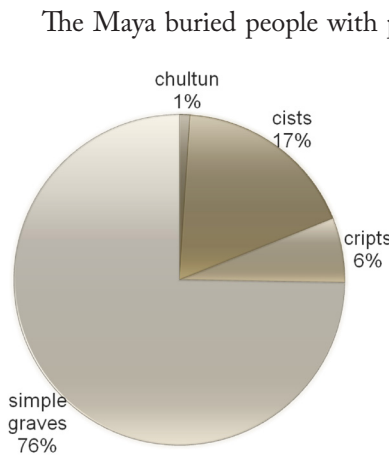


Figure 3. Burial types involving analysis

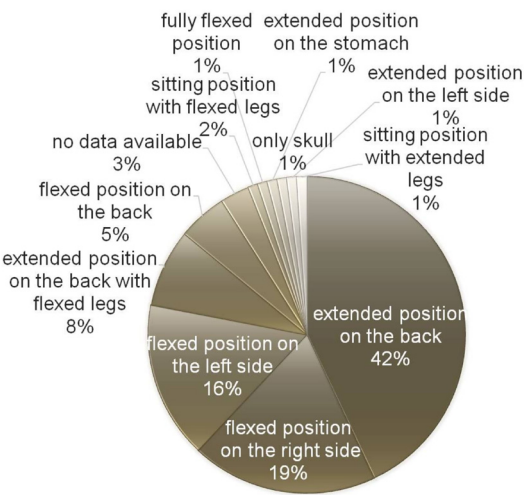


Figure 2. Body positions involving analysis

The Maya buried people with plates on their heads in four types of graves (Figure 3). The information about these burials and their terminology derives from archaeological reports. The most common type is represented by a simple burial (76%), which can be described as a hole dug in the ground or created in the fill of a structure. A less frequently occurring type of burial (17%) was a cist or a small grave lined with stones and sporadically covered by capstones. A more elaborate form of a cist was a crypt with precisely wrought stones located around and above the deceased individual. Six of such tombs were documented during

19 Ibidem, p. 217.
20 Hertz, Robert. *Death and the Right Hand*. Trans. Rodney Needham, Claudia Needham. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960, pp. 29–53.
21 Carr, Christopher. “Mortuary practices: Their social, philosophical-religious, circumstantial, and physical determinants.” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 2, 1995, pp. 190–191.
22 Tuszyńska, Boguchwała. *Majowie*. Kraków: New Media Concept, 2007, p. 138.

my study. Finally, only one burial with a vessel covering the head of the deceased was found in a *chultun* – a bottle-shaped chamber cut in limestone rock.

An American archaeologist Ledyard Smith, based on his investigation in Uaxactun, suggested that the Maya may have used inverted bowls as a protective measure to cover the head when the body was inhumed solely in a cist or a simple grave without any protection above²³. Undoubtedly, there were numerous burials of this type. Nonetheless, over 20% have such protection; furthermore, six of them were crypts. On the one hand, it is not a great quantity in comparison with a sample of one hundred; on the other hand, the simplest graves were definitely more common than cists or crypts. Additionally, inside some graves, for instance, in Burial 46 from Naachtun, no skulls were found²⁴. Consequently, vessels cannot have served as a protective measure when there was no head at all. Therefore, in my opinion, it did not concern solely placing physical bowls on the heads, but this pattern should be associated with a symbolic meaning that these vessels were meant to evoke. In this context, it might be worthwhile to consider additional, characteristic elements and iconography from ceramic vessels.

Archaeological reports indicate that some vessels had a so-called “kill-hole” – a small aperture drilled or punched out in the center of its bottom. Primarily such vessels come from the Late Classic period and the turn of Late and Terminal Classic periods. It is believed, in relation to Native American rites, that perforated ceramics were “ritually killed” to release its spirit or power²⁵. On the other hand, Michael Coe suggested that bowls placed over heads may symbolize the surface of the Earth from the Mesoamerican cosmological scheme, in which the head was located slightly under the uppermost level of the underworld. Therefore, these holes were drilled to let the soul of the deceased free since the head was the entrance and exit point for the soul, which after death escapes through eye-sockets, mouth and other holes in a skull²⁶. In contrast, according to my analysis, only fifteen burials contained plates with perforations. Moreover, some perforated bowls were located under the head of the deceased, for example in Burial 28 from Tikal²⁷, in such context, the vessels

23 Smith, Ledyard A. *Uaxactun, Guatemala. Excavations of 1931–1937*. Washington D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1950, p. 90.

