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Świat i Słowo
filologia | nauki społeczne | filozofia | teologia
1(32)/2019

CONTENTS

# Contents

## Miscellaneous

Świat i Słowo
filologia | nauki społeczne | filozofia | teologia
1 (32)/2019

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# The Body *Is* History

"The body," writes one historian of the human anatomy, "is not just a thing."[1] It undoubtedly constitutes the most material of the planes of our existence—the body is, in a way, our claim to *thinginess*—but it is also the means by which we gain access to the physical world around us. Perhaps the only means: the brain, where so much of the immaterial stuff of our lives happens, is, after all, still just an organ, a mass of a specific type of flesh.

Not objects then, but agents: our bodies anchor us in time and space, in the very moments through which we are living. In their seminal *The Body in History*, editors Oliver J. T. Harris and John Robb acknowledge this fundamental function of the body early on, thus grounding and orienting the discussion that will follow and take the reader across some forty thousand years of European history. "[T]he body is central to how we conduct our lives on a daily basis,"[2] they write, and further argue that "[o]ur bodies carry […] histories with them, in the way we move, exercise, sleep, eat and act in general. The body is […] something *emergent through history*. The body is in history; indeed, the body *is* history."[3]

[1] Hugh Aldersey-Williams, *Anatomies. A Cultural History of the Human Body* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013), p. xxi.

[2] Oliver J. T. Harris and John Robb, "O Brave New World, That Has Such People in It," in: *The Body in History. Europe from the Paleolithic to the Future*, ed. John Robb and Oliver J. T. Harris (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 2.

[3] Ibid., p. 4. The first emphasis is added; the second emphasis is in the original.

This proposition has multiple consequences for how we understand the relationship between the human body and history. First of all, if the body is something of a contact zone between us as "embodied beings"[4] and the physical reality that surrounds us, then the thesis that "the body is history" is of even more radical importance: in this view, history itself must be seen as constituted by the human body. But we should break this argument down further. On the one hand, history unfolds precisely through "how we conduct our lives," and so to understand the first we must primarily understand the latter; particular histories are knowable, in other words, through learning what people did with their bodies and what was done to them. Tracing the histories of marginalized groups, for example, more often than not involves studying how the bodies (and bodily acts) of their members have been subjected to power and control, how they have been Othered, constrained, criminalized, punished, and annihilated.

On the other hand, somewhat paradoxically the practices just enumerated (or any social, political, or cultural practices to do with the body, for that matter) also mean that the human body is always, inescapably, enmeshed in the contexts and realities of its particular historical circumstances. To keep to the same example, to better understand the fates of those marginalized bodies, the discourses and ideologies that marked and oppressed them—as well as their roots—must first be understood.

This is not necessarily a conundrum, but the consequences of this duality of the body as *something* in history are significant for the historian. Firstly, there are no universal methodologies for studying the body in history. A historian who selects the body as the object of their interest must in fact treat it as a *perspective*, or perhaps as a point of departure: the body, situated at the intersection between its "ways of conducting life" and the culture that dictates them, is a contact zone also between the experience once lived by actual people ("in the past") and the history that can later be reconstructed.

All this is partly because the body demands recognition of its individuality, as well as recognition of the individual person who inhabits it. The body is either too full of life or too horrific in death to sit comfortably within the constraints of theory, as it always pulls us down toward the real, the palpable, and the lived, or in other words toward the ground—where one, in one of the many metaphors human language constructs around the body's interaction with the physical world, will do well to keep their

[4] Fay Bound Alberti, *This Mortal Coil. The Human Body in History and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 212.

feet. But this, too, can be problematic for the historian, since the individual body is a difficult, even elusive thing to access, and for that it needs a careful consideration of context—and yet so often the understanding of the context is dependent on the understanding of the body. It is always a painstaking balancing act, therefore, to move, methodologically, between the body as inhabited by someone, the living flesh of a person entangled in their historical moment, and the social/political/cultural reality in which the very same body is embroiled. Both are discoverable only in tandem.

The current volume is, most simply put, a collection of essays concerned with the body in history. The authors undertake to tackle the subject not only in the contexts of various historical periods, but also by applying different perspectives and using different methodologies. The body is thus studied here as both a material form of being participating in history and in possession of its own history(-ies), and as an object of historically-entangled literatures, discourses, and ideologies. As a heterogenous whole, the volume strives to ask important questions about the role of the body as a useful and productive category of historical analysis,[5] as well as about the ways of writing histories of the body.

In the volume's opening article, Alicja Bemben writes of bodies in the figurative sense, understood here as a multitude of conceptualizations of time, cultural distance, a/historicism, agency, historical knowledge, causality, objectivity, scriptocentrism, a mode of writing about the real, and space. The aim of her text is to prove, through an exhaustive analysis of Peter Burke's ten theses on Western historical thinking, the assertion that British classical historicism and modernist historiography are in fact not disparate but two interrelated, co-dependent bodies of ideas.

In the next article, Paweł Rutkowski outlines the history of chiromancy in the 17th century, with particular attention paid to the physicality of palmistry. Since the practice allowed exclusive access to insight unattainable otherwise, Rutkowski argues, chiromancy was used in support of the belief that knowledge of the world and of man could—and should—be obtained through the human body.

Nina Augustynowicz, in the volume's third part, considers the poetry of American writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman against the backdrop of 19th- and early-20th-century foodscapes. She shows the prominent place that food—its production, health aspects, and so forth—had in Gilman's work, among other pressing issues of the day explored by the progressively-min-

[5] Steffan Blayney, "Making the Body Productive/Making 'the Body' Productive," in: *The Body in History, Culture, and the Arts*, eds. Justyna Jajszczok and Aleksandra Musiał (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 55–68.

ded author. In particular, Augustynowicz examines the metaphors in Gilman's poems, arguing that the poet forged new "metaphorical correspondences" that allowed her to extend the traditional Victorian food-related vocabulary of metaphor to other social concerns.

Also exploring a Victorian discourse related to bodily concerns, Justyna Jajszczok traces the military language of invasion and battle as it was applied to explanations of microbial infections and spread of diseases, a field of scientific study which was gaining traction at the time. Jajszczok looks at both scientific writings and popular fiction of the period in order to analyze the ways in which war-derived similes and metaphors were used to elucidate and simplify complex medical findings, but she also shows how these shortcuts eventually reinforced racial and ethnic stereotypes and prejudices.

Next, Sonia Caputa examines the representations of immigrant bodies in the works of a number of Polish-American authors, in the context of the history and discourse of American eugenics. Caputa argues that in many of the works that she analyzes the immigrant body is shown as defective and unhealthy, in a curious imagery that seems to parallel the views of eugenicists, and she attempts to answer the question: why would these authors present their own communities in this way?

In her article, Marta Gorgula analyzes the art of Henry Tonks, a First World War British surgeon, portraying the horrific facial wounds and disfigurements of his patients, veterans of the conflict's battlefields. Applying certain tenets of memory studies to her analysis, Gorgula argues that Tonk's surgical portraits are being reintegrated into the canonical imagery of the Great War, and thus they come to serve as a repository of cultural memory of what these men endured.

Patrycja Sokołowska sets out to discuss the celebrity, or even cult, status "enjoyed" in the United States by many of the country's serial killers. Looking at the overall cultural narratives that are constructed around these murderers' crimes, she also considers the media coverage associated with the victims and their bodies, both before and after death. Sokołowska argues that victims of serial killers are in fact victimized thrice, since after death they are objectified as both *evidence* (as cadavers) and as elements integrated into the "murder industry" that commodifies crime—and so, in effect, commodifies their deaths.

Agnieszka Podruczna's article examines the notion of the Othered body, regarded here through its corporeality, and its relation to culture and history. She analyzes Larissa Lai's *Salt Fish Girl*, Suzette Mayr's "Toot

Sweet Matricia," and Andrea Hairston's "Griots of the Galaxy" in order to show the relation between the body of the Other and collective memory, and argues that the body acts here as a tool of recording the past, as well as transmitting memory and thus is a fundamental component of colonial and postcolonial historical narratives.

The focus of Sabina Sweta Sen-Podstawska's article is the dancing body. She investigates the body of the Odissi dancer, or the "Odissi body" in terms of its shifting ideals as perceived by the social eye, as well as the role and significance of Odissi dancers in history. At the core of her argument lies the conviction that the dance and the body that channels and embodies it are in constant flux, being re-modelled and re-shaped by the ever-changing ideological and economic factors.

In the volume's first review, Barbara Braid considers Marie Mulvey--Roberts' *Dangerous Bodies: Historicising the Gothic Corporeal* (2016), a book which focuses on the body in gothic texts as embedded in histories: the dominant narrative of the past, as well as personal narratives presented through personal accounts, biographies, and familial accounts. This, Braid asserts, complements and expands the conventional perception of the Gothic body.

The second review, which also closes the volume, authored by Anna Kisiel, looks at *Talking Bodies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Embodiment, Gender and Identity* (2017), a collection of essays edited by Emma Rees. The volume undertakes to look at various body-related topics, spread across the last two hundred years or so of history, the author of each chapter approaching their topic from a different research perspective or employing a different methodology—a "polyphony" which Kisiel considers the book's "great success."

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# The Shape-Shifting Body of Historiography

## Introduction

When leafing through anthologies, readers, compendia, and other texts overviewing current knowledge about the theory of history, one may form the impression that, after years of neglect, the body has finally been recognised as an object of historical research. Indeed, this is true if one focuses on the body understood as the flesh. For centuries, it was treated as a vital but, nonetheless, aspersed counterpart of the mind. Hence, even if the corporeal appeared in works of history and historiography, it was depicted in a negative light. This perception of the body underwent a radical change in the last decades of the 20th century when the history of the body emerged as a separate field of knowledge and started swelling its ranks with both scholars of the body who wish to investigate its history and historians who make the somatic their object of interest.[1]

[1] Roy Porter, "The History of the Body Reconsidered," in: *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 2006), pp. 233–260, especially p. 233. In the early decades of the 21st century, the field has already developed to the extent that, first, thematic and diachronic overviews of its practitioners have been created—see: Kathleen Canning, "The Body as a Method: Reflections on the Place of the Body in Gender History," in: *Gender History in Practice; Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 168–192; and Porter, "The History of the Body Reconsidered," pp. 233–260; second, even historiographers—interested primarily in abstract ideas—have made the body a cynosure of their discussions. Although Judith Butler's *Bodies that Matter. On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) is a staple of body studies, for historiographers, the key texts in this respect are those of Marc Bloch, Ernst Kan-

Historians' and historiographers' general attitudes towards the word "body" make, however, a much more complicated picture. Generally, in history, the concept of the body refers to what constitutes both History and history. The phrase, "the body of History," denotes the individuals (also human bodies), events, processes, objects, etc., that constitute the generally assumed History or, in other words, the collection of historical agents that shaped bygone days. Interestingly, though the amount of knowledge about such agents keeps increasing, the number of their categories has not changed markedly since the birth of history. Beginning with writing mainly about political, military and religious leaders, historians and historiographers took some time—about twenty-five centuries—to realise that social groups and "ungreat men" could also be attributed history-moulding potential. This achievement of modernist history and historiography has been recently built on, as new categories of historical agents, i.e. things, animals, and nature, have been included in the body of History and history.

By analogy, the phrase "the body of history" denotes the sources historians use to gain knowledge about History. Be it an artefact, an eyewitness account, a memoir, a work of history, and even a work not customarily labelled as historical—the ever-growing collection of what is either discovered or included as a historical source makes up the body of materials that allow one to formulate his or her interpretation(s) of the past. Of course, the few examples mentioned do not make up a full list of what qualifies as a historical source—e.g., a history of historical sources is yet to be written.[2]

In historiography, the idea of "the body" informs three broad perspectives. On the one hand, historiography might be viewed as the ever-growing body of works created by those drawn to the historical view of writing about the past. In this category, one may find, first and foremost, bibliographies, overviews, and critical works on what historical has been written on a given topic or over a given time.[3] Less obvious and even disputable texts that could also be included in the discussed body of historiography are those created "outside" of the discipline, e.g.,

torowicz, Norbert Elias, and Michel Foucault. Tomasz Wiślicz, "Historia ciała: koncepcja, realizacje, perspektywy," in: *Ucieleśnienia. Ciało w zwierciadle współczesnej humanistyki. Myśl—praktyka—reprezentacja*, eds. Anna Wieczorkiewicz and Joanna Bator (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 35–44. An interesting historiographic take on the body was proposed in 2017 by Ewa Domańska. Ewa Domańska, *Nekros. Wprowadzenie do ontologii martwego ciała* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2017).

[2] Robert D'Amico, "Historicism," in: *A Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography*, ed. Aviezer Tucker (Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009), pp. 243–252, especially p. 246 for a list of different historical agents.

[3] For example: Lester D. Stephens, *Historiography: A Bibliography* (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975).

literary historiography.[4] On the other hand, there are also ideas about the past that—to build on Hayden White's thought—shape the body of historiography (and, by implication, the body of history and History) at the level of individual and collective historical consciousness.[5] Finally, works either proposing, discussing or tracing the developments of such ideas form a body that has been of interest for the most philosophically inclined historiographers.[6]

Although this enumeration of historical and historiographic "bodies" could be continued to include also such categories as the body of historiographers or/and historians, the body (understood as the flesh) of a historian or/and historiographer, etc., for the sake of brevity, in this work I would like to concentrate on the perspectives mentioned before, as one of them informs the further part of this text. In what follows, the dynamics of two bodies of ideas is investigated, i.e. that of British classical and modernist historicisms.

In the 19th century, professional historiography came into existence. Drawing mostly on the ideas around which Leopold von Ranke built classical historicism, British historiographers of the time constructed their own body of ideas about the past. This body dominated the intellectual landscape of British historiography until the devaluation of particular notions which concurred to this paradigm made it lose its dominant place. With room for new socio-intellectual vistas to open up, a "new" body of ideas, i.e. the modernist paradigm of historiography, thrived in the early decades of the 20th century.[7] The objective of this work is to substantiate

[4] For example, Lucian of Samosata's *The Way to Write History* is considered a historiographic treaty despite its fictional elements. *The True History* is a work of fiction but it touches on, e.g., probability and truth, i.e. notions central to many historiographic discussions. Lucian of Samosata, "The Way to Write History," in: *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, Vol. II, trans. H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. 109–136 and "The True History," in: *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, Vol. II, trans. H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. 136–173.

[5] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 7–11. In *Metahistory*, White argues that the ideas about the past which inform an individual's consciousness shape his or her interpretation of particular bygone events, processes, etc. If this is so, one may argue that these ideas inform the works of historiography and history as well as what happens in History.

[6] White's *Metahistory* being, perhaps, the prime example.

[7] Depending on the school of thought that looks at 19th-century historiography, the paradigm of the time may be labelled classical historicism (Iggers), the positivist paradigm (Carrard), historical individualism (Grabski), etc. These nomenclature differences are corollaries of the historiography traditions within which each of these authors was educated. For example, Carrard talks about positivism most likely because his fellow countryman Auguste Comte was its originator. My choice of nomenclature, i.e. classical historicism, used interchangeably with the phrase late 19th-century historiography paradigm, is dictated by two concerns. On the one hand, even though the Comtean influence can be noticed in writings of many British intellectuals (e.g., Mill, Congreve, Eliot, Martineau, Spencer,

the thesis that—in an analogy to what philosophy, sociology, and literary studies have established[8]—the relationship between the body of the British classical historicist and that of the modernist historiographic ideas is not that of sharp contrast but that of miscellaneous and multifaceted dependencies. As it is delineated in the taxonomy proposed in the further part of this text, these dependencies are those of contrast, expanding, narrowing, embedding, and emphasis shift.

To achieve the set objective, first, I resort to Peter Burke's ten theses on Western historical thinking and make them the anchor points for the discussion that follows. In "Western Historical Thinking in a Global Perspective—10 Theses," Burke presents a body of notions that are constitutive of Western historical thinking. For him, each model of such thinking is a unique amalgamation of approaches to the following notions: time, cultural distance, a/historicism, agency, historical knowledge, causality, objectivity, scriptocentrism, mode of writing about the real, and space.[9] Because Burke enumerates the notions that undergird sundry

Swinny, Beesly, and other members of the London Positivist Society), positivism cannot be elevated in their case to the rank of a historiographic paradigm due to the fact that it was only one of many perspectives fuelling 19th-century British historiography, in which Darwinism was more popular and the "German, post-Rankean version [of historiography] entirely sufficient." Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 284–285, 309. See also Hayden White, "The Burden of History," *History and Theory*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1966), p. 112. On the other hand, Iggers's label—which denotes that the scientific historiography paradigm is grounded in the assumptions of reality, intentionality, and temporal sequence—seems to be broad enough that I could extend it in such a way that it encompasses the general assumptions shared by various Western European scholars of the time, rather than just by one historiographic school of thought. See Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005), p. 3. Analogously, when talking about the early 20th-century paradigm of historiography, I neither only nor totally equate it with what, for example, the *Annales* or the economic historians proposed, but rather subsume their major ideas under one paradigm and leave their idiosyncrasies to the side. The paradigm that emerged in the early decades of the 20th century can be tagged as the modernist paradigm (Anthony D. Smith), the *Annales* paradigm (Stoianovich), New History (Carrard), etc. Again, because Smith's definition is the broadest one, I use it in this work to denote the paradigm in historiography that emerged in the early decades of the 20th century. Second, the caesuras of the paradigms discussed are treated in this work elastically because it is technically impossible to set precise dates that mark the beginning or the end of either of these paradigms.

[8] Although contrasts and affinities between the Victorian and modernist worldviews are known—if not even obvious—within literary studies, it seems that historiographers still look at this relationship in terms of opposites. For example, see: Andrzej F. Grabski, *Dzieje historiografii* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2003), pp. 594, 709; Donald R. Kelley, *Frontiers of History. Historical Inquiry in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), p. 6.

[9] Peter Burke, "Western Historical Thinking in a Global Perspective—10 Theses," in: *Western Historical Thinking. An Intercultural Debate*, ed. Jörn Rüsen (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002), pp. 15–30 and "Reply," in: *Western Historical Thinking. An Intercultural Debate*, ed. Jörn Rüsen (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002), pp. 189–198. A proviso should be added that in no section of this work do I provide an in-depth description of any of the key concepts mentioned. Burke's eighth thesis concerns the use of statistics in history. Owing to the fact that proper quantitative methods of historical research emerged in the second half of the 20th century, I leave out

bodies of historiographic ideas but does not venture to adumbrate even one individual or paradigmatic case of historical thinking that has fuelled Western European history writing, the theses he advances are only the points of departure for my delineation of the conceptual bodies of late 19th- and early 20th-century British historiography. The delineation I present on the following pages is grounded primarily in the relevant observations of Georg Iggers and Hayden White.[10] Finally, there are two frames that organise it: on the one hand, I juxtapose the late 19th- and early 20th-century conceptualisations of each of the enumerated notions; this is done with a view to pointing to the dependency type that concatenates each pair. On the other hand, for the purposes of clarity, I group these notions according to the type of the dependency that connects their respective conceptualisations.

## Contrast

After the Spring of Nations, Europe became an arena of unification processes. Historians' contributions to these consisted in bolstering a given country's sense of nationhood by demonstrating the grandeur of its forebears. Often lacking unequivocal contemporaneous physical tokens of this greatness, late 19th-century historians turned their attention to, for instance, ancient virtues, which could be safely extolled. To unearth them, they developed a method of accessing bygone eras, i.e. immersion in the past, which involved effacing oneself so that the facts themselves could "speak." Assuming that this was perfectly possible, they treated cultural distance as if it were a mere obstacle to be overcome.[11]

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the thesis of quantitative methods and replace it with scriptocentrism (a thesis he adds in a supplement). Burke's proposal is only one of many perspectives of the basic constituents of the body of historiography available. I consider it worthy of attention not only because it seems reasonable but also because his proposal has been recognised by Rüsen, Ankersmit, Iggers, and White. For example, White extolls his work in "The Westernization of World History," in: *Western Historical Thinking. An Intercultural Debate*, ed. Jörn Rüsen (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002), pp. 111–118 and Iggers in *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, p. ix. Burke wrote "Metahistory: Before and After," *Rethinking History. The Journal of Theory and Practice*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2013), pp. 437–447 and is one of the recommenders of Iggers's book.

[10] Although other views of both historiographic bodies and their components might be used in this text as well, my choice in this respect is dictated by the need for consistency—see footnote above.

[11] Hayden White, "Postmodernism and Historiography," *Ritsumeikan University*, accessed 6 June 2017, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/gr/gsce/news/200901022_repo_0-e.htm; Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 37–38. Rapid advances in technology gave its 19th-century users a sense that solving a problem was a matter of producing a tool—perhaps, also an intellectual one. I allude here to Ranke's famous phrase.

Diametrically different was the view many early 20th-century historians held on cultural distance. Nicolas J. Saunders talks of the "cultural dislocation" that haunted them:

> The war was seen as having ruptured time, driven a *faultline* through the middle of civilization […]. It had shattered not just the landscapes of the Western Front […], and elsewhere, and the bodies of soldiers, but families, relationships and notions of art, as well as scientific progress, across Europe […].[12]

The sense of a shattered, fragmented reality—with the present uprooted and cut off from the past—translated, in their case, into the sense of an acute cultural distance from bygone times.[13] But historiography could not simply capitulate in view of the fact that the past turned out to be directly inaccessible. Its early 20th-century practitioners acknowledged the idea of unbridgeable cultural distance, and, simultaneously, worked out a way to break the deadlock they found themselves in: even if the past was directly inaccessible, it could be understood, at least, in their contemporary terms.[14] Modernists' recognition of the unbridgeability of cultural distance leaves no doubt that, in this case, the dependency between the two paradigms is that of *contrast*. Classical historians treat cultural distance as a solvable problem; the difficulty of which could be compared to that of compiling sources or being meticulous when note-taking. Modernist historians define themselves against this idea and consider cultural distance an untraversable limitation of their research.

Even though producing historical knowledge has always been a matter of contention for practitioners of history writing, the late 19th-century line of reasoning on this matter might seem simplistic from today's perspective. According to classical historians, language was a neutral medium and to establish historical truth it was necessary to establish facts. Hence, in their quest for historical knowledge, *unbiased* classical historians sought, first, to retrieve and gather information, and, afterwards, through cross-checking, textual criticism, etc., to rid their records of falsities and confirm the correct data, which, ultimately, they would showcase as if these were free of value judgements. Adherence to this procedure was to enable them

[12] Nicolas J. Saunders, "The Ironic 'Culture of Shells' in the Great War and Beyond," in: *Matériel Culture. The Archaeology of Twentieth-Century Conflict*, eds. John Schofield, William Gray Johnson, and Colleen M. Beck (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 22–40. Emphasis mine.

[13] Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918: With a New Preface* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 229–240.

[14] Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 38–39.

to impart past events "wie es eigentlich gewesen."[15] The question *in what way historical knowledge was possible* was largely non-existent. Theories thriving in the natural sciences of the time suggested that knowledge-gaining was fundamentally a question of acquiring and verifying data. This idea was translated into the field of history and made gaining historical knowledge in the 19th century a matter of due diligence, impartiality, and perseverance.[16]

However, the irony about truth-seeking is that, in the very process, new truths keep displacing their predecessors. Witnessing the failure of classical historicism to meet its own standard of showing "how it really was" sowed doubt among early 20th-century historians as to whether its method of producing historical knowledge had been correctly reasoned. As many of the sweeping certainties established by late 19th-century historians lost their relevance by the early 20th-century, the need for new meaningful truths pushed modernist historians to look for a new method of historical investigation—one that would enable them to find truths relevant in their age. In the vicinity of the *wie-es-eigentlich-gewesen* tradition, new hermeneutic approaches bourgeoned.[17] Perhaps the most notable theory of historical knowledge in this vein was that of R.G. Collingwood:

> In *The Idea of History*, his earlier study of the creation of historical meaning, Collingwood suggested that the historian arranges the information available about the past in the light of the context, which he described as a 'web of imaginative construction.' Facts are constituted when they are verified by comparison and placed in a meaningful relation to each other in the overall historical context.[18]

Collingwood's proposal also sheds light on the key differences between late 19th-century and early 20th-century conceptualisations of historical knowledge. The former was targeted at collecting facts so that they were in accord with the law of progress and did not problematise the process of their presentation. As can be inferred from the above quotation, the latter

[15] An interesting discussion of the famous phrase can be found in: Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 69.

[16] Elattuvalapil Sreedharan, *A Manual of Historical Research Methodology* (Kudappanakunnu, Trivandrum: Centre for South Indian Studies, 2007), p. 118; Edmund E. Jacobitti, "Introduction: The Role of the Past in Contemporary Political Life," in: *Composing Useful Pasts: History as Contemporary Politics* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000), pp. 1–52, especially p. 9.

[17] Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, p. 72; Laura Riding and Robert Graves, *A Survey of Modernist Poetry and a Pamphlet Against Anthologies* (Manchester: Carcanet Press Ltd, 2002), p. 112.

[18] Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2006), p. 90.

was constructed in terms of *contrast*; within it, both facts themselves and the process of their presentation are reckoned to be problematic.

Another difference between the ideas of late 19th-century historians and those of their early 20th-century counterparts concerns the way in which both groups designed their accounts of the past at the most general level. One should remember that the second half of the 19th century was the time of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and Marx's *Capital* (1867) which, as has been hinted, inspired historians to create works framed by either of these two progressive grand narratives. According to White, Darwin argued for "the existence of real 'affinities' genealogically construed. The establishment of these affinities [permitted] him to postulate the linkage of all living things to all others by the 'laws' or 'principles' of genealogical descent, variation, and natural selection." As Iggers notes, late 19th-century historians aimed at creating "a grand narrative of the history of man […], [a] story with a central plot in which individuals take their place."[19]

Their descendants tended to retreat from grand narratives of this sort, preferring ones that would emphasise the complexity, orderliness and disorderliness of the past as well as the purposefulness and contingency of heterogeneous forces shaping it. Freud's *Studies on Hysteria* (1895), *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) and later works, as well as Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious* (1912), contributed to the reality perception shift which took place in the early decades of the 20th century, and which encouraged modernist historians to embrace both orderliness and contingency in their works. This change in the perception of reality might be compared to a shift from the perspective which reduces the past to a single timeline to the one which sees it as a kaleidoscope of events:

> Compare an infinite timeline—a sequence of causes and effects that logically stretches out toward infinity (and hence conflates the finite with the infinite)—to a kaleidoscope, in which events are contained, but the perspectives from which the events may be viewed now approach infinity. Both perspectives resonate with ideas of the infinite, but in the twentieth-century model, the infinite left abstract space and became phenomenological.[20]

In other words, 20th-century accounts of the past ceased to portray it as if it was static. Rather than that, one may talk about the raise of the

[19] Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, p. 57. Hayden White, "Fictions of Factual Representation," in: *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 121–134, especially p. 131.

[20] Michael Joseph, "Odp: In Search of Lost Time," received by Alicja Bemben, June 22, 2017, email.

awareness of the dynamics between the past events, their descriptions and the perspectives that inform such descriptions.

## Expanding

A/historicism, as Burke calls it after Meinecke, is understood as attentiveness either to individuality and the specific (the so-called idiographic historicism) or to recurring patterns and generalising formulations (nomothetic ahistoricism).[21] As odd as it may seem at first, despite the apparent preoccupation with individuality and specificity of events, classical historicism was predominantly a nomothetic perspective.[22] The 19th-century equation of the world order with the idea of progress meant that the most general law of human existence was widely known, and there remained only details—viz. the powers that fuelled progress—to be discovered. Even if classical historians claimed that they looked for details of the general law of progress, they were not so much concerned with the uniqueness of their data but rather with the progress-confirming potential of the information which they had gathered. Consequently, for them, a king was not "[t]he once and future king,"[23] to use T. H. White's phrase, but yet another progress nomothete who worked towards the development of his nation.

Though one might expect that, with the abatement of classical historicism, ahistorical perspectives would have vanished, the early 20th century produced a range of historical and ahistorical perspectives on historical data. On the one hand, there were the thriving perspectives of the *Annales* school, or those of Max Weber and Lewis Namier, which, despite their individual differences, stemmed from the idea that the task of historian was to investigate processes, events, people, social groups, etc., in their uniqueness and in their own specific historical context. On the other hand, there were the thinning ranks of the Marxists who stuck to the narrative of the clash of social classes.[24]

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[21] Burke, "Western Historical Thinking in a Global Perspective—10 Theses," pp. 15–30; Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, p. 37; Christopher Chase-Dunn, "World-System Theorizing," in: *Handbook of Sociological Theory*, ed. Jonathan H. Turner (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 2006), pp. 589–612.

[22] Hayden White, "What Is Living and What Is Dead in Croce's Criticism of Vico," in: *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 118–129, especially p. 121; Colin Loader and David Kettler, *Karl Mannheim's Sociology as Political Education* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2002), p. 32.

[23] T. H. White, *The Once and Future King* (New York: Penguin, 2011), cover.

[24] Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century,* p. 37.

The continuation of ahistorical perspectives into the 20th century—and, in point of fact, also into the 21st one[25]—gives substantial grounds against treating classical historicist and modernist historiographic paradigms in terms of a binary opposition. If they both work with the same perspectives on a/historicism and, as one can notice in the modernist body of ideas, the ahistorical view is supplemented with the historical one in such a way that the latter does not replace the former but they coexist—and even mix, offering intermediate perspectives—it might be inferred that the dependency between these two ideas is that of *expanding*.

A similar mechanism can be ascribed to the early 20th-century shift in the perception of historical agents. Agency is a term that denotes an entity capable of shaping history.[26] For the late 19th-century luminaries of history writing, the entities that had this capability were predominantly great men holding significant political and/or military power.[27] However, the process of deemphasising the central role of the state and elevating the importance of the society, culture, economy, religion, law, literature, and the arts, as forces moulding history, made early 20th-century historians start looking also at those individuals who were capable of affecting history in some of the areas mentioned. While classical historians focused on politically and militarily prominent individuals and were not too attentive to other forces shaping the real, their successors took a greater interest in how

[25] Wiktor Werner, *Historyczność kultury. W poszukiwaniu myślowego fundamentu współczesnej historiografii* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 2009), passim; Alicja Bemben, "Historyczność i ahistoryczność metahistorii Haydena White'a," in: *(Re)wizje historii w dyskursie i literaturze*, eds. Dorota Guttfeld, Monika Linke-Ratuszny, Agnieszka Sowińska (Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK, 2014), pp. 11–24.

[26] D'Amico, "Historicism," pp. 243–252. It is worth noting that, in discussions about agency, the word "historical" usually takes of one of the two following meanings: 1) historical as opposed to ahistorical, 2) historical as opposed to current. To avoid confusion, when I talk about historical agency in general and work on the second definition, I use the word agency; when I refer to the 19th-century view of agency, I use the phrase ahistorical agency; when I discuss the modernist take on agency, I resort to the phrase historical agency.

[27] White, "Postmodernism and Historiography"; Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, ed. Henry David Gray (New York, London and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906), p. 13: "The History of the World, I said already, was the Biography of Great Men"; M. A. Hodges, *Wilhelm Dilthey* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 29–30; Wilhelm Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World in the Human Sciences.* Vol. 3, eds. Rudolf A. Makkreel, Frithjof Rodi (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 266: "[B] iography [permits] understanding other lives." Even though Dilthey might be considered a forerunner of early 20th-century historiography—he was the one to differentiate between the natural and human sciences and argued in favour of creating a separate methodology for the latter—he was also an aficionado of great men; Tomasz Pawelec, *Dzieje i nieświadomość. Założenia teoretyczne i praktyka badawcza psychohistorii* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2004), p. 9: "The post-Rankean historians' idea that the kernel of history was politics and power management was passing into oblivion." Translation mine. Herbert Spencer, "The Development Hypothesis," in: *Essays: Scientific, Political, & Speculative* (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1891, first published in 1852), p. 20: he talks of the so-called "controlling agency."

non-political and non-military individuals and collectives embedded in culture, and subject to "complex of interpersonal relations," shaped it.[28] Their interest in this respect was, however, not limited to such individuals and collectives. The full spectrum of the potential objects of their studies still included great men. Therefore, by analogy to the argument presented in the previous section, it might be claimed that, also when it comes to their ideas of ahistorical agents, modernist historians did not reject the approaches of their predecessors, but rather *expanded* on them.

In *The Secret of World History*, Leopold von Ranke clarifies his stance on the use of sources as follows:

> The basis of the present work, the sources of its material, are memoirs, diaries, letters, diplomatic reports, and original narratives of eyewitnesses; other writings were used only if they were immediately derived from the above mentioned or seemed equal to them because of some original information.[29]

He does so because "properly scientific" classical historicism imposed on its practitioners the obligation to work only with empirically verifiable materials. A historian who wanted to pass for a professional could not mingle hard facts with mere impressions that other, less readily verifiable, sources imparted.[30]

It took years for this rigid scriptocentrism to abate, and this abatement seems to have been connected mainly with the gradual shift of historians' interests towards how various structures, mentalities, cultures, religions, and literatures developed through time. Having curbed their preoccupation with writing about the state and authority figures in favour of investigating the lives of ordinary people, modernist historians sought materials that would testify to the experiences of their objects of interest. The use of oral testimonies, literary, and artistic sources was one of the trends early 20th-century history writing kept developing.[31]

Nevertheless, it should be noted that other source-oriented trends that also fuelled early 20th-century history and historiography were,

[28] Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 32–33, 36–39, 52–54, 56–61.

[29] Leopold von Ranke, *The Secret of World History: Selected Writings on the Art and Science of History*, ed. and trans. Roger Wines (New York: Fordham University Press, 1981), pp. 56–59.

[30] It is also worth noting that because the state and leading figures in politics were the main objects of interest in the 19th-century history writing, the need to incorporate less "tangible" sources could have been slight.

[31] Hayden White, "Interpretation in History," in: *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 51–80, especially p. 59; Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 32–33, 36–37, 52–53, 56, 58–61. Robert Graves and Alan Hodge, *The Long Week-End. A Social History of Great Britain 1918–1939* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1940), p. 7.

among other things, those the scholars of the time "inherited" from their classical historicist ancestors. And, consequently, if modernist historians did not abandon the idea of using primary sources, but supplemented the information derived from these with what they could draw from secondary sources, it might be argued that they *expanded* the purview of what counted as a historical source.

Apart from backgrounding the events they traversed with the necessary spatial location, the disciples of the Rankean school of thought and its alikes seem to have given more thought to landscapes, territories, and cities in two general cases. First, because the people they wrote about were usually representatives of their state or nation, the question of geographic location was foregrounded in their analyses primarily when establishing power relations among states or nations came into the picture. Second, the historians who took an interest in space as such did so to demonstrate how the course of events was determined by their location.[32]

Although the idea that space is a composite and dynamic aspect of reality cannot be described as an "invention" of modernist historiography,[33] it became widespread in the early 20th century. Not only did it excite modernist historians' interest in the interactions between various geographic spaces but, more importantly, it inspired them to investigate the interactions between the social and the spatial, especially, space's social functions. Though spatial studies were not markedly trendy among early 20th-century historians, the role of space kept gaining in importance in their times.[34]

Looking at bygone days, Edward Soja maintains that the role of space in the late 19th and early 20th century was marginal due to the dominance of the historicity-sociality dialectics. For him, it is Henri Lefebvre's trialectics of historicity-sociality-spatiality—signalled in the 1930s and fully articulated in the 1960s—that actuated the perception shift which elevated space to the rank of a self-contained object of research.[35] And, indeed, if one understands space as a social category, it, undoubtedly, becomes a part of the historiographic mainstream only in the thirties, and hence,

[32] White, "Postmodernism and Historiography."

[33] Apart from the fact that geography is the study of space, ideas of this type might be found, for example, in the works of Henry Spencer; see Henry Spencer, *Essays: Scientific, Political, & Speculative*.

[34] Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 26, 31–32, 53; Glynn Custred, *A History of Anthropology as a Holistic Science* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016), p. 28.

[35] Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), pp. 76, 78, 168.

differentiates modernist historians from their classical predecessors.[36] Nonetheless, in the following paragraph, I would like to show succinctly that the actual space perception shift was much more complex than Soja wishes us to believe.

First, one should remember about other novelties that 20th-century intellectuals contributed to the existing perception of space. For instance, Einstein's theory of relativity (1905–1915) reshaped the perception of space as a physical category from the one which is separate from time to the one which is concatenated with it.[37] Second, embracing novelties did not mean that early 20th-century historians abandoned their predecessors' view of space. Natural space was of interest for them as well. In point of fact, whenever a historian locates the events of his or her choice—which, to my best knowledge, is a stringent standard in historical works—he or she draws on this view of space. This might make natural space an inalienable category of historical writing. Taking the above into consideration, one is entitled to question Soja's claim that, in the early 20th century, the social-space-oriented perspective simply replaced the one oriented towards natural space.[38] It might rather be concluded that modernists added new takes on space to the one in which it was a natural category. Rather than shifting from view A to view B, modernist historians seem to have *expanded* the available repertoire of spatial perspectives.

## Narrowing

"The law of causality [became] a relic of a bygone age, surviving, like the monarchy, only because it is erroneously supposed to do no harm," wrote Bertrand Russell at the beginning of the 20th century.[39] My reason for citing his comment is that it astutely foregrounds one of the characteristics of classical historiography, i.e. that the 19th-century idea of historical explanation was confined to arranging sequences of events so that they

[36] Graves and Hodge, *The Long Week-End*, discussions of various social roles of spaces can be found, for example, on the following pages: 56, 61, 65, 101, 130, and scientific views of spaces: pp. 98, 100.

[37] According to Sonia Front, scientific revolutions "resulted in the 'paradigm shift' from Newtonian physics to the Einsteinian relativistic worldview at macroscopic scales, and from classical mechanics to quantum mechanics at microscopic scales. It was accompanied by a shift in perspective also in mathematics, linguistics, philosophy, art, cinema and literature." Sonia Front, "Temporality in British Quantum Fiction: An Overview," in: *"Hours like Bright Sweets in a Jar": Time and Temporality in Literature and Culture*, eds. Alicja Bemben and Sonia Front (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 24–25.

[38] Soja, *Thirdspace*, pp. 179–183.

[39] Bertrand Russell, "On the Notion of Cause," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society,* Vol. 13, Is. 10 (1912–1913), pp. 1–26.

aligned with the *a priori* concept of progress. A consequence of adopting such a frame of reference was that history writing of the time used events, people and objects so that these would slot into the ready construct of progress.[40]

If, for Russell, the law of causality survived, the general conception of historical explanation may not have changed dramatically in the first decades of the 20th century. In the end, the A-caused-B model is as prominent in the writings of Leopold von Ranke as it is in the studies of Frazer, Popper or Hempel.[41] But even if, as William Dray remarks, "the covering law model of explanation" did not undergo any radical transformation during that time,[42] the late 19th-century historical explanation did differ from the early 20th-century one. The explanation that made sense for historians of the modernist paradigm consisted in "subsuming what is to be explained under *a* general law"[43]—a law of many, one which would be pertinent to the given situation, provide for the role of contingency in historical processes, and allow historians to "grasp and 'understand' the meaning of human actions in concrete cultural, social, and historical settings."[44]

[40] White, "Postmodernism and Historiography"; Breisach, *Historiography*, p. 22. One of the more interesting 19th-century views on causality is Herbert Spencer's take on the development hypothesis. As he notes, "the changes daily taking place in ourselves—the facility that attends long practice, and the loss of aptitude that begins when practice ceases—the strengthening of passions habitually gratified, and the weakening of those habitually curbed—the development of every faculty, bodily, moral, or intellectual, according to the use made of it—are all explicable on this same [A.B.—i.e. the development hypothesis] principle." Spencer, "The Development Hypothesis," pp. 1–7, especially, p. 4.

[41] Leopold von Ranke, *A History of England: Principally in the Seventeenth Century.* Vol. 1, trans. C. W. Boase et al. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1875), p. 5, accessed 15 October 2015, https://archive.org/details/historyofenglandp01rank. Chapter one starts with the following sentence: "The history of Western Europe in general opens with the struggle between Kelts, Romans, and Germans, which *determined* out of what elements modern nations should be formed"; James Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), pp. v, 1. The volume opens with a story on the customs in the Arician Grove: "The primary aim of this book is to explain the remarkable *rule* which regulated the succession to the priesthood of Diana at Aricia […]. Such was the *rule* of the sanctuary. A candidate for the priesthood *could only succeed to office by slaying* the priest, and *having slain him he held office till he was himself slain* by a stronger or a craftier"; Carl G. Hempel, "Some Remarks on 'Facts' and Propositions," in: *Selected Philosophical Essays*, ed. Richard Jeffrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 21–25, especially p. 21. The essay starts with: "Prof. Schlick makes a contribution for which we must be grateful by elucidating some essential points of his article 'Das fundament der Erkenntnis' (*Erkenntnis* 4 [1933], 79), which occasioned a logical controversy […]." All emphases mine.

