49th Annual European Studies Conference

Proceedings
2024

Table of Contents

Is Being a Primitive Term? Questions About the Meaning of Being

Jason M. Costanzo
Conception Seminary College (Conception, MO)

HEIDEGGER AND THE QUESTION OF BEING

In the introduction to his 1927 *Being and Time*, Martin Heidegger famously claimed that the Western metaphysical tradition had forgotten the question of the meaning of *being* (*Seinsvergessenheit*). He argues that this neglect stems from an early shift in metaphysics—from the question of being to the question of substance (*ousia*), emphasizing categorical entities and things. Over time, this focus caused the concept of being to lose its depth and become vacuous. As a result, Hegel was able to claim in the *Science of Logic* that "[b]eing, the indeterminate determinate, is in fact nothing, and neither more nor less than nothing." (Hegel, 82). Due to this conceptual emptiness, Heidegger contends that the question of the meaning of being must be reformulated. To support this claim, Heidegger identifies three *prejudgments* (*Vorurteile*), as he calls them, that describe the classical account of being (Heidegger, 2-3). In what follows, I examine these prejudgments and explore Heidegger's question in relation to the mathematical concept of primitive terms as it emerges from his analysis.

The first prejudgment is that being is the most universal or extensive concept. The extension of a concept refers to the range of individuals it encompasses. As the concept of being includes all things, both in thought and reality, it surpasses every other concept in universality. For instance, in *Being and Essence*, the medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas states: "Everything can be said to be a being of which a [true] affirmative proposition can be formed, even if it posits nothing in reality" (Aquinas, c. 1).

As a result, nothing is more universal or extensive than being—except, perhaps, *nothingness* itself. Indeed, the concept of nothing refers to the negation of being, encompassing what is not. For every *x* within the class of being, *not-x*, as its negation, belongs to the class of not being. In this sense, the concepts of being and nothingness are coextensive, aligning with Hegel's earlier assertion that being and nothing are intimately related.

The second prejudgment is that being is indefinable. By a "definition" is meant a formula that describes the nature and essence of a thing. As Heidegger observes, *definitio fit per genus et differentiam*—a definition distinguishes a species or subclass by identifying its larger class or genus and its differentiating characteristic (Heidegger 2). For example, in classical philosophy, a human being is defined as a rational animal (*homo est animal rationalis*). Here, the term "human" is the species to be defined as "animal" is the genus, and *rational* is the differentiating term that sets humans apart from other animals within the genus.

As the most universal concept, being belongs to no higher class and therefore cannot be subsumed beneath another genus. Moreover, in the scholastic tradition, being is said to transcend all distinctions (the doctrine of transcendentals) because each thing is a being. Any attempt to differentiate being thus depends on the concept of being itself, resulting in a circularity of meaning. Consequently, the term being cannot be defined.

The *third* prejudice is that the concept of being is self-evident. In the most basic sense, this is perhaps the case. Consider the statement, "[t]he golden toad has ceased to be." By this is meant: The golden toad lacks being. The species no longer exists. In this sense, being refers to *existence*. Closer reflection, however, reveals that being refers not only to existence but also to *essence* in the sense of the nature this or that existent thing, viz., this planet, tree, person, and so on.[1] So does being refer to the nature of some one thing or to all things? If some one thing, then to be and to be-a-planet or to-be-a-tree must be without difference, which is obviously false. If all things, then, being will quite strangely refer to nothing at all.

The difficulty in claiming that the term 'being' is self-evident lies in the tension between the apparent understanding of the fact of existence versus the fact that whatever does exist is in each case a certain *kind* of thing. Heidegger notes that such tension reflects the influence of the traditional metaphysical account. The history of metaphysics has obscured the meaning of being due to long emphasis upon the "thingly" character of being. The result, as he puts it, is that the concept of being is "shrouded in darkness." (Heidegger 3)

Following these remarks, Heidegger undertakes the task of reformulating the question of the meaning of being through analysis of *being-there* or *Dasein*—that being, "which we ourselves in each case are." (Heidegger 6) Although these analyses are both compelling and have profoundly influenced 20th century continental thought, my focus here will not be on them. Instead, I examine Heidegger's dismissal of classical metaphysics based on the previously described preconceptions. I argue that

Heidegger overlooks a fundamental issue central to the question of the meaning of being.

PRIMITIVE TERMS IN GEOMETRY

Consider *The Elements* (*Stoicheia*) of Euclid. The work beings with several definitions, the first two of which are as follows:

> D1. A *point* is that which has no part.
> D2. A *line* is a breadthless length. (Euclid 153)

As is well-known, Euclid was a student of Plato's academy, as was Aristotle who predated him. Euclid was also likely aware of the nature and role of formal definitions (echoed in the works of Aristotle) as discussed previously. We might therefore wonder whether Euclid's definitions are definitions in this sense.