24 Nondédéo, Philippe, Julien Hiquet, Dominique Michelet, et. al. *Proyecto Petén–Norte Naachtun 2010–2014. Informe de la Quinta Temporada de Campo 2014*. Guatemala: n.p. 2014, pp. 225–227, 549.

25Looper, Matthew G. *To Be Like Gods. Dance in Ancient Maya Civilization*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009, p. 127; Reents-Budet, Dorie. *Painting the Maya Universe. Royal Ceramics of the Classic Period*. London: Duke University Press, 1994, p. 339; Scherer, Andrew K. *Mortuary Landscapes of Classic Maya. Rituals of Body and Soul*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015, p. 117.

26 Coe, Michael D. “Ideology of the Maya Tomb...,” op. cit., p. 223.

27 Haviland, William A., Marshall J. Becker, Ann Chowning, et. al. “Tikal Report No. 19. Excavations in Small Residential Groups of Tikal: Groups 4F-1 and 4F-2.” *University Museum Monograph*, vol. 58, 1985, pp. 130–131.

did not cover the face and did not obstruct emerging souls. Furthermore, a Mexican scholar Alejandra Martínez de Velasco Cortina pointed out that perforated vessels were found not only in funerals but also in many different contexts²⁸. Andrew Scherer, an American archaeologist, proposed alternatively that the apertures could represent *axis mundi* (axis connecting three different realms: the upperworld, the earth, and the underworld), especially if they appear in association with another characteristic element – three legs (Figure 4). He claimed (in the same way as other scholars, such as Dorie Reents-Budet) that the legs might symbolize three hearthstones of creation and consequently they may emphasize the idea of *axis mundi*. According to Maya myths, the Earth was established on three stones in order to create the center of the world, which was replicated in every Maya house. Despite the placement of three objects reflecting the mythical worldview²⁹, the ideology of three points might have had its beginning in a more pragmatic purpose.

An alternative Maya myth depicts the world located on the body of a giant reptile, most frequently a turtle, which was usually perceived as the Earth itself. The turtle with three stones on its carapace was illustrated in the so-called Madrid Codex³⁰ (Figure 5) and may constitute an analogy to the tripod vessels. Consequently, if legs were perceived as the hearthstones of creation, the rest of the plate would represent the turtle's carapace or the Earth's surface, which would confirm Michael Coe's theory³¹. On the other hand, another American scholar Karl Taube has interpreted these sets of symbols as *axis mundi*³²

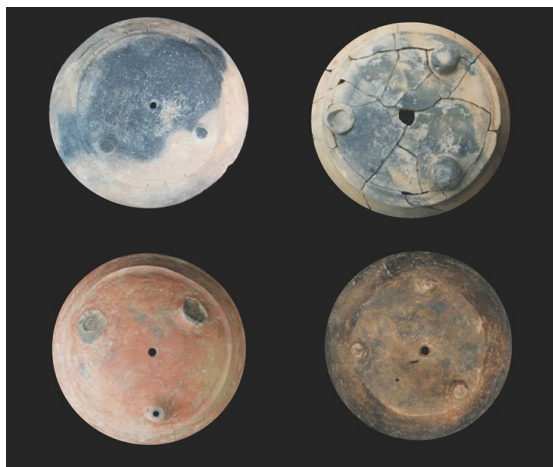


Figure 4. Perforated tripod vessels, J. K. Scherer, op.cit., Plate 12

28 Martínez de Velasco Cortina, A. "Contextos arqueológicos de las vasijas matadas del Área Maya." *Símpoio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala*, no. 25 (98), 2012, p. 1218.

29 Scherer, Andrew K., op. cit., p. 119; Reents-Budet, Dorie. "Sztuka malowania waz w okresie klasycznym." *Majowie*. Ed. Nikolai Grube. Trans. Magdalena Iwińska, Warszawa: Buchmann, 2011, p. 256.

30 Madrid Codex, known also as Codex Tro-Cortesian, is pre-Hispanic screenfold book connected with Maya gods, rituals and calendars. See: Taube, Karl A. "The Major Gods of Ancient Yucatan." *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, no. 32, 1992, pp. 2–3.

31 Coe, Michael D. "Ideology of the Maya Tomb...", op. cit., p. 223; Scherer, Andrew K., op. cit., pp. 116–117.

32 Taube, Karl A. "The Jade Hearth. Centrality, Rulership, and the Classic Maya Temple." *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*. Ed. Stephen. D. Houston. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998, p. 441.