[42] William Dray, *Laws and Explanation in History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 1–21; Paul A. Roth, "Varieties and Vagaries of Historical Explanation," *Journal of the Philosophy of History*, No. 2 (2008), pp. 214–226; Maurice Mandelbaum, "Historical Explanation: The Problem of 'Covering Laws'," *History and Theory*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1961), pp. 229–242; Jonathan Gorman, *Historical Judgement* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 40–47.

[43] Dray, *Laws and Explanation in History*, 1. Emphasis mine.

[44] Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century,* 37, 56, 59. This is not to suggest that 19th-century historians were unaware of contingency. It seems that they were convinced that even if something appears contingent at the

Thus, the key difference between the two approaches to causality seems to lie in that, while, for classical historians, historical explanation was to support the grand narrative of progress, for their modernist colleagues, it was of assistance in substantiating a narrative of a minor scale. In the light of Dray's succinct remarks on the non-radical transformation of the 19th-century notion of historical explanation into its early 20th-century equivalent, it might be suggested that the transformation in question consisted in *narrowing* the applicability of historical explanation. Simply put, historians moved from working to explain the whole world to striving to explain particular situations.

## Embedding

It is worth remembering that the precedence of the natural sciences in establishing paradigms entailed the hierarchical perception of particular branches of knowledge in which the natural sciences paradigm became the focal point of reflection. In these circumstances, the late 19th-century notion of historical time was half-bound to reflect its natural sciences conceptualisation.[45] If Newtonian physics had theoretically and experimentally proven that time was linear, universal, homogenous, uniform, uninterrupted, and irreversible, the emerging human sciences were given a strong impetus to embrace and declare the belief in "a general life, which moves *progressively* from one nation or group of nations to another."[46]

However, breaches in the generally adopted slant on the notion of time came soon and from various walks of life, for instance, physics (Einstein's theory of relativity questioned the universality, homogeneity and uniformity of time), and psychology (Freud's and Jeanet's theories impugned the perception of the linear and uninterrupted flow of time), to make room for new concepts, with Bergson's *la durée* as, possibly, the

general level of historical events, it is logically explicable at the level of particularities and that contingency does not really change the general progress of events. This attitude surfaces in the writings of, for instance, Herbert Spencer, "Transcendental Physiology," in: *Essays: Scientific, Political, & Speculative*, pp. 63–107, especially pp. 100–101.

[45] Grabski, *Dzieje historiografii*, pp. 4–11; Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, passim.

[46] Leopold von Ranke, *Universal History: The Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks*, ed. George Walter Prothero, trans. Tovey Duncan Crookes (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1884), pp. xii–xiii, accessed 6 June 2014, https://archive.org/details/cu31924027765431. Emphasis mine. Having been transplanted from the natural sciences, the idea of progress was strengthened from within the human sciences. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Reason in History: A General Introduction to the Philosophy of History* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1953), passim, and *The Philosophy of History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), passim.

most prominent one. History straggled to embrace the changes[47] and it took World War One to demonstrate clearly that, even though humanity did evolve mentally, socially, and economically, these processes were by no means strictly linear and synchronised, nor, what is paramount, did they necessarily lead to higher stages of development. Seen no longer only in "terms of movement across a one-dimensional time from the past to the future,"[48] history and historiography also embraced new trends in time conceptualisation. Unsurprisingly, writings of early 20th-century historians reveal their interests in various facets of time, especially, in the Bergsonian changeability and incompleteness of private time.[49]

These interests—undoubtedly antithetical to those of classical historians—did not, however, translate into modernist historians and historiographers presenting chaotic collections of past events, as if with the use of the stream of consciousness technique. Rather than that, when looking at bygone days, early 20th-century historians and historiographers kept resorting to the linear flow of time at the general level of their descriptions and it was only within these that one could find embedded passages constructed along the newly-emerging time conceptualisations. If this is so, consequently, instead of an early 20th-century historiographic shift from take A to take B in temporality conceptualisations, it might be more cognitively productive to talk about new forms of temporality being *embedded* in the prevalent structure.

## Emphasis Shift

The facts that the natural sciences continually made the mirror-like relationship between human thought and reality evident, and that the correspondence theory of truth flourished during the 19th century, gave historiographers of the time an impetus to transplant this theory into the body of history writing. For 19th-century scientists, the problematics of objectivity focused "not [on] a mismatch between world and mind [...], but rather [on] a struggle with inward temptation."[50] That is why Ranke devised a method of reducing the significance of any subjective elements

[47] Georg G. Iggers, "Rationality of History," in: *Developments in Modern Historiography*, ed. Henry Kozicki (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 1998), pp. 19–39.

[48] Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 51, 57.

[49] Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, pp. 10–35.

[50] Loraine Daston and Peter Galison, "The Image of Objectivity," *Representations*, No. 40, Special Issue: *Seeing Science* (Autumn, 1992), pp. 81–128. The article offers a splendid discussion of the notion of objectivity as it has changed through the ages.

that might surface in historical procedures and misguide a historian.[51] To eradicate them, he claims, one is to extinguish oneself and allow the facts to speak.[52] The 19th-century objectivity, i.e. showing "truth as it was," was, therefore, a question of, on the one hand, exiling the subjective and, on the other, pursuing diligence, hard work and inquisitiveness, or, to put it in other, somewhat poetic terms, "heroic self-discipline."[53]

Though classical historians gave credence to the possibility of "extinguishing" the self,[54] their early 20th-century colleagues turned largely to the counterfactual. Bias-generated mistakes in their predecessors' works, various interpretations of the same events, which presented divergent or mutually exclusive constatations, had to be accounted for without dismantling the idea of history writing. The solution came, as it seems, from Heidegger.[55] Although modernist historians were capable of noticing shortcomings of the 19th-century idea of objectivity and worked on its redefinition, it was Heidegger who not only criticised the idea of the "objective" subject but, more importantly, also offered his concept of *Dasein* as an alternative. In the philosopher's early works, *Dasein* appears as "a non-autonomous, culturally bound (or thrown) way of being" that can recognise its peculiar condition and be rational about this condition. Altogether, *Dasein* might be construed as a subjectivity that recognises its own limits, and hence is capable of objective-like actions. Extrapolated into the field of history, Heidegger's concept gave modernist historians an alternative with which to back up the validity of their works—even though objectivity in its idealised form turned out to be unattainable, historians could produce objective-like works by means of recognising and handling their own limits.[56]

Although the general tone of the above paragraphs might lead one to form the impression that the dependency between the two described

[51] Philip R. Buckley, *Husserl, Heidegger, and the Crisis of Philosophical Responsibility*. *Phaenomenologica 125* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992), p. 10.

[52] James J. Sheehan, *German History, 1770–1866. Oxford History of Modern Europe* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 552.

[53] Daston and Galison, "The Image of Objectivity," p. 83.

[54] Since the 19th century was not a homogenous era, but produced, as has been mentioned, a constellation of ideas, one can find historians of the time—Dilthey, to give an example—aware that the removal of the affective element from history writing is impossible. See also Loraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), passim and "The Image of Objectivity," pp. 81–128.

[55] Klemens von Klemperer, *Voyage Through the Twentieth Century: A Historian's Recollections and Reflections* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), p. 125.

[56] Hubert L. Dreyfus, "Heidegger and Foucault on the Subject, Agency and Practices," *The Department of Philology of Berkeley University*, last modified 2004, accessed 6 June 2014, http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~hdreyfus/html/paper_heidandfoucault.html.

approaches is built around the subjectivity-objectivity opposition, I would like to point to a nicety that precludes such conclusion. Even if classical historians considered objectivity to be achievable, it has been hinted that the starting point of their work was subjectivity—hence their need for "extinguishing" their selves—with which they had to struggle to become and remain allegedly objective. Subjectivity is also the starting point for modernist historians, who differ from their predecessors in that they work towards being objective-*like* (rather than being objective in an idealistic way). Therefore, it is a shift in emphasis—rather than a U-turn—that seems to differentiate the 19th- and 20th-century ideas of objectivity.

## Conclusions

Whether it is because modernist historians and historiographers strongly advocated cutting ties with their intellectual predecessors, or because Poststructuralism and Deconstruction started criticising the idea of binary oppositions using philosophy, sociology, and literary criticism as their grounds, or because of any other factors, the body of modernist historiography is considered by—even 21st-century—historians and historiographers in terms of an opposition to that of classical historicism. And indeed, the two bodies differ in many respects; though, as has been shown, these differences seem to have been exaggerated.

Of course, one may treat any new conceptualisations, definitions, etc. in terms of "oppositions" to their predecessors. However, it might also be of use to consider these not only within their own immediate context—as it seems, such comparison is half-bound to result in the conclusion that given notions are opposites—but also within a much wider context. Even if it is discretionary, this optics allows one to look at the changes that are introduced to sundry bodies of historiography not so much as crisis precipitators but as development facilitators.

Alicja Bemben

**The Shape-Shifting Body of Historiography**

The basic purpose of this work is to juxtapose late 19th-century and early 20th-century conceptualisations of time, cultural distance, a/historicism, agency, historical knowledge, causality, objectivity, scriptocentrism, mode of writing about the real, and space, as they surface in British historiography. These juxtapositions serve as the grounds on the basis of which the mechanisms that concatenate the transformation(s) of each of these notions are pinpointed. The end purpose of this work is to substantiate the thesis that the variety of the mentioned mechanisms disallows treating the late 19th-century and the early 20th-century British historiography as two contrastive bodies of ideas.

**Keywords:** body, history, historiography, classical historicist paradigm, modernist paradigm

**Słowa klucze:** ciało, historia, historiografia, paradygmat klasycznego historyzmu, paradygmat modernistyczny

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# Through the Body: Chiromancy in 17th-Century England

In traditional anthropology—in its ancient, medieval and early modern variants—the hand occupied a unique position and attracted particular attention, as one of the most important (and culturally significant) parts of the body. Apart from noting its intricate anatomical structure—which was universally considered an ingenious design[1]—various authors admired its flexibility and multi-functionality. As one of the 17th-century sources—repeating centuries-old opinions—observed,

> [The man was given] a Hand, the Organ of Organs, that therewith he might supply himself with all things necessary, tending to the use of humane life; with which he writes Laws and Ordinances for the People, with which he defends himself from the violence of savage Creatures, and the hostility of humane Enemies; as also therewith he is fitted to Till the ground, and in one word, to execute every needful humane office.[2]

[1] "Take the hand: this is as good as a talon, or a claw, or a horn, or again, a spear or a sword, or any other weapon or tool: it can be all of these, because it can seize and hold them all. And Nature has admirably contrived the actual shape of the hand so as to fit in with this arrangement [...]. It is not all of one piece, but it branches into several pieces; which gives the possibility of its coming together into one solid piece, whereas the reverse order of events would be impossible. Also, it is possible to use them singly, or two at a time, or in various ways. Again, the joints of the fingers are well constructed for taking hold of things and for exerting pressure [...]. The nails, too, are a good piece of planning." Aristotle, *Parts of Animals with an English Translation by A.L. Peck* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 372–374.

[2] Richard Saunders, *Physiognomie and chiromancie, metoposcopie, the symmetrical proportions and signal moles of the body fully and accurately handled, with their natural–predictive–significations: the subject of dreams, divinative, steganographical, and Lullian sciences: whereunto is added the art of memorie* (London: R. White, 1653), p. 4.

The hand was such a versatile tool, responding so dexterously to anything the mind wanted it to do, that it made humans unique and placed them high above all other living creatures. It was effectively the Aristotelian bodily sign of supreme human intelligence and humanity itself.[3]

The hand was considered the "instrument of instruments" also because it could be conveniently used for communicating with others as well as for storing and imparting knowledge. It played a role in rhetoric, as the formalized gestures were supposed to accompany and emphasize a consummate orator's (or actor's) statements and figures of speech.[4] Also, there were systems of hand gestures that constituted a sign language to be used by the deaf, the mute and by those who wished to talk to handicapped people.[5] What is more, hands, especially fingers, served as an abacus to make sums and calculate dates of movable feasts in the calendar,[6] and the so-called Guidonian hand with musical notes on the palm and fingers made it easier to memorize melodies.[7] The human hand, generally speaking, was a useful mnemonic device, on the surface of which practically any information could be encoded, from numbers and music to religious truths and a sequence of the Biblical events.[8]

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[3] Aristotle, *Parts of Animals*, pp. 370–373. The Renaissance fine arts were preoccupied with the task of drawing or painting hands accurately not only because it was difficult and required artistic skills one could boast of but also because this particular body part, like no other, was the essence and symbol of being human.

[4] Fritz Graf, "Gestures and Conventions of Roman Actors and Orators," in: *A Cultural History of Gesture. From Antiquity to the Present Day*, eds. Jan Bremmer and Herman Goodenburg (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), pp. 36–58. J.B., *Chironomia: Or, The Art of Manual Rhetorique. With the Canons, Lawes, Rites, Ordinances, and Institutes of Rhetoricians, both Ancient and Moderne, Touching the artificiall managing of the HAND in Speaking. Whereby the Naturall GESTURES of the HAND, are made the Regulated Accessories or faire-spoken Adjuncts of RHETORICAL Utterance. With TYPES, or CHIROGRAMS: A new illustration of this Argument.* (London: Th. Harper, 1644).

[5] Charles de La Fin, *Sermo mirabilis, or, The silent language whereby one may learn perfectly in the space of six hours, how to impart his mind to his friend, in any language, English, Latin, French, Dutch, &c. tho never so deep and dangerous a Secret, without the least Noise, Word or Voice; and without the Knowledge of any in Company. Being a wonderful Art kept secret for several ages in Padua, and now published only to the wise and prudent, who will not expose it, as a Prostitute, to every Foolish and Ignorant Fellow. By Monsieur La Fin, once secretary to His Eminence, Cardinal of Rich[e]lieu* (London: T. Salusbery, 1692), J.B., *Chironomia*, p. 5.

[6] Sachiko Kusukawa, "A Manual Computer for Reckoning Time," in: *Writing on Hands: Memory and Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Claire Richter Sherman and Peter M. Lukehart (Carlisle, Pa.: Trout Gallery, Dickinson College; Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library; Seattle, Wa.: University of Washington Press, 2000), pp. 28–34.

[7] Susan Forscher Weiss, "The Singing Hand," in: *Writing on Hands: Memory and Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Claire Richter Sherman and Peter M. Lukehart (Carlisle, Pa.: Trout Gallery, Dickinson College; Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library; Seattle, Wa.: University of Washington Press, 2000), pp. 35–45.

[8] Claire Richter Sherman, and Peter M. Lukehart, eds., *Writing on Hands: Memory and Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Carlisle, Pa.: Trout Gallery, Dickinson College; Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library; Seattle, Wa.: University of Washington Press, 2000), pp. 153–159. Richard Saunders, *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie, The Symmetrical Proportions and Signal MOLES of the BODY, Fully and accurately explained: with their*

The hand was therefore a meaning-generating machine, conveying senses arbitrarily imposed on it by human inventiveness and need. At the same time, however, it was also thought to be a kind of table or plane containing *visible* and *natural* signs, left there by Nature (on behalf of the Creator), which could reveal vital information about its owner: about the person's bodily constitution and health, character and inclinations, and even future vicissitudes. The technique of recognizing those signs and understanding what they meant was, of course, chiromancy or palmistry, one of the ancient divinatory arts, which, although never entirely forgotten in Europe, was revived in the later Middle Ages and which enjoyed a renaissance in the early modern period.[9]

In England popular interest in chiromancy was reflected, in the first place, by the frequent publication of works of continental authors like Cocles and Johannes de Indagine (the latter's *Introductions* had ten editions between 1558 and 1683). However, what can be called an English chiromantic revival took place in the mid-17th century in the circle of Elias Ashmole, a prominent antiquary, collector of curiosities, alchemist, astrologer and patron of the occult arts. The present paper examines works of Ashmole's two friends: George Wharton (1617–1681), a gentleman and student of astronomy, and Richard Saunders (1613–1687?), an astrologer from Warwickshire. The analysis of their output clearly demonstrates how much significance they attached to chiromancy. They were certain that it fully deserved to be glorified and given a prominent position in a system of arts capable of providing cognizance of the world. They held a firm belief and assumption that it was the human body (and the hand in particular) that should be considered one of the most promising objects of study, through which the keen and learned observer could obtain valuable and trustworthy knowledge about mankind as well as individual men and women. It is also worthy of attention and study that this followed from an easily discernible deep fascination with the material and the

*Natural-Predictive Significations both to MEN and WOMEN. Being Delightful and Profitable: With the Subject of DREAMS made plain: Whereunto is Added the ART of MEMORY* (London: H. Brugis, 1671), pp. 371–377.

[9] Carroll Camden, "Elizabethan Chiromancy," *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (1947), pp. 1–7. Lynn Thorndike, "Chiromancy in Medieval Latin Manuscripts," *Speculum*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (1965), pp. 674–706. Charles S. F Burnett, "The Earliest Chiromancy in the West," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtland Institutes*, Vol. 50 (1987), pp. 189–195. There was a network of early modern European chiromantic writers, the most prominent of them being Johannes Hartlieb (c. 1410–1468), Bartolommeo della Rocca (Cocles) (1476–1504), Johannes de Indagine (Johannes Indaginis) (?–1537), Jean Taisnier (Johannes Taisnierus) (1508–1562), Giovanni Baptista della Porta (1535? –1615), Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576), Johannes Rothmann (fl. 1595), Patricio Tricasso (Tricassus Mantuanus), Rudolph Goclenius (1572–1621), Robert Fludd (1574–1637), and Johannes Praetorius (1630–1680).

corporeal, which permeated the chiromantic treatises standing for their distinguishing mark.

George Wharton published his *Keiromantia* [sic] *or, The art of divining by the lines and signatures engraven in the hand of man…* in 1652, the treatise being a translation of, but also a commentary on, Johannes Rothmann's *Chiromancia* (1596). And in the following year Richard Saunders issued his own original treatise *Physiognomie and chiromancie*, which attempted to recapitulate the whole tradition of the art and systematize and synthetize its principles, often in defiance of the earlier authors. William Lilly, who wrote a preface to the treatise, emphasized the fact that Saunders's treatment of chiromancy was much better than his predecessors' works. As he said, Saunders was superior to "either the long-winded Genius of Cocles, infinite contradictory Aphorisms of Taisnerus, abrupt and rustic considerations of Indagines, or too much brevity of Goclenius."[10]

The two works—both, by the way, dedicated to Elias Ashmole—principally aimed at rehabilitating the art of palmistry, which, in their authors' opinion, was unjustly scorned and denigrated by the general public, which associated it with common fortune-tellers offering their (potentially fraudulent) services at fairs, in ale-houses or in the street. As Wharton put it, palmistry had in consequence "the Gypsy-like Esteeme […] among the vulgar."[11] It was even more exasperating that similar opinions were shared and propagated by other scholars, who also "attributed the invention and greatest practise of [chiromancy] to those miserable Vagabonds, which we call Gypses" and generally claimed that it merely "merited the notion of old wives Fables [than] a useful Science."[12] Annoyed by such unacceptable "ignorance and passion against [chiromancy]"—shown, for instance, by "the peevish priest" Martin Del Rio—the English chiromancers wished to demonstrate in their texts that the object of their study was not a superstitious and deceitful practice but a "noble" science. In other words, they intended to "honour" chiromancy and disclose its true value, "to the shame of all Malitious and Pestilent Detractors."[13]

In order to show that there was nothing degrading about studying and practising palmistry, several arguments were used by its apologists. A

[10] Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. b4.

[11] Johannes Rothmann, *Keiromantia* [sic] *or, The art of divining by the lines and signatures engraven in the hand of man, by the hand of nature, theorically, practically. Wherein you have the secret concordance, and harmony betwixt it, and astrology, made evident in 19. genitures. Together with a learned philosophicall discourse of the soule of the world, and the vniversall spirit thereof. A matchlesse piece. / Written originally in Latine by Io: Rothmanne, D. in Phisique, and now faithfully Englished, by Geo: Wharton Esq*. (London: J.G., 1652), p. A3.

[12] Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. a2.

[13] Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, p. A7.

standard one was the argument from tradition and authority, highlighting that "this science of Chiromancie" had been "respected, honoured and studied" by "the wisest Philosophers and most eminent Magistrates" in antiquity—here Saunders mentioned Aristotle, Virgil, Plautus, Juvenal, Lucius Scylla and Julius Caesar.[14] What was more important than its long history was the relation of chiromancy to other sciences. It was insisted that chiromancy must be studied in reference to two other branches of occult knowledge, namely, physiognomy (the study of the face) and, especially, astrology. The three formed a harmonious system, whose parts mutually verified one another (e.g. what you saw in somebody's hand would be confirmed by the person's astrological horoscope and vice versa). This supposedly guaranteed the objective and scientific status of palmistry.[15]

However, the most important asset of chiromancy was that it gave its students a unique chance to obtain useful and otherwise unavailable knowledge about themselves and other human beings. The chiromantic inspection could "not onely discover the whole natural condition of the body" but also "the events of future actions"[16] The undeniable benefit from knowing one's "proper peculiar destinies" or "events of [...] all life" was that one could then try to avert, or at least mitigate, the predicted evil or, just the other way round, "cherish and augment the good pertended [portended]"; in other words, palmistry meant "foreseeing the good and evil" in one's life.[17] Practising palmistry also provided basic data about one's health and susceptibility to particular diseases, which was particularly "good for physitians"—although not only for them—who could "judge of the temperaments of their patients" and, in consequence, order a really effective cure.[18] Chiromancy was then a true art of knowing man, in all their aspects (both bodily and psychological); the art, furthermore, ideal for changing the regrettable fact that "most men [were] a terra incognita to themselves."[19] Meanwhile, in order to realize the ancient commendable maxim *Nosce te ipsum*, it was enough to cast a look at what everybody had

[14] Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. av.

[15] Johannes de Indagine, *Briefe introdvctions, both natvrall, pleasant, and delectable vnto the art of chiromancie, or manuell diuination, and phisiognomy with circumstances vpon the faces of the signes. Also certaine canons or rules vpon diseases and sicknesses. Wherevnto is also annexed aswell the artificiall, as naturall astrology, with the nature of the planets. Written in the Latine tongue by Iohn Indagine priest. And translated into English by Fabian Withers* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1633 [1558]), pp. B4v-B5, F6v; Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, pp. A3v, A6-A6v, A7, 38; Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. a3.

[16] Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. 4.

[17] Ibid., pp. av, b2v, 4; Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, p. 177.

[18] Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. b2v.

[19] Ibid., p. b2v.

with him or her all the time: the hand. The learned palmists expressed their astonishment that this easy-to-use and available-to-all "Index of Fortune" was so neglected. It was unbelievable that people having at their disposal such a "perfect Table" which delineated the "properties" and "events" of their whole lives, remained "ignorant, not knowing of this treasure."[20] This praise surely added another point to the long list of reasons why the hand should be treated as a marvel.

One of the most interesting issues related to palmistry—which may seem obvious but frequently escapes attention—is the question of *physicality* in chiromancy and its preoccupation with the body. Naturally, a concentration on the human body was then a prominent trend and early modern chiromancers shared it with contemporary physicians, surgeons, anatomists, natural philosophers, collectors, and artists. Still, it seems that the material aspect of palmistry played an exceptionally important role (definitely much more significant than in the case of, for instance, its twin divinatory art, astrology, which had been always, by necessity, a bit abstract). In the first place, chiromancy was founded on the very bodily gesture of gazing at the hand—Saunders insisted that a chiromancer "must fixedly look on it."[21] The scrutiny also implied close physical contact with the examined person, whose hand, for instance, had to be held by the examiner, arranged in the most convenient position, moved up closer to the palmist's eyes, etc.

Furthermore, the hand was viewed as a complex physical object that needed to be divided and classified into many smaller parts—each of them having its own special name—for the sake of systematic description and analysis. So, for chiromancers—who most evidently relished such an anatomizing activity—the hand consisted of the wrist, palm, hollow (depression in the middle of the palm), pommel (percussion), table (the rectangular area between the two horizontal lines on the palm), five fingers and four roots of them, twelve joints, five nails and six mounts or hills, one in the pommel and five at the base of the fingers, named astrologically after planets. All these parts, put together, formed the basic anatomical structure of the hand all humans had in common, a structure whose surface, especially its palm side, was additionally covered with a net of smaller and larger lines visible on the skin. One should note that whenever the lines were mentioned in the chiromantic texts it was stated that they were "delineated," "drawn" or, especially, "engraven." The use

[20] Ibid., p. 4.
[21] Ibid., p. 25.

of such verbs was by no means accidental, as it reflected the representation of God (or Nature) as a skilled divine artist, who personally engraved the lines on people's bodies so that they could discover them and contemplate "his omnipotence, omniscience, and infinite mercy."[22] God's work was so ingenious that no human artist could emulate it, as Rothmann observed, when excusing himself for the rather sketchy images of hands included in his treatise.[23] The concept of the human hand as a work of art, made and decorated by the Creator with the intricate network of lines, seemed so natural, convincing and self-explanatory that in the popular 17th-century fine arts handbook *Polygraphice*, first published in 1672, a chapter on drawing the hands was supplemented—without a word of justification, which suggests that the connection was taken for granted—with a short appendix on "Chiromantic Signatures."[24]

The chiromancers marvelled at the pattern, number and variety of the lines engraved on the human palm. In their catalogues—they never forgot to make them—they meticulously listed and named them all. The lists started with the four principal lines—Line of Fortune (Table Line), Middle Natural Line, Line of Life (or of Heart) and Line of the Liver (or of Stomach)—but also included numerous lesser ones—e.g. the Line of Death, Solar Line, Milky Way, Wrist Line, etc.—which were not present in everybody's hands or were not clearly seen.[25] Apart from the lines, there were other meaningful signs on the skin: crosses, knots, dots or circles located on or between the lines. All of these marks had to be taken into consideration in order to draw some conclusions about the examined person and their life, which usually assumed such form as the following sentences:

> If the line of life is long, straight, lively coloured, bright and cleare, it betokeneth long life and few diseases […]. If, on the contrary, the same line is

[22] Ibid., p. a2v. Interestingly, the creative act was supposed to take place "at the very instant of the Nativity [birth]" —when "infants […] first approach[ed] into the world […] first beh[e]ld the light [and] open[ed]" their hands to expose them to it. Ibid., p. 4.

[23] Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, p. 117.

[24] William Salmon, *Polygraphice, or, The art of drawing, engraving, etching, limning, painting, washing, varnishing, colouring, and dying in three books: I, shews the drawing of men and other animal creatures, landskips, countries, and figures of various forms, II, the way of engraving etching and limning with all their requisits and ornaments, III, the way of painting, washing, varnishing, colouring and dying according to the method of the best authors now extant, exemplified in the painting of the antients, washing of maps, globes or pictures, dying of cloth, silks, bones, wood, glass, stones, and metals, together with the way of varnishing thereof according to any purpose or intent: the like never yet extant; by W.S., a lover of art* (London: E.T. and R.H, 1672), pp. 15–16, 79–86.

[25] Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, p. 3.

> short, of divers colours, thin, cut or parted, it means shortness of life, much sickness and that no work will be brought to a good end.[26]

If the line of life have Branches stretched out toward the middle natural […] it is a signe of riches, honor, and perfection; But if the sayd branches run downeward toward the wrest, it means poverty and damage by household servants, through their untruth.[27]

> If you happen to find in the hand of a woman, a crosse, with three small lines at the upper corner of the line of life, it signifieth an unshamefast and unhonest woman, but if that crosse bee found about the right corner in the line it selfe, and be deepe in: it signiefieth an ungodly and mischievous woman which shall suffer great punishment for her mischief […] such a crosse in that line, doth always betoken evill both in man and woman.[28]

Chiromantic works contained dozens or even hundreds of similar "aphorisms"—Saunders in his treatise published 700 of them[29]—as each palmist tried to provide in his handbook as many examples as possible, aware that the number of possible combinations observable on each palm was enormous.

It is clear that during the examination the material features of the hand were observed and focused on. First of all, it had to be decided whether the left or right palm should be scrutinized, as their linear asymmetry was well known.[30] Although the commonsense option was to choose the hand with lines and signs that were simply more visible,[31] Richard Saunders definitely preferred the left one. The reason he gave, after Galen and Avicenna, was that the left hand was closer to the heart, which, as "the seat of all desires, affections and concupiscenses […] gives greater demonstrations of the passions in this Hand […] being nearer it."[32] The appearance of the hand's parts was another key factor. The chiromantic books contained lists of attributes to be noted. For instance, if you wanted to "draw any judgement" from the fingernails, you were supposed to see first whether they were "broad, white, narrow, long, oblique, little, round, fleshy, pale, black, yellowish, red and marked."[33] In a very similar vein—if your wish

[26] Indagine, *Briefe introdvctions*, pp. B7-B7v.
[27] Ibid., p. C.
[28] Ibid., p. B8v.
[29] Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. 39.
[30] Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, p. 161 [181].
[31] Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, p. 8.
[32] Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. 25.
[33] Ibid., p. 69.

was to read the palm, you had to check how long and broad and deep the lines were; what their colour and shape was; whether they were straight or crooked; or whether they crossed other lines or ran parallel to them.[34] The chiromancers' acute awareness of the physicality of their object of study was further demonstrated by an interesting comparison between geometry and chiromancy, or, precisely, between mathematical and bodily lines. As noted by Saunders, geometrical lines have "only longitude, without latitude, wanting profundity or depth," whereas,

> our Lines admit of latitude and profundity as well as longitude […] for we will not consider them according to length and brevity only, but according to bredth and depth. As also in their appearance and colour, and in many other particulars, sensibly demonstrative: so that our Lines are rather Natural, then Mathematical.[35]

In this way Saunders proudly emphasized the concrete character of the chiromantic profession, which dealt with the material and the tangible, rather than with the imagined and the abstract, as mathematics did.[36]

Dabbling with the material sometimes brought about some specific problems for chiromancers to tackle. For instance, among the natural lines there were also those that were "man-made," i.e. made "by Labour, by wounds, by nasty usage, through infirmity, Cold, Famine, Fear, or the like."[37] The "artificial" lines were useless because they could not convey any message and, what is more, they were capable of "clouding" the natural lines and making them "not perceptible."[38] It was then necessary to be able to recognize them and decide if the hand containing them was still readable. Incidentally, the chiromantic discourse included an only seemingly eccentric question whether soles of the feet could be read in the same way as the palms. The answer to this was that theoretically it would be possible, but unfeasible in practice, "because most commonly there is some deformity [in them], through daily travel, straight shooing, and the weight which they sustain, and other accidents, which happen to this low part […]."[39]

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[34] Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, p. 21; Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. 6.

[35] Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. 4.

[36] Saunders did not, however, intend to deny any links with mathematics. On the contrary, he noted both types of lines shared other attributes like shape, which was enough for him to conclude: "We agreeing with them [i.e. mathematicians]." Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 5.

[38] Ibid., p. 26.

[39] Ibid., pp. 68–69.

Even if the hands inspected were not deformed or defaced, the chiromancers still had to cope with the problem of the enormous variety of line patterns on human hands. "[T]he position of these Lines—remarked Rothmann—very much differs in all Mens Hands […] although you should observe *A thousand*, yet could you not finde any *Two* exactly agree in every *Particular* [position] *positure* of their *Lines*."[40] This was observed with awe and admiration at such abundance of material forms available for study but at the same time it was undeniable that this made it more difficult to find some regularities and draw more specific conclusions, since so many variants had to be considered first.

Last but not least, there was the puzzling question of the hands' changeability. It was a common knowledge among the learned chiromancers that the line pattern on the hand's palm was never permanent and stable. "We daily Observe—confessed Rothmann—how some Lines are quite Vanished, which were but even now in our Hands and that others Arise in Lieu thereof, with a Different Face."[41] The lines then appeared and disappeared, altering their shape, length, colour and hue. The key factor, determining that, seemed to be the person's age, as there was a different set of lines at each stage of life, but it was also temper at the given moment—"tears, Passion, Infirmity, overmuch Joy, excess of sorrow, wrath and fury"—that could and did affect the body.[42] Therefore, it was essential for the most studious chiromancers to remember that "the body is alterable"[43] and, consequently, that a single inspection was not enough to know the examined person—it had to be repeated several times and in different circumstances to "attain the [more reliable] knowledge of Particulars."[44]

The present paper has tried to recreate what 17th-century chiromancy was to its English students, by focusing on their absorption in the corporeal and their assumption that it was through the human body that man and the world could and should be known. Chiromancy was basically an act of contemplation of the tangible hand, which consisted in anatomizing it, counting and classifying its components, and observing their physical features. It was claimed that the hand was like a looking-glass, and it seems to be quite an accurate simile, since the complexity, changeability,

[40] Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, p. 56; Marin Cureau de La Chambre, *A discourse on the principles of chiromancy by monsieur de la Chambre, counsellor to the king of France in his counsels, and his physitian in ordinary; Englished by a person of quality* (London: T. Newcomb, 1658), p. 10.

[41] Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, p. 161.

[42] Ibid., pp. 21–22; Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. 26.

[43] Saunders, *Physiognomie* (1653), p. 26

[44] Rothmann, *Keiromantia*, p. 22.

and uniqueness discovered in the hand, were exactly the attributes of what was then called the sublunary world. And as for the way of knowing man, which was after all the chief objective of learned palmistry, the hand offered an impressive collection of meaningful bodily signs just waiting for being deciphered. The chiromancers Richard Saunders and George Wharton called themselves scientists and in a sense they were right. Just like natural philosophers, they wanted to obtain certain knowledge about the world. The object of their study was hands, which were just another leaf in the book of nature—to use the contemporary metaphor—that could be studied in order to get insight into the human body and mind. The reason why the art of chiromancy ultimately failed to be rehabilitated was that it absolutely relied on the Neoplatonic concept of hidden correspondences and influences linking all parts of the universe; this concept was increasingly exposed to criticism for being rationally and scientifically unverifiable. A symbol of this change was, for example, the stance of King Louis XIV's physician, Marin Cureau de La Chambre, who did consider the use of chiromancy in his practice but eventually decided that a standard down-to-earth medical observation of bodily symptoms was sufficient to acquire knowledge about his patients.[45] In spite of its enthusiasts' efforts, palmistry was doomed to remain, in the following centuries, a speciality of gypsy fortune-tellers.

Paweł Rutkowski

**Through the Body: Chiromancy in 17th-Century England**

The early modernity inherited the ancient and medieval conviction that normally hidden knowledge about fellow humans could be obtained by an inspection of particular parts of their bodies. It was the hand that was considered especially informative, as it contained lines and other natural marks that were supposed to form a kind of alphabet that could disclose the "Inclinations, the Motions of the Soul, the Vertues and Vices", and were even capable of revealing the examined person's future. The present article explores the English boom in chiromancy in the 17th century, which saw new editions of old authorities as well as new treatises by, for instance, Richard Saunders and George Wharton, whose chiromantic texts aimed at elevating palmistry to the status of science that pursued the ancient *nosce te ipsum* philosophy. The striking feature of chiromancy was its preoccupation with the material and the bodily. Each chiromantic session was in fact a kind of sym-

[45] La Chambre, *A discourse on the principles of chiromancy*, p. 322.

bolic dissection that consisted in identifying, naming and interpreting particular anatomical parts of the hand. Furthermore, palmists had to consider all unique physical attributes of their clients' hands, whose varied size and shape – together with palm lines' length, depth, colour, straightness or crookedness – always had to be taken into account. Chiromancy was thus founded on acknowledgment and contemplation of variety and changeability observable in the human bodies, which provided access to knowledge about humanity.

**Keywords**: chiromancy, palmistry, body, England, 17th-century
**Słowa klucze**: chiromancja, wróżenie, ciało, Anglia, wiek XVII

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STUDIES AND ANALYSES

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# "Ham or Trichinosis?": Conceptual Metaphors of Food in Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Writings

Victorian foodscapes represented a revolution in comparison with previous periods. They included a struggle to meet the growing demand, a transition from self-reliance in food supply to a globalised food economy based on imports and mass-production, an ongoing fight against adulterated food, and advances in science and technology. These major trends contributed to creating the most prevalent "middling cuisines"[1] of the 19th century, based on the use of beef, bread, sugar, and fat. The consequences of the transformation allowed the rapidly growing urban masses to find reliable methods of satisfying their hunger and to a large extent released people from the dependence on weather and seasonality. On the one hand, when foreign imports, influence of international cuisine, and newly developed commodities are considered, it is possible to claim that Victorian foodscapes were very diverse. On the other hand, when factors such as the rise of global food manufacturers and commercial brands, industrial food processing, and the growing reliance on traders are taken into account, the foodscapes seem homogenous and standardised. What is more, the fact that many stages of food preparation were in the 19th century taken over by commercial enterprises and factories freed up time for other activities, especially for women. However, the same changes

[1] Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), p. 249.

made people distrustful towards the mechanically-produced commodities and ingredients, often originating in faraway lands and prepared by unfamiliar hands. Widespread adulteration and unhygienic conditions of industrial food production only exacerbated the experience.

The increased suspicion towards food and alienation from its sources, in turn, brought about variations in the era's metaphorical production. This is analysed here within the critical framework of cognitive food studies. This methodology fuses the interdisciplinary field of food studies with insights coming from developments in cognitive science, with particular focus on the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT for short). The cognitive approach to metaphor, introduced by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson,[2] allows for viewing it as more than merely a linguistic ornament. Seen from this perspective, metaphor is a framework for thinking which allows for representing one conceptual domain, the usually more abstract target, in terms of another, known as source, which is grounded in physical and cultural experience. CMT posits that metaphors can be analysed with regard to their mappings (systematic correspondences between elements of the two domains), entailments (consequences of the knowledge people have about the well-delineated source domains that may be transferred to the target), and image-schemas (basic structures which can be filled in with details). As such, conceptual metaphor results from embodied cognition[3] and responds to cultural variation.[4] This perspective aims to raise questions about food-related metaphors and their functioning in a specific cultural environment, which can only be answered by looking at the socio-historical realities of food production and consumption in a particular period, in this case late 19th century.

Many Victorians on both sides of the Atlantic[5] spoke harshly against the practice of commercial contamination of food, which was motivated by the desire to decrease the costs of production and maximise earnings. As early as in 1820, in Frederick Accum's *A Treatise on Adulteration of Food, and Culinary Poisons*, a skilfully drawn skull in a cup with snakes

[2] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[3] William Croft and D. Alan Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 3–4.

[4] Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture. Universality and Variation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[5] The term Victorian is here used to refer to both the British and American contexts in consideration of the shared features of industrialisation, urbanisation, and population growth which united the transatlantic community under the influence of Queen Victoria's reign. This approach is based on the claims put forward in Daniel Walker Howe, "American Victorianism as a Culture," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 5 Special Issue: Victorian Culture in America (1975).

coiling around it warned the public against the dangers coming from unscrupulous traders. Accum indicated that adulterating food may lead to various health problems; for instance, mixing flour with alum can cause diseases in children.[6] He also devoted a whole chapter to the discussion of unacceptable methods used by butchers which result in rendering meat and fish unwholesome.[7] His eye-opening publication was followed by innovative research carried out by a medical professional, Arthur Hill Hassall, who employed microscope analyses and chemical tests to detect fraudulent additions and harmful practices.[8] Thanks to their pioneering work, a document called the Sale of Food and Drugs Act came into force in 1875 in Britain and allowed for stricter control against food fraud. It became forbidden by law to add any possibly injurious substances to foodstuffs or alter the quality of drugs; what is more, precise labelling of products became obligatory. Analogously, but several decades later, in 1906, the Pure Food and Drug Act was introduced in the USA to protect the interests and health of customers. This was the culmination of experiments conducted by the so-called "Poison Squad," an organisation spearheaded by Harvey Washington Wiley and set on proving the harmfulness of chemical additives in food. This enterprise is now associated with the beginning of the Food and Drug Administration.[9] Overall, the crusades against food adulteration resulted from professional concern about public health. They continued throughout the 19th century and brought about regulations necessary under the new circumstances of the growing mechanisation and commercialisation of food production. Some manufacturers actually took advantage of the heightened attention consumers started to pay to quality among widespread adulteration, hence the iconic Cadbury catchphrase: "Absolutely Pure, Therefore Best."[10] The emphasis on purity as the only true guarantee of value, as exemplified in the advertising slogan here, was actually a much larger issue in the 19th century. A similar observation can be made about the general preference for white bread, which makes it more difficult to conceal the use of harmful additives but also connotes association with purity. The use of a reference to the uncontaminated

[6] Frederick Accum, *A Treatise on Adulterations of Food, and Culinary Poisons, Exhibiting the Fraudulent Sophistications of Bread…* (London: J. Mallett, 1820), digital copy, p. 135.