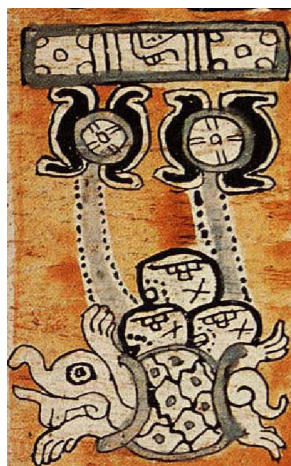


Figure 5. Detail from Madrid Codex, p. 71a

and his position corroborates Andrew Scherer's hypothesis³³. Nonetheless, it brings the question about statistic data, since although 34% of analyzed vessels were tripod plates, only nine of them had apertures. By contrast, only eight out of fifteen perforated dishes were tripod vessels. First of all, Karl Taube did not suggest in his article that three stones and the turtle have to occur together. He stated that each symbol signifies the pivotal *axis mundi*³⁴. As a result, they may appear independently, perhaps in agreement with the *pars pro toto* ("part for the whole") rule, which was commonly utilized by the pre-Columbian Maya. It means that the whole set of ideas could be represented by one small component, which has been observed in art, epigraphy and funerary practices. A notable example may be the practice of re-

moving body parts from the grave (especially the skull or femur) in order to worship ancestors. Therefore, the bones become a substitute for the deceased person³⁵. The *pars pro toto* rule might then explain the absence of "kill-holes" and three legs in the majority of vessels. In this instance, the entire plate situated on or under the head of the deceased individual would be the symbol of *axis mundi*. A historian of religion, Mircea Eliade, pointed out that the *axis mundi* did not only connect three different worlds but also gave an opportunity to move between them, from one to another³⁶. Even though Mircea Eliade did not analyze the Maya culture, his conclusion may apply to this case, on a convergence basis.

At this point, it is important to focus on the iconography from vessels covering heads of deceased individuals. Unfortunately, due to limited access to information about images, which were described only in several reports, my analysis involved thirteen decorated dishes³⁷. Several burials contained vessels with geometric motifs: Burial 126 from Tikal was dated to the Middle Preclassic period³⁸, Burial 22 from Seibal came from

33 Scherer, Andrew K., op. cit., p. 119.

34 Taube, Karl A. *The Jade Hearth...*, op. cit., p. 441.

35 McAnany, Patricia A. *Living with the Ancestors. Kingship and Kinship in Ancient Maya Society*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995, pp. 61–63.

36 Eliade, Mircea. *Sacrum a profanum. O istocie sfery religijnej*. Trans. Bogdan Baran, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Aletheia, 2008, pp. 35–36.

37 Although, the ceramic vessels could be in such poor conditions, that there was no evidence for any decorations.

38 Coe, William R. "Tikal Report No. 14, Volume II. Excavations in the Great Plaza, North Terrace and North Acropolis of Tikal. *University Museum Monograph*, no. 61, 1990, p. 203.

the Late Preclassic period³⁹, three graves (Burial 2, Burial 5 from Nakum and Burial 115 from Altar de Sarificios) were dated to the Early Classic period⁴⁰. In Burial 1 from Seibal, dated to the Terminal Classic period, there were three vessels encircling the skull, perhaps in the past, they had covered the head. One of them was decorated with an isosceles cross reminding the motif of the patolli game board; the remaining two were painted in a geometric pattern, analogously to the dish from Burial 22 from the same archaeological site⁴¹. The third grave from Seibal (Burial 2) contained a tripod plate with the representation of a fish in water incised on the interior⁴². It might be worthwhile to underline here that according to the Maya cosmology water was closely associated with the underworld; thus the iconography might not be accidental in this case.

Different types of decorations that appear on the analyzed vessels include glyphs or pseudoglyphs⁴³. A deceased individual from an Early Classic interment from La Joyanca (Burial 18) was covered with a polychrome plate with an *ajaw* (lord) sign inside⁴⁴. The next instance of a dish with glyphs came from Naachtun (Burial 41). In this case, the inner side of the vessel was included a band with *etz'nab* glyphs⁴⁵, that is the name of a day from the *Tzolk'in* the calendar. In several cases, glyphs complemented the iconography. The tripod plate excavated in the burial with one of the most elaborate pieces of grave furniture from Altar de Sacrificios (Burial 128) depicted a person in profile sitting on a dais, probably a throne. The glyphic text was repeated in three

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- 39 Smith, Ledyard A., Gordon R. Willey. "Seibal, Guatemala in 1968. A Brief Summary of Archaeological Results." *International Congress of Americanists*, no. 38 (1), 1968, pp. 151–152; Tourtellot III, Gair. "Excavations at Seibal, Department of Peten, Guatemala. Burials: A Cultural Analysis." *Memoirs of Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*, no. 17 (2), 1990, pp. 104–105.
- 40 Koszkuł, Wiesław, Jarosław Żralka, Bernard Hermes, Martinez Gustavo. *Proyecto Arqueológico Nakum. Informe Final Temporada 2007, Guatemala*. Kraków: n.p. 2007, p. 69; Żralka, Jarosław, Wiesław Koszkuł, Bernard Hermes, Simon Martin. "Excavations of Nakum Structure 15. Discovery of Royal Burials and Accompanying Offerings." *The Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute Journal*, no. 12 (3), 2012, p. 15; *Proyecto Arqueológico Nakum. Informe Final Temporada 2012, Guatemala*. Ed. Juan L. Velasquez, Guatemala: n.p. 2012, pp. 25, 51–52; Smith, Ledyard A. "Excavations at Altar de Sacrificios. Architecture, Settlement, Burials, and Caches." *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*, no. 62 (2), 1972, pp. 263–264.
- 41 Tourtellot III, Gair., op. cit., pp. 87–88, 104–105.
- 42 Sabloff, Jeremy A. "Excavations at Seibal, Department of Peten, Guatemala. Ceramics." *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*, no. 13 (2), 1975, pp. 194, 197; Tourtellot III, Gair., op. cit., p. 88.
- 43 Sometimes, signs remaining glyphs were painted on ceramics, yet with no meaning. Most likely they had to give impression of writing and perhaps they was made by illiterate artist. See: H. Kettunen, C. Helmke. *Introduction to Maya Hieroglyphs*. Bratislava: Comenius University in Bratislava, 2014, p. 31.
- 44 *Proyecto Peten-Noroccidente La Joyanca. Informe No 4, Cuarta Temporada de Campo: 11 de febrero - 13 de abril 2002, En El Sitio Arqueologico de La Joyanca y Su Region*. Ed. Véronique Breuil-Martinez, Tristan Saint-Dizier, Ervin S. Lopez. Guatemala: n.p. 2001, pp. 71–73, 328.
- 45 Nondédéo, Philippe, Julien Hiquet, Dominique Michelet, et. al., op.cit., pp. 225–227, 546.

parts, around the interior rim, and what is more, it included both real glyphs, like YAX, and psuedoglyphs⁴⁶. Burial 51 from Dos Pilas contained a tripod plate with the so-called Dedicatory Formula – an introductory phrase identifying the vessel. The inscription informs that the plate could serve for tamales or other maize dishes. Moreover, the scene depicted on the plate possibly showed a deity sitting on the throne with an animal companion in front of him⁴⁷. Another example from Naachtun (Burial 45) is a vessel that depicted the dancing Maize God. Importantly, it is a tripod plate with a drilled “kill-hole”⁴⁸. The last example of a polychrome vessel was recovered from Burial 22 in Nakbe. In the center of a tripod plate, there was a representation of a feline, apparently a jaguar and again a “kill-hole”⁴⁹. It is worth underlining that more elaborate iconography comes from the Late Classic and Terminal Classic periods. Mary Miller stated that the polychrome perforated dishes from elite interments usually depicted the Maize God⁵⁰. Regrettably, the vessels included in the analysis were primarily monochrome or in poor condition, which impeded the iconography decipherment. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, the plate from Naachtun did depict the Maize God. Furthermore, the majority of graves from this analysis presumably were not associated with elites.

Interestingly, besides the representation of the dancing Maize God, this deity is additionally depicted in a sequence of scenes narrating his journey through the underworld. Despite a considerable number of differences, the principal structure remains the same: the Maize God's death, his travel through the underworld and his rebirth⁵¹. Karl Taube ascertained the analogy between the Maize God from Classic Maya art and Jun Hunahpu from the already mentioned *Popol Vuh*⁵². The latter narrates that lords of the underworld killed Jun Hunahpu. Nonetheless, after an undetermined period of time, his twin sons endure a sequence of trials during their journey through

46 Adams, Richard E. W. “Maya Archaeology 1958–1968, A Review.” *Latin American Research Review*, 4 Feb. 1969, p. 67; Calvin, Inga E. *Between Text and Image. An Analysis of Pseudo-glyphs on Late Classic Maya Pottery from Guatemala*. University of Colorado: n.p. 2006, pp. 58–59 [PhD dissertation]; Smith, Ledyard A. *Excavations at Altar de Sacrificios...*, op. cit., pp. 266–267.