[7] Accum, *A Treatise on Adulterations of Food*, pp. 36–41.

[8] Arthur Hill Hassall, *Food and its Adulterations; Comprising the Reports of the Analytical Sanitary Commission…* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855), digital copy.

[9] James Harvey Young, "Food and Drug Regulation under the USDA, 1906–1940," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 64, No. 2, The United States Department of Agriculture in Historical Perspective (Spring, 1990), pp. 135–136.

[10] Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*, p. 261.

state as a marketing strategy may suggest an established position of this preoccupation in the minds of Victorians.

The new theme of the reinforced suspicion towards nourishment is approached by Charlotte Perkins Gilman in several of her works, including both non-fiction and poetry. The latter, her poems, are perhaps a less publicised account of the outraged attitudes accompanying consumers faced with dangerous food than Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle*, but their shortness and relative obscurity allow for a brief analysis exemplifying these claims working in practice. According to Jason Pickavance, "because of its association with pure food legislation, Sinclair's novel has become for many historians and students of literary history the exemplary instance of literature as a means of reform."[11] A few of Gilman's poems published at least a year later than Sinclair's famous denunciation of the nauseating practices in the meat packing industry acknowledge his major contribution to the case of fighting for the increased safety of food consumption. In fact, when Pickavance describes Sinclair's role in the quest for food safety, he states that his novel was crucial in introducing the aforementioned legislative reform and that it "engaged a critical mass of Americans in the problems associated with manufactured foods."[12] Gilman defines Sinclair's input in terms of revealing the true colours of food production:

> We have seen the picture of Packingtown
> Painted in blood-red, black and brown
> As only Sinclair can.[13]

Even though Pickavance also suggests that the commonly accepted purpose of Sinclair's novel—introducing legislation to protect the consumer—wrongly removes emphasis from the issue of working conditions in the business,[14] Gilman seems to be focusing precisely on the receiver end of this revolting chain of supply. For this tireless exposer of all social ills, food, along with dress, home economy, and, obviously, gender inequality, was thus one of the areas that called for immediate reform.

Yet food figured prominently not only for Gilman as an activist but also in her personal life. Already as a teenager, she expressed keen interest

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[11] Jason Pickavance, "Gastronomic Realism: Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, the Fight for Pure Food, and the Magic of Mastication," *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, Vol. 11, No. 2–3 (2003), p. 88.

[12] Pickavance, "Gastronomic Realism," p. 88.

[13] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "How about the Man?" in: *The Later Poetry of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, ed. Denise D. Knight (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 1–3.

[14] For an overview of the debate, see Pickavance, "Gastronomic Realism," pp. 87–90.

in the new trends recommending healthy living, which, in her case, took the form of following a strict exercise regime.[15] Far from being simply a passing fad, the pursuit of the era's physiological remedies, including diet advice, is said to have influenced her profoundly.[16] In 1885, at the age of 25, she was prescribed the rest cure to treat post-partum depression; this therapy, decreed by Silas Weir Mitchell, a leading physician in the period, placed a great deal of importance on prolonged periods of non-activity and involved eating at regular intervals. Mitchell's *Wear and Tear; Or, Hints for the Overworked* expounded the role of the right diet in recovering from nervous exhaustion, or neurasthenia, a mystifying set of symptoms that many suffered from in the later part of the 19th century, caused presumably by the increased pace of life and stressful pursuit of career. According to Athena Vrettos, the victims of neurasthenia "experienced the immediate physical effects of illness without corresponding physical causes,"[17] and, as a result, many medical professionals denied the reality of this ailment. Mitchell used this ambiguity and devised a theory of blood circulation that made cessation of intellectual effort, especially after a meal, necessary due to the intricacies of directing blood flow in the body.[18] On the one hand, this vision, by acknowledging the dependence of thought and mental capacities on the overall condition of the body, is in some limited sense an idea situated within the broadly understood scope of embodied cognition. On the other hand, and more plausibly, it bears an uncanny and disturbing resemblance to conceptions that would justify restrictions on education suitable for women as exemplified by the theories offered by G. Stanley Hall and Henry Maudsley, which identified schooling as an impediment to the proper development of female reproductive organs.[19] As Gilman herself was subjected to a treatment based on similar assumptions, and because it resulted in her sliding into madness, of which an artistic rendition is the semi-autobiographical "The Yellow Wall-Paper," she was probably well aware of the ramifications of theorising food.[20] What

[15] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Wild Unrest. Charlotte Perkins Gilman and the Making of "The Yellow Wall-Paper"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 21–23.

[16] Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Wild Unrest*, p. 23.

[17] Athena Vrettos, *Somatic Fictions: Imagining Illness in Victorian Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 48.

[18] Silas Weir Mitchell, *Wear and Tear, or Hints for the Overworked* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1887), pp. 70–71.

[19] For a detailed discussion of the motivations and scientific bases behind these theories as well as of their social consequences, see Cynthia Eagle Russett, *Sexual Science. The Victorian Construction of Womanhood* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 104–129.

[20] The experience is described in stark, straightforward terms that leave no doubt about the destructive effects of Mitchell's treatment: "I went home, followed those directions rigidly for months, and came perilously near losing

is more, the episode of strained mental health in her life had to do with the pressures of motherhood and marriage, which finally led to a highly publicised divorce.[21] The responsibilities of being a housekeeper took their toll on Gilman, who later in an essay explicitly identified the female housekeeper as the mediator between two ends of the food system: the external production and delivery on one end and the health of consumers, family in this case, on the other. This crucial position imposed particular weight on her methods of dealing with food, and, consequently, led her to put forward a reform of home cooking.[22] Nevertheless, she duly recognised the impact of proper nourishment, as later in her autobiography we can find the following five-piece recipe for a healthy life: "Good air and plenty of it, good exercise and plenty of it, good food and plenty of it, good sleep and plenty of it, good clothing and as little as possible."[23] While the initial prescription of rest is replaced by exercise, the importance of diet remains unchanged.

Interested in food in its many aspects, Gilman expressed her concerns by means of the aforementioned contamination metaphor. Several of her later poems contain images based on infecting the body with harmful influences that enter it through the mouth, with food that, rather than nourishing, poisons the organism. In some of them, the actions of eating and filling become almost synonymous, as it is visible in a line from "The Packer's Hand":

> Filling the poor blind public maw
> With tuberculosis and lumpy jaw.[24]

This choice of words suggests using the image-schema of a container for conceptualising the body, rendering the following EATING IS FILLING A CONTAINER[25] submetaphor. This is, however, probably not an isolated instance, taking into account the ubiquity of the container generic schema

my mind"; Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman. An Autobiography*, introduction by Ann J. Lane, foreword by Zona Gale (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), p. 96.

[21] Lawrence J. Oliver and Gary Scharnhorst, "Charlotte Perkins Gilman versus Ambrose Bierce: The Literary Politics of Gender in Fin-de-Siècle California," in *Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Her Contemporaries. Literary and Intellectual Contexts*, ed. Cynthia J. Davies and Denise D. Knight (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), p. 38.

[22] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "The Housekeeper and the Food Problem," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 74 (1917), pp. 123–130.

[23] Gilman, *The Living*, p. 67.

[24] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "The Packer's Hand," in: *The Later Poetry of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, ed. Denise D. Knight (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 19–20.

[25] Conceptual metaphors statements are typically given in small capitals.

that may be furnished with elements specific to a given culture, as postulated by Zoltán Kövecses in his argument on congruent metaphor.[26] Moreover, it could seem more than obvious to claim that, as the sensation of being full after a meal is undoubtedly a universally experienced bodily reality, the above noted correspondence is self-evident and not worth further study. My answer here is that the first part of the statement is true, while the inference not necessarily so. Once again following Kövecses's argument, I propose that what matters here is the interpretation of sensorimotor experiences that a given culture agrees on, since it, contrary to the sensation itself, is likely to vary. As a result, that fact that THE BODY IS A CONTAINER metaphor, despite its widespread character, is utilised in a given context requires researching its potential mappings and entailments, for they may reveal the presence of slight differences, such as was exemplified by the ANGER IS FIRE across cultures.[27] The rich knowledge we have about containers may be used to conceptualise the body and the mind in various degrees. One aspect of this knowledge—that putting substances or objects into a container takes space—is manifested here. This already shows the metaphor's specialisation in the context of Victorian concerns about public health.

An objection could be raised here as to the figurative nature of the above cited line; perhaps the filling occurring in the poem is a literal instance of inserting substances into the mouth. There are two ways of approaching this doubt: one concerns the nature of the container, the other deals with what is used to occupy its space. "The poor blind public maw" does not refer to any one particular mouth but rather to the entirety of individuals forced to consume contaminated meat. Similarly, the eponymous "packer's hand" is also not a single limb of a specific meat industry worker but a personification of the unscrupulous business. Both conceptualisations are based on metaphors belonging to a hierarchical structure called the Great Chain,[28] that is SOCIETY IS A BODY and A COMPANY IS A PERSON. Already at this point we can say that, as what is being filled is not a literal mouth, the expression is metaphorical, yet there is further evidence. In another of Gilman's poems, "Hyenas," the reader is confronted with the image of "Freud-poisoned, sated minds."[29] Even though the text

[26] Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture*, p. 68.

[27] Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture*, p. 127.

[28] George Lakoff and Mark Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1989), p. 166.

[29] Charlotte Gilman Perkins, "Hyenas," in: *The Later Poetry of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, ed. Denise D. Knight (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 6.

touches upon another of the author's concerns, namely journalism, it does so through reference to the food domain, which helps to advance the argument about the sphere of nourishment as a central source for metaphorical correspondences in Gilman's writing. Here, she makes use of the DANGEROUS BELIEFS ARE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES metaphor, which often co-appears with SOCIETY IS A BODY,[30] but the illness is specifically an orally-infectious, foodborne one, as evinced by the epithet "sated." These mind-containers are, therefore, not only satiated with the harmful influence of ideas but also filled to the brim with substances or objects. Not only does this prove that the "packing" Gilman mentions in her poems is by all means figurative, but it also suggests we may be dealing with the IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor. Nonetheless, while minds' gorging on Freud, obviously in metonymic relation with Freud's psychoanalytic theories, conforms easily with the above mentioned form of conceptualising, the former example does not, for "tuberculosis and lumpy jaw" are not, strictly speaking, ideas. Nor are they graspable physical objects. Hence it is at this point unclear what metaphorical link it is that underlies the expressions.

In Gilman's poems, filling is also paired with killing in a rather clumsy rhyme that repeats in two poems: "I Would Fain Die a Dry Death" and "To the Packer." In the first of them, we read:

> It is not so much that it kills us—
> We are used to being killed;
> But we like to know what fills us
> When we pay for being filled.[31]

These lines are a further elaboration of the container schema, which can be demonstrated by means of the following mappings:

body → container
eating → occupying space in the container
food → substance/objects occupying space in the container.

Nevertheless, this does not explain the harmful consequences of the ingested food: in other words, it does not explain where the element of killing comes from, as it is not a possible potential correspondence resulting from putting together the target domain of the body and the source domain of containers. The only possibility would be to apply our

[30] George Lakoff, Jane Espenson, and Alan Schwartz, eds., *Master Metaphor List*, second edition (Berkley: University of California, 1991), accessed April 9, 2018, http://araw.mede.uic.edu/~alansz/ metaphor/METAPHORLIST.pdf, p. 111.

[31] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "I Would Fain Die a Dry Death," in: *The Later Poetry of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, ed. Denise D. Knight (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 13–16.

extended experiential knowledge of containers bursting from within as a consequence of being filled with too much, yet this entailment suggests metaphorical damage coming from overeating and not death directly arising from the sole fact of consumption. Moreover, being used to something implies repeated encounters with it, which is impossible in the case of death, thus understanding killing literally is also out of the question. Would it, then, refer to a gradual process of poisoning, as in EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy? None of the proposed concepts seem to explain the noted novel correspondences in full, and so, to elucidate the workings of these elaborations, we thus may need to employ the theory of blending, and in particular the concept of double- and multiple scope networks, in which both the target and the source shape the frame structure of the resulting fusion.[32] Several input spaces, emerging both from the target and the source, contribute elements to the final blend whose structure is to a certain extent new to both domains, such as being poisoned and dying are novel to the network of containers being filled. Although creative multiple blends are possible and worth pursuing here as an explanation for the innovative elaborations found in Gilman's poems, there are other elements that need to be scrutinised before a final verdict can be passed.

In the analysed works, eating is also represented in terms of allowing entry, which underlines the voluntary relinquishment of defence mechanisms that needs to occur for the process to take place, as food needs to cross the vital threshold of body boundaries. Let us quote the lines in question:

> And besides, admitting the poison,
> Admitting we all must die
> Accepting the second-hand-sickness
> From a cholera-smitten stye.[33]

This constitutes another creative elaboration on instantiating the container schema, in which "admitting" and "accepting" suggest that the body-container's orifices are protected and that entry is granted only to selected items. In the second of the cited lines of the poem the verb "to admit" is, however, used in another sense: as acknowledging or conceding. This not only immediately recalls one of the constitutive elements of CMT—simultaneous coactivation of various domains and meanings of a given word, but also advances the analysis of the complex

[32] Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture*, p. 278; Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The Way We Think. Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), pp. 279–293.

[33] Gilman, "I Would Fain Die a Dry Death," 35–38.

interplay of various metaphorical and possibly metonymic structures that permeate Gilman's poetry and—as the article aims to prove—constitutes one of dominant intertextual conceptualisations in the Victorian period. Rather than simple wordplay (if there can still be any), the juxtaposition of the multiple understandings of admitting places emphasis on the significance of crossing the body boundaries. "Admitting we all must die" refers, therefore, both to recognising the ultimate demise of each human being and, much more importantly here, to stressing that any instance of allowing entry into the body inevitably leads to death.

In other words, if we let down our guard and give permission for the external influence—be it food or Freud's ideas—to seep inside, we are doomed to die. Such an openly pessimistic and purely one-sided view of the omnivore's paradox, which does include both neophobia and neophilia, is here postulated to result from the basically universal and fundamentally re-established relations with food—adulterated, no longer locally sourced, produced mechanically, and standardised beyond recognition. When Michael Kimmel looks at the penetration schema in *Heart of Darkness*, he follows a train of thinking similar to what has been said above, claiming that "in the Victorian age it was a prime imperative to contain oneself."[34] He bases this insight on "historically motivated preoccupation with boundaries in Victorian England,"[35] and then uses it to expound on the popularity of Conrad's novel as resulting from its containing Werthian megametaphors, that is such conceptualisations which are widespread in a given culture in general. This grounding in history is supposed to, referencing Bill Harrell, signify issues "of race, nation, class, community, family, church and gender"[36] in which, at the time, the question of inside and outside, or the self and the other, became essential. And rightly so; nevertheless, this approach stops short of making the connection with the realities of dealing with food that were to a certain degree common to all Victorians and, as a result, were either the root of or at least a major factor in amplifying the boundary-protecting behaviours and attitudes that spread to other spheres of activity, such as politics and economy. Although it may seem striking at first, there is a link between fearing suspicious scraps of meat or tea brewed with sawdust and British or American imperialistic ambitions.

[34] Michael Kimmel, "Penetrating into the *Heart of Darkness*: An Image-Schematic Plot-Gene and its Relation to the Victorian Self-Schema," *Vienna English Working Papers*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2001), p. 23.

[35] Kimmel, "Penetrating," p. 27. In claiming so, Kimmel constructs his argument with the support of Bill Harrell's 1982 article "The Social Basis of Root Metaphor: An Application to *Apocalypse Now* and *The Heart of Darkness*," *The Journal of Mind and Behavior*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1982), pp. 221–240.

[36] Kimmel, "Penetrating," p. 25.

That is not to say, on the other hand, that Gilman's poetry is solely a covered expression of anxieties over other areas, such as race or class concerns; it is, first and foremost, a collection of texts about food and the very tangible significance of the availability of safe nutrition, in which the apprehension whether "[it is] ham or trichinosis?"[37] has direct consequences in people's lives. This distrust, underlined several times in Gilman's poems and expressed also overtly as the "horrid doubt," the threat of poisoning, and the insecurity about whether the meat actually carries life or death, place nourishment in a peculiar two-fold position: it is both a source domain used to structure abstract targets and a literal concern. To complicate the matter further, as evinced by the earlier introduced metaphor EATING IS FILLING A CONTAINER, in the framework in which historical and socio-cultural factors led to revolutionary changes in foodscapes that brought about a good deal of confusion, food became also a common target domain conceptualised in terms of less abstract sources. This process is most discernible with reference to scientific and religious discourses, which served as disciplines that have the authority to bestow new meaning on the newly destabilised relations with food and eating.

Gilman was not only an enthusiastic proponent of Darwinism but also an avid reader of anything exploring the advances in Victorian science, with *Popular Science Monthly* as her primary source of knowledge.[38] Familiarity with this influential "organ of scientifically respectable popularization,"[39] as Cynthia Russett called it with just a little irony, must have led Gilman to be quite up-to-date with the newest developments in medicine, nutritional science, and public health. She may have read John Tyndall's article on how tuberculosis is transmitted from diseased to healthy animals,[40] which possibly prompted her to later wonder whether "[it is] tuberculosis or beef?"[41] in her poetry. Likewise, another article by the same author could have provided the rationale behind Gilman's admonitions against the meat-packer's soiled hand in a poem not surprisingly titled "The Packer's Hand." There is close similarity between her

> poisoning us […]
> With chemicals, dirt and diseases[42]

[37] Gilman, "I Would Fain Die a Dry Death," 21.

[38] Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Wild Unrest*, p. 24.

[39] Russett, *Sexual Science*, p. 99.

[40] John Tyndall, "Letter from Professor Tyndall to the London *Times*," *The Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 21 (May to October 1882), p. 257.

[41] Gilman, "I Would Fain Die a Dry Death," 24.

[42] Gilman, "The Packer's Hand."

and Tyndall's pronouncement that "[d]irt was fatal, not as dirt, but because it contained living germs which [...] are the cause of putrefaction."[43] What is stressed in her poetry is the state of being susceptible to outside danger of contagion, which reveals a blend between aspects of germ theory and the idea about the permeability of body boundaries.

Gilman also mentions the concept of ptomaines, which evinces her awareness of current debates in the emerging nutritional science. "Named by Italian scientist Francesco Selmi after *ptoma*, the Greek word for 'corpse,' these 'cadaveric alkaloids' attracted a tremendous amount of interest among laboratory investigators in the 1880s,"[44] and were identified as primary culprits responsible for food poisoning. Even though the notion resulted from scientific misconceptions, it was instrumental in championing food safety.[45] That Gilman was involved in establishing and reinforcing the best possible patterns of food preparation and serving was made explicit in her essay "The Housekeeper and the Food Problem," where she attempted to present cold calculations about how to liberate women from the undesired and incompetently performed function of housewives, instead replacing their travails with the work of specialised, professional food laboratories.[46] This was a late essay, whose motivations were undoubtedly influenced by the dire needs—lack of labour force and food scarcity—of the war period. The same idea had, however, been expressed seven years earlier in her poem "We Eat at Home," which similarly speaks against the force of habit in representing the home as the best place to eat; instead, Gilman comments, the uneconomical and dangerous nature of home cooking needs to be recognised as soon as possible to break with the "content we live, content we die"[47] type of mindless tradition. What both these texts do is stand witness to her unwavering belief in the enormous social benefits brought by scientific study of nutrition. Similarly, by using the idea of ptomaines in her poetry, she achieved a complex motion. She transferred the (pseudo) scientific notion to the realm of literature and turned it into a powerful device to shake the reader out of the state of complacency about the quality of what is eaten. At the same time, she proved the possibility of exchange between different types of writing—scientific and creative. Moreover,

[43] Tyndall, "Letter," p. 463.

[44] Edward Geist, "When Ice Cream Was Poisonous: Adulteration, Ptomaines, and Bacteriology in the United States, 1850–1910, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 86, No 3 (Fall 2012), p. 335.

[45] Geist, "When Ice Cream Was Poisonous," 359.

[46] Gilman, "The Housekeeper," pp. 123–130.

[47] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "We Eat at Home," in: *The Later Poetry of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, ed. Denise D. Knight (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 4.

the idea of ptomaines, supposedly "chemical compounds of an alkaloidal nature formed in protein substances during the process of putrefaction,"[48] was itself a many-layered construct, drawing from the limited knowledge of nutritional chemistry that yielded to complementing the experimental data with make-believe and from seeking analogies between the state of the digestive tract and morality. This in turn was also based on the idea of impurity and decay from autointoxication resulting from the remains of undigested waste and toxins in the alimentary canal. This way of understanding ptomaines, which led to viewing the colon as a cesspool,[49] furthers the investigation of the metaphor of eating as filling a container by drawing attention to the damage done to it through the prolonged presence of substances or items inside. Obviously this introduces the frame of temporal progression into the picture, which again complicates the concept. Nevertheless, the analysis of this one otherwise negligible concept, likely missed without thorough historicising, demonstrates both the need for grounding the discussion of conceptual metaphors in socio-historical context and, on another level, the presence of contamination metaphors in the period.

Already at this point it is becoming visible that Victorian foodscapes were to a large degree enshrouded in multiple contexts that modified their meanings. Moreover, not only were issues such as adulteration and food poisoning structured along the lines of container and possibly also penetration image-schemas, but the resulting conceptualisation was subsequently used to aid in visualising other abstract ideas. In the case of Gilman, the same metaphorical correspondences became transported to her other spheres of interest, such as the social responsibility of journalists, where experiences with food in the new reality were in turn treated as a source domain to talk about bad tendencies in the contemporary press. Wrote Gilman:

> [A newspaper] may properly add advice, information, instruction, entertainment, and legitimate advertising, but when in any department it perverts its own real purposes in order to "sell goods" it is the same position with the grocer who adulterates his food supplies and displays painted candy to attract children.[50]

[48] Edwin Le Fevre, "Ptomaines and Ptomaine Poisoning," *The Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 80 (January to July 1912), p. 400.

[49] James C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness. The History of American Health Reformers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 218.

[50] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Interviewing," *The Forerunner*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1914), p. 35.

In this way, another layer of metaphorical correspondences is formed, yielding the UNETHICAL JOURNALISM IS FOOD ADULTERATION, which seems to be a complex concept drawing from IDEAS ARE FOOD, MORALITY IS PURITY, and possibly others as well, based to a large extent on extremely cultural-specific experiences. This metaphor was added to other food-related concepts that reappear in Gilman's writing, such as abundance bringing happiness, meat and drink as the stuff of life, or being able to independently procure meals as a sign of self-reliance and autonomy. This last one is especially interesting in the context of her indefatigable feminist agenda. In *Women and Economics* she lamented the historically motivated subjugation of women: "So he instituted the custom of enslaving the female; and she, losing freedom, could no longer get her own food or that of her young […]."[51] Women's shameful dependence on men for food, a theme central to the famous book,[52] is later developed to include also the reliance on children's labour, as exemplified by the following lines coming from her poem "Child Labour":

> The only animal alive
> That feeds upon its young.[53]

Such is Gilman's view of the human being, and it clearly demonstrates a PROCURING ONE'S OWN FOOD IS FREEDOM metaphor, with the entailment that feeding on something is exploiting it. What it shows is another instance of several unfolding layers of correspondences binding together the areas of nourishment and liberation, testifying to the plenitude of potential meanings food and eating can be imbued with. Additionally, she repeatedly made use of the "meat and drink" metaphor at several stages in her life, which could be a sign of the continuing importance of this sphere of life to her case. In this perspective, the anxieties of dealing with omnipresent adulteration and uncertainty about the quality of food delivered to the plate, which was especially weighty in the case of women in charge of a household, became retooled into food-based metaphors that helped to conceptualise the fear and later travelled into other domains of Gilman's preoccupations, such as the social responsibility of journalism.

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[51] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics. A Study of the Economic Relation Between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1898), p. 75.

[52] Commented on in Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Wild Unrest*, p. 193. This vision was probably a consequence of Gilman's strong Darwinian orientation.

[53] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Child Labour," in: *The Later Poetry of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, ed. Denise D. Knight (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 7–8.

Nina Augustynowicz

**"Ham or Trichinosis?": Conceptual Metaphors of Food in Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Writings**

The aim of this article is to discuss conceptual food metaphors found in the works of Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Using the multidisciplinary framework of cognitive food studies, the writer's poetry and journalism are shown to contain conceptualisations resulting from the changes in Victorian foodscapes. Gilman was aware of the commercial contamination of food, which involved its adulteration with harmful additives and unhygienic methods of industrial food production. These practices led to a gradual loss of trust towards the alimentary sphere. In this perspective, the anxieties of dealing with omnipresent adulteration and uncertainty about the quality of food delivered to the plate, which had weight in particular in the case of women in charge of a household, became recreated into food-based metaphors that helped to conceptualise the fear and later travelled into other domains of Gilman's preoccupations, such as the social responsibility of journalism. In a curious mix of socially, historically and individually guided experiences, Gilman's metaphors serve as a testimony to the concerns of the late Victorian period.

**Keywords**: Victorian period, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, conceptual metaphors, food studies, food adulteration

**Słowa klucze**: epoka wiktoriańska, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, metafory pojęciowe, studia nad jedzeniem, skażenie żywności

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# Infectious Bodies, Peculiar Territories: Visions of Invasion in 19th-Century Literature and Science

In the 3rd episode of the 2017 BBC miniseries *Collateral*, one of the characters, British Army Captain Sandrine Shaw, having trouble adapting to her post-Afghanistan life, expresses the following observation: "Coming back home, you feel like a germ that's entered the bloodstream."[1] This offhand remark is brimming with connotations: she compares herself to a germ because she feels infected or contaminated by her war experiences, and she fears she brings this contamination home with her. 'Home' here is implicitly equated with an organism whose bloodstream may be being infected. Today this simile is so well-worn that it barely attracts attention and its implications seem so familiar that they might as well be invisible. Yet the comparison of the British coming home and germs is surprisingly recent, perhaps no older than a century and a half.

To be used as a casual source of similes, germs had first to enter the public pool of ideas, so to speak, of how diseases were spread, together with keywords such as 'infection,' 'epidemic,' 'contamination,' and such. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment when the germ theory of disease was finally recognised as the most likely explanation of how infections such as tuberculosis and cholera worked their way into social tissues. A historian of medicine, Steven Lehrer, surmises that the year 1865 was

[1] S. J. Clarkson, dir. "Episode 3," *Collateral* (BBC Two, 26 Feb., 2018).

when this hypothesis "gained its earliest acceptance."[2] Nor is it easy to give credit to one researcher only; it was through the separate efforts of many throughout the second half of the 19th century: John Snow, Robert Koch, Louis Pasteur, and Joseph Lister, among others, whose research proved the existence of microbial infective agents and ways in which their attacks could be fought or prevented.

In this article I wish to show how the military rhetoric related to infection manifested itself in works of science and popular fiction of the late 1800s and early 1900s; how bodies of patients were perceived as battlefields on which the forces of infection and resistance fought; how similes taken from literary texts were used to show and explain the strategies infective agents employed to infiltrate and terrorise their unsuspecting victims: on the microscopic level, viruses and bacteria infecting cells; on the macroscopic level, foreign agents sneaking through the borders to wreak havoc at home. 'Home,' is thus an extension of us, in the literal and figurative sense, and so the infective agent, be it a microbe or an *actual* agent, is necessarily an Other: not a part of the self, but a foreign element, an uninvited visitor, an enemy that needs to be identified, isolated, and annihilated. To this end, I will present scientific and literary texts which contain two examples of uses of bodies in this ideological war: similes of bodies as peculiar territories under external threat, and bodies as sources of contagion, smuggled across the borders of actual territories.

The literary examples chosen here represent the genre of infection literature: a subgenre of invasion literature which was particularly popular in the decades between the Franco-Prussian War and the First World War (1870s to 1910s). Unlike invasion literature, which paints alarmist visions of military attacks by enemy empires—such as those in *The Battle of Dorking* and *The Riddle of the Sands*—infection literature focuses on the threats on a much smaller scale in terms of size (but not danger): oriental microbial pathogens which can be smuggled in and which have the capacity to invade by means of infection. In other words, germs, rather than Germans, is the preoccupation of infection literature.

This vision of us vs. them was easy to sell and propagate, and efforts on scientific as well as cultural fronts gave rise to popular stereotypes and mental shortcuts whose legacy we still observe today. A case in point: a British parasitologist, T. Spencer Cobbold, devoted much of his life to

[2] Steven Lehrer, *Explorers of the Body: Dramatic Breakthroughs in Medicine from Ancient Times to Modern Medicine*. Second Edition (New York, Lincoln, Shanghai: iUniverse, 2006), p. 124.

eradicating prejudices and shame related to parasite infestation. As he wrote in his seminal *Tapeworms*:

> The connection between uncleanly habits and parasitic disease is by no means invariable, nay it is exceptional. In the case of hydatids it would be very unfair to suppose that any patient is suffering from hydatids because he has neglected to take due care of his person; nevertheless, there are some people who are apt to think thus, and who are even prepared to go further than this, and to assert that because Herod was 'eaten up by worms,' it must be a peculiar disgrace for any one to harbour entozoa. Time and better education will show the fallacy of entertaining such ridiculous preconceived opinions.[3]

Cobbold believed strongly in eradicating these harmful stereotypes through education and rejection of what he called "[t]he puerile horror which even some scientific persons affect to display in regard to the subject."[4] But of course Cobbold's opinions, like those of any other researcher of the 19th century, were informed by views and stereotypes held by the general medical community, and while he fought some prejudices, he propagated others:

> Of course any person, notwithstanding the utmost care and cleanliness, as in the cases before us, may contract a noxious parasite; nevertheless, speaking generally, it may be said that the measure of internal parasitism affecting any given class of people bears a strict relation to the degree of barbarism shown by such persons in their choice of food and drink, and in their manner of eating and drinking. This statement, if true, is not destitute of sanitary importance; moreover, it applies not alone to ourselves, but also to all the domesticated animals that serve our wants. Cleanliness is just as necessary for their welfare as for our own.[5]

What Cobbold says here by implication is that the collective 'we' are unfortunate to be *accidental* hosts of parasites and should not feel shame because of it, but that the collective 'they' are hosts of parasites because they are barbaric in their behaviour and unhygienic habits. And if the reader is not clear (although it should be quite transparent to anyone) who 'they' are, Cobbold helpfully adds: "Without doubt oriental habits are eminently favorable to fluke infection, for we are now acquainted with four

[3] T. Spencer Cobbold, *Tapeworms (Human Entozoa): Their Sources, Nature, and Treatment* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1866), pp. 61–62.

[4] T. Spencer Cobbold, *Parasites; A Treatise on the Entozoa of Man and Animals* (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1879), p. 3.

[5] Ibid., p. 27.

species of flukes whose geographical range is limited to eastern parts."[6] It is no surprise that the eastern parts of the Empire, especially those within tropical regions, abounded in species of parasites unheard of at home. What is surprising, however, is how Cobbold links "oriental habits" with occurrence of more species of flukes in the East, as if these two variables were correlated. What the "oriental habits" (and by this we mean not adhering to strict sanitary rules such as using different cutting boards and knives to prepare meat and other foods, or not using running water for washing and cleaning) do correlate with, is the demonstrable higher proportion of parasitical infections in native populations compared to British population at the time, which is probably the point Cobbold was trying to make. But it is precisely this type of mental shortcut which reinforced the idea of "dirty native" Cobbold and others like him subscribed to.

This is entirely in accord with the general views held by physicians stationed in tropical the eastern parts of the Empire. John Farley, a historian of diseases, noted:

> [f]ollowing the Indian mutiny, racial disdain and distrust toward all non--Europeans had slowly enveloped the Empire. Indeed, the germ theory provided a powerful new thrust toward this racially segregated Empire. The 'natives' themselves had replaced the tropical climate as the major threat; they were the source of disease germs.[7]

As the twentieth century approached, the attitudes towards "natives" changed; no longer believed to have the potential to adapt to the civilised way of life, they were considered no more than repositories of infection, a belief Cobbold was happy to reiterate.

Putting aside his questionable assertions, it is worth noting that he is an important figure in the history of British medicine and zoology, and to some of his other observations I would like to draw attention. In the following passage, Cobbold compares parasites to state enemies against which only a military response is suitable:

> [T]he best way of studying the entozoa is to regard them as collectively forming a peculiar *fauna*, destined to occupy an equally peculiar territory. That territory is the wide-spread domain of the interior of the bodies of man and animals. Each bearer or "host" may be viewed as a continent, and each part or viscus of his body may be regarded as a district. Each district has its special attractions for particular parasitic forms; yet, at the same time, ne-

[6] Ibid., p. 29.

[7] John Farley, *Bilharzia: A History of Imperial Tropical Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 18.

> ither the district nor the continent are suitable as permanent resting-places for the invader. None of the internal parasites 'continue in one stay;' all have a tendency to roam; migration is the soul of their prosperity; change of residence the essential of their existence; whilst a blockade in the interior soon terminates in degeneration and death. I repeat it. *The entozoa constitute a specialised fauna. What our native country is to ourselves, the bodies of animals are to them. To attack, to invade, to infest, is their legitimate prerogative.*[8]

Cobbold, using richly figurative language, points to three features of parasites. First, they are ascribed characteristics of an enemy army; they "occupy," they "attack," they "invade." They constitute a collective, almost of Leviathanesque grandeur, whose sole aim is to infect. He considers it their "legitimate prerogative," as if recognising their biologically-motivated single-mindedness. Moreover, they are conditioned to move; this compulsion is inevitable, for stability and inertia spell death through degeneration. Parasites must move and must attack, their *raison d'etre*. Yet aside from this military rhetoric, another crucial issue Cobbold points to is the analogy of the body of man (and animals) and of a territory, a land, a continent even, whose different parts are attractive to different invaders. The body is thus equated with a native country, and parasites with enemy armed forces.

This idea, by no means new, can be found creatively reworked in fiction. In the following excerpt from Arthur Conan Doyle's short story "Lot. no. 249" a medical student, Abercrombie Smith, pores over an anatomy atlas: "[he] plunged into a formidable green-covered volume, adorned with great colored maps of that strange internal kingdom of which we are the hapless and helpless monarchs."[9] It is interesting to note the emphasis on the "hapless" and "helpless" here, as if we-the-monarchs were not really content with being given this territory to rule over. The expression internal kingdom, or peculiar territory, points both to the paramount role of the protection of the borders and to the profound knowledge required to guard it. Although Cobbold wrote about small but still visible invaders, Doyle's story betrays its debts to germ theory. The account in "Lot no. 249" continues thus:

> Though a freshman at Oxford, the student was not so in medicine, for he had worked for four years at Glasgow and at Berlin, and this coming examination would place him finally as a member of his profession. With his firm mouth, broad forehead, and clear-cut, somewhat hard-featured face, he was

[8] Cobbold, *Parasites*, pp. 2–3, emphasis mine.
[9] Arthur Conan Doyle, "Lot no. 249," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 85, No. 508 (1892), p. 529.

> a man who, if he had no brilliant talent, was yet so dogged, so patient, and so strong that he might in the end overtop a more showy genius. A man who can hold his own among Scotchmen and North Germans is not a man to be easily set back. Smith had left a name at Glasgow and at Berlin, and he was bent now upon doing as much at Oxford, if hard work and devotion could accomplish it.[10]

Of course, Abercrombie Smith is an exemplar of 'us': patient and dogged, hard-working, never cutting corners and never allowing himself to slip into lax behaviour such as might be expected of 'them'. His looks only add to the projection of authority and knowledge: a diligent medical man, an ideal product of imperial power. The repeated invocations of Glasgow and Berlin are also significant: the former was famously where Joseph Lister practiced his antiseptic surgery, the latter was where Robert Koch's laboratories were located. Smith is not just any medical man, he is a *modern* medical man who realises the implications of germ theory and recognises the sources of infections. As the action progresses, we see him deal with a distinctly 'other' student of oriental languages whose interests in Egypt and Egyptology are explicitly identified as morally corrupt and potentially pathological.

The identification of Egypt as the source of infection, especially within the context of travellers and soldiers returning home 'contaminated,' was a recurring trope in popular fiction of the time. What Sandrine Shaw says of herself in a figurative sense, would ring uncomfortably true to Cyril Forrester, the hapless patient-zero in Guy Boothby's *Pharos the Egyptian* (1899). Here, in every national stream he enters, he literally spreads forth the germs of the plague that he has been inoculated with by a vengeful immortal Egyptian, Pharos. Boothby's novel, although no more than a pot-boiler, is a brilliant example of the theme of reverse colonialisation and the example of fiction in which—by means of the supernatural elements also present in Doyle's story—the colonised Other extracts his vengeance on the uncomfortably deserving imperial powers. In his Bond-villainesque monologue, Pharos explains the course of events to his ill-fated victim, Forrester, who inadvertently plays the role of carrier, spreading disease around the actual, not corporeal, continent:

> I it was who drew you to the Pyramid and decreed that you should lose your way inside, in order that when fear had deprived you of your senses I might inoculate you with the plague. Seven days later you were stricken with it in the desert. As soon as you recovered, I carried you off to Europe to

[10] Ibid., p. 529.

> begin the work required of you. In Constantinople, Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Hamburg, wherever you went you left the fatal germs of the disease as a legacy behind you. [...] Hark! Even now the sound of wailing is to be heard in London. Hour by hour the virulence of the pestilence increases, and the strong men and weak women, youths and maidens, children and babes, go down before it like corn before the reaper.[11]

That the plague was spread through "seeds of contagion" was postulated already in the early sixteenth century by Girolamo Francastoro.[12] What the 19th century brought in terms of novelty in this respect was the idea that people could either be intentionally infected ("inoculated") with the germs of some disease or that they could bring home an infected token of the Other: a sarcophagus, a mummy, even a piece of jewellery, which could serve as biological weapons. While fantastical in nature, Boothby's idea had a scientific basis, especially bearing in mind the extreme virulence of the plague microbe. According to Irwin Sherman,

> *Y. pestis* is one of the most pathogenic bacteria: the lethal dose that kills 50% of exposed mice is a single bacterium injected intravenously. Typically, flea bites spread *Y. pestis* from rodent to rodent, but the bacterium can also survive for a few days in a decaying corpse and can persist for years in a frozen body.[13]

Even excluding Boothby's supernatural plot points, it is entirely within the remits of today's (and 19th-century) science to surmise the possibility of infecting someone with an ancient strain of the bacterium.

It is worth noting how similar the words of the Egyptian are to those expressed by medical professionals at the time; this is what a German specialist in tropical medicine, Arthur Looss, noted in regard to the tropical disease schistosomiasis, previously referred to as bilharzia, whose mode of transmission had at the time been hypothesised as skin-contact: "Infected troops [stationed in Egypt] would be liable to reinfect themselves, to spread the disease among other troops, and to convey the disease to any part of the world."[14] This seems particularly timely as Boothby's 1899 novel was published parallel to a wave of exciting scientific discoveries related to bubonic plague: in 1894 Alexandre Yersin discovered and isolated "the microbe of plague" and in 1898 Paul-Louis Simond figured out the mode

[11] Guy Boothby, *Pharos the Egyptian* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1899), p. 357.
[12] Irwin W. Sherman, *Twelve Diseases That Changed Our World* (Washington: ASM Press, 2007), p. 70.
[13] Ibid, p. 77.
[14] Arthur Looss, quoted in: Farley, *Bilharzia*, p. 69.

of transmission of its bacterium, *Yersinia pestis*, through the vectors of flea-infested rats.[15]

Perhaps the most famous example of infection literature utilising the epidemiological threats of biological attack is Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, in which, just like Cyril Forrester's, the smuggled body of the titular character is the source of the epidemic. Throughout the novel, the vampirism of the Count and his victims is referred to in medical terms: as an infection with the potential for exponential growth. Here is how Dr. Helsing, in his idiosyncratic English, explains it to Mina Harker:

> This monster has done much harm already, in the narrow scope where he find himself, and in the short time when as yet he was only as a body groping his so small measure in darkness and not knowing. All this have I told these others […]. I have told them how the measure of leaving his own barren land—barren of peoples—and coming to a new land where life of man teems till they are like the multitude of standing corn, was the work of centuries. Were another of the Un-Dead, like him, to try to do what he has done, perhaps not all the centuries of the world that have been, or that will be, could aid him. […] He have infect you— […]. He infect you in such wise, that even if he do no more, you have only to live—to live in your own old, sweet way; and so in time, death, which is of man's common lot and with God's sanction, shall make you like to him. This must not be![16]

Earlier in the novel, Jonathan Harker, terrorised into complicity like Cyril Forrester by Pharos, notes the same fear of the terrible fate awaiting London if Dracula's wish to be smuggled there is realised:

> He lay like a filthy leech, exhausted with his repletion. […] I stopped and looked at the Count. There was a mocking smile on the bloated face which seemed to drive me mad. This was the being I was helping to transfer to London, where, perhaps, for centuries to come he might, amongst its teeming millions, satiate his lust for blood, and create a new and ever-widening circle of semi-demons to batten on the helpless.[17]

Not without reason is Dracula's body compared to those of blood-thirsty parasites; he is explicitly called a leech but his *modus operandi* more closely resembles that of a blood-sucking insect: feeding on the blood of his victims, infecting them with a deadly disease. Stoker's vampirism could as well represent malaria or yellow fever. Both these passages invoke the

[15] Sherman, *Twelve Diseases*, pp. 71–72.
[16] Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (Ware: Wordsworth, 2000), p. 266.
[17] Ibid., pp. 44–45.

numbers of potential victims and their helplessness, and both contain calls to arms addressed to anyone concerned.

Stoker paints a chilling vision of an invasion which fortunately is foiled by Dr. Helsing and the power of science—an outcome as predictable as inevitable in the golden age of microbiology. This result echoes words written by Louis Pasteur in his 1878 article on germ theory:

> If it is a terrifying thought that life is at the mercy of the multiplication of these minute bodies, it is a consoling hope that Science will not always remain powerless before such enemies since [...] we find that simple exposure to air is sufficient at times to destroy them.[18]

Dracula is an ever-living proof of the validity of this conviction: being Un-Dead for centuries, he succumbs to relatively insignificant stab wounds and crumbles into dust. It was of vital importance to the nation under threat (actual or imaginary) to be given a reliable ideological pivot: modern, Western science—medical and military—is invincible.

While Stoker, Boothby, and other writers of the infection literature genre focused on the threat of germs as bringers of infection, disease, and death, H. G. Wells suggests a very modern reading of our ever-present microbial inhabitants: the good bacteria. In *The War of the Worlds* (1897), it is germs, not weapons, that save the day and it is the simple exposure to the Earth conditions, almost as foretold by Pasteur, that destroys the invading enemy:

> These germs of disease have taken toll of humanity since the beginning of things—taken toll of our prehuman ancestors since life began here. But by virtue of this natural selection of our kind we have developed resisting power; to no germs do we succumb without a struggle, and to many—those that cause putrefaction in dead matter, for instance—our living frames are altogether immune. But there are no bacteria in Mars, and directly these invaders arrived, directly they drank and fed, our microscopic allies began to work their overthrow. Already when I watched them they were irrevocably doomed, dying and rotting even as they went to and fro. It was inevitable. By the toll of a billion deaths man has bought his birthright of the earth, and it is his against all comers; it would still be his were the Martians ten times as mighty as they are. For neither do men live nor die in vain.[19]

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[18] Louis Pasteur, "Germ Theory and Its Applications to Medicine And Surgery," trans. H. C. Ernst, in: *Scientific Papers: Physiology, Medicine, Surgery, Geology*, Vol. 38, ed. Charles W. Eliot (New York: P.F. Collier and Son Company, 1910), p. 384.

[19] H. G. Wells, *The War of the Worlds* (London, Melbourne, Toronto: Heinemann, 1958), p. 210.

Here the internal battle of the invading germs with the immune system is externalised: while the Earth is being invaded by Martians, they in turn are being invaded by bacteria to whose presence humans have been used since the dawn of time. So, the germs which have the power to decimate retain it but are reclassified as "microscopic allies" because their otherwise horrific characteristic can be used to fight the enemy. Wells chooses his battles carefully: while bacteria are allies, the definition of the Other is pushed to the extreme: there is nothing more other than extra-terrestrial. Territory thus is semiotically moved away from the corporeal to the planetary but germs are still exercising their legitimate prerogative: to attack, invade, and infect.

Popular fiction of the late 19th and early 20th century, together with the science of medicine, utilised parallel metaphors and similes to analogous ends, uniting their forces, as it were, to fight their common enemy. Employing the 'body-as-a-peculiar-territory' and 'body-as-a-repository-of-infection' rhetorical devices, these texts on the one hand simplified complex concepts and thus facilitated broader understanding of the mechanisms of infection. On the other hand, these necessary simplifications inevitably led to perversions and reinforcement of stereotypes, filtered through prejudicial racial and ethnic attitudes characteristic of the time. Bodies displaying signs (or evoking mere suspicion) of infection would automatically be considered dangerous bodies, the threat from whom was to be identified and contained. In a reductive manner typical of politically biased literature, narratives of infection focus their attention on imaginary problems and conveniently leave the existent ones undisturbed and unvoiced.

The visions of invasions and infections are ultimately visions of lost control and helplessness; visions both feared and despised by military and medical rhetoric. Ultimately, at least in the period concerned, these anxieties are placated by the Imperial narrative of strength and diligence in identifying and disposing of foreign elements. When Cobbold offers the hopeful remark that he "should like to see a small army of helminthologists rise up and lay siege to the fortresses at present securely held by thousands of death-dealing parasites,"[20] he declares war for the integrity of the body—that peculiar territory over which, he believes, humans will ultimately reign supreme. While these wishes in the end did not come true, at the time his propagandist declaration fulfilled its function: to assert military and medical dominance over the loathed enemy.

[20] Cobbold, *Parasites*, p. viii.

Justyna Jajszczok

**Infectious Bodies, Peculiar Territories: Visions of Invasion in 19th-Century Literature and Science**

The aim of this article is to show how the military rhetoric related to infection manifested itself in works of science and popular fiction of the late 18th century and early 19th century; how human bodies were perceived as battlefields on which the forces of infection and resistance fought; and finally, how similes taken from literary texts were used to show and explain the strategies infective agents employed to infiltrate and terrorise their unsuspecting victims. This paper focuses on scientific and literary texts which contain two examples of uses of bodies in this ideological war: similes of bodies as peculiar territories under external threat, and bodies as sources of contagion, smuggled across the borders of actual territories.

**Keywords:** body, invasion, infection, territory, 19th century
**Słowa klucze:** ciało, inwazja, infekcja, terytorium, XIX wiek

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# Immigrant Bodies and the Politics of Eugenics in Selected Literary Works Written by Contemporary Polish American Authors

The history of the eugenics movement in the United States is strictly interwoven with the processes of immigration, assimilation and naturalization. Well known are the attempts of American eugenicists (described widely by Alexandra Minna Stern in *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* published in 2005), who combined the Manifest Destiny doctrines of the 1840s with the 20th-century medical and scientific vocabulary in order to improve the genes of the American society. One of the results of the prevailing popularity of the principles voiced by the followers of the movement, who belonged to the country's dominant group, was the introduction of the strict immigration laws between 1891 and 1924. The eugenicists' preoccupation and obsession with the unhealthy and physically inferior immigrant bodies, which needed to be "reshaped" and "purified" in order to be Americanized, was especially prominent in the literary works of American ethnic writers (Anzia Yezierska, Mary Gordon), who published their short stories and novels at the beginning of the 20th century. However, the discomfort with the immigrant embodied selves also permeates the literary worlds of some of the contemporary Polish American authors. Taking into consideration the fact that literary immigrant bodies may be perceived as "repositories of [the newcomers'] cultures [and] serve as the microcosms of the homelands

they left behind,"[1] the main aim of the present article is to shed some light upon the images of the immigrant bodies in selected works of American authors of Polish descent.

Eugenics, as Alexandra Stern explains, is an elusive word that has had divergent connotations in different cultural and sociological contexts, and its meaning has undergone transformations over the last one hundred and twenty years. The term was coined in 1883 by Sir Francis Galton, a British statistician and Charles Darwin's cousin, who defined eugenics as "the science which dealt with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the most advantage."[2] The foundational definition, however, was reformulated in 1911 and, as a result, eugenics became widely known as "the science of the improvement of the human race by better breeding."[3] Yet the operative word "better" raises perplexing moral and ideological questions concerning superiority, inferiority, abnormality, and the accepted norm within societies, as well as the role and restrictions of development or enforcement of the eugenic programs. Stern clarifies that "both supporters and detractors [of the movement] have linked eugenics to anxieties about biological deterioration and hopes for genetic optimization [and] over time these oscillating concerns have continuously affected our understanding of race, sexuality, reproduction, and nature."[4]

Eugenicists incited anticipation, trepidation, and controversy in the United States, starting with the creation of the first sizeable eugenics organization, i.e. the Race Betterment Foundation, by John Harvey Kellogg in 1906, and ending with a ceremony held in 2002 in Oregon's state capitol building where Governor John Kitzhaber apologized for "the more than twenty six hundred sterilizations performed in that state between 1917 and 1983."[5] John Harvey Kellogg[6] became known as Dr. Kellogg, the inventor of the healthy breakfast regimen for the Anglo-Saxon race in the USA, i.e.

[1] June Dwyer, "Disease, Deformity and Defiance: Writing the Language of Immigration Law and the Eugenics Movement on the Immigrant Body," *Melus*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2003), p. 105.

[2] Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p. 11.

[3] Davenport, quoted in Stern, *Eugenic Nation*, p. 11.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 1.

[6] John Harvey Kellogg, a member of the Seventh Day Adventists, was inspired by the church's spiritual director, Ellen White, who experienced visions and warned people of the dangers of alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee. White's long list of proscribed products and activities included meat, drugs, doctors, corsets, and unnatural sex. Kellogg became well known for his "University of Health," i.e. Battle Creek Michigan Sanatorium, which was frequently visited by American celebrities of his era (e.g. President Taft, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Edgar Welch to name only a few), as well as for his defense of vegetarianism, emphasis put on nut-based meat substitutes, and the significance

cornflakes and peanut butter, which was widely adopted as the "proper" American diet among immigrant families. Culinary assimilation programs, which advocated the abandonment of the unhealthy (non-Anglo-Saxon) immigrant food traditions were especially popular during the first decades of the 20th century and operated in tandem with anti-immigrant/nativist sentiments.[7] Initially, the focus of the eugenics movement in the United States was mainly on better breeding,[8] i.e. "the application of biology and medicine to the perceived problems of modern society,"[9] which resulted in the introduction of the aforementioned sterilization laws passed by state legislatures at the beginning of the 20th century (first in 1907 in Indiana, then in California, Vermont, Virginia—and altogether there were 33 states that at some point in the 20th century introduced sterilization statutes in the USA) in order to prevent so-called "morons," "degenerates," and the "feeble minded" from breeding in American society. Stern explains that the East Coast became the epicenter of the movement with two headquarters located in New York: the Eugenic Record Office which was opened in 1910, and the American Eugenics Society, which was founded in 1926 by the racist eugenicist Harry Laughlin; somewhat surprisingly the latter organization changed its name to the Society for the Study of Social Biology only in 1973.[10] Apart from the ratification of sterilization statutes, whose aim was, apparently, to genetically protect/improve the Anglo Saxon race in the USA, another tangible proof of American (i.e. Anglo-normative center's) fascination with eugenicist ideas[11] was the introduction of the restrictive anti-immigration laws, designed to "shield America from polluting germ plasm"[12] and to curb the influx of newcomers,

of thorough mastication (James Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness. The History of American Health Reformers* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982], pp. 201–205).

[7] Donna Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 54, 221.

[8] James Whorton stresses the importance of "racial betterment" slogans popular during the Progressive decades among American hygienists, who shared eugenicists' fear that the birthrate of the Anglo-Saxon group was falling and, therefore, stressed the need "to be healthy for the sake of the race." Health reformers, however, believed that sanitary marriage and physical perfection was the key to a successful eradication of the alien elements (Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness*, p. 163).

[9] Stern, *Eugenic Nation*, p. 6.

[10] Ibid., p. 5.

[11] There existed two dominating health-related discourses at the end of the 19th century: biological racism and public health. On the one hand biological racism fostered the idea that non-whites were inferior in intelligence, ability, and appearance. On the other hand, "the field of public health characterized [for instance Chinese immigrants] as prone to contagious diseases because of their non-Western lifestyles and medical practices and their nonnormative gender and sexual formations" (Jennifer Barager Sibara, "Disease, Disability, and the Alien Body in Literature of Sui Sin Far," *Melus*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring 2014), p. 57).

[12] Stern, *Eugenic Nation*, p. 6.

very often described as the carriers of germs and, as far as immigrants from Poland are concerned, "the army of bacteria ready to infect healthy Americans"[13] with infectious diseases. After World War II the followers of the phenomenon of eugenics (mainly, as Stern emphasizes, white middle-class Americans), to some extent, changed their target population, and concentrated on family planning, population control and genetic and marital counselling. Thus, the eugenics movement did not disappear completely in the 1940s but rather evolved or it was repackaged, having a different key mission on its agenda. The proponents' focus shifted from the "undesirable individuals" to married heterosexual couples, who would amply procreate and contribute to the betterment of the nation. What seems significant is the fact that even though eugenics in the United States is frequently aligned with scientific racism, the movement had also some positive reforms included in its programs: eugenicists promoted healthy lifestyles and procreation via fitter family contests encouraging, thus, "fit" people living in agricultural regions to have larger families, or organizing state fairs which became venues for popular education.[14] The advocates of the movement also contributed to improving the living conditions of Americans and to the development of prenatal care in the USA by means of the genetic testing programs.

In light of the above, it might be interesting to note that various literary images of the descendants of Polish immigrants to America, or Poles in general, portrayed by Polish American writers, are perfect examples of what June Dwyer calls "the catalogues of negative attributes describing the immigrant body," and such portrayals might be literary responses to "the interplay between laws and nativism,"[15] which had a powerful impact on many immigrant groups over more than a hundred years of American history. Dwyer conducts an analysis of the stories written by the Jewish immigrant writer Anzia Yezierska and the third-generation Irish immigrant Mary Gordon; she shows that both of them appear preoccupied with the effects of nativist sentiment on the immigrant body. What Dwyer concludes, however, is that "immigrant body in America is [depicted as] unhealthy—unable and unfit to move into the established American society"[16] and "the official language of the law [alluding to the American

[13] Andrzej Kapiszewski, *Stereotyp Amerykanów polskiego pochodzenia* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1978), p. 80. Trans. S. Caputa.

[14] M. Ladd-Taylor, "Fitter Family Contests," April 29, 2014, accessed April 1, 2018, http://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/connections/535eebfb7095aa0000.

[15] Dwyer, "Disease," p. 106.

[16] Ibid., p. 116.

immigration statutes, pseudo-science of eugenics and immigration law restrictions] influenced the way immigrants saw themselves."[17] According to Dwyer, the discomfort of immigrants with themselves is an important strain in their literature and even those literary works which touch upon the topic of immigration and which were produced at the end of the 20th century provide "testimony that the aura of disease, deviance, and deformity around immigrants did not diffuse easily."[18] Taking into consideration the fact that the eugenics movement advocated social engineering, and its proponents wanted to better society through the latest application of scientific knowledge, it was concluded that heredity played a key role in spawning social pathologies, disease and immoral actions,[19] and immigrants became easy targets of professional and amateur advocates of this "science."

A statute from 1917 posed restrictions on the admittance of immigrants to the US, closing the gates to the New World to "idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons; persons who [had] more than one or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; [and] persons of constitutional psychopathetic inferiority."[20] Additionally, more emphasis was put on intelligence testing conducted at Ellis Island and meticulously described with all its flaws by Stephen Jay Gould in the 1996 revised edition of *The Mismeasure of Man*. The underlying message inscribed in the immigration laws at the beginning of the 20th century became "amplified [...] by prominent members of the dominant group, many of [whom] had a minimal sociological or scientific knowledge"[21] and still resonates in the literary works created by American ethnic writers.[22]

If one delves into the literary works penned by American authors of Polish descent, one may be startled by the vivid kaleidoscope of immigrant characters who yearn to become part of the American nation but, for various reasons, feel that they do not belong. Their inability to adapt to

[17] Ibid., p. 120.
[18] Ibid., p. 111.
[19] Degler, quoted in Dwyer, "Disease," p. 107.
[20] Ibid., p. 108.
[21] Ibid., p. 109.
[22] An interesting example of what may be perceived as the amplification of the anti-immigrant sentiments in literature is the story of the Kallikak Family, the most visible eugenicist narrative, penned by psychologist Henry Herbert Goddard which was published in 1912. J. David Smith and Michael L. Wehmeyer explain that this pseudo-scientific treatise became so popular that the Kallikak story, or in fact the prefabricated version of the life of Emma Wolverton, electrified the public and the character of Deborah/Emma herself functioned as the embodiment of the threat to American racial hygiene (David J. Smith and Michael L. Wehmeyer, "Who Was Deborah Kallikak?" in: *Intellect Dev Disabil*, Vol. 50, No. 2 [2012], pp. 169–178).

the American society sometimes results from cherished exotic Old World customs and traditions, or oftentimes is triggered by their obsessive Catholic devotion, but the lack of acceptance can also be caused by the immigrants' or the descendants of immigrants' physical deformations or mental impairment. Intentionally or not, the novels or short stories created by Polish-American writers such as Stuart Dybek, Leslie Pietrzyk, Karolina Waclawiak, Dagmara Dominczyk, and Suzanne Strempek Shea reenact or respond to the rhetoric of immigration laws and the eugenics movement. The present article focuses on selected literary works of three of these authors, i.e. Stuart Dybek,[23] Dagmara Dominczyk,[24] and Suzanne Strempek Shea.[25]

Taking a closer look at the short stories written by Stuart Dybek, the reader may observe that very few of the Polish Americans, if any, are three-dimensional "normals," using Thomas Gladsky's term.[26] Most of the immigrant Poles and their descendants may be described as grotesques living in a distorted landscape. What is more, it seems that the majority of Dybek's characters have acquiesced in the constructions of themselves as diseased, deformed, or even mentally unstable. There are protagonists who may be easily defined as madmen, such as the "grunting, lip-farting, pantomiming tremendous explosions"[27] character from "Blood Soup." There is Kashka Marishka, the character from "Live from Dreamsville," who befriends various demented winos in the Polish-American neighborhood

[23] Stuart Dybek belongs to the group of first writers of Polish descent to receive national recognition; he was awarded multiple literary awards (Bernard Malamud Prize, a Whiting Writers' Award), and is a recipient of a lifetime achievement award from the Academy of Arts and Letters. Dybek is a short story writer, (*Childhood and Other Neighborhoods* [published in 1980], *Coast of Chicago* [published in 1990], *I Sailed with Magellan* [published in 2003], *Ecstatic Cahoots: Fifty Short Stories*, *Paper Lantern* [both published in 2014], and *The Start of Something: Selected Stories of Stuart Dybek* [published in 2016]). He also produced a volume of poetry entitled *Brass Knuckles* (published in 1979) and a collection of poetry *Streets in Their Own Ink* (published in 2004). Don Lee, "About Stuart Dybek. A Profile," *Ploughshares – The Literary Journal at Emerson College,* Vol. 24, No. 1 (1998), accessed January 18, 2019, http://www.pshares.org/issues/article.cfm?prmArticleID=4466.

[24] Dagmara Dominczyk is known as a Polish American actress appearing in numerous film, TV and theatre productions rather than a serious writer of fiction. Her engaging debut novel, however, published in 2013 and entitled *The Lullaby of Polish Gils*, received positive feedback from literary critics. Grażyna J. Kozaczka, "Writing Poland and America: Polish American Fiction in the Twenty-First Century," *Polish American Studies*, Vol. LXXIII, No. 1 (Spring 2016), p. 81.

[25] Suzanne Strempek Shea is the winner of the 2000 New England Book Award for Fiction, the author of the novels *Selling the Lite of Heaven*, *Hoopi Shoopi Donna*, *Lily of the Valley*, and *Around Again*, and the memoirs *Songs from a Lead-Lined Room: Notes—High and Low—From My Journey Through Breast Cancer and Radiation*, and *Shelf Life: Romance, Mystery, Drama, and Other Page-Turning Adventures from a Year in a Bookstore.*

[26] Thomas Gladsky, *Princes, Peasants, and Other Polish Selves. Ethnicity in American Literature* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), p. 258.

[27] Stuart Dybek, *Childhood and Other Neighborhoods* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 44.

and lives with her husband Janush, who "miss[es] half his teeth,"[28] the exaggerated physical features of the woman turning her into a typical grotesque character. The narrator describes Kashka as follows:

> [a woman] built like a squat sumo wrestler. She had the heaviest upper arms [...], rolls of flab wider than most people's thighs, folding like sleeves over her elbows. She didn't have titties, she had watermelons.[29]

Sometimes the descendants of Polish immigrants are presented as immoral and ill-made, as in the short story "The Cat Woman," where Old Buzka and her crazy grandson Swantek (a brawling drunk who "got crazier as she got older"[30]) drown unwanted neighborhood cats in their washing machine. Swantek also appears in "Sauerkraut Soup" and is described as a twelve-year old boy, who "was more psychotic than any other person"[31] in the whole neighborhood. It seems that Dybek constantly shows the mental and physical deformations of his protagonists' bodies, especially those bodies which belong to the descendants of Poles. For instance Swantek is seen "crouching naked by the chimney on the peak of his roof,"[32] while the immigrant workers in the ice factory are "Slavs missing parts of hands and arms that had been chewed off while trying to clean machines that hadn't been properly disconnected."[33] A similarly weird image of the Polish descendant whose body exhibits some conditions of malformation is offered in another short story entitled "Hot Ice." Dybek mentions the Polish-sounding names of the most notorious prisoners of the local jail. Among them is Milo Hermanski, "who had stabbed some guy in the eye," and "Ziggy [Zillinsky]'s uncle, [...] who one day blew off the side of Ziggy's mother's face while she stood ironing her slip."[34]

Dybek depicts physical differences and bodily deformations of his characters also in a short story "Chopin in Winter." The protagonist, *Dzia-Dzia*, who is called by his wife *Pan Djabel* (Mr. Devil), possesses soles which are constantly "swollen nearly shapeless and cased in scaly calluses."[35] The narrator adds that his "nails, yellow, as a horse's teeth, grew gnarled

[28] Stuart Dybek, *I Sailed with Magellan* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), p. 26.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Dybek, *Childhood*, p. 22.
[31] Stuart Dybek, *The Coast of Chicago* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1990), p. 132.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., p. 128.
[34] Dybek, *Childhood*, p. 133.
[35] Dybek, *The Coast,* p. 10.

from knobbed toes,"[36] and "white tufts of hair sprout from his ears."[37] It appears that the more one sinks into the literary world of Dybek's literary neighborhood, the more preposterous and whimsical images of Polish-Americans come into view. The central character of "Blue Boy," for instance, is Ralphie Poskozim, who was born a blue baby, i.e. "his body was covered with bruises, as if he was sucking on a ballpoint pen and his fingers were smeared with the same blue ink."[38] Dybek's literary characters include also Cyril Bombrowski, who has had a metal plate implanted in his head, Michael the Wild Goral, who "worked at his teeth with a pair of pliers, trying to pull the stubs out of his bloody gums so he wouldn't have to pay a dentist,"[39] or Big Antek, the local wino, who used to be a butcher but "drunkenly kept hacking off pieces of his hands, and finally quit completely to become a full-time alky."[40]

In light of the above,[41] the bodies of Dybek's protagonists become a source of anxiety, trepidation, and nausea but the ethnics, whose bodies are described, seem to perform in a certain, prefabricated manner because "for ethnic subjects of any sort, […] the body is always a highly determined entity, [t]he dominant society writes scripts of subjectivity onto this space, often involving hypersexuality […], violence, […] warmth, rage or joy, and other affective states."[42] It seems that by bringing diseased and disabled characters to the center of his fiction, Dybek accommodates the intersection of prejudice, disability, and racism. Apart from the fact that the characters from his collections of short stories, especially published before 2014, reveal the symptoms of racial contamination, they are also described as filthy, uncouth, mentally unstable, or not being able to maintain proper hygiene. In other words, they fit into the category of phenomena designated by white authorities at the turn of the 20th century as unhealthy and insane, which was equal with not granting permission to enter the United States.

Rarely do the bodies of Dybek's characters seem to be the bearers of the complex histories of trauma and violence, but if they do, they are usually

[36] Ibid., p. 11.

[37] Ibid., p. 12.

[38] Dybek, *I Sailed*, p. 123.

[39] Ibid., p. 155.

[40] Dybek, *The Coast*, p. 126.

[41] The above two paragraphs appeared in a modified version in: Sonia Caputa, "Pan Gowumpe, Busha and Stefush—Images of Polish Americans and the 'Polish' fiction of Stuart Dybek," in: *PASE Papers 2007*, Vol. 2: *Studies in Culture and Literature*, eds. Wojciech Kalaga, Marzena Kubisz, Jacek Mydla (Katowice: Agencja Artystyczna PARA Zenon Dyrszka, 2007), pp. 53–63.

[42] Martha Cutter, "Rescripting Ethnic Bodies and Subjectivities," *Melus*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring 2014), p. 1.

associated with the Second World War. In this context, one may allude to some characters depicted in a short "Blue Boy", i.e. Polish-American cripples who clannishly reside with the Czechs:

> A procession of the disabled from the parish emerged from the alley. A couple of World War II vets, mainstays from the bar and the VFW club, one with a prosthetic hook and the other with no discernible wound other than the alcoholic staggers. [...] It was a parade of at most a dozen, but it seemed larger—enough of a showing so that onlookers could imagine the battalions of wounded soldiers who weren't there, and the victims of accidents, industrial otherwise, the survivors of polio and strokes, all the exiles who avoided the streets, who avoided the baptism of being street-named after their afflictions, recluses who kept their suffering behind doors, women like Maria Savoy, who'd been lighting a water heater when it exploded, or Agnes Lutensky, who remained cloistered years after her brother blew off half her face with a shotgun during an argument over a will. [...] With their canes, crutches, and the wheelchair, it looked more like a pilgrimage to Lourdes than a parade.[43]

The imprinting of violence onto the ethnic bodies may also come from within the ethnic community (e.g. as a result of street fights between literary Polish-American ethnic characters), but these may also be the acts of self-mutilation or self-inflicted injuries (e.g. protagonists pull out their teeth, chop off their hands, or blow off different parts of the body with weapons). Finally, Dybek also depicts the bodies of Polish Americans marked by some abnormalities as a consequence of work-related accidents and this usually was the work in industries that were perceived as too dangerous for WASPs. These are only some of the many examples of Dybek's horrifying images of literary Polish Americans, whose bodies and ethnicity contribute to and increase their strangeness.

The physical inferiority of Polish people is also visible in Dagmara Dominczyk's acclaimed novel *The Lullaby of Polish Girls*, published in 2013, where the author skillfully captures the harsh Polish reality of the late 1980s and the 1990s. Poland is a country of "people who, despite being in [their] mid-thirties have no teeth,"[44] where "everyone smokes and laughs, but nobody smiles unless they really mean it,"[45] where "boys (with legs so skinny that it makes [one] sad, those giant knees) and girls are alike—clad in polyester short shorts and open-toed sandals"[46]; the author also describes

[43] Dybek, *I Sailed*, p. 59.
[44] Dagmara Dominczyk, *The Lullaby of Polish Girls* (London: Quercus Editions Ltd., 2013), p. 29.
[45] Ibid., p. 88.
[46] Ibid., p. 32.

the *Tęcza* swimming pool in Kielce, "swarming with folks looking for relief, nobody is willowy; even the thin women give off a sense of largesse,"[47] but "in the sea of shiny Slavic faces, no one wears sunglasses and no one cares about the fact that their swimwear looks decades old."[48] Taking a closer look at the descriptions of Poles in Dominczyk's novel, one may admit that the narrator's gaze is the eugenic gaze that wants to pigeonhole Polish people, improve them if possible. A similar conclusion may be drawn if one pays attention to the portrayal of the protagonist of the novel, Anna Baran, who used to be a successful Broadway actress, but whose acting career has somewhat stalled, and despite being a "Slavic-looking Marilyn Monroe,"[49] she is on the verge of mental breakdown. Dominczyk's Polish American does not entirely fit into the motion-picture-making Hollywood machine that requires film stars to be perfectly slim and beautiful if they want to bask in financial autonomy. Hence, Baran is given a piece of advice by her managers:

> Get a trainer. If you can't afford one right now, we'll help you out, naturally. But you need to lose it, fast and furious. The point is, we support you, we believe in you. But we must do everything to get back to you. Starve yourself if you have to, I don't care.[50]

Immigrant bodies as sites of moral turpitude are also depicted in Suzanne Strempek Shea's novel *Hoopi Shoopi Donna*, published in 1996. Strempek Shea, often described as the Amy Tan of the Polish American community,[51] is a prolific writer, whom Gladsky defines as "the first to sell, the first to attract a large readership, and the first to be enthusiastically accepted and praised within the ethnic community."[52] Urszula Tempska claims that even though Strempek Shea's fiction might be characterized by containing "deadpan humor, […] unaffected language, kitchen-table realism and quirky fantasy,"[53] its subject matter, narrative plotting,

[47] Ibid., p. 78.
[48] Ibid., p. 78.
[49] Ibid., p. 8.
[50] Ibid., p. 110.
[51] Margaret Carlin as quoted in the 1996 edition of *Hoopi Shoopi Donna*.
[52] Thomas Gladsky, "Marketing Ethnicity: The Case of Suzanne Strempek Shea," *The Polish Review*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 3 (2003), p. 318.
[53] Urszula Tempska, "From (Ethnic) Mama's Girl to Her Own (New Ethnic) Woman: Gender and Ethnicity in Suzanne Strempek Shea's *Selling The Lite of Heaven*," in: *Something of My Very Own to Say: American Women Writers of Polish Descent*, eds. Thomas S. Gladsky and Rita Holmes Gladsky (Boulder: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 287.

themes, and motifs forcefully solicit comparisons with the fiction of Anzia Yezierska, Mary Antin, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Louise Erdrich.[54]

The plot of *Hoopi Shoopi Donna* is set in the Connecticut River valley of Western Massachusetts, which is believed to be the largest agrarian Polonian community in the United States. Strempek Shea's literary Polish Americans, with a few exceptions, unapologetically spend their entire lives within the blue-collar community, and they are unfit to adapt to the host culture as their bodies are not healthy enough to be embraced by mainstream Americans. Adam Milewski, the main character's father, "had that one gold tooth that you could see [...] and when he laughed hard enough that his head tilted back, two other ones normally out of view would shine the same metal"[55]; Dorota, a neighborhood girl, had a "foot split last spring by the neighbour's plow,"[56] Pawel Bialowicz "had two small bumps on the side of his left hand that were really sixth and seventh fingers,"[57] Paul Korvak "had a carved piece of wood that was his right hand,"[58] Bobby Smoła's sister "wore a hearing aid,"[59] and Donna Milewski, the protagonist of the book, has a visible mark that renders her different from non-Polish Americans, i.e. "a reddish pink scar [on her forehead] that grew scarlet,"[60] which she obtained as a result of a car accident. In one of the central scenes of the novel, Donna notices that all of her boyfriends possess some signs of physical inferiority:

> Whoever it had been, whatever they thought they saw, they each would want to show me their own gashes and slashes and gouges left from knuckles slammed in car doors, from bare feet that found the one rusty nail in all the boardwalk, from dogs that didn't know that somebody was just playing, from a glass dropped into a swimming pool [...] a cyst at the nape of a neck that had taken nearly three years to heal. Some of these victims should have received stitches, only there was nobody to take them to doctor. [...] Others were worked on by doctors who were overly enthusiastic and who used many more stitches that you'd think were needed, or who were so skilled that you could hardly locate the scar, but it was there, the guy would promise, if you'd only look closer and closer and closer.[61]

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[54] Grażyna J. Kozaczka, "The Invention of Ethnicity and Gender in Suzanne Strempek Shea's Fiction," in: *The Polish Review*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 3 (2003), p. 327.

[55] Suzanne Strempek Shea, *Hoopi Shoopi Donna* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1996), p. 27.

[56] Ibid., p. 43.

[57] Ibid., p. 44

[58] Ibid., p. 171.

[59] Ibid., p. 68.

[60] Ibid., p. 153.

[61] Ibid., p. 159.

The American desire to control or modify the immigrants' and immigrant children's behavior, or to reshape their bodies, pervades Strempek Shea's novel. In order to succeed, one needs to conform to the norms imposed by the dominant group but, regardless of their efforts, the scar is always there "if you look closer and closer and closer" as Strempek Shea's protagonist confesses. Therefore, it seems that the only recourse left for a great number of Polish-American literary characters, afflicted with the most unusual kinds of physical drawbacks, people who are morally suspect or even associated with social pathology, is to clannishly reside in their neighborhood, which is relegated to the outskirts, because they are not fit enough and the gaze of superiority is always there.

Despite the fact that the literary works analyzed in the present article are only works of fiction, which are not to be taken as psychological studies of Polish American ethnic groups, they still, in an indirect manner and between the lines, intentionally or not, inform the readership about the need to belong and conform to the Anglo-Saxon standards. Stuart Dybek, Dagmara Dominczyk, and Suzanne Strempek Shea encompass in their fiction physical and mental impairments of Poles and their descendants. The authors provide examples of what it takes to be American citizens and how significant it is to possess healthy bodies in order to become ones.

Sonia Caputa

**Immigrant Bodies and the Politics of Eugenics in Selected Literary Works Written by Contemporary Polish American Authors**

The history of the eugenics movement in the United States is strictly interwoven with the processes of immigration, assimilation and naturalization. Well known are the attempts of American eugenicists (described widely by Alexandra Minna Stern in *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America,* published in 2005), who combined the Manifest Destiny doctrines of the 1840s with the twentieth century medical and scientific vocabulary in order to improve the genes of the American society. One of the results of the prevailing popularity of the principles voiced by the followers of the movement, who belonged to the country's dominant group, was the introduction of strict immigration laws between 1891 and 1924. The eugenicists' preoccupation and obsession with unhealthy and physically inferior immigrant bodies, which needed to be 'reshaped' and 'purified' in order to be Americanized, was especially prominent in the literary works of American ethnic writers (Anzia Yezierska, Mary Gordon), who published their short stories and novels at the beginning of the twentieth century. However,

the discomfort with the immigrant embodied selves also permeates the literary worlds of some of the contemporary Polish American authors. Taking into consideration the fact that literary immigrant bodies may be perceived as "repositories of [the newcomers'] cultures [and] serve as the microcosms of the homelands they left behind,"[62] the main aim of the present article is to shed some light upon the images of the immigrant bodies in selected works of American authors of Polish descent.

**Keywords**: immigrant body, eugenics, American authors of Polish descent
**Słowa klucze**: ciało emigranta, eugenika, amerykańscy autorzy pochodzenia polskiego

[62] June Dwyer, "Disease, Deformity and Defiance: Writing the Language of Immigration Law and the Eugenics Movement on the Immigrant Body," *Melus*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2003), p. 105.

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# Forgotten Faces of the Great War: The Wounded Servicemen in Henry Tonks' Surgical Portraits

"In order to remember anything one has to forget;
but what is forgotten need not necessarily be lost forever."[1]

The aim of this paper is to scrutinize the unique body of work of the Great War surgeon-artist, Henry Tonks, hopefully offering a new insight into the reading of the material in question through the scope of memory studies. Examination of the milieu and the social attitudes towards facial disfigurement in Britain during and shortly after the Great War might reveal the factual importance of Tonks' artistic records, one-of-a-kind in British war art of the period, representing damage done to the human body on a scale probably never seen before, memorializing the graphic wounds of the face and a reality far different from the approved canon, both artistic and historical. With Henry Tonks' conscientious and frank depiction of the wounded, not found in the governmentally accepted war art, it seems a valuable piece of the Great War's history is now being restored to cultural memory through the reintegration into the canon of Tonks' art: a forgotten piece of a puzzle that was stored in the archives for years, patiently awaiting rediscovery.

[1] Aleida Assmann, "Canon and Archive," in: *Media and Cultural Memory/Medien und kulturelle Erinnerung*, eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), p. 106.

Due to the nature of trench warfare and the high incidence of shrapnel wounds, facial disfigurement was a common injury sustained in the Great War. And yet there was a particular withdrawal of the facial wounds from the public sphere. Tonks' series of portraits depicting soldiers with disfigurement is probably the only attempt at memorializing the damage done to the human body in British war art of the period in such a frank and objective manner, freed from the constraints imposed on the war art canon, which called for the representation of the wounded in a carefully defined way, verging on pathos or cliché, and often obscuring or consciously censoring reality. These pastel studies, kept safely in the archives of the Royal College of Surgeons, were presented to a wider audience from time to time during temporary exhibitions and were later made available on the Internet Gillies Archives in 2007, having been kept from public view for almost a hundred years. Since their rediscovery they have been an object of interest both to the public and the researchers.[2] While the portraits capture disfigurement in a manner presumably less accurate than photographs due to the medium used, they may nonetheless aid in representing and reading the psychological depth of the individual. Even though they appear grotesque, the faces memorialized in Tonks' art are far from surreal. They elude any attempts at confining them within a certain style or aesthetic—their complexity lies in the fact that they illustrate indescribable injuries and at the same time are the most genuine representation of Great War wounds in British war art. Tonks' uncanny studies on the delicate subject of facial disfigurement contribute to the creation of a more wholesome and complex perception of the war since they remain intense, straightforward, and unique memorials of the Great War.

During and shortly after the Great War the subject of bodily mutilation either adhered to specific means of representation or was shunned altogether in British art.[3] While amputees were oftentimes subjects of fascination to the public, visible facial disfigurement was often considered socially taboo.[4] In the end, the arduous task of recording facial wounds sustained by the British soldiers fell on the medical professionals. Due to what Suzannah Biernoff calls the attitude of "not looking,"[5] a mindset manifesting itself quite literally in response to visible facial trauma, Henry

[2] Suzannah Biernoff, "The Rhetoric of Disfigurement in First World War Britain," *Social History of Medicine*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (2011), p. 667.

[3] Biernoff, "The Rhetoric of Disfigurement," pp. 666–685.

[4] Ibid., p. 671.

[5] Emma Chambers, "Fragmented Identities: Reading Subjectivity in Henry Tonks' Surgical Portraits," *Art History*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (2009), p. 590.

Tonks' pastel studies of wounded patients stand out remarkably from the rest of the war art. They blur the line between medical records and artistic portrayal. Whilst documentation on the nature of the wounds suffered during the Great War was well evidenced in the archives, in Britain "neither the drawings by Tonks, nor the photographs in the men's case files, found their way into anti-war publications, as happened in Germany, and they never featured in the illustrated histories of the war."[6] As Ana Carden-Coyne[7] writes, this removal of the disfigured face from the sight of the public became a common response to renounce and dispose of the visible trauma in order to ensure the process of reconstructing the post-war world, to which the wounded were a sorely visible obstacle threatening the regenerative process.

Aleida Assmann's observations on the nature of cultural memory, and especially the notions of canon and archive, might contribute to the attempts at reading Tonks' portraits. In her paper "Canon and Archive," she notes two distinct principles of cultural memory; the first is concerned with presenting a selection of the most valuable and representative works of art or sanctifying certain events. The second function involves documenting the past and storing the material evidence of past events which, although of no immediate use for the collective memory, still possess qualities which ensure they would not be destroyed.[8] Unlike in France, where "the mutilated were incorporated into discourses of heroic sacrifice, leading the victory parades,"[9] the image of the British wounded, especially those with facial disfigurement, fell into obscurity in remembrance culture since the wounded, as Jay Winter observes, "challenged contemporary understandings of memory."[10] Tonks' pastel portraits were thus forgotten not only because the artist himself had certain concerns considering the public display of his pastel studies,[11] but also because his art was deeply problematic for the process of creating a post-World War I remembrance culture in which such representation of wounded soldiers was undesirable. This being so, Tonks' portraits transmogrified into a visible disturbance to the post-war reconstruction process; they indicated a different, more

[6] Biernoff, "The Rhetoric of Disfigurement," p. 667.

[7] Ana Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[8] Aleida Assmann, "Canon and Archive," p. 101.

[9] Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, p. 99.

[10] Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 60.