47 Calvin, Inga E., op. cit., p. 80; Palka, Joel, Fernando Moscoso, Kitty Emery, et. al. “Resultados de excavaciones en unidades residenciales de Dos Pilas, Petén, en la Temporada 1992.” *Simpósio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala*, no. 6 (11), 1993, pp. 146–147.

48 Nondédéo, Philippe, Julien Hiquet, Dominique Michelet et. al., op.cit., pp. 258–260, 548.

49 *Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Ecológicas en la Cuenca Mirador, 1998. Informe de la Temporada de Campo*. Ed. Richard D. Hansen, Judith Valle, Guatemala: n.p. 2000, pp. 490–493; López, Francisco R. “Nuevas perspectivas sobre el Clásico Tardío en Nakbe, Petén.” *Simpósio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala*, no. 12 (21), 1999, p. 330.

50 Scherer, Andrew K., op. cit., p. 119.

51 Fitzsimmons, James L., op.cit., pp. 18–19.

52 Coe, Michael D. “The Hero Twins. Myth and Image.” *The Maya Vase Book. A Corpus of Rollout Photographs of Maya Vases, Volume 1*. Ed. Justin Kerr. New York: Kerr Associates, 1989, p. 177.

the underworld, including their own death⁵³. Despite the fact that the reference to the Maize God resurrection in *Popol Vuh* is very brief, as Micheal Coe pointed out, it could be understood as the maize sprouting from the Earth's surface. Additionally, his idea is supported by Classic Maya art. One of the most impressive instances of the Maize God's final resurrection is depicted on vessel K1892 (Figure 6). The image depicts the Maize God emerging from a turtle carapace situated on the representation of a water lily, which Michael Coe interpreted as a metaphor for the surface of the Earth floating on water⁵⁴. The Maize God is flanked by his sons assisting him in cracking and opening the carapace. Thereby, his final resurrection, analogously to the *Popol Vuh* story, was possible thanks to the so-called Hero Twins. To sum up, this iconography is interpreted as the Maize God's resurrection, which involved his return to the surface of the Earth through a crack in a turtle's carapace⁵⁵. Therefore, if the vessels were perceived as a turtle carapace, then inverted ceramics from heads of deceased individuals would symbolize the surface of the Earth, from which the dead person had to emerge to finish their journey through the underworld, just like the Maize God did. In this case, it is important to take into consideration the mythical provenance of humankind. According to Maya mythology, humans were created from maize. Moreover, the Classic Maya perceived themselves as the "people of corn" and perhaps their life as the Maize God cycle, which is visible in art, language and archaeological evidence⁵⁶.

Conclusion

The comparison of archaeological data on the characteristic funerary custom described here with the Maya belief system related to the afterlife, and especially with the long and dangerous trip



Figure 6. Vessel depicting Maize God resurrection - K1892, http://research.mayavase.com/kerrmaya_hires.php?vase=1892

⁵³ Scherer, Andrew K., op. cit., p. 24.

⁵⁴ Coe, Michael D. *The Hero Twins...*, op. cit., p. 177.

⁵⁵ Fitzsimmons, James L., op. cit., pp. 18–19; Tuszyńska, Boguchwała. *Majowie...*, op. cit., pp. 55, 68.

⁵⁶ Fitzsimmons, James L., op. cit., p. 22; *Popol Vuh. Księga Rady Narodu Quiché*. Trans. Halina Czarnecka, Carlos M. Casas. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1980, pp. 103–104; Tuszyńska, Boguchwała. *Majowie...*, op. cit., p. 52.