[11] Suzannah Biernoff, "Flesh Poems: Henry Tonks and the Art of Surgery," *Visual Culture in Britain*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2010), pp. 25–47.

turbulent path of remembrance culture and would have been a disturbance in social and artistic life so they had to be excised from the public discourse. The post-war effort was focused on rebuilding, and Tonks' art, while presenting the process of reconstruction, was a troublesome reminder of what was being endured:

> Images of wounded soldiers occur in the work of other artists representing the 1914–18 war, but Tonks' works are unusual in depicting soldiers with facial injuries, and in portraying the wounded using the conventions of portraiture. The appropriate way to depict British soldiers was a contested area where a precarious balance had to be struck between realism and idealization.[12]

Nevertheless, the portraits remained carefully handled and archived, awaiting their rediscovery in the, hopefully, more stable future.

While Tonks' surgical studies of the wounded faces remained in the relative peace of the medical archives, the visibility of the wounded was a constant reminder of the conflict, still present and evident long after the Great War ended. Ana Carden-Coyne highlights this observation, noting how

> the wounded bodies became a site of another conflict—between memory, remembrance, healing and forgetting. Men with visible disfigurement became living monuments to the conflict. While people wanted to commemorate the war and its heroes, they also wanted to and actually removed from the collective memory the most visible proofs of the war—the often gruesomely wounded but willing to be accepted veterans.[13]

This paradoxical need is visible both in Tonks' art and in the artist himself. An interesting observation made by Suzannah Biernoff highlights how Tonks appeared particularly pleased with his surgical portraits, which he considered the pinnacle of his artistic career, and he claimed that they were "the only drawings he was 'not ashamed of."[14] But, at the same time, Tonks was unwilling to present his pastel portraits to a public broader than the professionally trained artists or scientists: "Despite requests from the War Office, he was reluctant to exhibit the portraits as war art, and wrote in August 1917: 'The pastels that I have done are of wounded soldiers with face injuries. They are I think rather dreadful subjects for

[12] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 598.
[13] Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, p. 76.
[14] Biernoff, "Flesh Poems," p. 40.

the public view.'"[15] Tonks' moral dilemma appears to be well-grounded, though. In relation to public displays in war museums and possible social response such displays could evoke, Jay Winter observes that "there are many looking for blood and guts of the victims, and the weapons that tear them apart."[16] This thrill-seeking might have led to misinterpretations of Tonks' art. At the same time, while recording the war's gritty realism through art, Tonks was in all probability conscious of the extreme feedback his pastel studies would provoke when presented to the general public. Tonks' dilemma, coupled with the need to remember and the need to forget (in order to heal), finally led to the concealment of the images of maimed soldiers from public view, and they entered the quiet space of the medical archives for almost a century while post-war Britain turned to "the glorious and fantasized past [which] could be remodeled for the purpose of healing."[17]

The bizarre, intriguing nature of Tonks' portraits is probably one of the reasons why they were stored in the archives. They might have been a visible disruption to the creation of the Great War's cultural memory canon but contemporaries nonetheless understood their potential as objects of study for further generation of surgeons, historians, and artists. In this way, they became passive memories—memories which could be stored and recovered at a later date when society was, so to speak, prepared to face them once more. They entered the dimension of what Assmann calls the archive (instead of the canon):

> The canon stands for the active working memory of a society that defines and supports the cultural identity of a group. [...] [The archive] creates a meta-memory, a second-order memory that preserves what has been forgotten. The archive is a kind of "lost-and-found office" for what is no longer needed or immediately understood.[18]

The process of forming the canon is an arduous and rigorous task but there are also no rules on how certain memories enter the collectively recognized and commemorated past.[19] In contrast to more heroic, dramatic but, at the same time, quite docile renditions of the wounded martyr image, Tonks' portraits did not enter the main stream of the Great War artistic canon. Only Tonks' *An Advanced Dressing Station in France* adhered to the

[15] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 602.
[16] Jay Winter "Museums and the Representation of War," *Museum and Society*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2012), p. 159.
[17] Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, p. 28.
[18] Aleida Assmann, "Canon and Archive," p. 106.
[19] Ibid., p. 104.

recognized rules of representing the heroic wounded in war art. Thus it was publicly displayed since it possessed certain qualities showing how contemporaries wanted to be remembered in the future, for pieces which enter the canon are of significant value to the contemporaries:

> Cultural memory contains a number of cultural messages that are addressed to posterity and intended for continuous repetition and re-use. To this active memory belong, among other things, works of art, which are destined to be repeatedly reread, appreciated, staged, performed, and commented.[20]

Through this arduous selection process the durability of the chosen pieces is ensured in the active cultural memory, which is the main objective of canonization.[21]

Tonks' art, which is now reintegrated into the public discourse on the Great War and its commemoration, steadily becomes an accepted part of the war heritage, no longer shunned or sequestered in the archives. By presenting Tonks' studies of the wounded faces, a more wholesome and objective perception of the Great War is being constructed due to the fact that the time of mourning is gradually passing. Assmann observes: "Elements of the canon can also recede into the archive, while elements of the archive may be recovered and reclaimed for the canon."[22] Through the recovery of materials from the archives or accidental discoveries of materials connected with the Great War, the process of constant change in cultural memory can be seen, along with its dynamics. While one might never reconstruct the past entirely as it was, so to speak, one can observe how the perception of certain events changes through the years. Tonks' portraits, once kept from the public due to the genuine threat of their being misunderstood or mistreated, are now accessible to anyone who has Internet access. These incredible renderings of the forgotten faces of the Great War confirm that "the archive is the basis of what can be said in the future about the present when it will have become the past."[23] The time nearing the celebration of the centenary of the Great War was probably when it was decided that the general public was prepared and distanced enough to rediscover not only the works of Tonks, but also the brutal but frank medical and aesthetic heritage of the war.

The uniqueness of Tonks' pastel studies may have something to do with uniqueness of the artist himself. Henry Tonks was, in fact, a trained

[20] Ibid., p. 99.
[21] Ibid., p. 100.
[22] Ibid., p. 104.
[23] Ibid., p. 102.

surgeon, and only later in life he became a teacher at the Slade School of Art in London and taught artists such as Augustus John, William Orpen, Stanley Spencer, David Bomberg, and Rex Whistler.[24] After the outbreak of the Great War, Tonks was approached by the plastic surgeon, Harold Gillies, who requested Tonks to prepare both diagrams for the operations as well as sketches of his patients before and after surgeries.[25] These diagrams clearly fulfill their recording purpose which was restricted to the medical field, to aid the medical staff in overseeing the healing process. In addition, they were "medical evidence to support Gillies' account of technical advances in plastic surgery."[26] While the diagrams were vital for their strictly documentational and educational function in the field of reconstructive surgery, the purpose of the pastel portraits is much more elusive. The dating of Tonks' surgical portraits cannot be established, but Emma Chambers remarks that it is probable they were sketched during hospital rounds, being drawn from life in the wards.[27] She also suggests that the pastel portraits were valuable assets to the surgeons. Due to the use of color, the wounds might have appeared clearer than in black and white photographs. But, unintentionally or not, "Tonks' choice of the pastel medium moved the drawings beyond the level of functional recording."[28] Medium and mode contributed to a breaching of the existing boundaries between medical illustration and artistic depiction.

Tonks' first profession made him especially "attuned to the physicality, the fleshliness of art."[29] As a trained surgeon, Tonks understood the human body's frailty, especially that of the face. Considering this fragility Tonks in all probability perceived human beauty as a construct that lies only in a few inches of skin tissue. Tonks' professional dichotomy created artworks which are both artistic portraits and medical records. They impose on the viewer a particular approach, which Emma Chambers describes in vivid detail:

> The first impulse is to look away quickly. However, the gaze soon returns unwillingly to the compositional focus of the portrait, the gaping wound at its centre. Slowly the viewer's gaze shifts to the undamaged area of the sitter's face. Now an element of emotional projection comes into play and the viewer starts to read emotions such as pain, resignation or bravery in the

[24] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 581.
[25] Biernoff, "Flesh Poems," p. 27.
[26] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 585.
[27] Ibid., p. 582.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Biernoff, "Flesh Poems," p. 28.

> eyes of the sitter. However, this consideration of the face as portrait cannot be sustained, and it is impossible for the viewer to avoid looking at the wound at the centre of the image. The unusual method of viewing that these works provoke, involving a switching of vision between wound and facial features, unsettles a process of visual interpretation that is often taken for granted in looking at portraiture.[30]

At the heart of the uniqueness of Tonks' studies lies the fact that they represent the wounded as the medical staff witnessed them in hospitals. There is no covering the gaping wounds or exposed flesh with bandages, as was the practice in more conventional pieces adhering to more acceptable heroic representation in art. In their portrayal of raw facts, Tonks' portraits are unsettling mostly because they disturb the perception that the human face is a signifier of identity, while in reality, "beneath the face we are meat."[31]

Tonks was uniquely prepared to draw Harold Gillies' patients. His perfectionism, which was bound to his medical profession, and his inner sensitivity as an artist allowed him to create portraits which are a mixture of both approaches; they capture the nature of the wounds but at the same time are not devoid of emotion, they are artistic but do not rely on specific aesthetics—it is the war's grotesque reality of mutilation influencing art, not style dictating representation. Tonks, a staunch classicist, renounced the modern modes of depiction characteristic of cubism, dada or vorticism. Nevertheless, Tonks' art displays some of the qualities of the aforementioned art movements: the faces of the wounded, although depicted as genuinely and graphically as possible, carry the qualities of impossible, often grotesque, geometries:

> Tom Lubbock finds in Tonks' pastels an aesthetics of ambiguity that is distinctively, if unintentionally, modern. This is not, however, the modernist distortion or abstraction of the figural found in, say, Picasso, Otto Dix or Francis Bacon. [...] Tonks' faces are affecting precisely because they are violations of formal and symbolic logic. They combine the familiar and the alien.[32]

Yet these portraits are not the outcome of artistic manifestos or personal statements; they capture the wounds left by industrialized warfare as true to reality as it was possible for the artist to memorialize on paper. When compared to Otto Dix's or George Grosz's art, Tonks' portrayal of

[30] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 591.
[31] Biernoff, "The Rhetoric of Disfigurement," p. 669.
[32] Biernoff, "Flesh Poems," p. 36.

the wounded is marked by lack of any exaggeration in their depiction, for Tonks believed beauty to be "somehow incidental, a side product of the pursuit of Truth; that it would be a reward unexpectedly discovered in the most unpromising material, provided that we followed certain disciplines and were faithful to our experience."[33] This remark suggests how the former surgeon could transform the "most unpromising material"—the broken faces of the wounded—into works of art, which, although they cannot be labelled as beautiful in the most superficial and conventional sense of the word, possess an uncanny, almost unearthly aesthetic. In Tonks' portraits, the notion of "'beauty' is re-defined as an intense aesthetic encounter rather than as a visible quality of beautiful objects."[34] In this regard, Tonks' art questions the boundaries of representation.

Photography was already in use for recording purposes during the Great War yet modes of representation like sketches or paintings possess qualities which the black and white photographs used for the medical records could potentially lack: "While the photographs record the horrific nature of the injuries for posterity, the pastels seem more fleeting, more time-bound. They participate in their subjects' vulnerability and mortality rather than documenting it."[35] The "healing" properties of art are enmeshed in Tonks' studies. His approach is non-judgmental, and the wounds are depicted realistically, true to life. At the same time, they are an attempt at humanizing every broken face and, consequently, at reconstructing identity. Although on a strictly medical level their only practical application lies in the use of color and in recording the state of the patients undergoing surgical procedures, their unique intensity originates in the fact that the portraits "had the effect of reconstituting the identity of the patient."[36] Before the viewers' eyes, the human face is restored to its former appearance through the advancements made in medicine.[37] In this manner the viewer is able to participate actively in the "healing" process granted through art. Tonks' pastel portraits represent regeneration of the individuals' wounded bodies damaged by the war as well as, on a more figurative level, the promise of restoration of the post-war society. The quality of the medium used, dry pastels, further underlines the vulnerability and frailty of the human body; it is almost as easy to damage Tonks' portraits as it is to damage human flesh. Dry pastels and the art created via their use, dusty and prone to

[33] Ibid., p. 43.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., p. 37.
[36] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 579.
[37] Ibid., p. 604.

eradication, metaphorically mirrors the delicacy of human body, which, almost like the pastel portraits created from dust, could just as easily be reduced to ashes.

The notions of scientific seeing and artistic understanding are stimulatingly embedded in Tonks' art. As a surgeon, he was able to record scientific depictions of men with facial disfigurement; as an artist, he managed to capture human body's fragility. Tonks created portraits that are both paradoxically non-judgmental and that capture the essence of the patients' humanity: "Approached as portraits, the drawings imply frankness and trust: one finds a suggestion of psychological depth and intimacy that is absent from the photographs of the same patients filed with the case notes."[38] The portraits are complex, both in composition and reception, because one cannot judge the soldiers portrayed depending on their general appearance; their wounds often obscure any insight into their characters. The actual reception of these portraits involves a quite different mechanism than the one employed while perceiving more conventional portraiture:

> Tonks' surgical portraits force the viewer to come to terms with the bodily materiality of the sitter in its most fleshly form. Here 'likeness' is pushed to its limits, the physical appearance of the face as a guarantor of the identity of the subject is disrupted as the viewer struggles to make sense of the mismatch between the ruptured exterior casing of skin revealing internal layers of flesh, and the features that remain intact. The viewer's response alternates between a horrified gaze at the areas of wounded flesh, and an attempt to locate the inner identity and personality of the sitter through reading emotions into the eyes.[39]

Here, there is no relation between the outer and the inner qualities of the subject, for the faces on Tonks' portraits are often damaged beyond recognition. Therefore, the viewer focuses more on the emotional response. It is also possible to project oneself onto the character of the portrayed and thus recapture the emotions that presumably accompanied the subject; emotions like anxiety and pain, but also pride and optimism.

Emma Chambers notes the process of sentimentalizing both the figures of the Great War wounded and their depiction in public sphere, with

> their mutilations seen as "badges of their courage, the hall-mark of their glorious service, their proof of patriotism." Popular images depicted lightly

[38] Biernoff, "Flesh Poems," p. 30.

[39] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 593.

> wounded soldiers, serene in death, and often watched over by the figure of Christ. But those with personal experience of death at the Front contrasted these representations of heroic death with the ugly reality.[40]

In the "patriotic and sentimentalized figure of the 'broken soldier,'"[41] wounds were often covered by bandages, or the fatal wound slowly draining the dying soldier was not visible at all. The practice in art of using bandages to obscure the visible signs of trauma and presenting the bodies as whole in representing the war-wounded, partially censored the reality of the conflict. Descriptions of the wounds are to be found in literature of the period but there were barely any depictions of them, save for the symbolical use of bandages as the signifiers of trauma and disfigurement. The nature of this representation of the Great War in culture is again noted by Ana Carden-Coyne: "Although war art and literature were interpreted as truth-telling, they were artforms—intended to dramatise, heighten, politicize and catapult direct experiences into aesthetic imagination."[42] While more conventional and acceptable to the public, such heroic representations of the wounded, be they through painting or sculpture, helped to create memory of the Great War which was fragmented, partially restricted, and incomplete. This common consent to represent the wounded with their bodies whole and wounds covered in bandages is noted by Carden-Coyne and Jay Winter as a tendency to sanitize both death and war[43] in order to either choose the appropriate, non-offending modes of representation or as a response to the post-war reconstructing effort. Through portraying the soldiers with disfigurement Tonks not only captured and recorded the effect of industrialized warfare on individuals but also memorialized the war's after-effects on the human body and thus broke away from the appropriate way of the heroic representation. Winter observes this in his study on materials presented in war museums: "There was an unstated rule of decorum in representation, ruling out ugly or shocking images; when bodies were represented, they were intact."[44] Tonks' portraits, being a product of both medicine and art, "transcend a function of medical record and seem to allow the viewer an insight into the horrors of war as experienced by the individual. In this way they memorialize the war in a much more powerful way than Tonks' official war art such as *An Advanced*

[40] Ibid., p. 598.

[41] Biernoff, "Flesh Poems," p. 28.

[42] Ana Carden-Coyne "Wounded Visionaries," *Guardian*, Nov 13, 2008, accessed April 18, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/nov/13/first-world-war-artists-writers-modernism.

[43] Carden-Coyne "Wounded Visionaries"; Winter "Museums and the Representation of War," p. 153.

[44] Winter "Museums and the Representation of War," p. 154.

*Dressing Station in France*."[45] Tonks' portraits present every wounded man separately and thus make the memory of war more personal and exclusive to certain individuals, unlike the symbolical representation of the universal martyred hero. Tonks' nonjudgmental approach in which he presents the wounded with the uncovered signs of visible trauma is of considerable importance in memorializing the war and forcing the onlooker, not the artist, to form certain assessments about the nature of the Great War itself.

In post-war Britain, the loss of one's face often meant the annihilation of identity. Crafting a common response to the wounded was highly problematic for they generated numerous, oftentimes extreme emotional responses, ranging from pity to disgust. Suzannah Biernoff notes how in England facial disfigurement was perceived as a tragic loss unsurpassed by any other kind of wound and how its representation was avoided. She observes the phenomenon of "the culture of aversion" which stigmatized the war veterans with facial disfigurement:

> This collective looking-away took multiple forms: the absence of mirrors on facial wards, the physical and psychological isolation of patients with severe facial injuries, the eventual self-censorship made possible by the development of prosthetic "masks," and an unofficial censorship of facially--disfigured veterans in the British press and propaganda.[46]

Amputees were widely recognized as war heroes whilst men with facial disfigurement were often shunned, which led to their being forgotten for almost a hundred years, for "disfigurement compromised a man's sense of self and social existence. It deprived him of the 'visible proof' of his identity."[47] This notion of facelessness as a metaphorical death of one's identity was a most likely unintentional but vital factor in constructing certain attitudes towards the representation and treatment of men with visible disfigurement. When soldiers' social death did not follow their body's or identity's destruction, attitudes like looking away, avoiding eye-contact, banning mirrors, and general denial of the problem were established. This "looking away" led to a situation where stories of soldiers living with disfigurement, both as a group and individuals, were often forgotten or misrepresented. While the wounded martyr was widely recognized and commemorated, the image of an average, but also horrifically wounded soldier is only now re-entering cultural memory's canon.

[45] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 603.
[46] Biernoff, "The Rhetoric of Disfigurement," p. 668.
[47] Ibid., p. 671.

Unlike other war art, Tonks' portraits are "personal, verging on private, not just because of the physical and psychological exposure involved, but because of the intimate visual-tactile encounter that remains implicit, indeed embedded, in the work."[48] The destructive nature of industrialized warfare is presented in Tonks' surgical portraits in a manner less sentimentalized or emotionally involved than other more conventional pieces of British war art. Jay Winter notes that no war museum could ever represent war since they "never describe war; they only tell us about its footprints on the map of our lives."[49] In similar fashion, in these portraits one could recognize images of individual, personal lives: small pieces in a greater, historical puzzle, who became accidental "heroes" of medical archives and surgical textbooks. Emma Chambers stresses the importance of Tonks' portraits and their role in memorializing it in a more personal and frank way:

> Although seen by only a limited audience at the time, the power of Tonks' surgical portraits for modern viewers lies in the way that they perform a memorial role in a much more direct way than conventional artistic memorials to the 1914–18 war, by portraying the suffering of individuals rather than symbolizing this sacrifice through the figure of an idealized universal soldier.[50]

In addition to this personal experience of an individual "the visibility of the soldiers' wounds, as a result of the tradition of medical illustration in which the works were made, is also vital to the way that the works also function as a powerful memorial of war."[51] Their frankness and lack of shame in displaying the soldiers' wounds creates a considerable impact on the viewer, perhaps greater than the most idealized war memorial could provide.

No matter how much Tonks was concerned with the public display of his surgical portraits, he nonetheless understood their potential impact on representing the Great War, ensuring that the memory of the wounded would not be forgotten. Tonks was not only proud of his work as an artist but also as a surgeon, who recognized the loss of the face as probably the most personal damage a soldier could suffer. He would remark "no cases of wounded in the war deserve more attention than these real heroes."[52]

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[48] Biernoff, "Flesh Poems," p. 40.
[49] Winter "Museums and the Representation of War," p. 152.
[50] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 603.
[51] Ibid., pp. 603–604.
[52] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 587.

Suzannah Biernoff provides a piece from Tonks' correspondence where, with dread, the surgeon-artist relates: "The wounds are horrible, and I for one will be against wars in the future, you have no right to ask men to endure such suffering. It would not matter if the wounds did well but they are practically all septic."[53] Yet, in another letter, Tonks notes that although "It is a chamber of horrors, […] I am quite content to draw them [patients] as it is excellent practice."[54] In this manner, Tonks' portraits are superior to most artistic representations of the Great War for Tonks could "simultaneously view the works dispassionately within an iconography of art historical prototypes, assess the progress of his subjects as a medical professional, and recognize the personal sacrifices made by the men as soldiers."[55] Even if Tonks personally was not in favor of war, there is no trace of such judgment in the portraits. This unique quality and constant combining of the artistic portraiture and medical illustration established Tonks' studies as valuable, accurate and impressively objective representations of wounds in art. If one of the aims of the artist is to capture the fleeting moment, then it was almost Tonks' duty to capture what he saw in hospitals. And, in the end, the artist's fascination and this need to capture, memorialize and remember may be the answers to the purpose of Tonks' surgical portraits.

With the portraits frank depiction of wounds, uncovered and gaping, Tonks broke with the common demand for a stereotypical representation of the heroic victim—depicted often as being in pain but covered neatly in bandages, often in proximity of the medical staff, ensuring the subjects' promise of a quick recovery—or the martyred hero, usually dying with no visible wounds, staring in the direction of his beloved country with an angel comforting him while he draws his final breath. By employing his methodical, surgical gaze, coupled with his inner artistic empathy, Tonks managed to create a unique kind of aesthetic in the depiction of the wounded men. In his surgical portraits one finds no trace of victimization, martyrdom or beautifying—they are more of fleeting intimate memories forever immortalized in the delicate medium of pastel portraits: memories of people whose wounds moved the otherwise staunch surgeon who felt they should be recorded and immortalized. But even though Tonks' patients' suffering moved him, there is no trace of judgment in their presentation; it is not the artist who demands response from the viewer but the wounded themselves. The delicate medium of dry pastels underlines

[53] Biernoff, "Flesh Poems," p. 25.
[54] Ibid., p. 28.
[55] Chambers, "Fragmented Identities," p. 589.

the youthfulness of the men portrayed and the fragility of their bodies. At the same time, these portraits are proof of both human endurance and scientific development. They are artistic records of the visible expression of human resilience in the face of trauma.

While Tonks' surgical portraits raise questions concerning the ethics of displaying such intimate works in public, since, as Tonks himself feared and anticipated, they might be misinterpreted or used inappropriately, it is nevertheless significant that they finally left the archives and are once again a subject of study, for their presence allows a better insight into the more private, personal war—a struggle with its brutalizing effects endured by both the wounded and the medical staff. The wounded depicted in the portraits may be a heart-wrenching sight but, even though depression was said to be common,[56] there also existed evidence that many of the soldiers with visible disfigurement did not necessarily perceive the war as the ultimate horror, and generally succeeded in their reintegration into society.[57] "On the occasions that they did put pen to paper, men whose injuries brought them to the specialist hospital for facial reconstruction at Sidcup were apt to be stoical and good-humoured."[58] Harold Gillies noted in his seminal work *Plastic Surgery of the Face* "the unquenchable optimism"[59] some of the most severely wounded soldiers under his care exhibited. To forget and ignore Tonks' studies, even though it was the artist's own wish, would most likely impoverish the perception of the Great War. His art possesses both a humanizing quality which could be difficult to capture by means of black and white photographs and offers the raw surgical reality. Tonks' portraits represent people on whose faces the Great War left its visible mark, thus fashioning their bodies into a living sites of memory. Memories of these men, however troubling, are more personal and genuine than the representations of the idealized heroes for they were recorded by the hand of a surgeon. Thus, Tonk's art has an even greater impact on the viewer than the most idealized depiction of the wounded martyr image could have ever achieved—it combines brutal medical objectivity with artistic sensitivity.

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[56] Biernoff, "The Rhetoric of Disfigurement," p. 673.

[57] Kerry Neale, "'Poor Devils Without Noses and Jaws': Facial Wounds of the Great War" (Honest History lecture, Manning Clark House, Canberra, 26 May 2014), accessed April 18, 2018, https://honesthistory.net.au/wp/neale-kerry-facial-wounds-of-the-great-war/, p. 11.

[58] Biernoff, "The Rhetoric of Disfigurement," p. 670.

[59] Harold Delf Gillies, *Plastic Surgery of the Face: Based on Selected Cases of War Injuries of the Face including Burns with Original Illustrations* (London: Henry Frowde, 1920).

Marta Gorgula

**Forgotten Faces of the Great War: The Wounded Servicemen in Henry Tonks' Surgical Portraits**

Henry Tonks' pastel portraits of the wounded Great War servicemen have perplexed researchers for years. These stunning pieces of art made by the surgeon-gone-artist remain an example of a fascinating but shunned history of the war. Unlike other war art, usually representing the wounded covered with bandages or as stoic or martyred heroes, these portraits defy the conventional, idealized memorializing. They are uncannily raw and frank, with fleshy wounds revealed and soldiers staring blatantly, almost defiantly at the onlookers, making Tonks' portraits impossible not to be questioned beyond their medical function. They were meant to document 'before' and 'after' images of the wounded, making the artist a "historian of facial injuries"[60] and thus fulfilling a strictly medical, recording function. And yet, these portraits pose much more complex questions of ethics, aesthetics and memorializing, mostly through the 'healing' properties of art, which gave the depicted soldiers back some semblance of humanity they were stripped off so unexpectedly, losing an important part of their selves, i.e. their faces. Although focusing on unsettling subject, Tonks' portraits perform a particular memorial function since they represent a direct, almost intimate experience of war, recording a hidden history that contributes to a more coherent and fleshier understanding of World War I.

**Keywords**: Great War, Henry Tonks, reconstructive surgery, facial disfigurement, art and medicine, memory studies, culture of memory

**Słowa klucze**: Pierwsza Wojna Światowa, Henry Tonks, chirurgia rekonstrukcyjna, zniekształcenia twarzy, sztuka i medycyna, studia nad pamięcią, kultura pamięci

[60] Joseph Hone, *The Life of Henry Tonks* (London: Heinemann, 1929, p. 128). Quoted in Suzannah Biernoff, "Flesh Poems: Henry Tonks and the Art of Surgery," *Visual Culture in Britain*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2010), p. 128.

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STUDIES AND ANALYSES

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# The Body as Evidence: A Cultural Approach to America's Fascination with Murder

The concept of *corpus delicti* is one the cornerstones of Western legal systems. In layman's terms, a certain body of a crime, sometimes only figurative, must be presented as proof that the crime was committed. In murder investigations the literal meaning of the phrase is an obvious, clear emphasis on the bodily aspect of the committed crime and the place where the narrative takes its form.

Broadly understood crime fiction remains one of the most popular fiction genres. The elements needed to construct stories about various misdeeds seem to be deceptively simple: there must always be a victim, a perpetrator, and a crime. Although over time the narratives have become anything but simple, these are some of the necessary building blocks. A great deal has been written on the topic of narrative structures and temporal ordering in crime fiction, but only some of it is relevant in the particular case relating to bodies. First and foremost, the appearance of a dead body constitutes the focal point of a mystery relating to someone's untimely demise. The search for the body and for the identity of the perpetrator accompanies and creates the resolution of a story, and as Charles Rzepka writes, "[t]he primary and constant feature of the narrative of detection is that its structure is always two-fold. As Todorov puts it, the reader of a story of detection encounters 'not one but two stories: the story of the crime

and the story of the investigation.'"[1] Thus, the discovery of a victim's body orders the narrative at a point where the two stories overlap and bifurcate; the existence of a corpse is the end of the crime and the beginning of an investigation. Conversely, this article is ordered in reverse: the discussion of the medium comes first, followed by case studies of two famous murderers and a comment on the overarching narrative, and finally we shall look at the corporeal aspect in greater detail.

Despite the introduction having referred to general crime fiction, the focus of this article is more specific due to length restrictions. It has to do with the true crime branch of crime fiction genre concerning murder, especially serial killings, and a particular medium in which these stories are presented, namely podcasting. While the true crime genre is not entirely new, the podcast scene proved fertile ground for its rapid development and popularization. The year 2014 saw the release of the investigative journalism podcast *Serial*, which spearheaded the growth of the genre in the podcast medium.

As of 2018, numerous ongoing productions relate crimes from different parts of the world, and a significant number of them focus on serial killers alone. Podcasts pertaining to serial killers tend to follow a very formulaic structure, and are usually ordered around the biography of the killer and their environment before and after the crime. The structure is often referred to as a way of "understanding" the deviant individual; however, by changing the focus from the victims to the perpetrator, the narrative undergoes a significant ideological change since time constraints often cause the creators to disregard the background of the victims. In an article published in 1991, Jack Miles wrote on the relationship between true crime writing and the victims of the crimes that were committed. He writes, "The focus, as in Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*, which all but created the genre, is usually on the criminal. Even when attention shifts to the victims, direct or indirect, it is rarely attention that arrives at a time when they want or need it."[2] There is a lot to be said about the important issue of ethics in true crime reporting; however, I would like to focus on the narrative structure and gender interplay to underline the subversive potential possessed by the medium of podcasts. To discuss the cultural implications of the issue, I employ a theoretical framework of sociology of crime, gender studies focused on gendered violence, and celebrity studies. How and why do the stories of murdered women become the narratives of

[1] Charles J. Rzepka, *Detective Fiction* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), p. 18.

[2] Jack Miles, "Imagining Mayhem: Fictional Violence vs. True Crime," *The North American Review*, Vol. 276, No. 4 (1991), p. 59.

men? Furthermore, where does the female fascination with serial killers and murders come from?

## A Case Study

First, let us discuss one of those stories. Around 1974, first in Washington State, then in Oregon, young, college-aged women, often college students, started to disappear. The only information available to the police, after piecing witness accounts together, was the description of a handsome man with an arm in a sling, introducing himself as Ted, and asking for help with loading either a number of books or a sailboat onto his VW Beetle. Thousands of more or less valuable tips flooded the police tip line.[3] Below is a list of victims from the initial group of disappearances, which should be all the more alien to those not familiar with the description given above: Karen Sparks (18, survivor, referred to as Joni Lenz in fictionalized accounts), Lynda Ann Healy (21), Donna Gail Manson (19, body still missing), Susan Elaine Rancourt (18), Brenda Carol Ball (22), Georgann Hawkins (18), Janice Ann Ott (23), Denise Marie Naslund (19), Roberta Kathleen Parks (22). Three more victims remain unidentified.[4]

Here is a second story, provided for comparison, and one that should be far more recognizable. In 1888, a wave of violent murders in and around the London district of Whitechapel shocked England. Sex workers were mutilated in the streets, yet their killer was never apprehended. The publicity around this serial killer has been so great that the five confirmed victims are referred to as "canonical," and should be recognizable: Mary Ann Nichols, Annie Chapman, Elizabeth Stride, Catherine Eddowes, and Mary Jane Kelly.[5] These are the names of the victims of Jack the Ripper, and even those not familiar with the victims themselves are certainly familiar with the pseudonym of their killer. By contrast, the names of the women from the first list may not be familiar at all, albeit the name of the man convicted for their murders, Theodore Robert Bundy, should be somewhat recognizable through his infamy.

The strong presence in popular culture of both Jack the Ripper and Ted Bundy results from the weird fame, or rather infamy, of those

[3] "Episode 64: The Ted Murders," *True Crime Garage*, December 4, 2016, accessed November 22, 2018, https://truecrimegarage.com/podcast/blog/the-ted-murders-64.

[4] Ann Rule, *The Stranger Beside Me* (New York: New American Library, 1980).

[5] "Episode 254: Jack the Ripper Part I – Cockney Yoga," *Last Podcast on the Left*, 2017, accessed November 22, 2018, https://lastpodcastontheleftreadinglistcom.wordpress.com/2017/06/05/jack-the-ripper/.

murderers. The figure of Jack the Ripper can easily be found in hundreds of adaptations ranging from multiple podcast discussions, graphic novels, such as Alan Moore's *From Hell*, through TV shows such as *Whitechapel* and *Ripper Street*, films of various titles, video games, boardgames, and even a wax figure. This is an effect of more than a century of presence in popular consciousness; however, there does not seem to be a lull in the serial killer fascination, since a film adaptation titled rather ludicrously *Extremely Wicked, Shockingly Evil and Vile* and starring teenage heartthrob Zac Efron is in the works at time of writing.

A narrative which, through its point of view, chooses to focus on the story of the victims and on the investigation rather than on the perpetrator causes a sense of defamiliarization in the reader. Anyone sufficiently immersed in popular culture is able to explain who Jack the Ripper was, or at least where the pseudonym comes from, even if the names of the victims without any further background information do nothing but baffle. References to the Ripper's victims are scattered throughout the mass media landscape, yet a keen eye is needed to recognize them for what they are.

## Serial Killer Celebrity

Thus, part of the erosion of the victim-oriented narrative stems from the idea of serial killer celebrity. As Daniel Boorstin puts it, "the celebrity is a person who is known for his well-knownness. […] He is the human pseudo-event. […] He is made by all of us who willingly read about him […]."[6] The process of producing and re-producing accounts of serial murder contributes to the growing popularity of the so-called human pseudo-events, i.e. celebrities.

The idea of celebrities and their continued presence in public consciousness has a discernible effect on popular culture and its consumers. Celebrities are used to facilitate trends both in lifestyle and fashion, and, more often than not, to reinforce existing norms for gender and status. Despite numerous attempts to turn the role of the celebrity in the public sphere into a more productive one, people known only for who they are remain firmly attached to the pedestals they have been placed on by society. There are no signs of celebrity culture coming to an end. Moreover, the passing of the public's favorites often fuels the fans' love. Such is the case of many serial killers, and especially of Ted Bundy, whose death did nothing to stop his popularity. In the words of Philip Jenkins, "even death could

[6] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: or, What Happened to the American Dream* (New York: Atheneum, 1962), p. 11.

not prevent Bundy from achieving a high degree of postmortem celebrity [sic]."[7] To complicate matters further, while Ted Bundy is a near-perfect example of the human pseudo-event described above, the phenomenon that is Jack the Ripper remains equivocal.

In comparison with the undoubtedly most famous serial killer of all time, Bundy bears some similarities to the mythic figure of Jack the Ripper. The noticeable differences stem from the fact that Bundy is known to the public in his actual identity, and not a pseudonym given to him by the media. In fact, Ted Bundy remains one of the few serial murderers known by his name instead of a pseudonym. Thus, he is known to the public through his factual identity, and belongs rather to the abovementioned category of celebrity than that of mythic hero, as described by Jane Caputi, a scholar writing about representation of crime in fiction and author of the book *The Age of Sex Crime*. David Schmid comments on Jane Caputi's idea of a mythic hero, and her uncovering the underlying gendered interrelation between the victims and the perpetrator. He writes:

> Jane Caputi, for example, recognizes the fact that the serial killer has become a celebrity, but prefers to think of such killers as mythic, archetypal figures, as her analysis of Jack the Ripper indicates: "patriarchal culture has enshrined 'Jack the Ripper' as a mythic hero; he commonly appears as an immortal figure in literature, film, television, jokes and other cultural products. Such mythicization terrorizes women, empowers and inspires men, even to the point where some choose to emulate him, and participates in a cultural propagation of frequently lethal misogyny" ("American" 101). Caputi's focus on the importance of gender in understanding representations of serial murder has been invaluable, especially in the context of a mainstream understanding of serial murder that sees nothing significant about the fact that the vast majority of serial killers are men and the vast majority of their victims are women.[8]

Shortly thereafter, Schmid dismisses Caputi's argument by accusing her of gender-based reductivism, despite acknowledging that, in fact, the majority of serial killer victims are women. It seems that in his pursuit to define the particulars of a serial killer celebrity, Schmid discredits arguments which focus on it as something tangential. Mark Seltzer's theory is discussed in a similar vein:

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[7] Philip Jenkins, *Using Murder: The Social Construction of Serial Homicide* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1994), p. 55.

[8] David Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities: Serial Killers in American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 4; cf. Jane Caputi, "American Psychos: The Serial Killer in Contemporary Fiction." *Journal of American Culture*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1993), p. 101.

> After this single tantalizing reference, however, Seltzer does little to develop the implications of the serial killer's celebrity, partly because of his skepticism about whether the serial killer is truly motivated by the desire for fame (135). Revealingly, Seltzer argues that if the serial killer achieves celebrity at all, it is "a celebrity in anonymity: the most wanted man who is also a type of nonperson" (130). […] I think this is an accurate way to describe the fame of a killer like Jack the Ripper who was never apprehended, but more recent serial killers have a far more specific, individuated form of celebrity that enhances the figure's ability to do the cultural work that is required of it.[9]

Thus, Jack the Ripper's characteristic as a celebrity is double-layered: firstly, he is known for his crimes while simultaneously being anonymous; consequently, he is known for his persona and not his person. He is, then, an infamous nonperson, as Seltzer describes him, while in his infamy Bundy certainly lends himself as a paragon of lethal male empowerment. The Ripper is somewhat incorporeal, and the lasting evidence of his existence consists only of the bodies of the victims he left behind. The physical focus must then, in this case, remain with the victims whose bodies were and are the only ones available for inspection. There are, of course, many theories regarding the identity of the Leather Apron, as Jack the Ripper was referred to at the time, but the corporeal fascination with the persona must always begin and end with his victims, since no physical attributes can be attached to the killer. Therefore the women who fell victim to Jack the Ripper are better known than those who died at the hands of Ted Bundy. As a celebrity, Bundy is a part of a greater narrative of serial killers, filling a starring role in a narrative of their own making.

While the public's feelings towards celebrities can be described as ambivalent, the reasons for serial killers becoming celebrities seem to be even more complicated. The reasons for the widespread knowledge of and fascination with people whose often singular talent in life is for murder are unclear. On this topic, Schmid writes:

> [T]he serial killer makes a particularly appropriate (even emblematic) celebrity because both figures inspire feelings of attraction and repulsion, admiration and condemnation. Even though the "normal" celebrity […] seems to be a wholly loved and admired figure, in fact the public's relation to the celebrity is also characterized by resentment, even violent hatred.

[9] Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities*, p. 5; cf. Mark Seltzer, *Serial Killers: Death and Life in America's Wound Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

> Similarly (although it is the similarity of a mirror image: identical but inverted) the serial killer seems to inspire only condemnation and hatred.[10]

Whereas the feelings of condemnation and hatred certainly play a role in the public's relationship with criminals, something has to be said for the horrific appeal due to which the narratives of murderers survive long after they have died. One of the reasons for the prevalence of this fascination might be the need for stories of encounters with violent death, another—the need for a narrative of the monstrous, where the monster is no longer a fantastic Other, but instead an evil that effortlessly permeates the society under the guise of a functional member of that society.

## "The Wound Culture"

As mentioned above, the true crime genre spans multiple media, but it recently achieved an interesting and very particular kind of success in the podcast format. The ubiquity of crime narratives, especially those focused on serial crime, stems from various sources which cannot be discussed at length here; however, particularly the idea of mythicizing can be traced back to the media's fear rhetoric.

In *Natural Born Celebrities*, Schmid cites the words of Ray Surette to comment on the personified and ever-present fear that this kind of reporting has reinforced. He claims that

> [t]he combination of tabloidization, the overrepresentation of violent interpersonal crime, and a preference for the grotesque in the construction of crime myths has led to the rise of a media icon that Ray Surette has described as the "faceless predator criminal" ("Predator" 135), a figure who represents the American public's attempt to embody the seemingly omnipresent and anonymous threat of violent crime.[11]

Therefore, the media essentially placed the cornerstones for serial killer celebrity by establishing a pervasive fear of the unknown criminal, alleviated only by equally massive coverage of captured criminals. Obviously, the latter, productive kind of news ages far quicker than the first and rapidly loses its value, consequently allowing true crime to continue the rhetoric of fear.

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[10] Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities*, p. 6.

[11] Ibid., p. 14; cf. Ray Surette, "Predator Criminals as Media Icons," in *Media, Process, and the Social Construction of Crime: Studies in Newsmaking Criminology*, ed. Gregg Barak (New York: Garland, 1994), p. 135.