through the underworld, should shed more light on the still not well-understood pattern of placing vessels above heads of deceased individuals. As was mentioned above, the Maya world was (and still is) full of symbolism associated with mythology and cosmology. Therefore, the placement of vessels on heads must have had certain mythical associations. Perhaps the purpose was connected with Michael Coe's hypothesis of souls escaping through the "kill-hole". Nevertheless, it should be recalled, that in the analysis there were more plates without any aperture. I would suggest that for the Maya the "kill-holes," as well as whole vessels, might symbolize the *axis mundi*. As a result, the soul does not literally escape through the perforation into the grave space, but falls straight into the corridor of the *axis mundi*, and this way travels between cosmic levels. In such instance, the vessels would stand for a portal leading into the other worlds. Furthermore, I believe it is also related to the conception of a vessel as a turtle's carapace. There are several instances in Maya iconography of a turtle or a crocodile depicted with a quatrefoil portal instead of their body. Therefore, reptiles may also symbolize the portal between worlds. Thus, in my opinion, both alternatives, the vessels as *axis mundi* or as the carapace of a turtle, refer to the deceased person's journey through the underworld and to his/her final abandonment of the place of death. Perhaps inverted vessels placed on heads affected souls of the deceased in a mythical way and helped them to pass the underworld exactly in the same way as the Maize God did.

Table 1. Burials with vessels placed over heads of deceased individuals and their characteristic features

Site	Burial				Skeleton				Vessel		
	Number	Period	Type	Axis	Age	Sex	Position	Head	"Kill Hole"	Three legs	Motifs
Altar de Sacrificios	7	EC	SB	N/E-S/W	adult	NDA	FLS	S/W	-	-	-
	16	LC?	SB	W-E	adult	NDA	FLS	E	-	yes	-
	19	TC	SB	NDA	adult	♀	FF	E	-	yes	-
	21	TC	SB	N-S	adult	♂	SEL	N	-	yes	-
	22	LC/TC	SB	W-E	adult	♂	BFL	W	-	-	-
	25	EC/LC	SB	W-E	adult	NDA	EB	E	-	yes	-
	27	EC/LC	SB	N/E-S/W	adult	♀	FLS	S/W	-	yes	-
	30	LC V TC	SB	N-S	adult	♀	FRS	N	yes	yes	-
	36	LC/TC	SB	N-S	adult	♀?	FB	S	-	yes	-
	38	LC/TC	SB	W-E	adult	NDA	FLS	E	-	-	-
	41	LP/P	SB	W-E	adult	♂	EB	W	-	-	-

Site	Burial				Skeleton				Vessel		
	Number	Period	Type	Axis	Age	Sex	Position	Head	"Kill Hole"	Three legs	Motifs
Altar de Sacrificios	42	EC	SB	N/W-S/E	adult	♀	FRS	N/W	-	-	-
	51	EC	SB	W-E	ca. 4 yrs.	NDA	FRS	W	-	-	-
	58	LC/TC	SB	W-E	adult	♂	FRS	E	-	yes	-
	62	TC	SB	N-S	> 60 yrs.	♂	FB	N	-	-	-
	69	TC	SB	W-E	5-9 yrs.	NDA	FRS	E	-	yes	-
	92	TC	SB	W-E	adult	♂	EB	E	yes	yes	-
	96	LC	Cist	W-E	25-29 yrs.	♀	EB	E	-	yes	-
	104	LP	SB	W-E	adult	NDA	EB	E	-	-	-
	106	EC	SB	N-S	adult	NDA	FB	N	-	-	-
	107	LP	SB	N/W-S/E	adult	♀	EB	S/E	-	-	-
	112	EC	SB	N-S	adult	♂	FRS	N	yes	-	-
	114	EC	SB	N-S	adult	NDA	EB?	N	-	-	-
	115	EC	SB	N-S	adult	♂	FB	N	yes	-	GM
	118	P/EC	SB	N-S	25-29 yrs.	♂	BFL	N	-	-	-
	119	LP/P	Cist	W-E	adult	♂	BFL	W	-	-	-
	121	LC V TC	SB	W-E	adult	NDA	FLS?	E	-	yes	-
	122	EC	SB	N-S	adult	NDA	FRS?	N	-	-	-
	124	MP	SB	W-E	20-24 yrs.	♀	FLS	W	-	-	-
	126	TC	SB	N-S	adult	NDA	FRS	N	yes	yes	-
	127.1	MP	SB	N/E-S/W	1-5 yrs.	NDA	EB?	S/W	-	-	-
	127.2	MP	SB	N/E-S/W	7-20 mos.	NDA	EB?	S/W	-	-	-
	127.3	MP	SB	NDA	≥1 yrs.	NDA	NDA	NDA	-	-	-
	128	LC	Crypt	W-E	40-44 yrs.	♀	EB	E	yes	yes	I+G
	129	MP	SB	N-S	25-29 yrs.	♂	FRS	S	-	-	-
	134	P/EC	SB	N-S	5-9 yrs.	NDA	FLS	N	-	-	-
Cival	CIV.T. 63.03	NDA	SB	W-E	adult?	NDA	EB?	W	-	-	-
Dos Pilas	51	NDA	Cist	N-S	adult	♂	EB	N	-	yes	I+G
El Peru	11	LP	SB	N-S	adult	NDA	EB	S	-	-	-