It has been often pointed out that the development of the 24-hours news cycle brought about an age of news recycled excessively, with little or no substance, and with a certain fascination for scandals, sex, and gore, often also repeating messages that are objectively untrue. In addition to that, violent crime is often over-reported. Out of this style of news coverage race grew something Mark Seltzer calls "the wound culture." He describes it as follows:

> [t]he convening of the public around scenes of violence—the rushing to the scene of the accident, the milling around the point of impact—has come to make up a wound culture: the public fascination with torn and open bodies and torn and opened persons, a collective gathering around shock, trauma, and the wound.[12]

This description of people gathered around the scene of an accident is not unlike that of J. G. Ballard's *Crash*. The sensationalism and enthrallment surrounding violent car crash deaths depicted in the book is portrayed in a manner strongly resembling the convening around brutal murder scenes. A feedback loop of mimesis and anti-mimesis eventually forces the society to meet with extreme violence in more or less sanitized conditions.

Furthermore, texts which perform a social function similar to Ballard's *Crash* are not uncommon. As a matter of fact, according to Seltzer, the true crime genre took over the role of the Western as a genre of violence. The Western, once upon a time the genre of interest when it came to alleviating anxiety about gruesome death, has now been replaced. Seltzer writes that "[s]erial murder and its representations have by now largely replaced the Western as the most popular genre-fiction of the body and of bodily violence in our culture […] the Western was really about serial killing all along."[13] Stories about violent death are necessary in a culture where medicine has improved significantly; currently, death is largely experienced only by proxy and in sanitized conditions. Thus, consumption of texts regarding violent death in a controlled environment allows the reader to normalize the phenomenon and manage the fear associated with it. However, before the narratives of violence are ready for mass consumption, they must be couched in a language of metaphor.

Dichotomous systems are often used in order to make the source text more approachable for the reader. The discourse based on binary oppositions significantly simplifies very complex moral quandaries,

[12] Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities*, p. 5; cf. Seltzer, *Serial Killers*.
[13] Seltzer, *Serial Killers*, p. 1.

allowing compartmentalization of gruesome events. Gothic rhetoric has been adopted by the media for that purpose, and, as Karen Halttunen describes, to allow an expression of "the incomprehensibility of murder within the rational Enlightenment social order."[14] The binary oppositions of the monster and the human, as well as the Other juxtaposed against the individual or the society as a whole, allows one to rationalize the deviant acts performed by those deemed outsiders.

However, rationalization is not necessarily the main function of the gothic rhetoric. Schmid writes:

> Comparisons of serial killers to a host of gothic monsters, including vampires, werewolves, and, of course, Frankenstein's monster, are legion and come not only from members of the public and critics (Judith Halberstam's work is especially notable here) but also from the killers themselves. […] As Edward Ingebretsen points out in his invaluable study, *At Stake: Monsters and the Rhetoric of Fear in Public Culture*, the purpose of the gothic is to produce fear, not only through the motifs of werewolf, vampire, and the like, but also by "the mythicizing of slashers, terrorists, lurking child abusers, and unnatural mothers" (22). Nicola Nixon suggests the particular form this gothic mythicizing takes with respect to serial murder when she details how extensively contemporary true-crime narratives draw upon the language of gothic monstrosity. In doing so, Nixon argues, true crime is symptomatic of a larger cultural tendency in the contemporary United States to turn serial killers into "real" gothic monsters: "That America thought it had horrifyingly 'real' monsters instead of fictional demons is unquestionably reflected in the emergence and stunning efflorescence of eighties 'true-crime' books like Ann Rule's *The Stranger Beside Me* […] and scores of other books about the so-called superstar killers."[15]

Thus, through the language of the gothic, serial killers are made monstrous in order for the American society to "make sense" of them. The prevailing dichotomy of human and monstrous in true crime narratives allows the serial killer to become the Other, a liminal figure blending together humanity and monstrosity. The serial murderer is the epitome of the cultural predator, ready to undermine the societal laws due to perverse wants that go further than transgressive sexual practices, which in such individuals are usually intrinsically linked with the need for violence.

[14] Karen Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the American Gothic Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 48.

[15] Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities*, p. 7.; cf. Edward Ingebretsen, *At Stake: Monsters and the Rhetoric of Fear in Public Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 22; Nicola Nixon, "Making Monsters, or Serializing Killers," in *American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative*, ed. Robert K. Martin and Eric Savoy (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1998), p. 220.

Jeffrey Jerome Cohen argues that apart from being an object of fear, the monster is also a figure of attraction:

> The monster is continually linked to forbidden practices, in order to normalize and to enforce. The monster also attracts. The same creatures who terrify and interdict can evoke potent escapist fantasies; the linking of monstrosity with the forbidden makes the monster all the more appealing as a temporary egress from constraint. This simultaneous repulsion and attraction at the core of the monster's composition accounts greatly for its continued cultural popularity, for the fact that the monster seldom can be contained in a simple, binary dialectic […] . We distrust and loathe the monster at the same time we envy its freedom, and perhaps its sublime despair.
>
> Through the body of the monster fantasies of aggression, domination, and inversion are allowed safe expression in a clearly delimited and permanently liminal space. Escapist delight gives way to horror only when the monster threatens to overstep these boundaries, to destroy or deconstruct the thin walls of category and culture. When contained by geographic, generic, or epistemic marginalization, the monster can function as an alter ego, as an alluring projection of (an Other) self. The monster awakens one to the pleasures of the body, to the simple and fleeting joys of being frightened, or frightening—to the experience of mortality and corporality.[16]

Cohen puts strong emphasis on the bodily aspects which are merged in true crime narratives, that of being attracted to something, and that of being frightened; both can evoke a strong physical reaction. For Cohen, the fascination with the monster stems from its liminal position. Similarly, for Schmid, this simultaneous attraction and repulsion finds its culmination in the figure of the celebrity serial killer:

> Just as the monster is a strongly ambivalent figure, an "othered" being who seems strangely familiar, the same can be said about celebrities. […] The famous serial killer combines the roles of monster and celebrity in a particularly economical and charged way, and this is why famous serial killers are such a visible part of the contemporary American cultural landscape.[17]

The celebrity and monster meet at an intersection in the person of the serial killer. To return to an earlier comparison, in Jack the Ripper, this intersection is additionally mythicized by his anonymity, whereas Ted Bundy constitutes a perfect example of what Cohen is describing.

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[16] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," in: *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 16–17.

[17] Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities*, p. 8.

The emphasis on the monstrous aspects is often rooted in the appearance. Frankenstein's monster is emblematic in a way which is inaccessible to most monsters of the true crime genre; however, the language used to describe serial murderers is often such that they seem to gain additional features, turning them into lurking stalkers who are almost shadow-like in their appearance. Other times, large men who have committed gruesome murders are described as looming giants. In narration, they seem to grow or shrink depending on the particulars of the story, but there is one element which always seems to be the deciding factor when it comes to the monster: the eyes. Following the age-old adage that eyes are the window to the soul, true crime seems to have a peculiar obsession with the eyes of the people involved. In addition, if the perpetrator happens to be handsome, it is always noted, even when completely irrelevant to the events of the story.

## The Corporeal

Having given an overview of the noteworthy presence that serial killer narratives have in popular culture, it is important to discuss the results such a presence bears upon the other side of this narrative, for no doubt the story of the victim is somewhat contrary to that of the perpetrator. The body of the criminal, incredibly important in the judicial process, is often omitted in later accounts, unless the man is attractive, like Bundy was; or unless the mystery is unresolved, as the Ripper's is. Thus, one must ask, once again, what is the place of corporeality, and how violence towards the body is presented in murder stories, especially those of serial murderers.

Bundy chose young, predominantly white middle-class women for his victims, a "type" very different from that of most serial killers' victims, which Steven Egger describes as "the less-dead":

> Egger argues that there is an increased incidence of social encouragement to kill a type of person who, when murdered, is "less-dead" than other categories of homicide victims. Prostitutes, cruising homosexuals, homeless transients, runaway youths, senior citizens, and inner-city poor, according to Egger, are perceived by our society as "less-dead" than a white college girl from a middle-class suburb.[18]

[18] Peter Vronsky, *Serial Killers: The Method and Madness of Monsters* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 37; cf. Steven A. Egger, *The Killers among Us; An Examination of Serial Murder and Its Investigation* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1998).

This classification only falters when the type of the victim chosen is like that of Ted Bundy: young Caucasian women, mostly from well-to-do families, and attending college. Thus, as noted previously, it is not only the gender of the victim that matters. Race and class also play an important role in the corporeal identity of the victim, which in turn may determine how quickly an investigation gets underway. The notion of the less-dead is thus important to the victim's narrative or lack thereof, often allowing the numbers of victims to grow. The identity of a victim, strongly tied to their ethnicity and social standing, becomes a body politic of each and every one of the victims.

Further,

> Egger explains: The victims of serial killers, viewed when alive as a devalued strata of humanity, become 'less-dead' (since for many they were less-alive before their death and now they become the 'never-were') and their demise becomes the elimination of sores or blemishes cleansed by those who dare to wash away these undesirable elements […].[19]

This idea marks a very dangerous turn when it comes to motive and motivation of the serial killers. Similarly to what Caputi noted before, the idea of washing away the disagreeable parts of society, in the eyes of a serial murderer, can lead to a perverted fantasy of male empowerment. One could argue that it begins before the act of murder is committed, with the classification and segregation of society into parts and bodies which are more or less desirable. Moreover, from the moment of death at the hands of a serial killer, the objectification of the victims never ceases, further reinforcing a narrative of misogyny. In serial killers and narratives about serial killing, selfhood and murder become unified, and the victims and their bodies are a byproduct of a twisted male fantasy and the chase after a deviant self-fulfillment.

Consequently, one could propose a threefold reading of serial killer narratives and the corporeal presence of victims, especially women, in those narratives. Firstly, there is the initial objectification of belonging to a certain type of prey: segregation through gender, race, social standing. Secondly, there is the post-mortem objectification of becoming solely a material and corporeal presence: the injured party for the benefit of those partaking in the wound culture. Crime scene photos would belong to this stage once released in any way to the public or leaked to be posted on the Internet. And thirdly, there is the judicial objectification, the

[19] Vronsky, *Serial Killers*, p. 37; cf. Eggers, *The Killers*.

aforementioned *corpus delicti*, where the victim becomes part of the body of evidence, dissected and photographed for the purposes of a criminal investigation. Perhaps the stages deserve to be named more aptly, or with greater care for legal terminology; however, the focus lies more in the tiers of the bodily presence of the victim and less in the nomenclature. Moreover, perhaps another stage should be added, one accounting for the life of the body and the victim after their death, pertaining especially to the gravesites, odd memorabilia, and reenactments in podcasts and other true crime narratives, where the body becomes metaphorical and turning over the old stone of someone's death never ends.

Nevertheless, the retellings of murder narratives through the medium of podcasts are largely immaterial and designed predominantly for the niche of hobbyists. The repurposing of those stories for the "big Hollywood screen" has more monetary potential to revitalize the serial killer industry, which, in the end, leads to the very material idea of possessing items relating to murders and murderers. Those items are called "murderabilia."

> *Collectors* [a show about the murderabilia industry] is distributed by a small company named, appropriately enough, Abject Films, and on their Web site the film's director, Julian P. Hobbs, discusses some of the multiple connections between serial killing and consumerism. Hobbs points out that the serial killer is connected with consumerism in the most basic sense in that he has become a commodity, "a merchandising phenomenon that rivals Mickey Mouse. From movies to television, books to on-line, serial killers are packaged and consumed en-masse" (Abject Films). But as Hobbs goes on to argue, serial killers themselves can be seen as consumers, which implicates any representations of them in the same consumerist logic: "Serial killers come into being by fetishizing and collecting artifacts—usually body parts—in turn, the dedicated collector gathers scraps connected with the actual events and so, too, a documentary a collection of images" (Abject Films).[20]

There are no clear instructions, so to say, about what exactly constitutes murderabilia. Anything material to do with a serial killer can be sold at a price in a way which resembles the famed trophies collected by serial killers for mementos. It is hard to say which is more disturbing, the status of celebrity achieved by some murderers for often unspeakably violent crimes, and with that a vicious circle of remembering, or forgetting the victims as individuals.

[20] Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities*, p. 21.

To a wider public, the notion of the true crime industry seems to remain a distasteful affair. On the unethical side of true crime genre, Jack Miles writes:

> The victims of the crimes that "true crime" writers put on display rarely have their opinion about these works solicited. But their situation is worth a moment's thought; for if these works have any social utility, they ought to have it first and foremost for those most directly affected by the crimes in question. And "true crime" continues to be a boom area in American publishing.[21]

Both the serial killer and true crime industry are thriving, seemingly disregarding the victims and the victims' families. However, as evidenced by Andrea Marks in her 2017 article, "How a True-Crime Podcast Became a Mental-Health Support Group," an overwhelming number of true crime fans are female.[22] Podcasts such as *RedHanded* or *My Favorite Murder* and others offer a feminist take on the murder narratives. While the hosts' reporting needs to be taken with a grain of salt, the podcast heavily relies on returning the control back to the victims and empowering women, evidenced in their catchphrase, "stay sexy and don't get murdered." *My Favorite Murder*, which is a comedy podcast, focuses on battling the fear that comes with true crime narratives through doing away with the gothic rhetoric and replacing it with another visceral and cathartic reaction: laughter.

## Conclusions

The respectful reaffirmation of the victims, despite their lifestyle, class, and ethnic and racial background, reverses the narrative of the "less-dead." Podcasts hosted by women mitigate the objectification of the victims and attempt to subvert the narrative around the culture from within, where they are firmly placed. In a society where violence against women, and, in America, especially towards women of color and other "less-dead," continues to be ubiquitous, it is difficult to talk about an unambiguous end of serial killer celebrity, or even the end of serial killers. True crime is undoubtedly a genre of extreme bodily violence, of infamous monsters and their prey; nevertheless, as evidenced above, it still offers subversive potential.

[21] Miles, "Imagining Mayhem," p. 58.

[22] Andrea Marks, "How a True-Crime Podcast Became a Mental-Health Support Group," *The Atlantic*, February 21, 2017, accessed November 22, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2017/02/the-true-crime-podcast-turned-mental-health-support-group/517200/.

Patrycja Sokołowska

**The Body as Evidence: A Cultural Approach to America's Fascination with Murder**

American culture is rich in "popular" murder cases and virtually all serial killers have been elevated to a celebrity status. Serial killer industry selling murderabilia is booming, and the popularity of true-crime shows, podcasts, and books is at an all-time high. This paper aims at the analysis of the cultural trend of serial killer celebrities, treatment of the media coverage surrounding their victims as well as the victims' bodies before and after death, and the overarching narratives concerning murder in American history and culture.

Serial killers – celebrities, monsters, anti-heroes of American culture – fuel their own industry, established in postmodern times as the self-referential nightmare of commodified death. Both serial murderers and their victims are the object of said industry. However, the bodies of victims are objectified threefold: as the victims of the crime, as elements of the murder industry, and as the evidence of the crime itself. Additionally, the socioeconomic background of some of the victims, often referred to as the "less-dead" victims according to Steven Egger's theory, reinforces the narrative in which they are merely objects of the crime, not individuals. Together, all these factors constitute what Mark Seltzer calls "wound culture," a culture gathered around the bodily trauma. Thus, the paper will consider the role serial killer victims' bodies have on the cultural perception of narratives surrounding death, violence, and the cult of the perpetrator.

**Keywords**: serial killers, crime, podcast, true crime, cultural studies

**Słowa klucze**: seryjni mordercy, zbrodnia, podcast, prawdziwa zbrodnia, studia kulturowe

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# Embodied Pasts. Body as Memory in Postcolonial Speculative Fiction

## Corporeal Memory: Science Fiction, the Body, and the Historical Narrative

It seems incongruous at first, perhaps, to talk about science fiction—or speculative fiction in general—in the context of the past and the historical narrative. Science fiction has been usually regarded in the popular consciousness first and foremost as a genre which looks towards the future rather than the past. This is, however, a widespread misconception, which prioritizes the escapist tendencies associated with the genre over the poignant social commentary on our past and present which science fiction is uniquely capable of providing. It is, then, crucial to understand that even though science fiction disregards the principles of literary mimesis and verisimilitude, it is at its core a genre firmly entrenched in the cultural contexts in which it has originated and developed, revealing a deep connection with the past and the present rather than the future. Seen as a reflection of the projected fears and hopes of the successive generations, science fiction emerges, then, as a potential source of revisionist rewritings of histories and facilitates a more in-depth analysis of the contemporary socio-cultural climate. Thus, defined by Darko Suvin as "a literary genre or verbal construct whose necessary and sufficient conditions are the presence and interaction of estrangement and cognition, and whose main

device is an imaginative framework alternative to the author's empirical environment,"[1] science fiction works to recontextualize our experiences of the present and the past by estranging the audience from the verisimilitude of the material circumstances of their quotidian existence, echoing the words of Fredric Jameson, who argues that "[one] of the most significant potentialities of SF as a form is precisely [its] capacity to provide something like an experimental variation on our own empirical universe."[2]

Therefore, it should come as no surprise that contemporary science fiction remains one of the most potent vehicles for postcolonial fiction writing, critically addressing the colonial roots of the genre in its mainstream incarnation and allowing the authors to construct a postcolonial strategy for writing back to the inherently racist and colonial history of science fiction, founded upon the central narratives of imperial expansion and conquest and the encounter with the Other. According to John Rieder, it is not coincidental that science fiction "appeared predominantly in those countries that were involved in colonial and imperialist projects"[3] since, according to him, science fiction, at its most fundamental level, "addresses itself to the fantastic basis of colonial practice"[4] and to this day perpetuates "the persistent traces of a stubbornly visible colonial scenario beneath its fantastic script."[5] Nonetheless, as Jenny Wolmark remarks, "SF is increasingly recognized for its ability to articulate complex and multifaceted responses to contemporary uncertainties and anxieties, and metaphors drawn from SF have acquired considerable cultural resonance."[6] As such, then, the genre opens itself to re-presentation and symbolic reimagining, and, by extension, lends itself particularly well to counter-discursive practices, which, according to Helen Tiffin, "evolve textual strategies which continually 'consume' their 'own biases' at the same time as they expose and erode those of the dominant discourse [...]."[7]

For that reason, the subgenre of postcolonial speculative fiction remains singularly preoccupied with the notions of the past, memory,

[1] Darko Suvin, *Positions and Presuppositions in Science Fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. 37.

[2] Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future* (London: Verso, 2007), p. 270.

[3] John Rieder, "Science Fiction, Colonialism, and the Plot of Invasion," *Extrapolation*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (2005), p. 375.

[4] Ibid., p. 376.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Jenny Wolmark, "Time and Identity in Feminist Science Fiction," in: *A Companion to Science Fiction*, ed. David Seed (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 156.

[7] Helen Tiffin, "Post-Colonial Literatures and Counter-Discourse," in: *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 96.

and the historical narrative, which echo throughout the works of such prominent postcolonial speculative fiction writers as Nalo Hopkinson, Nnedi Okorafor, or Larissa Lai, who work to recontextualize the notion of what it means to exist as an Othered subject at the intersection between the past, the present and the future. The other central notion which continues to dominate the genre is the notion of the body, which, following Braidotti's understanding of embodiment, is construed as

> a point of overlapping between the physical, the symbolic and the material social conditions [...] an inter-face, a threshold, a field of intersecting material and symbolic forces [...] a surface where multiple codes (race, sex, class, age, etc.) are inscribed [...] a cultural construction that capitalizes on energies of a heterogeneous, discontinuous and affective or unconscious nature.[8]

The Othered body, then, understood in Braidotti's terms, is regarded as a cultural construct and an inherently historical entity, whose material condition facilitates the connection between the past and the present. With that in mind, the present article examines the ways in which three authors: Larissa Lai (*Salt Fish Girl*), Suzette Mayr ("Toot Sweet Matricia") and Andrea Hairston ("Griots of the Galaxy") discuss the relationship between the Othered body—particularly the female body—and collective memory as well as the historical narrative. Thus, the article argues that for the discussed authors, the experience of the body constitutes a fundamental element of constructing (or rather reconstructing) the continuity of the historical narrative in colonial and postcolonial realities. In this perspective, the body of the Other becomes the place in which the past, the present, and the future converge, allowing the Othered subject, through the experience of her body, to reach the hidden or otherwise forgotten histories and reconstruct the fragmentary memories of diasporic communities, which pave the way for an ultimate revision of the colonial discourse. Thus, the body of the Other becomes not only the locus of ancestral memories, but also a tool of resistance against the hegemonic historical narrative.

Although the selected short stories and novels constitute only a small sample of postcolonial speculative texts that engage with the topic of the bodily experience at the intersection between the corporeal and the historical, they are nonetheless representative for their use of the most commonly employed themes associated with exploration of the historical

[8] Rosi Braidotti, "Between the No Longer and the Not Yet: Nomadic Variations on the Body," archeologia.women.it, accessed June 3, 2018, http://archeologia.women.it/user/cyberarchive/files/braidotti.htm.

dimension of the corporeal in postcolonial speculative fiction. For those authors who emphasize the unique properties of fantastical Othered bodies when it comes to their relationship with memory and the historical narrative, three distinct yet interrelated aspects seem to come to the fore, reappearing throughout a variety of narratives originating in diverse communities ranging from the Chinese diaspora in Canada, through the Caribbean and African-American diaspora, to Native American and First Nations peoples. Those notions, which encompass the acts of transmitting memory/recording the past, excavating the past, and reliving the past—acts which are of primary interest for this article—stress the importance of the Othered body in their enactment, echoing the words of Bill Ashcroft, Helen Tiffin, and Gareth Griffiths, who observe that

> [t]he 'fact' of the body is a central feature of the post-colonial, standing as it does metonymically for all the 'visible' signs of difference, and their varied forms of cultural and social inscription, forms often either undervalued, overdetermined or even totally invisible to the dominant colonial discourse.[9]

Similarly, in the introduction to her book, *Queer Postcolonial Narratives and the Ethics of Witnessing*, Donna McCormack writes: "Flesh is woven into history as both the bloody deaths necessary to achieve the desired goals and the skin on which it has become possible to write these new foundational narratives."[10] McCormack's remark regarding the possibility of utilizing the body of the Other for the purpose of writing new foundational narratives remains particularly significant for the genre of postcolonial speculative fiction, which looks not only to critically examine and dismantle the mainstream narratives of the genre, but also to imagine (or re-imagine) possible futures for people of color, who, as Elizabeth Anne Leonard observes, are often excluded from the predominant narratives of science fiction, which shy away from acknowledging their Othering tendencies as well as the lack of any substantial examination of the implicit Other/alien parallels perpetuated by the genre.[11]

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[9] Bill Ashcroft, Helen Tiffin, and Gareth Griffiths, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 321.

[10] Donna McCormack, *Queer Postcolonial Narratives and the Ethics of Witnessing* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), p. 2.

[11] Elizabeth Anne Leonard, "Race and Ethnicity in Science Fiction," in: *The Cambridge Companion to Science Fiction*, eds. Edward James and Farah Mendlesohn (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 254.

## Riding the Body: Transmitting Memory, Recording the Past

The notion of transmitting memory and recording the past, which involves passing down the memory of the past generations through the body, thus making that body the explicit carrier of memories of the community, echoes the function performed traditionally by the griots, who are described by Andrea Hairston in the epigraph to her short story in the following way: "The Griots of West Africa are musicians, oral historians, praise singers negotiating community. They stand between us and cultural amnesia. Through them we learn to hear beyond our time and understand the future."[12] It could be argued that the griots themselves—who practice traditional oral forms of storytelling and performance—already embody history in the most literal sense: they are not only those who remember, but also those who, through bodily movement and through speech, echo the memories of a community back at its members, signifying the link between the corporeal and the historical. Their engagement with remembrance, then, seems to be deeply rooted in notions of corporeality, as they retain the stories passed down to them in their bodies, before passing them on to the next generations, transmitting the cultural heritage of a community across time. This preoccupation with the body conceptualized as a carrier of memory and history is, in turn, reflected in the works of postcolonial speculative fiction, which abound with griot-like figures who, through their sometimes strange, unfamiliar forms of corporeality, are capable of embodying and transmitting the memories of Othered communities in order to preserve them, signifying practices which have been to a large degree denied to the representatives of those marginalized communities in the mainstream science fiction discourse.[13]

Andrea Hairson's short story "Griots of the Galaxy" (2004), which appears in the anthology of postcolonial speculative fiction *So Long Been Dreaming*, engages with the theme of embodied transmission of cultural heritage and memory through the portrayal of a race of alien beings—the titular griots—whose ability to inhabit the bodies of dying or recently deceased creatures in order to collect their memories and pass them on to the archives maintained on their homeworld makes them effectively the custodians of cultures and communities which are in danger of or near extinction. As the protagonist of the story, Axala, remarks:

[12] Andrea Hairston, "Griots of the Galaxy," in: *So Long Been Dreaming: Postcolonial Science Fiction and Fantasy*, eds. Nalo Hopkinson and Uppinder Mehan (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2004), p. 23.

[13] Leonard, "Race and Ethnicity in Science Fiction," p. 253.

> Body historians, griots of the galaxy, we didn't diddle ourselves in jungle paradises, we inhabited flesh to gather a genealogy of life. We sought the story behind all stories. Collecting life's dazzling permutations, however sweet or sour, was our science, religion and art—nothing nobler in eternity.[14]

Thus, the singularity of their purpose, as they jump from body to body to record the memories of species for posterity, reveals the deep connection between the body and memory and history. To this end, the story repeatedly emphasizes the importance of the lived experience of the body, necessary for the gathering of memories, effectively establishing the corporeal as the primary locus of the historical account and remembrance.

This practice, in turn, facilitates the resurgence of hitherto extinguished or suppressed voices and stories, enabling the postcolonial act of writing—and speaking—back. Reflecting on her task, Axala (now residing in the body of a freedom fighter named Renee) remarks, "You didn't get to choose a life; you only had minutes to find what was available. A true historian should be glad for any dying body to ride. Every story offered precious insight."[15] This approach, apart from once again underscoring the importance of the corporeal for the processes of remembrance and reexamination of the historical narrative, emphasizes also the importance of the polyphony of voices and stories preserved by the griots, arguing against the hegemonic unifying narrative of universalist claims of superiority perpetuated by the colonial enterprise. Instead, the griots are granted immediate access to the corporeal memory of the bodies they inhabit, symbolically defying the colonial efforts aimed at, as Albert Memmi puts it, extinguishing the memories and histories,[16] which are then replaced by narratives approved by the hegemonic discourse.

At the same time, however, the story reflects on the contemporary condition of postcolonial communities with regard to their relationship with their ancestral heritage and memory, pointing to the fragmentary nature of such memories and recovered narratives. Just as Tiffin remarks on the fact that it is impossible for any postcolonial narratives to fully recover any "pre-colonial cultural purity,"[17] so are the memories recovered by the griots often fragmentary, fractured, and incomplete. This condition of contemporary postcolonial communities—and diasporas in particular—manifests symbolically in the story through the concept of the Edges,

[14] Hairston, "Griots of the Galaxy," p. 27.
[15] Ibid., p. 25.
[16] Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), p. 52.
[17] Tiffin, "Post-Colonial Literatures and Counter-Discourse," p. 95.

which, the narrator explains, are disjointed fragments of the griots' former selves, remembered only in flashes, since the griots can physically hold the memories of only one body at a time, while the rest of them become suppressed until released later on to the griots' repository of knowledge. When Axala remarks on her condition, she refers to the griots as serial amnesiacs,[18] while at the same time stressing the importance of communality in the practices of remembrance and storytelling, as the histories collected by the griots can unfold in their entirety only after they have been uploaded to their general repository. This practice, therefore, echoes the communal forms of storytelling, characteristic of the communities which rely on primarily oral accounts—i.e. accounts actively involving embodied performance—to preserve their history.

## Subversive Archaeologies: Excavating the Past

Another notion that allows us to conceptualize the ways in which, in postcolonial speculative fiction writing, the corporeal and the historical remain closely intertwined, is the concept of excavating the past. This motif, which appears across multiple stories within the genre, draws on the idea of transmitting memory across generations through the bodily element—a practice discussed in more detail in the section above—at the same time as it engages with the legacy of Western archaeology, reclaiming the act of excavation in a subversive practice that questions the legitimacy of Western accounts of the historical narrative. As Matthew Liebmann remarks in the first chapter of *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*, "From the earliest days of the discipline, archaeology has played a part in creating and controlling the representation of the past in colonized societies."[19] In turn, the narratives of postcolonial speculative fiction reclaim those means of representation of the past, destabilizing the fixed meanings and assumptions perpetuated by the colonial discourse, depriving them of their hegemonic power through questioning the underlying principles of the discipline.

Thus, in Suzette Mayr's short story "Toot Sweet Matricia," also published in the anthology *So Long Been Dreaming*, the author engages with the concept of the body understood as the repository of memory and ancestral heritage, at the same time employing the imagery of excavation to imbue the process of archaeological discovery, steeped in Western, colonial

[18] Hairston, "Griots of the Galaxy," p. 25.

[19] Matthew Liebmann, "Introduction: The Intersections of Archaeology and Postcolonial Studies," in: *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*, eds. Matthew Liebmann and Uzma Z. Rizvi (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2008), p. 6.

understanding of history and the progression of time, with subversive, transgressive properties that allow for the recovery of seemingly lost histories and memories. Telling the story of three generations of selkie women, described in the story as dark-skinned and dark-haired, and narrated by a nameless protagonist, "Toot Sweet Matricia" examines the struggles experienced by liminal, hybrid subjects in colonial and postcolonial realities as they search for roots and identity. The story posits that, on the one hand, under the hegemonic discourse, the body of the Other becomes subject to the process of colonization of the body—which manifests in the metaphor of hiding or destroying the selkie skin[20]—but, on the other hand, it retains in part its subversive, transgressive properties, refusing containment and manifesting its Otherness.

This story, therefore, constitutes first and foremost an account of the colonial Other's desperate search for identity and a place to belong—a search which is, once again, grounded in the experience of the body, emphasizing the importance of collective memory. Mayr employs the metaphor of the bog and digging in order to evoke the image of a repository of memory—here, the bog and digging come to symbolize the excavation of history, memories, and the hitherto inaccessible parts of the ancestral heritage of the Other, concealed by the processes of colonial erasure. The narrator says: "I feel something. Putting on the skin when it's not really yours is like putting both arms into a bog and drawing up pieces of corpse [...]. Matricia is a very black woman, much blacker than me [...]. I dragged her up piece by piece from the bogs of memory and horror."[21] Thus, the bodily element once again comes to symbolize the relationship between identity and ancestral memory: the protagonist dreams of unearthing a body, which—though grotesque and horrifying in its fragmentariness—constitutes a link with the ancestral past and a source of identification for the protagonist. Moreover, the act of pulling Matricia's body out of the bog signifies a form of subversive archaeology, in which the power over the history of a particular community is given back to its members, contesting the truth of the Western, colonial historical account. As Bill Ashcroft remarks,

> when we investigate history itself we find that, particularly in its nineteenth-century imperial forms, it stands less for investigation than for perpetuation [...]. At base, the myth of a value-free, 'scientific' view of the past,

[20] Suzette Mayr, "Toot Sweet Matricia," in: *So Long Been Dreaming: Postcolonial Science Fiction and Fantasy*, eds. Nalo Hopkinson and Uppinder Mehan (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2004), pp. 46–47.

[21] Ibid., p. 47.

> the myth of the beauty of order, the myth of the story of history as a simple representation of the continuity of events, authorized nothing less than the construction of a world reality.[22]

Here, the return of Matricia's body—initially fragmentary and almost monstrous—from the bogs of memory and horror not only collapses the Western understanding of the linearity of history mentioned by Ashcroft, but also, in its exorbitant disobedience and disregard for the narratives imposed upon it, brings back all that the hegemonic discourse has been working to falsify, extinguish, and bury.[23] Moreover, Matricia's body, now recovered from the bog and pieced together, is not a passive object to be gazed upon, an exhibition piece onto which one can impose a particular narrative. Instead, she constitutes an active agent imbued with subjectivity, who is able to testify to the history of subjugation and bear witness to the colonial experience. Through the description of her body, which is "much blacker"[24] than that of the nameless protagonist, the story juxtaposes Matricia's apparent blackness with the narrator's own experience of racial difference—including the act of Westernizing her appearance, i.e. straightening her hair,[25] which contributes to the creation of ambivalent double vision, a distorted mirror image, at the same time as it complicates the questions of ancestry, race, and ethnicity. Hence, where Matricia's body symbolizes the ancestral past, the narrator embodies the fractured, liminal nature of the postcolonial experience. Nonetheless, while Matricia's embodiment constitutes a connection with the ancestral past that is the object of the narrator's longing, the narrative emphasizes that the access to that repository of ancestral memory is equally fractured and incomplete, echoing the sentiments expressed by Helen Tiffin in her examination of the postcolonial condition,[26] and paralleling the central motifs of Andrea Hairston's short story.

## The Earth's Revenge: Reliving the Past

Finally, the connection between the corporeal and the historical finds its ultimate manifestation in the motif of reliving the past. This narrative, which can be traced across the postcolonial speculative fiction genre, places the body at the center of these processes, maintaining that the corporeal is

[22] Bill Ashcroft, *Post-Colonial Transformation* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 82–83.
[23] Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, p. 52.
[24] Mayr, "Toot Sweet Matricia," p. 47.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Tiffin, "Post-Colonial Literatures and Counter-Discourse," p. 95.

capable of collapsing the boundaries between the past, the present, and the future, at the same time destroying the Western, linear notion of time and the historical narrative, thus echoing Ashcroft's sentiments.[27] Those liminal, atemporal bodies which can reach back into their own past while remaining in the present are, therefore, capable of reconstructing the lost memories, histories, and genealogies, emerging as disobedient subjects who refuse temporal containment and question the nature of our relationship with the hegemonic historical account.

In Larissa Lai's 2002 novel *Salt Fish Girl*, the protagonist, Miranda Ching, through her connection with an ancient Chinese aquatic deity named Nu Wa, establishes her relationship with the past via her body, which constitutes, as Braidotti puts it, "an enfleshed kind of memory,"[28] enabling strategies of resistance against the neo-colonial hegemonic discourse into which she has been inscribed. Miraculously conceived after her mother's ingestion of the illegally obtained durian fruit coming from the Unregulated Zone, in which the goddess Nu Wa, hidden in a seed, waited to be born again, Miranda lives as a reincarnation of Nu Wa and a visible marker of bodily disobedience, collapsing in her very existence the notion of the linear progression of time and history.

It is Miranda's body, then, which bears the visible marks of her connection with the past, making the link explicit. Her fistulas, located behind her ears and leaking salty fluid, as well as her scales, which she initially identifies as having come from a piece of salmon,[29] constitute an explicit link with Nu Wa's aquatic origins, betraying her ancestry and establishing a direct connection to her past. Moreover, the overpowering scent of the durian fruit, which accompanies her from the moment of birth as a physical reminder of her link with Nu Wa and, by extension, the hidden genealogy of her reincarnations, outs her as Other at the same time as it signalizes her corporeal disobedience, seeping and leaking into the cracks and crevices, permeating her surroundings, refusing to be contained.[30] This, in turn, can be construed as a metaphor for the impossibility of extinguishing all perceptible signs of the colonial Other and a return of the suppressed subject to serve as a source of anxiety for the hegemonic system, while the durian fruit, simultaneously associated with exoticness and arousing disgust in Westerners, emerges as a physical reminder of the

[27] Ashcroft, *Post-Colonial Transformation*, p. 83.
[28] Rosi Braidotti, *Transpositions. On Nomadic Ethics* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006), p. 156.
[29] Larissa Lai, *Salt Fish Girl: A Novel* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2002), pp. 44–45.
[30] Ibid., pp. 16–17.

link to the past, existing outside of the imposed neo-colonial order, in the unregulated spaces of the periphery.

Miranda's body, then, becomes a living site of history, looking to the past while anchored firmly in the present, while Miranda herself, through the established connection, begins to remember and relive the past, gradually gaining unmediated access to the historical account. This access is further enabled by Miranda's status as the patient zero of what the characters refer to as the memory disease (or the dreaming disease), which manifests itself in the past leaking into the present as those afflicted by the disease continue to dream of war, death, torture, famine, and rape, reliving traumatic experiences of marginalized communities. Her body, which already bears the marks of her past lives, is for that reason capable of partially resisting the devastating effects of the disease, even though she still suffers from the symptoms. As Miranda says:

> I had no consciousness of sleep-talking, though sometimes the intensity of my dream world frightened me. But only sometimes. At other times it seemed the most natural thing in the world that I should remember things that went on before I was born, things that happened in other lifetimes. They happened to me; I was there, and the memories are continuous. Why should they be anything but? I did not realize that other people did not have these memories. I did not think of myself as a child afflicted by history, unable to escape its delights or its torments.[31]

Even though the primary symptoms of the disease are psychological in nature, this affliction remains nonetheless grounded in the experience of the body, as several of the characters in the novel believe it to be transferred through the soles of the feet, originating from contact with polluted soil.

For Miranda, her suffering from the memory disease signifies in yet another way her liminal nature and link to the past accessed through her body, but for the other sufferers of the disease—those marginalized and rejected by the society; those too destitute to afford shoes—such contact with relived memories is soon to prove fatal. As Miranda says:

> The disease had not yet reached the point of epidemic. In fact, there were not yet any indications that this strange disorder was causing any real harm, except, perhaps, at a social level. Its sufferers had not yet begun their compulsive march into the rivers and oceans, unable to resist the water's pull. Their bodies had not yet begun to wash up on the shores like fragments

[31] Ibid., p. 70.

> of an ancient rock separated from their seemingly indestructible mass of origin and pummelled smooth by the tide.[32]

It appears, therefore, that the dreaming disease becomes at the same time a metaphor for the colonial trauma and a sign of a temporal discontinuity which rejects the Western ideas regarding the linear nature of time and the historical narrative. It could be argued, then, that it is ultimately the body which becomes the central locus of remembrance, granting access to the ancestral repository of memory and allowing the subject to establish a connection with their heritage, even though the process necessitates engagement with the traumas of the colonial past.

Thus, the novel argues that memory is, in fact, as much corporeal as it is psychological, facilitated through the experience of the body which, in rejecting the Western understanding of the passage of time and the construction of the historical narrative, is capable of transcending the hegemonic narratives imposed upon it and engaging with the processes of memory- and history-making, in order to rediscover lost stories and voices, if only in part.

## Final Remarks: Bodies of the Future, Bodies of the Past

The consideration of embodiment as a vehicle for engagement with the historical narrative constitutes a familiar trope in postcolonial speculative fiction writing. In positioning the body simultaneously as the ultimate locus of colonial politics and the ultimate locus of resistance against the hegemonic narrative, the authors are able to critically examine and reconceptualize what it means to possess an Othered body within the constraints of a genre that habitually places such bodies in the roles of the alien/the unfamiliar other. Moreover, their inquiry into the issue involves crucial engagement with the temporal aspect of the existence of Othered bodies, as the history of exoticization and fetishization of such bodies has by necessity relegated them to a more "primitive," atavistic status.[33] For that reason, postcolonial speculative fiction works to dismantle those limitations, allowing Othered bodies at the same time to remain the bodies of the past, engaged with their ancestral heritage, but also to become the bodies of the future, unrestrained by the hegemonic discourse.

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[32] Ibid., pp. 70–71.

[33] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 359.

Thus, those strange embodiments come to constitute the sites of cultural and historical seepage, refusing containment, allowing the characters to bridge the gaps between the past, the present, and the future at the same time as they contest the Western, linear notions of the passage of time and the historical narrative. Through the various forms of embodying memory and testifying to the histories of their communities (transmitting memory/recording the past, excavating the past, reliving the past), the Othered bodies of speculative fiction emerge as potent vehicles for the critical reexamination of the historical narrative in colonial and postcolonial realities. As the body of the Other becomes the place in which the past, the present, and the future converge, it enables the unearthing of the hitherto inaccessible stories and histories, reconstructing the fragmentary memories of marginalized communities and demanding a thorough revision of the colonial narrative, emerging as not only the repository of ancestral memory and knowledge, but also an agent of resistance against the dominant narratives of the colonial historical account.