Site	Burial				Skeleton				Vessel		
	Number	Period	Type	Axis	Age	Sex	Position	Head	"Kill Hole"	Three legs	Motifs
K'o	KOL.T. 34-15	LP	CH	N-S	40-50 yrs.	♂	EB	S	-	-	-
La Joyanca	1	EC	Cist	N-S	ca. 20 yrs.	♀	EB	S	-	-	-
	2	NDA	SB	N-S	12-24 mos.	NDA	EB?	S	-	-	-
	4	NDA	SB	N-S	adult	♂	FLS	S	-	-	-
	5	LC	SB	N-S	20-30 yrs.	♂	EB	S	-	-	-
	6	NDA	SB	N-S	4-5 yrs.	NDA	EB	S	-	-	-
	7	LC	SB	N-S	adult	♂	EB	N	-	-	-
	8	TC	Cist	N-S	18-30 yrs.	♀	ELS	S	-	-	-
	10	NDA	Cist	N-S	20-30 yrs.	♂	EB	S	-	-	-
	12	NDA	SB?	N/E-S/W	30-40 yrs.	♀	EB	S/W	-	-	-
	15	NDA	SB	N-S	adult	♂	EB	S	-	-	-
	18	EC	Cist	N-S	18-25 yrs.	♂	EB	N	-	-	G
	19.1	LC	SB	N/E-S/W	6-7 yrs.	NDA	EB	S/W	-	-	-
	19.2	LC	SB	N/E-S/W	8-9 yrs.	NDA	EB	S/W	-	-	-
	21	NDA	Crypt	N-S	18-20 yrs.	♂	ES	S	-	-	-
	22	NDA	SB	N-S	20-25 yrs.	♂	EB	N?	-	-	-
	26	LC	SB	N-S	ca. 35 yrs.	♂	EB	N	-	-	-
	27	LC/TC	SB	N-S	30-40	♀	EB	S	-	-	-
	28	NDA	SB	W-E	adult?	NDA	EB	W	-	yes	-
La Quemada Corozal	EC-02	LC?	Cist	N-S	adult	♀	EB	N	-	yes	-
Naachtun	41	LC/TC	SB	N-S	adult	♂	EB	N	-	yes	G
	45	LC/TC	Cist	N-S	adult	♂	FB	N	yes	yes	I
	46	LC/TC	SB	N-S	adult	NDA	EB	N	-	yes	-
	47	LC/TC	Cist	W-E	6-8 yrs.	NDA	EB?	E	-	-	-
Nakbe	3	LP?	Crypt	N-S	40-50 yrs.	♂ ?	EB	N	-	yes	-
	17	LC	Cist	N/E-S/W	40-45 yrs.	♀	EB	N/E	yes	yes	-
	18	LC	Cist	N-S	adult	NDA	EB	N	-	yes	-

Site	Burial				Skeleton				Vessel		
	Number	Period	Type	Axis	Age	Sex	Position	Head	"Kill Hole"	Three legs	Motifs
Nakbe	19	LC	SB	N/W-S/E	ca. 50 yrs.	♀	BFL	N	yes	yes	-
	21	LP	SB	W-E	NDA	NDA	NDA	E	-	-	-
	22	LC	SB	N-S	50-60 yrs.	♀?	BFL	N	yes	yes	I
Nakum	PANE ₂	P/EC	Crypt	N-S	45-50 yrs.	♀	EB	S	-	-	GM
	PANE ₅	EC	Crypt	N-S	adult	♀	FLS	N	-	-	GM
	5	TC	SB	W-E	21-22 yrs.	♂	FLS	W	-	-	-
	30	TC	SB	N-S	adult	♂	FLS	N	-	-	-
Seibal	1	TC	SB	N/E-S/W	adult	♀	SFL	S/W	-/-/-	yes/ yes/ -	GM/ GM/ GM
	2	TC	SB	W-E	adult	♂	EB	E	-	yes	I
	6	LC/TC	SB	W-E	adult	♂	BFL	E	-	yes	-
	22	LP/P	SB	N-S	adult	♀	EB	N	-	-	GM
	24	LC/TC	SB	N-S	adult	♂	FRS	N	-	-	-
	30	LP/P	SB	N-S	adult	♂	FLS	S	-	-	-
Tikal	12	LC	SB	N-S	adult	NDA	NDA	S	-	-	-
	28	LC/TC	SB	N-S	> 40 yrs.?	♀	FRS	N	yes	yes	-
	30	LC/TC	SB	N-S	adult	NDA	EB	S	yes	-	-
	31	LC	SB	N-S	> 30 yrs.	♂?	FRS	N	yes	-	-
	35	EC	SB	N-S	adult	♂?	FLS	S	-	-	-
	38	LC/TC	SB	N-S	ca. 60 yrs.	♂	BFL	N	-	yes	-
	39	LC/TC	SB	N-S	adult	♀	FRS	N	yes	-	-
	42	LC/TC	SB	N-S	adult	♂	FRS	N	yes	-	-
	123	MP	SB	N-S	adult	♂	FRS	S	-	-	-
	126	MP	SB	W-Z	16-20 mos.	NDA	EB	W	-	-	GM
Tz'ibatnah	1	LP/EC?	SB	N-S	adult?	NDA	FLS	S	-	-	-
Uaxactun	3	NDA	Cist	N-S	adult	♂?	FRS	N?	-	yes	-
	A27	EC	SB	-	21-35 yrs.	♂	OS	-	-	-	-
	A46	LC	Cist	N-S	adult	♂	FLS	N	-	yes	-
	A47	LC	Cist	N-S	16-17 yrs.	♂	FRS	N	-	yes	-

Site	Burial				Skeleton				Vessel		
	Number	Period	Type	Axis	Age	Sex	Position	Head	"Kill Hole"	Three legs	Motifs
Uaxactun	A50	LP	Cist	N-S	adult	♂	FRS	S	-	-	-
	A51	LC	SB	N-S	21-35 yrs.	♀	FRS	N	-	-	-
	A53	LP	SB	N/W-S/E	4-5 yrs.	NDA	BFL	S/E	-	-	-
	A56	LP	SB	N-S	infant	NDA	EB	S	-	-	-
	A64	LC	Cist	W-E	22-24 yrs.	♀	FLS	E	-	yes	-
Xultun	11	LC	Crypt	N-S	adult	♂	SFL?	S	-	-	-

-	Does not exist	G	Glyphs and/or pseudoglyphs
/	Turn of the periods	GM	Geometric Motifs
?	Perhaps	I	Figural iconography
♀	Female	LC	Late Classic Period
♂	Male	LP	Late Preclassic Period
V	Or	mos.	Months
BFL	Extended position on the back with flexed legs	MP	Middle Preclassic Period
CH	Chultun	N	North
E	East	NDA	No data available
EB	Extended position on the back	OS	Only skull
EC	Early Classic Period	P	Protoclassic Period
ELS	Extended position on the left side	S	South
ES	Extended position on the stomach	SB	Simple burial
FB	Flexed position on the back	SEL	Sitting position with extended legs
FF	Fully flexed	SFL	Sitting position with flexed legs
FLS	Flexed position on the left side	TC	Terminal Classic Period
FRS	Flexed position on the right side	yrs.	Years

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Summary

According to Maya beliefs, death opened a long way to the otherworld. As a consequence, the Maya equipped burials with numerous grave goods which cannot be viewed as the material remains only. Actually, they reflected important ideas and symbolism associated with Maya mythology. A prominent place among funerary customs takes the practice of placing inverted bowls over heads of deceased individuals. I studied one hundred burials containing this specific pottery type from fifteen sites

in Maya Lowlands and compared the results with data on the belief system related to the afterlife. My research supports the theory that such vessels had cosmological significance. Furthermore, this funerary custom may also be related to the Maize God and his mythical journey through the underworld.



magazyn antropologiczno-społeczno-kulturowy

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Wydawca:



KATEDRA
PORÓWNAWCZYCH
STUDIÓW
CYWILIZACJI
UNIwersytetu Jagiellońskiego

Publikacja finansowana przez:



RADA KÓŁ NAUKOWYCH
UNIwersytetu Jagiellońskiego