Agnieszka Podruczna

**Embodied Pasts. Body as Memory in Postcolonial Speculative Fiction**

The article considers the ways in which postcolonial speculative fiction conceptualizes the Othered body—particularly the female body—as the corporeal manifestation of collective memory as well as the historical narrative. Therefore, the article proposes that for three authors: Larissa Lai, Suzette Mayr, and Andrea Hairston, the experience of the body constitutes a fundamental element of constructing (or rather reconstructing) the continuity of the historical narrative in colonial and postcolonial realities. In this formulation, the body of the Other becomes the place in which the past, the present, and the future converge, allowing the Othered subject to reach the hitherto inaccessible histories and reconstruct the fragmentary memories of diasporic communities, which pave the way for an ultimate revision of the colonial discourse. The body of the Other becomes, then, not only the locus of ancestral memories, but also a tool of resistance against the hegemonic historical narrative.

**Keywords**: postcolonial science fiction, body, memory, Larissa Lai, Suzette Mayr, Andrea Hairston

**Słowa klucze**: postkolonialne science fiction, ciało, pamięć, Larissa Lai, Suzette Mayr, Andrea Hairston

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STUDIES AND ANALYSES

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# The Transient "Ideals" of the "Odissi Body" and the Changing Place and Role of Odissi Dancers in History

Odissi, being one of the Indian classical dance forms, involves stylised and codified movements, built upon a set of corporeal grammars and movement vocabularies, that are interconnected with the bodymind[1] philosophy and the aesthetic theory of *bhāva*[2] (mood, feeling, emotion) and *rasa* (essence, sentiment). Altogether, these elements enable the dance form to serve as both an internal experience and an external reflection of the world the dancer inhabits. This means that emotions, feelings, or thoughts can be experienced inside, within the bodymind of the individual dancer, a sphere that remains beyond the direct reach of the audience. At the same time, an outer reflection and experience of the same through the body and movement can be offered to the audience. Such an understanding suggests a considerable degree of agency[3] within the performer. However, my revision of the history of the dance formation and development brings the notion of the performer's agency into question. It appears that depending on who is "making" the "ideal body" and deciding about the

[1] The term "bodymind" refers to the dancer seen as a living being in whom the body and mind are equally important and function as a single interrelated system. This approach is in contrast to the dualistic view of body-mind or body and mind as separate entities with one having greater significance than the other.

[2] The International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST) system is followed in using diacritical marks for words of Sanskrit origin, except where the terms appear in citations. The words with diacritics are also italicised. Terms referring to place, region, language, and culture are kept in their Romanised spelling with no use of diacritics.

[3] The term "agency" in this article is understood as the dancer's capacity to act, think, feel, experience, and express in a performance.

prerequisites of the dance form, the agency of the individual dancer shifts with the change of their role and place in history, from an objectified to a subjective entity. Hence, in the present work,[4] I review the history of Odissi dance formation and development by considering two interrelated aspects: the changing "ideals" of "Odissi body" and the transformation of Odissi dancer's agency.

Historically always closely bound to the land, stories, and beliefs of the people of Orissa, Odissi dance has been continuously shaped by the changing socio-cultural and political context in India. According to Ranjabati Sircar, a modern Indian dancer, "the dancer's body reflects the relationship of the form to the society contemporaneous with the body. It also reveals, in its muscular patterning, the social eye in relation to the dancer."[5] I trace how this "social eye" has been shaping the shifting "ideals" of the Odissi dancer's body, the "Odissi body." Taking a socio-constructionist approach, I view dance as a social phenomenon, an "outcome of social forces and relations."[6] In this work, first, I provide a brief historical background of the form's earliest traces, before it was named "Odissi dance." The following three sections are discussions of the "social eye" and the dancer's place in historical periods, which are categorised here as revival, post-revival, and the recent transitions of traditional boundaries.

To analyse the transformations of the "ideals" of "Odissi body" and the dancer's agency in each section, I apply theories from chosen philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists, dance phenomenologists, and somatic practitioners. In the first analytical section, I consider the revived "Odissi body" as invented following Eric Hobsbawm's theory of "invented tradition." In the second section, to discuss the mode of external control carried out on the dancing body in the post-revival period, I turn to Michel Foucault's idea of the "docile body" under disciplinary surveillance, Marcel Mauss' "body techniques," and Pierre Bourdieu's "habitus." Finally, I arrive at an analysis of the recent heightened body-mind awareness, which I analyse in line with Brenda Farnell's concept of "agentic embodied meaning-making"[7] and selected scholars within dance studies, somatic studies, and dance phenomenology. Ultimately, the discussion of these

[4] The article is based on my doctoral research and unpublished PhD thesis: "When our Senses Dance: Sensory-Somatic Awareness in Contemporary Approaches to Odissi Dance in India," (University of Exeter, UK, 2016).

[5] Ranjabati Sircar, "Contemporary Indian Dance: Question of Training." *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 28, No. 39 (1993), p. 2068.

[6] Chris Shilling, *The Body and Social Theory* (London: Sage, 1993), p. 14.

[7] Brenda Farnell, "Kinesthetic Sense and Dynamically Embodied Action," *Journal of the Anthropological Study of Human Movement*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (2003), p. 135.

three respective periods in Odissi dance history points to the inconsistency of the dancer's agency, although guaranteed by its fundamental aesthetic theory and philosophy. Changing socio-political situations have kept shifting the dancer's role and place alongside the changing imaginations of the "ideal" Odissi body making it a highly transient form.

## The Earliest Traces of the Dance Form

Numerous Orissan temples adorned with spellbinding sculptures have been taken as a basis to suggest the existence of a forgotten dance practice of the past age known as the *Odhra Magadha*, as mentioned by Bharata in the *Nātyaśāstra*.[8] In the revival period, scholars pointed to the Jain king Kharavela's inscription and rock art in Udayagiri caves, dating back to the 2nd century BCE, as bearing the earliest evidence of Odissi dance (Figure 1a and 1b).[9] The establishment of this direct connection between a dance form set in contemporary times and some archaeological evidence of an unknown dance practice in the past was part of the conscious remaking of the national identity. However, the scarcity of material about the ancient dance form makes it impossible to compare it with Odissi dance. The only possible assumption to be made on account of the inscription is its entertaining feature.

**Figure 1a.** Rock art in Ranigumpha showing dancers and musicians performing for an audience. Udayagiri caves, 2nd century BCE. (Photo: Sabina Sweta Sen-Podstawska)

[8] Sanskrit text on performance.

[9] Dhirendranath Patnaik, *Odissi Dance* (Bhubaneswar: Orissa Sangeet Natak Akademi, 1971); Kapila Vatsyayan, ed., *Indian Classical Dance* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1974).

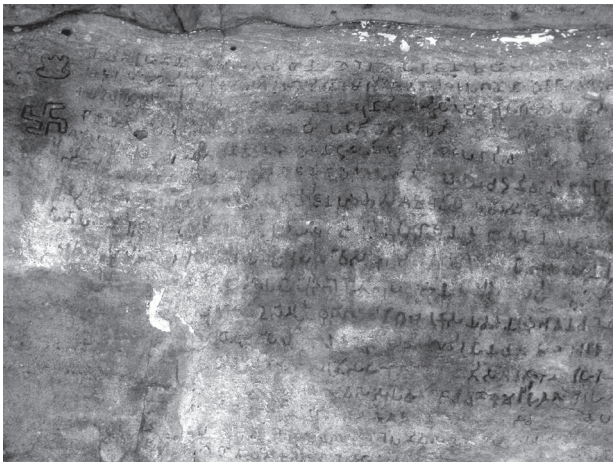

**Figure 1b.** Kharavela's inscription in Udayagiri caves, 2nd century BCE. (Photo: Sabina Sweta Sen-Podstawska)

**Figure 2.** The 13th-century Konark temple, considered one of the grandest examples of the Orissan temple architecture, has been an important source for the Odissi dancers and scholars in the process of reconstructing the dance. (Photo: Sabina Sweta Sen-Podstawska)

Following the archaeological and architectural traces in the exploration of Odissi dance development, Dhirendranath Patnaik stresses the multiple religious influences, such as Buddhism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, and Tantrism, visible in Orissan temple sculptures between the 6th and 13th

centuries CE.[10] The unique feature of these sculptures within the precinct of the temples, identified by Mohan Khokar as "frozen fluidity,"[11] suggests that the dance practices from this period embraced both the spiritual and aesthetic significance of the body with its sensual modalities illustriously celebrated and praised.

The next significant development took place during the rule of the Imperial Gangas in Orissa between the 11th and 15th centuries CE. The Imperial Gangas converted from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavisma and became devotees of lord Jagannath (incarnation of Viṣnu). Their devotion and spiritualism appear to have influenced the growth of temple dance practice. The temple dancer, *Devadasi*, is known in Orissa as Mahari. Jiwan Pani elucidates the meaning of Mahari as being derived from the word *maharaloka*, i.e. a female performer who aims to go beyond the highest aesthetic level of experience,[12] which gives her a distinguished status in society. Frederique Apffel Marglin[13] explores the rituals of Maharis in Puri whose performance was predominately based on *abhinaya* (narrative dance) with devotional character. Her analysis points to the sensory embodiment of *sringara rasa* (the erotic emotion), sexuality, auspiciousness, and sovereignty of female temple performers with reference to Odissi dance technique and the "emotional-cognitive spiritual transformations"[14] of the participants and the performer within the temple precincts. This suggests the presence of an embodied and subjective experience with a considerable degree of the performers' agency. Temple dancing developed as an aesthetic and spiritual art form closely related to temple rituals. Yet, as Anurima Banerji describes, the practice was an intersubjective encounter in which the Mahari's body was distributed between the temple, the deity, and the dancer.[15] Despite being held in high esteem and having some degree of agency, the body's confinement to the temple, the marriage to the deity, and seclusion from society had set the mines of disagreement which later exploded, when this dance left the precincts of the temple and entered a secular space.

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[10] Patnaik, *Odissi Dance*, pp. 15–25.

[11] Khokar Mohan, quoted in: Vanita Sinha, "Odissi: Evolution of a dance form," *Frontline*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1985), p. 115.

[12] Jiwan Pani, *Back to the Roots: Essays on Performing Arts of India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004), p. 65.

[13] Frederique Apffel Marglin, *The Wives of the God-King: The Rituals of the Devadasis of Puri* (London: Oxford University Press, 1985); Frederique Apffel Marglin, "Refining the Body: Transformative Emotion in Ritual Dance," in: *Divine Passion: Social Construction of Emotion in India*, ed. Owen Lynch (Berkley: University of California Press, 1990).

[14] Marglin, "Refining the Body," p. 212.

[15] Anurima Banerji, "Dance and the Distributed Body: Odissi, Ritual Practice, and Mahari Performance," *About Performance*, No. 11 (2012), pp. 7–39.

From the 16th century until the beginning of the 19th century CE, the Moghul invasion and later British colonialism brought severe degradation in social and religious organisation, which hindered all kinds of temple services. Due to lack of royal patronage of temples, Maharis became employed in the royal courts and associated with "concubinage" and prostitution.[16] Ananya Chatterjee notes that "all evidence about the Mahari dance style suggests that it was distinctly sensuous and graceful, and in fact highly erotic."[17] Trying to traverse the sacred and secular, these women acquired a double-edged identity and got caught in the perplexing tension between auspiciousness and impurity.[18] As a result they lost their high reputation and the tradition of temple dancing was endangered. According to anthropologist David Howes, cultural changes lead to sensory confusion, and social revolutions may also be equalled to sensory revolution and they "may stimulate new social and creative projects."[19] As it is shown below, the Mahari tradition's rapture incited the popularisation of Gotipua dancing, performed solely by young boys, as an expression of devotion.

The Gotipua dance "gained popularity in the subsequent Muslim period on account of the rigidity of the *purdha* system, which led to the seclusion of women and made their presence scarce on the festive occasions."[20] Yet the foremost stimulus for this new tradition's growth was the Vaiṣṇavas' urge to restrict and efface any apparent erotic connotations in the dance. So, disapproval of women's dancing in the temple led to the introduction of young boy dancers, who outside the temple, in the garb of female devotees, enacted *Rādhā*'s love for *Kṛṣṇa* inspired by "Gītagovinda."[21] Their performance dominated in *sakhi bhava,* which lies in the belief that "the Lord alone is male and all devotees are *gopis* (milkmaids). God could be approached only through ecstatic devotion. Since Krishna was male, the most effective way of showing devotion was as a female, similar

[16] Sinha, "Odissi: Evolution of a Dance Form," p. 116; Mohan Khokar, "The Odissi Dance: Myths, Legends, Historical Facts," *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, No. 20 (1969), p. 52; Ananya Chatterjee, "Contestations: Constructing a Historical Narrative for Odissi," in: *Rethinking Dance History: A Reader*, ed. Alexandra Carter (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 146.

[17] Chatterjee, "Contestations," p. 148.

[18] Marglin, *The Wives of the God-King*.

[19] David Howes, "Introduction: Empires of the Senses," in: *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*, ed. David Howes (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005), p. 5.

[20] Patnaik, *Odissi Dance*, p. 60.

[21] Ibid., p. 61. "Gītagovinda" is a 12th century poem by Jayadeva with erotic, religious, and spiritual connotations, that explicates on the love between Krsna (incarnation of Visnu) and his favourite *gopi* (cowherd maiden), Radha.

to the *gopis* who dance their love for Krishna."[22] Technically it was a replacement of the subjective body of the women with a prepubescent male body; however, the ultimate image produced remained unchanged. The Gotipuas' intricate make-up and costume, as well as facial, eye, and hip movements, formed an iconic enactment of femininity. Gotipua dancers were also taught the *Bandha nrutya* (the formation of acrobatic figures and movements)[23] (Figure 3a and 3b), which enriched the form and gave it a distinctive quality. This acrobatic and physically strenuous body usage initially disqualified women from this practice as it was believed to be unhealthy for them.

**Figure 3a** Gotipua performers from Orissa Dance Academy. (Photo: Pravat Kumar Swain)

From the 1850s to the 1920s, under the British Raj, the dance practices of the Mahari and Gotipua traditions suffered further impediments with the flow of Western philosophies of body-mind dualism, Puritanism,

[22] Judith Lynne Hanna, "India's Dance Kaleidoscope: Divine Sexuality, Sex Roles, Erotic Fantasy, Profanity, and Emancipation," in: *Dance, Sex and Gender: Signs of Identity, Dominance, Defiance and Desire*, ed. Judith Lynne Hanna (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 106.

[23] Patnaik, *Odissi Dance*, p. 62.

**Figure 3b** Gotipuas performing *Bandhya nrutya.* (Photo: Sabina Sweta Sen-Podstawska)

and Victorian ideals of female chastity. Besides the Mahari and Gotipua practices, the Jatra theatres, the Kalicharan Patnaik's Orissa theatre founded in 1939, and the Annapoorna theatres established after the war, provided platforms for the dance to stay alive.[24] Many popular items of today's Odissi recital started being formed at the Orissa theatres in joint cooperation of *gurus*, the traditional teachers, and through the amalgamation of their different Odissi styles.

## Revival: The Invented and Objectified "Odissi body"

At the turn of the 20th century, Indian nationalists sweeping through the fields of Indian arts, cultures, crafts, and literatures fanned the nationalist sentiment, which led to the revival of Indian art. Initiated by such cultural leaders and scholars as E. Krishna Eyer, Rukmini Devi and V. Raghavan, the revival began in South India in the 1930s, when at the height of the *anti-nautch* campaign[25] the art of the *Devadasis* was being lost.[26] In the era

[24] Leela Venkataraman, Avinash Pasricha, "Odissi," in: *Indian Classical Dance: Tradition in Transition*, eds. Leela Venkataraman, Avinash Pasricha (New Delhi: Roli Books Pvt. Ltd., 2002), p. 70.

[25] *Anti-nautch* was a movement under the British rule, which banned temple dance practices.

[26] Avanthi Meduri, "Nation, Woman, Representation: The Sutured History of the Devadasi and her Dance" (Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1996).

of Post-Independence, new cultural institutions were established in India through state sponsorship. In Orissa, *gurus* were already teaching dance in new cultural centres such as the *Kala Vikas Kendra* (from 1952) and *Orissa Sangeet Natak Akademi* (from 1954), and performances were also taking place.[27] The Jayantika group, including male scholars and *gurus* trained in Gotipua, reconstituted Odissi through the combination of *Abhinaya Darpanam, Nātyaśāstra, Abhinaya Caṅdrikā*,[28] as well as Śilpa *Prākaśa*,[29] with the existing dance practices in the theatre, Gotipua tradition, temple sculptures, and the Mahari tradition. The result was a "female" form based on the techniques of a "male" form and taught to female dancers by male teachers. This, eventually, established a clear gender dichotomy within the dance tradition.

**Figure 4** Sculptures of *alasākanyās* from Orissan temples. (Photo: Sabina Sweta Sen-Podstawska)

The sources of this reconstruction, i.e. sculptures and ancient scriptures, provide the answer to how the "ideal" Odissi body of the revived form was imagined. A line in Śilpa *Prākaśa* states: "as a house without a wife, as a playful enjoyment without a woman, so without (the figure of) women art will be deficient and bear no fruit."[30] The association of women with the house, entertainment, and fertility signifies a stereotypical male gaze. Moreover, the model of female body handed down from generation to generation of sculptors was the *damaru* (drum), which is "held at the waist and flares out above and below."[31] This model was used in sculpting the *alasākanyās* (graceful maidens) (Figure 4), in which one can note the

[27] Madhumita Raut, *Odissi: What, Why & How... Evolution, Revival & Technique* (New Delh: B.R. Rhythms, 2007), p. 49.

[28] These are Sanskrit texts on performance.

[29] It is a Medieval Orissan Sanskrit Text on Temple Architecture.

[30] Rāmacandra Kaula Bhaṭṭāraka Mahapatra, Śilpa–*Prakaśa: Medieval Orissan Sanskrit Text on Temple Architecture*, trans. Alice Boner and Sadasiva Nath Sarma (New Delhi: IGNCA & Motilal Banarasidass, 2005), p. 149.

[31] Vidya Dehejia, *The Body Adorned: Dissolving Boundaries between Sacred and Profane in India's Art* (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2009), p. 30.

sensuous curves, slender waists, full breasts, and heavy hips. From the sculptures this male "ideal" of feminine beauty was inscribed onto the (initially primarily female) Odissi dancing body, establishing a voluptuous "ideal." The curvaceous body and voluptuousness are achieved through the deflections of *tribhangi* (a stance formed with three bends: in the neck, torso, and knee). It is additionally accentuated by the body-fitting costume and the tightly tied silver waist belt (Figure 5), which divides the upper part from the lower part and visually makes the appearance of the torso slender, the waist narrower, and the hips more rounded, and evokes the *damaru* model.

**Figure 5** Author in Odissi costume. (Photo: Dagmara Sen)

This revived "ideal" of Odissi can be perceived as an "invented tradition," which according to Eric Hobsbawm is "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition," and which emerges "when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been

designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable."[32] The older ritual tradition of Maharis' inadaptability led to the popularity of Gotipua tradition, and then the revived Odissi was set up out of the need to re-define the new nation state and establish status and respect. The body movement was codified into a modern ritual framed as a primarily feminine stage performance but presented as an age-old tradition. The glorious past of the Mahari tradition was imagined to rebuild the sense of nationhood by establishing its rich heritage and continuity with antiquity. This re-invention of the Odissi body was designed to support the mentioned nationalism project to set values proper for the nation, enrich its heritage, and uplift its status.[33] In the process, the dance was labelled classical, a term that reflects "a divorce from traditional milieu of the dance and [its] replace[ment] with new secular, institutions on a Western model."[34] So, as a classical form, Odissi entered the sphere of world dances but it also became colonised by the trends and definitions of the West.

To fit the new philosophy, the revivalists redefined the Odissi dancer's body. It was an "ideal" body:

> Idealised by the dancer's body, which enunciated all that was religious and spiritual, yet performed in the new secular space of the proscenium theatre, Odissi represented the ideologies of the new nation state. The dancer was situated in the role of mother or goddess on the stage, which served to erase her sexual self in the world outside the home. The spiritual quality exercised by women was realized as a mark of a civilized nation.[35]

This invention of an idealised feminine dancing body to boost the national consciousness and lift the country's status led to a visible objectification of the female bodies. The performers' role was downgraded to mere objects representing the nation state. Their "ideal" curvaceous and voluptuous bodies resembling the temple sculptures and performing a dance rooted in the religious tradition served as markers of the nation's antiquity and culture. But it was not the embodied and subjective performance of the Maharis. Instead, to suit the modern urban westernised elite's taste, and the borrowed idea of chastity and puritanism, eroticism in Odissi had

[32] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in: *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1–5.

[33] Pallabi Chakravorty, "Hegemony, Dance and Nation: The Construction of the Classical Dance in India," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 21 (1998), pp. 107–120.

[34] Marglin, *The Wives of the God-King*, p. 2.

[35] Aastha Gandhi, "Who Frames the Dance? Writing and Performing the Trinity of Odissi" in: *Dance Dialogues: Conversations across cultures, artforms and practices*, 2008, July 18, p. 5. Accessed April 2, 2018, https://ausdance.org.au/articles/details/who-frames-the-dance-writing-and-performing-the-trinity-of-odissi.

to be subdued. Chatterjee notes that the early reformers "cleansed" the Bharatanatyam dance of its association with prostitution by "shifting the foundational emotion from *sringara,* the erotic, to *bhakti*, the devotional mood."[36] The same process took place in Odissi dance. Nonetheless, the erotic, aesthetic, and spiritual coexist in the Odissi repertoire in the form of the songs from "Gītagovinda." Archana Verma[37] suggests that the direct erotic connotations are hidden behind the elaborate aesthetic stylization in Odissi dance. Yet, during the revival, the feeling and sensing body of the dancer was erased, simultaneously reducing the performer's agency and freedom of expression. Susan Manning states that the dancer is in search of a performance in its kinesthetic and theatrical terms, whereas a scholar aims towards providing a descriptive account.[38] Apparently, at the moment of Odissi dance revival the latter took the lead.

Thus, the revival cannot be seen as a quest for truth nor for the past somatic and sensual experience of the dancer because the revivalists were more concerned to situate the dance for a respectable modern proscenium under the nationalist project. The new Odissi was invented as an "ideal" form which led to the objectification of the performer's bodymind as a reflection of ideologies of the civilised nation state.

## Post-revival: The "Silent" and "Docile Bodies" of the *Paramparā*

By post-revival I refer to the period after the classicisation of Odissi, which could roughly be assigned as between the 1970s and the 1990s. Only after gaining the classical status, Odissi dancers and *gurus* took a heightened interest to re-discover Orissa's religious, tribal, and folk traditions and started enriching the form by drawing in these elements and understandings which had not been applied to the dance before. Alongside the national and global popularisation of the classical form, *gurus* left Jayantika and followed separate paths to develop the specific styles of their *gharānās*[39] from where their personalised styles and practices emerged.

Amongst these early *gurus* who established their own styles were Kelucharan Mohapatra, Pankaj Charan Das, and Debaprasad Das. Kelucharan Mohapatra is the most renowned creator and teacher whose

[36] Chatterjee, "Contestations," p. 146.

[37] Archana Verma, "Eroticism in Indian Classical Dance: Odissi," in: *Performance and Culture: Narrative, Image and Enactment in India*, ed. Archana Verma (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 43–60.

[38] Susan Manning, quoted in: Helen Thomas, *The Body, Dance, and Cultural Theory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 141.

[39] *gharānā* comes from the Hindi word *ghar* meaning the house of the *guru.*

style seems to have remained closest to the Jayantika project of classicisation. This fact, along with his minute observation skills and intensive work on a large number of choreographies, subsequently made his style the dominant Odissi style.[40] Pankaj Charan Das, who, in spite of being one of the senior *gurus*, had been ignored previously, eventually developed the dance according to his memory and interpretation of temple dancers' practice, which came to be known as the Mahari style. His style was popularised as the "feminine" version of Odissi contrary to that of the male *guru's* patriarchal Gotipua style. Chatterjee explains the difference between these two forms: "the typical markers of the *Mahari* style, the rounded lines, the over sensuality, the displaced hips marked by the *bengapatti,* the heavy belt tied around the hip, are here overshadowed by the *gotipua* insistence on a much more acrobatic and linear style, characterized by jumps and extensions."[41] A younger *guru,* Debaprasad Das, who left Jayantika, accepted "inspiration from the tribal and non-classical stream of Orissan art."[42] His work is seen to be grounded in the *Sabda swarapatha* tradition also known as *Sabda Nritya*, which is a folk dance form originating from the village Kumbhari in Orissa. Dancers from Deba Prasad Das' *gharānā* have applied its physically strenuous quality to bring male attributes to the predominately feminine sensibility of Odissi.

As the dance was being developed by these respective *gurus*, it also came under their authoritarian control, and a pedagogical pattern of unconditional submission of the disciple was established. Each of these schools aimed at moulding its students' bodymind into the epitome of their respective style. The dancers were to be produced as silent and obedient bodies that could ultimately become living monuments of the dance style, as was the case with Sanjukta Panigrahi, referred to as the perfect incarnation of Kelucharan Mohapatra's style. Ideally under the teacher-disciple tradition, known as *guru*-śiṣya *paramparā*, the student grows into a professional by means of a strict, long-term apprenticeship beginning during her childhood at the *gurukula* (the *guru's* house). I discuss the practice of Odissi dance during the post-revival period in relation to power and shaping of the "docile body."

Unconditional surrender, discipline, respect, and devotion to the teacher and the dance form are the very core of this tradition. In the process of learning, the student is meant to be quiet since there is no place for

[40] Ileana Citaristi, *The Making of a Guru: Kelucharan Mohapatra, His Life and Times* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001).

[41] Chatterjee, "Contestations," p. 148.

[42] Venkataraman, "Odissi," p. 75.

questioning. Her role is to observe, mimic, absorb, and internalise. The student undergoes a holistic training consisting of not only the dance-related somatic knowledge, but also the rules of appropriate conduct, as touching the teacher's feet, lowering of eyes when the *guru* scolds her to show respect, and leaving her shoes outside the dance space as a mark of its divine nature. The disciple is taught techniques of the body, or a set of bodily habits, to use Marcell Mauss' theory of body techniques and habitus.[43] All these practices gradually become "a part of a learned behaviour system"[44] and as unconsciously performed practices they are, to borrow from Pierre Bourdieu, "internalised as second nature and so forgotten."[45] The idea is, following Michel Foucault's thought, to produce "a docile body that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved."[46] Foucault's theory on prison articulated in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison* finds a reflection of execution of power and discipline in other institutions and in the society itself. He presents the individual as being under a constant but subtle surveillance and discipline which is absent in the individual's consciousness. This and the promised goal of achievement facilitate the normalization and acceptance of the rigorous system offered to the disciple. In light of this theory, the Odissi dancing body can be seen as an object of symbolic representation of a disciplinary practice. Trained under particular teachers, the memory about the *guru*, his style, knowledge, philosophy, and stories are inscribed into the body through imitation and repetition, with no space for the dancer's individual feeling, thought, or expression. The behaviours or gestures inscribed as the perfect "durable" body *hexis* turn the body into a repository of culture but also that of the past. This notion, again, is in line with Bourdieu, who states the following: "the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history."[47]

These techniques of control and discipline have been utilised towards retaining the purity and authenticity of the different styles and the "essence" of Odissi. It is a noticeable move from the nation state's significance to the *guru*'s authority, with the dancer's role shifting only from being the objects representing the nation state to becoming the living monuments

[43] Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," *Economy and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1973), pp. 70–88.

[44] Ananya Chatterjea, "Training in Indian Classical Dance: A Case Study," *Asian Theatre Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 13 (1996), p. 71.

[45] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Oxford: Cambridge Press, 1990), p. 56.

[46] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), p. 136.

[47] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 82.

of the *guru's* style. Traditional *guru*s strictly object to performances that are outside the set repertoire, costume, or any other systems of Odissi. Bourdieu's denial of agency to subjects is reflected in these traditional *gurus*' approach, which restricted the individual dancer's capacity to think, feel, experience, and express. This, however, is problematic as, although the *guru*-śiṣya *paramparā* might hold its own values and ideals, the process of making sense of the training and practice requires the student's individual reflection and agency.

## Transiting the Boundaries: The Agentic Sensory-somatic Bodymind

There have been dancers who despite their traditional training have ultimately come out of it and have taken the dance form beyond the confines of the invented version. With their new approaches they have led to another shift in the "ideals" of "Odissi body" and the dancer's agency, from the voluptuous to the athletic body as well as from the objectified to a subjective, sensory-somatic bodymind. These changes have been taking place in correlation with the socio-cultural changes in India.

The 1990s liberalization of Indian politics and economy, and the opening of India to the global market have seen the emergence of the new middle class with its cosmopolitan identity.[48] Since 1996, men and women have become highly up-to-date with the newest trends and ideals of physical fitness and wellness. This is no longer the rounded and voluptuous body but the slim and sculpted perfect body, which, as Brosius notes, has become the new signifier of wealth and wellbeing.[49] Shoma Munshi indicates its arrival in India in the 1990s, mirroring the Western ideals of the perfect body,[50] and Sangita Shreshtova points to the Bollywood movies as the primary medium of its popularisation.[51] Additionally, the Western contemporary dance practitioners' heightened awareness of safety and body fitness has been another influential factor. Dancers travelling abroad, undergoing Western dance or fitness trainings or collaborations,

[48] Leela Fernandes, *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Christiane Brosius, *India's Middle Class: New Forms of Urban Leisure, Consumption and Prosperity* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010).

[49] Brosius, *India's Middle Class*, p. 308.

[50] Shoma Munshi, "Marvellous Me: The Beauty Industry and the Construction of the 'Modern' Indian Woman," in: *Images of the 'Modern Woman' in Asia: Global Media, Local Meanings*, ed. Shoma Munshi (Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001), p. 87.

[51] Sangita Shreshtova, *Is It All About Hips? Around the World with Bollywood Dance* (New Delhi & London: SAGE Publications, 2011).

have brought inspiration which they have started utilising in their Odissi training and performance.

Sanjukta Panigrahi is one of the first Odissi dancers travelling to Europe to teach the dance. In her seminars for International School of Theatre Anthropology (ISTA), she actively participated and collaborated with Eugenio Barba and other performers from 1980 till 1996. She admitted that teaching outside India is a challenge as "[participants] don't know India or its traditions."[52] New places, people, and contexts require adopting new ways of addressing, and there are multiple layers which co-influence the way knowledge is passed on to them. The value of the cognisance and sense of motion in Odissi was realised by Panigrahi during her sessions with ISTA. She observed as follows: "I reflected on exactly what my body was doing during the dance. I found I could feel each part of my body. I could define the role each part played in the formation of the dance."[53] In this new experience, which had been absent in her traditional Odissi training based on mirroring and repetition, Panigrahi recognised the kinesthetic sense, through which one can seek a "deeper understanding of movement itself as a way of knowing, a medium that carries meaning in an immediately felt, somatic mode."[54] Such experiences led to a growth of anatomical awareness amongst Odissi dancers.

Bijayani Satpathy from Nrityagram, an Odissi dance institution in Bangalore, reflecting on her own training, was able to identify wrong postures, established by pushing the chest front and hip back—to find a bigger curve, which she had been asked to create by her teachers. For health and safety concerns, these postures are problematic because of the severe anatomical injuries that may arise (e.g. lower back strain). Hence, Satpathy, although following the ideals of sculpturesque body, does not adhere to the ideal of its exaggeration. She seems to follow Parviainen's phenomenological understanding that dancing is not only about learning body skills but employing body knowledge, that is "the ability to find proper movements through bodily negotiation."[55] Body conditioning in Nrityagram has been treated as an important factor directly effecting the dancer and the dance. However, it is undertaken separately outside of

[52] Sanjukta Panigrahi, quoted in: Ron Jenkins and Ian Watson, "Odissi and ISTA Dance: An Interview with Sanjukta Panigrahi," in: *Negotiating Cultures: Eugenio Barba and the Intercultural Debate*, ed. Ian Watson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 73.

[53] Ibid., p. 69.

[54] Deidre Sklar, "Reprise: On Dance Ethnography," *Dance Research Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 32 (2000), p. 70.

[55] Jaana Parviainen, "Bodily Knowledge: Epistemological Reflections on Dance," *Dance Research Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 34 (2002), p. 20.

the core dancing session. Besides Hatha Yoga and Kalaripayattu, Pilates, and ballet exercises, Ranjabati Sircar's contemporary dance exercises, guided through a vocabulary and approach based on Feldenkrais method, are amongst Nrityagram's daily practice and training methodology. In this approach, we see a shift of the "ideals" of the "Odissi body" from voluptuous bodies of the sculptures to slim, fit, and athletic bodies.

How has this shift of "Odissi body" "ideals" impacted the dancers' embodiment of Odissi dance? My PhD research has shown that it is shaping dancers who aim towards achieving a healthy, conditioned, strong, fully aware bodymind, free from any constraints, because this enables active exploration of multiple paradigms.[56] With the thinking-feeling sensory-somatic bodymind the dancer initiates and experiences what dance anthropologist Brenda Farnell calls "a process of agentic embodied meaning-making."[57] Thus, the previously objectified bodies of the dancers now become subjective bodyminds fully engaged in the process. What has primarily led to this situation is the socio-cultural shift from the teacher's absolute authority towards a greater agency of the performer. There is a change from the third person (*guru*-disciple) to first person (disciple-disciple) teaching/transmission. Instead of mimicking the teacher's movement, the dancer-student learns through personal exploration and analysis under the teacher's guidance. According to the somatic practitioner Thomas Hanna, this is the first-person perception of body from inside (the dancer).[58] Finally, there is a shift from silence, total surrender, and habituation toward teachers' encouraging students to ask-think-do and learn from feeling, sensing, thinking, experimenting, and exploring from within their bodymind, and toward envisioning the dance form and movement through anatomical awareness, for instance by paying attention to principles of weight distribution, alignment, touch, imagery, or metaphors.[59] This demonstrates the transition of the dancer's role and place from the objectified to the subjective and agentic.

The "Odissi body" has been dynamically changing its purpose, identity, corporeality, movement, space, and sensory frameworks. The socio-political, historical, and economic circumstances as well as global influences have inevitably been key factors in the continuous re-modelling of the Odissi dance. As anthropologist Adrienne Kaeppler notes, "dancing and its

[56] Sen-Podstawska, "When Our Senses Dance."

[57] Brenda Farnell, "Kinesthetic Sense and Dynamically Embodied Action," p. 135.

[58] Thomas Hanna, "What is Somatics," in: *Bone, Breath & Gesture: Practices of Embodiment*, ed. Don Hanlon Johnson (San Francisco: North Atlantic Books, 1995).

[59] Sen-Podstawska, "When Our Senses Dance."

history are not just 'out there' in some positivistic sense; it is the framing and interpretation of dancing that makes history for the present."[60] Due to the inscription of manifold narratives Odissi has remained an extremely unstable, contested, and malleable form, a project still in formation. It became an invention of a new Indian nation highly influenced by Western philosophies because the older orders did not comply with the modern any longer. As soon the classical label was attained, Odissi departed from the fixed frameworks of Jayantika, and the disciples' bodymind and its movement came under scrutiny of their specific *gurus* and schools. These shifts went hand in hand with the enrichment of somatic and aesthetic meanings through regional practices. Eventually, the recent transitions from the set structure in contemporary practices are stretching the parameters of Odissi dance bodymind.

The exploration of the shifting "ideals" of the Odissi dancer's body marked by the changing socio-cultural influences, the "social eye," shows that the Odissi dancer's body has served as an object, a canvas for painting national narratives, symbols of the state, antiquity, tradition, or gurus' styles. The Mahari dancer's subjectivity, the thinking, feeling, and sensing bodymind, was erased throughout the revival and post-revival period. The "ideals" kept moving from voluptuous to athletic bodies, and from objectified silent "docile" bodies of the post-revival period to sensory-somatic bodies (thinking-feeling, open to explorations) in the period of transitions. The recent changes with the turn to the subjective sensory-somatic approach to the "Odissi body" have opened a new space to contemporary dancers, offering them a new role and place. They can engage with the dance form with an agentic thinking-feeling bodymind. This has enabled dancers to go beyond the portrayal of mythologies and generate dialogues with the current socio-cultural issues. In the light of these transformations, the contemporary Odissi dancers can be seen as agents who "write" and make history instead of just being the objects or vessels onto which history and identity are projected. This transient nature of Odissi dance proves what Janet O' Shea notes: "culture is not a single identity that dance reflects or contributes to. Rather, culture is a set of politicized 'belongings' that shift in relationship to concerns that are local and contemporaneous."[61] The contestation over definitions of ideal,

[60] Adrienne L. Kaeppler, "Dances and Dancing in Tonga. Anthropological and Historical Discourses," in: *Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities*, ed. Theresa J. Buckland (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), p. 27.

[61] Janet O'Shea, "Dancing Through History and Ethnography: Indian Classical Dance and the Performance of Past," in: *Dancing from the Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities*, ed. Theresa J. Buckland (Madison, WI:

traditional, classical, contemporary, time, place, people, power, and money continues. It seems that the unavoidable processes that govern the global world keep bringing back and forth issues of usurpation of power. What remains at the very heart of these dynamics is that "the body, like the self, becomes a site of interaction, appropriation and reappropriation."[62]

Sabina Sweta Sen-Podstawska

**The Transient "Ideals" of the "Odissi Body" and the Changing Place and Role of Odissi Dancers in History**

This article revisits the history of the Odissi dance's formation and development in order to explore the changing "ideals" of the "Odissi body" and the transformation of the Odissi dancer's agency, and their place and role in history. I review the trajectory of the Odissi dance's history originating from an ancient form carved in stone, through the regional traditions of Maharis and Gotipuas, its revival as a cultural, aesthetic, and classical entity under the direct influence of early 20th-century Indian nationalism, its further development into specific styles and schools, and to the more recent understanding of the Odissi dance as a sensory-somatic form. Throughout the work, I question the subject/object role of the dancers which shifts depending on who "makes" the "ideal body" and decides about the prerequisites of the dance form. I analyse how the changing "ideals" of the body transform the role and place of the dancer from being an object to becoming an agent (the shift form objectified to subjective). I discuss the lack or presence of the subjective and agentic (feeling-thinking-sensing) bodymind throughout three periods: revival, post-revival, and transition. In the analysis, I apply theories from chosen philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists, dance phenomenologists, and somatic practitioners. This interdisciplinary perspective enables a study of the history of a dance which has always been influenced by the socio-cultural circumstances, and has remained a highly malleable and transient form.

**Keywords**: Odissi dance history, transient ideals, "docile body", objectified body, subjective body, agency

**Słowa klucze**: historia tańca Odissi, ideały przelotne, potulne ciała, uprzedmiotowione ciało, podmiotowe ciało, zdolność działania

University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), p. 145.

[62] Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (California: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 218.

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# Historicising the Gothic Other

Marie Mulvey-Roberts Dangerous Bodies: *Historicising the Gothic Corporeal* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 258.

Themes associated with the body, particularly bodily trauma and abnormality, are obviously a staple element of the Gothic genre. They will include the metamorphosed, shape-shifting bodies of a vampire, a werewolf, or Dr Jekyll; the freakish, deviant body of a monster, a hybrid, and Frankenstein's creation; the gory, brutalized body of a (female) serial killer victim, and the apparitional, evanescent non-body/after-body of a ghost or a vision. The abject, Gothic body is conventionally understood to represent the fears and anxieties of the culture in which these stories were written, shifting as the contexts of these texts might be varied historically and geographically.

This rather conventional understanding of the role of a body in Gothic fiction seems to be embraced and richly complemented by Marie Mulvey-Roberts in her latest book, *Dangerous Bodies: Historicising the Gothic Corporeal* (2016). The gothic texts selected as the main focus of five chapters are interpreted as embedded in historical and biographical contexts. The book provides a detailed, meticulously researched account of previously neglected documents, providing a minute analysis of possible inspirations for literary and filmic texts that could have come from historical events, accounts, or influences from family and literary acquaintances. Thus,

"historicising the gothic corporeal" involves here an immersion of Gothic texts in their cultural contexts with utmost attention paid to the textual and historical detail.

Mulvey-Roberts focuses on the classic Gothic works of literature and film: *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), *The Monk* (1796), *Frankenstein* (1818), *Dracula* (1897) and *Nosferatu* (1922), as well as 20th- and 21st-century literary and cinematic works, surrounding them with less-known cultural texts, historical events, biographical data, documents, letters and journals, in order to "reveal how the demonization of the Other, as reflected in Gothic literature, may be traced to institutional persecution and acts of war" by "point[ing] to the real-life narratives of fear, danger and persecution" (p. 11).[1] According to the author, the radical power of the Gothic lies in the deconstruction of the self and Other/monstrous binary as that of a perpetrator and a victim (p. 2), following Foucault's characterization of the Gothic as a text that "is always about the abuse of power" (Foucault, quoted in Mulvey-Roberts, p. 4). Thus, the book is organized not around the Gothic cultural landmarks, but rather around the bodies of the Other—the Catholic, the slave, the woman, the Jew, the soldier—that these novels (at times covertly and inadvertently) present. In Mulvey-Roberts's eyes, the truly Gothic energy in the background of these texts is the events of mass destruction—the Inquisition, the French Revolution, slavery and slave rebellions in the Caribbean, medicalization of females and their mass mutilations on the Victorian operating tables, 20th-century anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, and the military conflicts—when history fed itself on the bodies of the Other. Mulvey-Roberts's interpretation might at times be surprising, as it shows that the authors of Gothic classics, traditionally perceived as radical and non-conforming to the mainstream ideas of their times, were indeed perpetuating those discourses which justified the abuse of the Other: anti-Catholicism, racism, anti-Semitism or misogyny, performed in the settings of the "monastic community, slave plantation, operation theatre, Jewish ghetto and battlefield trench" (p. 1).

In the opening chapter of the book, Mulvey-Roberts convincingly presents the 18th-century Gothic novel, particularly Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, as not purely anti-Catholic, as it is generally considered, but more ambiguous; Walpole's admiration of Catholic aesthetics is combined, according to the author, with a satire on the usurpation of religious power by Henry VIII. She presents Catholicism as a strong inspiration for the 18th-century Gothic, with images of the passion of

[1] All page numbers in parentheses reference the volume under review.

Christ and *imitatio Christi* among the believers (p. 14); the horrors of the Inquisition (p. 15), and holy stigmatism (p. 16). Horace Walpole's "urtext for the Gothic novel" (p. 16) is both a criticism of Catholic superstition and an expression of his fascination with the medieval past, which thus paradoxically satirizes the English Reformation and the political scene of his age. Further on, Mulvey-Roberts discusses Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*, particularly the figure of the Bleeding Nun, as both an expression of European anti-clericalism and "the necessary fruit of the revolutionary tremors felt by the whole Europe" (de Sade, quoted in Mulvey-Roberts, p. 35). The author situates *The Monk* within a wider range of Gothic literature, from Marquis de Sade's works to Diderot's *The Nun* (1796), not only to illustrate the monstrosities of the French Revolution as reflected in these literary texts, but also to suggest that Catholicism was interpreted as destabilizing for English Protestant femininity (p. 35) – a concept which will continue well into the 19th century, for instance, in Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* (1853). The bleeding female body of the nun in Lewis's work is thus an abject symbol of femininity. But what this chapter most evidently illustrates is the fact that in this book, Mulvey-Roberts does not offer purely a complementation of classic readings of gothic texts; what she does, via meticulous examination of historical contexts, is to offer a convincing interpretation that stands in stark contrast to these traditional readings, as she does in chapter one: instead of seeing the 19th-century Gothicism as anti-Catholic, she proves that it is hugely inspired by and stems from a fascination with Catholicism.

The second chapter analyses Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* as a representation of both the living and dead body of a slave, interpreting the novel as "a parable of the life cycle of a slave and, as such, a narrative embodiment of the real-life terror and horror" (p. 53). The novel as an allegory of slavery refers, according to Mulvey-Roberts, to focal issues of the early 19th-century abolitionist movement and its fear of social anarchy as a possible consequence of emancipation. Thus, the Frankenstein's monster's hybridity is, Mulvey-Roberts claims, "a metaphor of mixed race" (Ibid.), while his large frame and physical strength represent the fear of "black potency" (Ibid.). Mulvey-Roberts repeats after Andrew Lloyd Smith that the creature's story at the core of Mary Shelley's novel resembles a slave narrative, while Victor Frankenstein's refusal to create a female version of the monster reflects "demonization of female rebel slaves" (Ibid.). Finally, the creature's murderous rage refers to slave rebellions occurring in the Caribbean in the early 1800s, and his murder of Elizabeth Frankenstein

hints at the possibility of rape and thus the taboo of miscegenation (Ibid.). Mulvey-Roberts's claim that Shelley's novel is an expression of her ameliorist opinions—that the slaves' emancipation should not be immediate, but preceded by earlier education and better treatment, in fear of their bloody revenge—is backed up by varied historical evidence, among them Shelley's personal connections to slave owners: Gilbert Imlay, the father of her half-sister Fanny, was involved in the slave trade (p. 61), and the aforementioned Matthew Lewis, the author of *The Monk*, owned over 500 slaves on two Jamaican plantations he inherited in 1812 (p. 67), while Shelley's friend Fanny Wright established in 1825 a plantation in the US called Nashoba Commune, a failed quasi-utopian and ameliorist experiment where slaves were to be prepared for emancipation (p. 59). This evidence, combined with contemporary political documents, accounts of slave rebellions and the cultural and quasi-scientific discourses of race in the early 1800s lead the author to conclude that *Frankenstein* represents the anxiety connected with the possible emancipation of the racial Other. And again, this conclusion offered by Mulvey-Roberts interestingly stands in contrast to the traditional scholarship which sees *Frankenstein* as an illustration of Shelley's radicalism; a detailed historical reading of Shelley's milieu allows one to perceive a much more ambiguous picture of the political convictions standing behind this classic text.

Similarly, in the next chapter Mulvey-Roberts makes a connection between Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and late 19th-century discourses of medicine, particularly gynaecology and psychiatry, via his family connections; as she notes, Stoker came from a medical family, and his oldest brother Sir William Thornley Stoker was a gynaecological surgeon who performed both ovariotomies and clitoridectomies and who, Mulvey-Roberts claims, might be a model for Professor Van Helsing in the novel (p. 118). The chapter offers a fascinating yet terrifying account of late Victorian "medical sexism" (p. 94), expressed in sexualisation of mental disturbances, such as hysteria, and in their treatment via female castration, called by the author "sexual lobotomy" (p. 94). The author sees *Dracula* as a "medical novel" (p. 94), with the staking of Lucy as the key scene, "a sublimation of the castrating surgeon and his assistants operating on a hysterical female patient" (p. 94). Mulvey-Roberts uses medical discourses of the time to show how female sexuality, for instance masturbation, was pathologized and, when it comes to *Dracula*, demonised, and found to be in need of exorcism by Van Helsing. In contrast to the previous two

chapters, this reading of *Dracula* and of medicalisation of female sexuality in the Victorian period is nothing new.

The analysis of the figure of a vampire continues in the fourth chapter of the book, where *Nosferatu*, the German expressionist film of 1922, is interpreted by Mulvey-Roberts as a representation of European anti-Semitism of the period. This anti-Jewish sentiment was fed by, for instance, the colonial discourse which saw Ashkenazi Jews from Eastern Europe, emigrating to Western Europe and the USA at the turn of the 20th century, as a menace (p. 130), represented by the Gothic figure of the Wandering Jew (p. 132). The Jew, stereotypically characterised by cupidity and engaged in usury, is represented by the vampire, the bloodsucker (p. 133), and as a "threat to racial purity" (p. 131); he/she connotes disease and contagion, represented in *Nosferatu* by the rat-like physique of Count Orlok. Mulvey-Roberts also discusses *Rassenromanen* (race novels) of the early 20th century, steeped in anti-Semitic sentiment, as early signs of German fascism. Based on Derrida's hauntological concept of the revenant that "signals towards the future" (quoted in Mulvey-Roberts, p. 151), she claims that German expressionist cinema, and particularly *Nosferatu*, "foreshadows the horrors lying ahead" (p. 152). The cinema, as well as other cultural artefacts discussed by Mulvey-Roberts, such as popular novels and newspaper cartoons, became the contemporary opium for the masses, paving the way for the horrors of the Holocaust.

Finally, in her last chapter, Mulvey-Roberts turns to the discourses of war, from the Crimean (1853–1856) to the Vietnam War (1959–1975), in order to show "the draining effects of war on the body politics" (p. 180). The cultural texts mentioned in this chapter include, among others, Marie Nizet's *Captain Vampire* (1879), *Nosferatu* and an earlier film, *J'Accuse* (1919), and the contemporary film *Deathdream* (1974) as well as *The Bloody Red Baron* (1995) by Kim Newman, an alternative historical Gothic novel. These texts, along with propaganda posters and cartoons, represent war as the ultimate vampire, feeding on the bodies of soldiers.

In her conclusion, Mulvey-Roberts locates her analysis within the field of hauntological interpretation of War Gothic, as "literature dealing with oppression […], a political genre encrypting the return of the oppressed" (p. 222), who, like the spectral soldiers of the First World War rising from their graves in *J'Accuse*, reproach and warn the living. The author perhaps fails to emphasize either in her introduction or in the conclusion a recurring theme in her book which is female oppression and the anxiety caused by female sexuality – starting from the menstrually abject Bloody Nun in

*The Monk*, through potentially dangerous female creation in *Frankenstein* representing women slaves, and the Victorian hysteric in chapter three, to the fear of miscegenation represented in the vampire myth and the danger imposed by syphilitic prostitutes during the war symbolised by a female vampire in the last chapter. Mulvey-Roberts's work does not propose entirely novel readings of the texts discussed—after all, interpretations of Frankenstein's monster as a slave, a vampire as a Jew, and Lucy/Mina as a hysterical/sexually liberated New Woman have been discussed in Gothic studies since the 1990s but her analysis is wonderfully extensive in its historical and cultural range. It is an insightful and highly informative addition to the body of Gothic scholarship, recommended to any student or scholar in the field.

Barbara Braid

**Historicising the Gothic Other**

The following review discusses the recent book by Marie Mulvey-Roberts, *Dangerous Bodies: Historicising the Gothic Corporeal* (Manchester UP, 2016), which offers a historical perspective on gothic literary and cultural texts. In the book, Mulvey-Roberts examines how gothic fiction represents the bodies of the Other – the Catholic, the slave, the woman, the Jew, and so on – on which the history cannibalistically feeds itself; a meticulous historical research allows her to shed new light on both canonical as well as more marginal gothic texts. This review offers an overview and a brief comment on this significant addition to gothic studies.

**Keywords:** gothic body, the Other, historical approach, Mulvey-Roberts
**Słowa kluczowe:** gotyckie ciało, Inny, badania historyczne, Mulvey-Roberts

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# Bodies in Polyphony

Emma, Rees, ed. *Talking Bodies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Embodiment, Gender and Identity* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 233.

Edited by Emma Rees, *Talking Bodies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Embodiment, Gender and Identity* is a collection of eleven essays that vary in terms of methodologies, fields, backgrounds, and subjects, but are arguably united by the theme of the body along with its communicative aspect. The essays touch upon a wide range of topics, including social and anthropological takes on contemporary issues—such as body modification, online violence, and body image—but also literary and historical analyses of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Yet this list is by no means exhaustive; the authors do not avoid discussions of intimate experiences, such as vulvar pain and the trauma of rape. Because of this, *Talking Bodies* is not locked in the cage of strictly academic debate but steps out of it, which, I believe, is the book's great success. In the first chapter, functioning as an extended introduction, the editor maps the territory of the collection. Employing literary and theoretical references, Rees composes a rhizome-like argument which is non-linear and teeming in linkages. These inspirations simultaneously hint at the motivations behind choosing the particular texts. A theoretical frame "sketched" in this chapter includes such thinkers as Susan Bordo, Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Michel Foucault, Elizabeth Grosz, Donna Haraway, and

Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Explaining that it is hardly possible to produce a homogenous, unified notion of the body since a variety of powerful factors affect it continually, Rees makes a promise of "an immensely productive polyphony" (p. 13)[1] in *Talking Bodies*: a promise that the next ten chapters by all means fulfil.

Unlike other texts in the volume, chapters 2 and 3 are literary analyses. In "Edith Wharton: An Heiress to Gay Male Sexual Radicalism?" Naomi Wolf reflects on Wharton's indebtedness to the legacy of Oscar Wilde and Walt Whitman as observed, among others, in "The Reckoning," *Summer*, *The Age of Innocence*, and *The Gods Arrive*. Reading Wharton's novels, Wolf notes that although the author goes through a moral transformation, she simultaneously does not cease to be critical about the consequences of liberation for heterosexual women, which are different from those which males in general and homosexual females face. In the context of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the risks include, among others, diseases, unwanted pregnancy, abortion, and social rejection. Another polarity is observed in the descriptions of sexual passion: a female heterosexual account, contrary to male ones, involves "language of submission, loss of will, yielding, loss of boundaries or loss of self" (p. 27). Wolf concludes that even though in Wharton's novels the heroines eventually fail despite all their attempts at resistance (a remarkable example of which is the fate of Charity Royall, the protagonist of *Summer*), the author has "picked up the banner" of Wilde and Whitman, redefining female liberation as presenting an array of flaws and prospects. The biggest merit of the article is the issue of risks associated with women's sexual liberation, which is strikingly current. Even though Wolf does not aim at commenting upon the 21st century, both her article and Wharton's prose reflect the problems faced by women today; for this reason, it is a pity that the author does not move beyond the 19th and 20th centuries, leaving the contemporary relevance of the matter unexplored. The next chapter addresses a similar time frame. "Losing Face Among the Natives: 'Something about Tattooing and Tabooing' in Melville's *Typee*" by Graham Atkin scrutinises the reasons behind the fear of being tattooed in the main protagonist of *Typee*. The dread of "non-consensual body modification" (p. 36) is tackled in the context of such thematic pairs as face and (white male) identity, assimilation with natives and return to so-called civilisation, and the cannibalism taboo and white male incomers' "filth" (p. 51). What Atkin offers here is an attentive and in-depth analysis

[1] All page numbers in parentheses reference the volume under review.

that nevertheless is a pleasurable read with a number of personal remarks and—often comical—anecdotes.

The following chapter provides the reader with a shift from literary studies to the ethnographic analysis of transgender people in Naples (Italy). "What the Body Tells Us: Transgender Strategies, Beauty, and Self-consciousness" by anthropologist Marzia Mauriello begins by reflecting on the interplay between the body, beauty, and satisfaction in transsexuals and transgender people. The author then points to a possible categorisation of male-to-female (mtf) transgender people and proposes another category, which is characteristic of Naples, being a part of the city's tradition, history, and culture. *Feminielli* belong to the urban underprivileged class of Naples and are characterised in short as "males living as females" (p. 60). Mauriello describes their rituals, appearance, (female) role, perception of their own sexual orientation, and attachment to traditional values. Having returned to the idea of beauty, the author makes a concluding remark on the heteronormativity of the notion of beauty for transsexuals, claiming that "an mtf transsexual body is one which, in its transformation, develops and reinforces naturalised ideals of female beauty and identity as they are imagined, and constructed, by men" (p. 69).

The next three chapters are case studies relying mostly on interviews with women. Nina Nyman's "Tattoos: An Embodiment of Desire" is an analysis of interviews with seven tattooed women, which touched upon, among others, the women's decisions to be tattooed, their relations to their bodies, the visibility of their tattoos and people's reactions, but also their own reactions to other people's tattoos. Nyman looks at the responses through the prisms of Deleuze and Guattari's concept of becoming, Grosz's take on productive desire inspired by Spinoza, and Rosi Braidotti's reading of schizoanalysis. Becoming tattooed is seen as a strategy that blurs the inside/outside dichotomy and thus leads to "the 'deorganising' of the borders of bodies" (p. 85). Based on an independent decision to modify one's own body, getting a tattoo is finally defined as a potential feminist strategy. Concerned with a more normative set of body modifications, "Learning Womanhood: Body Modification, Girls and Identity" by Abigail Tazzyman discusses, among others, wearing make-up, shaving pubic hair, and having one's ears pierced. What is investigated is the relation between appearance, self-image, and gender. The author uses Gesa Lindermann's distinction between the objectified body, the experiencing body, and the experienced body, to claim that it is crucial to add another category—the *ideal* body. Thereafter, Tazzyman turns to the close reading of the significance of such

practices for parents and daughters. Having portrayed the consequences of perceiving body modification as a stage that denotes becoming a woman, Tazzyman looks at its normative aspect, along with the social expectations that accompany it. She concludes that body modification is not based on an independent decision or individual preferences: it is a result of certain norms and a sign of fitting in, or of "learning womanhood" (p. 111). Chapter 7, "The Construction of a Personal Norm of Physical and Psychological 'Well-Being' in Female Discourse" confronts a corresponding issue as it reflects on the central position the body occupies in female identity, and on the relevance of judgement and norms. Grounding her research upon body image studies and linguistic analysis, Maria Krebber observes that social norms are internalised by the interviewed women, who tend to claim that one's well-being depends solely on one's will and decision to take care of oneself; these women fail to recognise that dissatisfaction with one's body may be more than an individual problem.

"No Body, No Crime? (Representations of) Sexual Violence Online" by Jemma Tosh introduces a topic that is still barely present in academic debates even though its significance for contemporary young generations is striking. By analysing forum discussions, the author reflects on violence and rape in online games, noting the inconsistencies between the definitions of rape in the "real" and "virtual" world and questioning the validity of this quasi-solid distinction. Tosh identifies four discourses of defining sexual violence online; she carefully de-constructs them and points out how they fall short of expectations. This voice is essential in hyperreal times when virtual reality has merged with the offline life. Yet it is not the question of technology itself; the author reaches the conclusion that sexual abuse online is not a novel phenomenon: "technology only develops existing forms of abuse" (p. 156), and such abuse is gendered.

The following two chapters involve confessions, the first exploring respondents' experiences of living with vulvar pain, and the second the personal story of the author. In "Heteronormativity as a Painful Script: How Women with Vulvar Pain (re)Negotiate Sexual Practice," Renita Sörensdotter observes that the women interviewed make a distinction between the norm—a heterosexual, "real" type of sexual practice—and its substitutes, whose result is an engagement in painful sexual acts in order to live up to the expectations and satisfy the needs of the partner (even if the partner himself claims that such practice is not essential for him). The author then examines women's strategies of coping with the challenge the aching body poses to them and to norms themselves. "Queer Wounds:

Writing Autobiography Past the Limits of Language" shares an intimate account of the author's own traumas. Quinn Eades provides the reader with an insight into several events and experiences that seem to have redefined her life (among others, a rape, therapy, and a hysterectomy), intermingled with references to Jacques Derrida, Jean-Luc Nancy, and Freudian-Lacanian psychoanalysis. Via this powerful and moving testimony, she endeavours to show in what sense "it is possible to *write* the wound" (p. 187; emphasis added).

A return to theoretical considerations, the final chapter scrutinises the use of the notion of body image. Agreeing on the "communicative advantage" (p. 208) of the term, Melisa Trujillo nevertheless finds the connotations of body image problematic if one takes into account its seeming applicability to the majority of body-related questions and gender issues. "The Trouble with Body Image: The Need for a Better Corporeal Vocabulary" thus identifies the problem and postulates seeking more fitting language. The author suggests two tropes that may inspire such searches, namely "black is beautiful" and "shattering the gender binary." Unfortunately, in the article there is no harmony between the questions and the responses to them; although Trujillo leaves the reader with the diagnosis and encouragement to go on with the research, she herself withdraws, without proposing any alternative vocabularies.

*Talking Bodies* edited by Emma Rees is indeed creatively polyphonic. If one keeps in mind the size of the book, the variety of topics tackled is impressive as the volume offers not only insightful analyses of relevant issues concerning society and selfhood but also invitations to theoretical and literary debates. The underlying theme of all the texts is the body, but it has to be noted that it is not always the main subject of the argument; in a number of articles it functions either as a pretext for a different discussion or as a resurfacing trope. Nevertheless, there are more levels at which the texts meet—they share references to certain thinkers (some mentioned in this review), a mostly feminist or gender perspective, and an academic interest in the notions of norm and normativity. One could only wish the "dissensions and tensions across the landscape of the book" (p. 13) Rees declares went deeper into the chapters, constructing the dialogical relation between them and not merely the implied background; the lack of direct interaction creates an atomised structure for the volume, which in turn may leave an impression of randomness.

Anna Kisiel

**Bodies in Polyphony**

The article is a review of *Talking Bodies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Embodiment, Gender and Identity*, a collection of eleven essays edited by Emma Rees. Although they stem from different fields and tackle various issues, all the contributions share an interest in corporeality as a site of formative experiences. The range of subjects covers normativity (contemporarily, and in the 19th and 20th centuries), body modification, self-image, violence, (trans)gender, intimate pain, and trauma; the result is a highly heterogeneous, *polyphonic* volume.

**Keywords**: body, normativity, body modification, corporeal experiences, gender, embodiment, identity

**Słowa klucze**: ciało, normatywność, modyfikacja ciała, doświadczenia cielesne, gender, ucieleśnienie, tożsamość

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# We All Need PEACE

[o. Tomasz Maria Dąbek, *„Szukaj pokoju i dąż do niego" (Ps 34, 15). Biblia o pokoju*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II w Krakowie, Kraków 2017, pp. 186.]

The book *"Szukaj pokoju i dąż do niego" (Ps 34, 15). Biblia o pokoju "Look for Peace and Strive for It." (Ps 34:15). The Bible on Peace* is a natural fruit of many years of scientific interests of Rev. Tomasz Maria Dąbek OSB, the Author of six previous volumes from the series titled *Biblijne Wezwania do Rozwijania Kultury* (*Biblical Calls for the Development of Culture*). After having analysed such biblical terms as SILENCE, TOLERANCE, WORK, WOMAN'S DIGNITY, JUSTICE – HONESTY – DECENCY, EMULATION OF GOD AND CHRIST, in his next work the Author refers to biblical texts discussing PEACE. From the very beginning it should be emphasized that the Author raises an important subject for contemporary people and dramatically pertinent in the world shaken by wars, conflicts, and affected by hatred.

What opens the book is a bibliography whose richness explains the erudition of the Author, who moves with ease among the vast array of biblical studies published in Poland, Europe, and elsewhere in the world, not only general comments on the Old and New Testaments, but also numerous detailed works devoted to the concept of PEACE and related problems. Copious footnotes referring the reader's attention to the detailed discussion of the issues raised constitute a demonstration of the Author's research

competence and make the book reviewed herein a priceless guide for both beginners and proficient *Bible* scholars alike.

The main content of the book is presented in two parts: the first one is devoted to the reflection on the concept of PEACE in the Old Testament, while in the second one the Author considers the concept basing on the texts from the New Testament. This clear arrangement repeats the solution adopted in the previous volumes of the series. The internal division is "dictated" by biblical texts exposing successive aspects of the phenomenon under study.

With the selection of texts in the first chapter, the Author documents the truth about the Lord who "is Peace" (Judges 6:24), who is peace giver and the guarantor of peace in the world created by Himself – perceivable both in the harmony of nature and in the harmony between people and nations.

The second chapter presents the concept of peace as a consequence of God's blessing. This gift guarantees the chosen people safety against the attack of wild animals and enemies. God becomes the guarantor of safety for the people who are in covenant of faith with Him. What provides the foundation for PEACE is the bond of love between the Creator and His faithful people. The collected texts illustrate the meaning of the Old Testament's frequent valediction "Go in peace," which is synonymous with wishing one propitiousness anchored in God's blessing.

The third chapter specifies the conditions and actions that lead to preserving peace. A substantial collection of texts points to sacrifices and prayers, but also to a prudent behaviour based on respect for others. The Author shows examples of positive behaviour of Biblical heroes, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob or David, whose actions were marked by concern for peace. Following numerous texts, the Author presents periods of peace in the history of Israel. The analysis of the texts clearly shows that lack of peace is a punishment for bad deeds and unfaithfulness to the covenant.

In the chapter titled "The Call to Live in Peace," two roots relating to the sphere of inner human experience, i.e. שִׁית – šît and דמם – dmm, have been thoroughly analysed and discussed. Both denote the attitude of inner peace, achieving the state of spiritual tranquillity of a person, which is the fruit of full trust in God, of entrusting oneself and one's own affairs to His wisdom and mercy. Hebrew roots are often characterized by the double-layered meaning, referring simultaneously to the spheres of the concrete and abstract, the biological and spiritual, the active and passive, etc., which has been perfectly emphasized in the analysis provided here. The biblical

argumentation (Ps. 34:15; Ps. 122; Tob. 12:17, Dan. 10:19) clearly shows that "seeking peace" denotes "doing good," and the concept of peace itself appears in the context of values such as GOOD, TRUTH, COURAGE, LACK OF THREAT, JUSTICE, HUMBLENESS, PROPITIOUSNESS that characterize the axiological system in the *Old Testament*.

The chapter "Threats to Peace" introduces an incredibly important reminder to the readers, and perhaps even an admonition, namely that sin is the source of all disorder in their inner and social life. Such an approach to the question of threats to peace deepens our understanding of biblical ideas.

The following chapter points to the danger of ostensible peace that has no firm foundation in conversion and faithfulness to the covenant. It is a negative phenomenon because it gives rise to false optimism, which can easily lead to a disaster.

The last chapter of the first part characterizes the *Old Testament* image of the Messiah as "Prince of Peace," who will call for reconciliation, conciliate the feuding, and become a model of humbleness and justice. This shape of the seventh chapter allows for a smooth transition from the Old to the New Testament: from the prophecy to its embodiment in the person of Jesus Christ.

In accordance with the message conveyed in the Scripture, the Son of God and His teachings feature prominently in the second part of the book. The Author aptly begins the part with a chapter discussing the title of God of peace, already known from the *Old Testament*, but this time referring also to the Second Divine Person. The gift of peace becomes one of the greatest Christian virtues, mentioned by St. Paul in his *Letter to the Galatians* (5:22n), which are the foundation of individual and community life. In the Author's interpretation of the examined texts, peace turns out to be synonymous with a collection of graces that lead to conversion and salvation.

What should be regarded as extremely valuable here is the second chapter devoted to the analysis of Christ's teaching on peace. With his selection of texts, the Author has perfectly emphasized and documented the difference between the common and universal notion of peace, which can be understood as a "balance of egoisms," and the PEACE of Christ, understood as a gift of God, but also a task for His followers. The reminder of Christ's specific recommendations for the active promotion of peace in interpersonal relationships is of great value in today's world permeated with conflicts. Also the revolutionary change in the approach to the law of

vengeance brought about by the imperative to love one's enemies has been rightly highlighted by the Author. What is of great value here is a linguistically simple yet profoundly spiritual interpretation of Christ's difficult and often controversial words, such as those about enduring adversity and resisting the temptation to retaliate (Mt 5:38-42). This interpretation can certainly be of help to many contemporary readers of *The Bible* since it is convincingly legitimized by the Author's depiction of a broad cultural background to the words of Christ.

The third chapter of the second part brings an in-depth semantic interpretation of the Greek (rooted in the Hebrew tradition, after all) courteous expressions containing the idea of PEACE. The Author reveals and meticulously documents a new aspect that the meaning of the term in question has acquired – not only does it denote the state of emotional tranquillity, but it also becomes a "sign of the Messianic era" and the fruit of God's reconciliation with people through the sacrifice of Christ.

In the Apostles' teachings (discussed in the chapter titled "The Apostolic Texts on Peace and the Call to Build Peace"), the Author has emphasized very practical, detailed advice on how to build relationships in the family and one's own environment, so that they give rise to unity and peace. It is easy to discern that the indications of the Apostles have lost none of their relevance in our modern times.

The last, fifth chapter of the second part emphasizes the unique significance of PEACE, showing it as a value to be asked of God, and emphasizing the greatness of the reward that the future peacemakers on earth will receive in their lives.

The value of the book should be seen in its clear layout, accurate selection of the material, clear language of argument, synthetic approach to the problem under study preserving, however, a full scientific apparatus that allows to reach detailed interpretations of each pericope. These features make the work *"Szukaj pokoju i dąż do niego" (Ps 34, 15). Biblia o pokoju* (*"Look for Peace and Strive for It." (Ps 34:15). The Bible on Peace*) helpful to both beginner readers of the Book of Books, who are looking for a systematic explanation of certain terms, and seasoned scientists, to whom it shall serve as a reliable guide to the abysses of world biblical literature which comments on individual texts in detail. What matters is the topicality of the issues raised, as well as the originality and reliability that characterizes the interpretations of biblical pericopes. I consider the references to Hebrew and Greek terms conceptualizing various aspects of the Biblical concept of PEACE, from the individual's inner life and relationship with

God to social behaviour, to be particularly valuable. The analyses presented in the book may serve as a basis for further scientific research in such fields as linguistics, semantics, cultural or educational studies. Rev. Prof. Tomasz Maria Dąbek's book *"Szukaj pokoju i dąż do niego" (Ps 34, 15). Biblia o pokoju* deals with a subject that is extremely important for modern people, not only scientists, which is why the dissemination of this publication is of utmost importance.

Jolanta Szarlej

**We All Need PEACE**

The authoress of the review begins her text with the statement that the book *"Szukaj pokoju i dąż do niego" (Ps 34, 15). Biblia o pokoju* [*"Look for peace and strive for it" (Ps 34:15). The Bible on Peace*] by Rev. Prof. Tomasz Maria Dąbek OSB touches upon a subject which is crucial for contemporary people and dramatically pertinent in the world shaken by wars, conflicts, and affected by hatred. What the reviewer considers particularly valuable in the analysis carried out by the Tyniec Benedictine are references to Hebrew and Greek terms conceptualizing various aspects of the biblical notion of PEACE, starting with the individual's inner life and their relations with God and finishing the social behaviour. She recommends the analyses presented in the book to both experienced Bible researchers and beginner readers, for whom they can become a valuable guide to biblical truths. In the reviewer's opinion, the book may become the basis for further scientific research in such fields of research as linguistics, semantics, cultural studies or pedagogy.

**Keywords:** *The Bible*, peace, inner peace, God – Lord of Peace, Messiah – "Prince of Peace," "the balance of egoisms" versus the PEACE of Christ

**Słowa klucze:** Biblia, pokój, pokoj wewnętrzny, Bóg – Pan pokoju, Mesjasz – „Książę pokoju", „zbalansowany egoism" versus POKÓJ Chrystusowy

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MISCELLANEOUS

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# Within Speech Therapy and Linguistics

[*Studia logopedyczno-lingwistyczne. Księga Jubileuszowa z okazji 70-lecia urodzin profesora Edwarda Łuczyńskiego*, ed. S. Milewski, K. Kaczorowska-Bray, B. Kamińska, wyd. Harmonia: Gdańsk 2017, pp. 500.]

*Studia logopedyczno-lingwistyczne* (*Studies on Speech Therapy and Linguistics*) is an anthology prepared by eminent members of the research community in Gdańsk – Stanisław Milewski, Katarzyna Kaczorowska-Bray and Barbara Kamińska. The publication clearly shows the current state of speech therapy. Having gained its due reputation as an area of research, it now integrates not only its subdisciplines (such as neurological speech therapy, speech therapy for the hard of hearing, as well as artistic, corrective and educational speech therapy) but also other studies, such as linguistics. The fact that the publication offers such an image of speech therapy is certainly a significant advantage.

The anthology is dedicated to Professor Edward Łuczyński to mark the occasion of his 70th birthday. Professor Łuczyński is a renowned expert among speech therapists and linguists, an outstanding theoretician of the culture of the Polish language, and a practitioner who is valued for his innovative approach to diagnosis and treatment in speech therapy. The outline of his life and work is presented both in the introduction to the anthology, as well as in *O sobie* (*About myself*), a text written by the Professor himself in which he sets forth his academic biography, marked first by a fascination with linguistics, later with speech therapy. Professor

Łuczyński's work has had a lasting effect and influence on both of these areas of study.

This extensive publication is divided into two parts, with *Studia logopedyczne* (*Speech Therapy Studies*) at 17 texts and *Rozprawy językoznawcze* (*Papers on linguistics*) at 7 texts, in which speech therapists and linguists present concepts, make hypotheses, discuss stimulation techniques as well as helpful diagnostic and research tools, specify research problems, describe case studies, and suggest therapy methods. The authors altogether managed to account for a considerable variety of cases (muteness, aphasia, bilingualism, mental disabilities, ADHD etc.), which gives not only a reliable picture of research in those areas but also many useful guidelines for readers who are mostly interested in the practical aspects of speech therapists' work. This is because the anthology not only features texts that focus strictly on the theoretical issues of the two disciplines but also offers studies that are a result of many years of experience gained by representatives of the most important Polish research and therapy centres (in Lublin, Gdańsk, Kraków, Katowice, Bydgoszcz and Warszawa).

Papers on linguistics complement the studies on speech therapy, and even though more articles deal with speech therapy throughout this anthology, it is ultimately the part concerning linguistics that shows the human element in using a language, touching upon such issues as grammatical and lexical structures used by young Polish speakers, word formation, vocabulary analyses, as well as psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics. Thanks to this, the anthology will not only capture the interest of speech therapists but also attract the attention of linguists, psychologists, pedagogues and the parents who wish to be supportive partners for therapists.

Articles that address the problems of multilingualism and multiculturalism in this anthology deserve special attention in particular, as the changes in demographics, culture and the economy which have taken place in recent years put many parents in a position where they have to raise their children bilingually. Given these circumstances, in *Metoda Krakowska wobec zaburzeń rozwoju dzieci. Z perspektywy fenomenologii, neurobiologii i językoznawstwa* (*The Cracow Method and Developmental Disorders in Children. From the Phenomenological, Neurobiological and Linguistic Point of View*), Jagoda Cieszyńska highlights the need to stimulate the development of Polish children who live abroad. Furthermore, Cieszyńska describes specific stimulation techniques and provides extensive guidance on how to implement them, which is invaluable for specialists and parents who deal

with bilingualism. In her suggestions, she refers to the latest findings on the neurobiological mechanisms governing the organisation of language functions in the brain; these, in turn, are the basis for stimulation techniques described in her paper. Interestingly, Cieszyńska also suggests using similar techniques for monolingual children with neurodevelopmental disorders.

Zbigniew Tarkowski and Dorota Wiewióra deal with a similar topic in *Bilingwizm a rozwój mowy dziecka* (*Bilingualism and Speech Development in Children*). This article, divided into a theoretical introduction and a part focused on research, is a clear and comprehensive discussion of the subject, which the authors have examined in great depth. What is the most interesting in this article, however, is the part that deals with innovative research. The authors undertake to assess the speech of bilingual children. The insufficient population of the subjects does not allow them to draw any clear conclusions, but this is to no detriment of the study's significance, as it may serve as the basis for future research in this respect. It is worth noting that Tarkowski's and Wiewióra's study is the first of such kind in Poland. The article also features an interesting suggestion to establish bilingual speech therapy as a separate degree at faculties of language, which, considering the growing tendency for cultures to mix and people to emigrate, seems to be fully justified.

Most speech therapists have encountered people with intellectual disabilities in their work, which is why Katarzyna Kaczorowska-Bray's study, *Zaburzenia mowy u dzieci z niepełnosprawnoscią intelektualną – trudności badawcze* (*Speech Disorders in Children with Intellectual Disabilities – Obstacles in Research*) merits to be studied attentively, from the point of view of both speech therapy and linguistics. The author discusses one of the fundamental problems people with intellectual disabilities have to face – the constraints in language communication. Well aware of the inconsistencies in how this group's ability to communicate is described, Kaczorowska-Bray emphasises that it is necessary to conduct empirical research on language impairments and speech pathology in people with intellectual disabilities. This would allow either for confirming or dismissing specific linguistic phenomena observable in their utterances.

Halina Waszczuk's paper, a report on the implementation of an original *Rodzinna Terapia Jąkania* (*Family Stuttering Therapy*) programme, is devoted to key aspects of stuttering therapy. In the paper, Waszczuk rightly points to the multifaceted nature of the disorder, and presents stuttering systemically, discussing its psychological, social and biological foundations one by one, and exposing the connections between them. Waszczuk also

refers to her own experience in conducting Parent-Child Interaction Therapy, and puts great emphasis on the need to take comprehensive therapeutic measures and approach stuttering from the point of view of many professions, such as speech therapists, psychologists and doctors.

Yet another interesting article, Barbara Kamińska's *Język w radiu jako przedmiot zainteresowań logopedii medialnej* (*The Language of Radio as a Point of Interest for Media Speech Therapy*) concerns the functioning of the voice in the specific voice tasks performed and in the profession of a radio announcer. Kamińska describes the radio announcers' voice work as requiring special care with respect to words and sounds, and includes important information for media speech therapy in the introduction to her article, where she makes a skilful overview of selected studies on the language of radio. What is important is that Kamińska points to the deficit in descriptions of phonic realisations of radio utterances as well as to the need for further research on phenomena observable in radio journalists' speech, such as intonation changes, illogical phrasing, chaotic pauses and fast speech rate. Furthermore, the fact that the author considers the need for media speech therapists is valuable for radio audiences as well as for knowledge users and experts.

The anthology pertains to key problems and phenomena in modern-day speech therapy and linguistics. It conveniently combines theoretical and empirical studies, and encourages further attempts at popularising these areas of research, in terms of both didactic and cognitive considerations. The language used by the authors is accessible, and does not discourage readers from the texts themselves. What sets the anthology apart from other books is the multifaceted point of view from which speech therapy and linguistics are addressed, and the fact that the authors have indisputably intertwined the two disciplines. The structure of the book is clear and transparent, the theoretical and methodological elements are presented concisely and conveniently, while research demonstrated by many scholars in the anthology can serve as the basis for further scientific discussions.

Agnieszka Babraj

**Within speech therapy and linguistics**

This article is a review of: *Studia logopedyczno-lingwistyczne. Księga Jubileuszowa z okazji 70-lecia urodzin profesora Edwarda Łuczyńskiego*, ed. S. Milewski, K. Kaczorowska-Bray, B. Kamińska, wyd. Harmonia: Gdańsk 2017.

**Keywords**: speech therapy, lingustics, speech disorder therapy
**Słowa kluczowe:** logopedia, lingwistyka, terapia zaburzeń mowy

## Zasady etyczne, procedura recenzowania, zasady przygotowania artykułów w języku polskim

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Czasopismo „Świat i Słowo. Filologia. Nauki społeczne. Filozofia. Teologia" składa się z działów:

- *Studia i szkice* oraz *Materiały, komentarze, omówienia*. Autor dostarcza do redakcji „ŚiS" drogą e-mailową lub pocztą tradycyjną tekst o następujących właściwościach:
- Preferowany edytor tekstu Microsoft Word (pliki o rozszerzeniu *.doc lub *.rtf), czcionka: Times New Roman CE, wielkość czcionki: 12 pkt, odstęp między wierszami 1,5. Marginesy standardowe 2,5 cm (góra, dół, lewy, prawy). Formatowanie tekstu należy ograniczyć do minimum: wcięcia akapitowe, środkowanie, kursywa. Objętość tekstów z przeznaczeniem do działu

*Studia i szkice* nie powinna przekraczać 15 stron znormalizowanego tekstu, łącznie z przypisami;
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## Przypisy

Treść przypisu znajduje się na dole strony; odnośnikiem do niej jest liczba umieszczona w tekście głównym przed znakiem interpunkcyjnym kończącym zdanie lub jego część. Jeżeli przypis taki zawiera informację bibliograficzną, opis publikacji powinien zawierać następujące elementy: nazwisko (-a) autora (-ów), imię, w nawiasie rok wydania, następnie tytuł dzieła, podtytuł (oddzielone kropką), części wydawnicze (np. t. 2) miejsce wydania; tytuł dzieła zaznaczamy kursywą – bez cudzysłowu. Tytuły czasopism umieszczamy w cudzysłowie (nie stosując kursywy), podając (bez przecinka) rok, następnie numer.

Przykłady zapisu pozycji bibliograficznych:

pozycja zwarta (książka):
J. Kowalski, *Konteksty filozoficzne we fraszce „Na nabożną" Jana Kochanowskiego*, Warszawa 2017.

artykuł w pracy zbiorowej:
A. Nowak, *Symbolika akwatyczna w powieści „W pustyni i w puszczy" Henryka Sienkiewicza*, [w:] *Symbolika pozytywistyczna*, red. S. Nowakowski, t. 1, Warszawa 2004.

artykuł w czasopiśmie:

J. Nowak, *Światopoglądowe uwarunkowania ostatniego akapitu powieści „Ferdydurke" Witolda Gombrowicza*, „Teksty Trzecie" 2003, z. 6.

Przy kolejnym wystąpieniu tego samego źródła podaje się inicjał imienia, nazwisko, fragment tytułu (bez skrótu dz. cyt.). Przy wystąpieniu tego samego źródła w następujących po sobie przypisach należy stosować „tamże" i podawać jedynie numer strony. Odnośniki do stron internetowych powinny być uzupełnione informacją o czasie dostępu, np. [dostęp 12.03.2018].

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