Turning to the first definition (D1), two features can be identified. First, it is negative. Euclid does not tell us for example, what a point is an elementary part of a line, which would presume a prior definition of a line. Instead, he specifies that a point is without any part (*hou meros outhen*). By analogy, one might say, "a human being is not a reptile." Although something is conveyed about human beings in this statement, it is nonetheless insufficient as a definition. Second, the definition relies on another undefined notion: the concept of a part. What is a part? A part, we might say, is a portion or piece of a whole. What is a whole? A whole is just a composition of parts. These two notions are circular in sense. As noted, a proper definition requires at least two defining terms: a higher class or genus and difference. To say that "a point is not a part" is to provide neither. Instead, Euclid's definition merely describes the concept of a point negatively, by excluding it from the class of things that possess parts.

Of course, Euclid's work was written over two millennia ago, which might lead one to suspect that mathematicians have long since resolved this issue. In some respects, this is true—but not in the way one might expect. A surface scan, for example, of "definitions" of the concept of a point from various online sources and elementary textbooks reveals:

> A point is a location represented by a dot. (Anonymous)
>
> A point is an exact, specific, idealized location (in space). (Ohmer 34-35)
>
> A point is the common part of two intersecting lines. (Allendoerfer, et al. 4)

As can be seen, none of these statements account sufficiently convey what we mean by a *point*. On the contrary, they merely affirm what we already understand when we refer to the term.

Recognizing these difficulties, indeed, the impossibility of defining such basic notions as point and line, geometricians concluded that the attempt to provide definitions for such and similar basic terms is both futile and unnecessary. Today, both in modern treatments as well as many elementary textbooks on geometry, such terms are merely presumed and left undefined. For example, in his 1901 work *Foundations of Geometry*, the renowned mathematician David Hilbert begins his modern axiomatization of geometry with the concepts of point and line, as well as incidence, betweenness, and congruence. (Hilbert) None of these terms are defined, but only stated and associated with particular sets of symbols. Hilbert then proceeds to develop geometry on this basis. Alternatively, modern textbooks often introduce the subject of geometry with the statement: "Terms such as *point*, *line*, and *plane* are classified as undefined because they do not fit into any set or category that has been previously determined." (Alexander, et al. 22)

But why abandon the attempt to define such terms? At least two reasons can be given. The first was the discovery that mathematics could be formalized (within limits) on logical grounds. In this context, the rules of logic are sufficient to safeguard mathematical reasoning, both in its foundations and in its demonstrations, regardless of the types of definitions that mathematicians provide. Second, even if such terms as *point* and *line* are undefinable, their meaning is sufficiently understood by anyone familiar with the language in which they are expressed. The only other alternative would be to visually depict their sense, as in:

> A point is … [some kind of visual illustration].
>
> A line is … [some kind of visual illustration].
>
> And so on.

Using such depictions or illustrations coupled perhaps with visual proofs, some sense of the terms could potentially be conveyed.[2] However, it should be evident that unless one already understands what a point or line is, any visual illustration will ultimately fail to convey its meaning. Similarly, Euclid's initial definitions may be seen as nothing more than verbal illustrations. They do not explain what a point or a line is but serve only to indicate the meaning of the object, as if to say, "Look! This is a point."

Two results follow from this analysis. First, certain fundamental concepts exist at the foundation to geometry (and other disciplines) such as point, line, plane, betweenness, and so on. Today geometers presume the sense of these concepts to be well-understood. They are consequently assumed without definition. In mathematical terms, such and similar notions are called *undefined* or *primitive terms*. Regardless of the label, they form a fundamental part of the bedrock and foundation of modern mathematics. As renowned logician Alfred Tarski notes, "When we set out to construct a given discipline,

we distinguish, first, a certain small group of expressions of this discipline that seem to us to be immediately understandable; we call the expressions of this group PRIMITIVE TERMS or UNDEFINED TERMS, and we employ them without explaining their meanings." (Tarski 110)

Second, historically speaking, the existence of primitive terms is held to be epistemologically necessary. As is well-known, both Plato and Aristotle recognized the necessity of prior knowledge or first principles (*archai*) at foundation to inquiry. We see this foundation in Plato's constant appeal in the *Meno*, the *Phaedo*, the *Republic*, etc., to intelligible ideas as principles of both knowledge and reality. So too in the *Posterior Analytics* Aristotle affirms that "[a]ll instruction given or received by way of argument proceeds from pre-existent knowledge." (Aristotle, An. Pr., 71a1) The need for first principles is also reiterated in the *Metaphysics*, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and other works.[3]

Other thinkers support these early views. For example, in the 17th century the philosopher, scientist, and mathematician G.W.F. Leibniz, provided what amounted to "proof" of the existence of primitive terms as a necessary foundation for knowledge, with the following statement:

> Whatever is thought by us is either conceived through itself, or involves the concept of another. Whatever is involved in the concept of another is again either conceived through itself or involves the concept of another; and so on. So one must either proceed to infinity, or all thoughts are resolved into those which are conceived through themselves. If nothing is conceived through itself, nothing will be conceived at all. For what is conceived only through others will be conceived in so far as those others are conceived, and so on; so that we may only be said to conceive something in actuality when we arrive at those things which are conceived through themselves. (Lodge, et al. 178)

The common theme is that inquiry must start somewhere. Unless there are certain undefined and self-evident starting points, attempts to define terms will proceed either circularly (defining A in terms of B and B in terms of A) or else result in subsequent terms being defined by prior and still more prior terms, and so on, leading to an infinite regress of definitions. Consequently, no foundation for knowledge would be possible.[4]

RETHINKING THE QUESTION

As previously discussed, Heidegger argues that the question of the meaning of being has been forgotten, largely due to the history of Western metaphysics. But what if Heidegger's question of the meaning of being is misguided? Following Aristotle's formulation in *Metaphysics* IV, a view supported by Heidegger, what we seek to understand is not only being but more specifically, *being as being*.[5] Although the question of the meaning of being is worked into the question of being, the addition "as being" nonetheless shifts focus away from questions of meaningfulness to the more fundamental problem of providing an explanation or account of the "why" of being. Following the ancients, specifically Aristotle, we seek to identify the principles (*archai*) and causes (*aitiai*) of being. As with geometry, such starting points may also constitute primitive elements (*stoicheia*) of inquiry. In this context, the proper starting point and question of metaphysics (or ontology) is not simply the question of what being means, but more properly, what constitute the primitive terms, definitions, and basic axioms of metaphysics.

A comparison between the treatment of primitive terms in mathematics and Heidegger's three prejudices raises the question of whether the concept of *being* functions as a primitive term, much like the concepts of *point* and *line* in geometry. Points and lines are undefinable and self-evident terms. Similarly, although being is undefinable, we do intuitively grasp the basic concept of what it means to be in the sense of existence. The primary distinction lies in extension: being is the most universal concept, encompassing all things, while points and lines are limited to a specific class of things. This difference highlights the unique subject matter of metaphysics compared to geometry, mathematics, and other fields of inquiry.

It is worth noting that the concept of Dasein functions very much as a primitive term in Heidegger's *Being and Time*. First, Heidegger claims that each of us possesses an inherent, naive sense of what it means to be, which he associates with Dasein.[6] Second, he denies that a definition of Dasein can be given, as doing so would imply that it possesses a "thingly" character.[7] Third, on the basis of Dasein, other concepts such as concern, temporality, readiness-at-hand, present-at-hand, and other central concepts are grounded (or perhaps we might say—defined).[8] In effect, Heidegger's account of the meaning of being bears an analogy to the axiomatic method used in geometry.

Yet Heidegger overlooks this point. He assumes that the meaning of being has been obscured in classical metaphysics and that the path to its successful retrieval is to ground inquiry in a different principle (Dasein). He consequently overlooks the question: *Is being a primitive term*? Had he considered this question, then perhaps his account would have taken a quite distinct direction.

The main point is that although the question of the meaning of being warrants serious consideration before engaging in metaphysical discourse, it is a mistake to

dismiss the classical analysis solely on the grounds that it concludes with a basic and indefinable concept. The classical tradition has long recognized the unique status of being as the most universal and foundational concept, transcending all categories and distinctions. This understanding underscores the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of defining being in terms of anything more fundamental. If being is indeed a primitive term, then the question of its meaning is, by nature, a pseudoquestion—one that arises not from a genuine gap in understanding but from a misunderstanding of the role being plays in thought and language. Such a recognition does not necessarily diminish the importance of Heidegger's contributions, as his exploration of *Dasein* and the historical forgetting of being provides valuable insights into the lived experience of human existence. However, it does suggest that the search for a "definition" or "meaning" of being may be misguided, and that efforts should instead focus on clarifying its role as a primitive and self-evident foundation for metaphysical inquiry. In this sense, Heidegger's critique and the classical approach need not be seen as mutually exclusive but as complementary perspectives that together enrich our understanding of *being*.

WORKS CITED

Alexander, Daniel, and Koeberlein, Geralyn, *Elementary Geometry for College Students*, 5th Ed. Cenage Learning, 2011.

Allendoerfer, Carl, and Oakely, Cletus, *Principles of Mathematics*, 2nd ed. McGraw-Hill: New York, 1963, p. 4.

Anonymous, "Points and Lines," *Cuemath*, 15 November 2024. https://www.cuemath.com/geometry/points-and-lines/ (Link is no longer active.)

Aquinas, Thomas, *On Being and Essence*, transl. J. Kenny (1965), https://isidore.co/aquinas/DeEnte&Essentia.htm.

Aristotle, *The Works of Aristotle, transl. G. Mure.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908

Carnap, Rudolf, *Introduction to Symbolic Logic and its Applications*, transl. Meyer & Wilkinson New York: Dover, 1958.

Dacosta, Newton, and Adonai Sant'Anna, "The mathematical role of space-time in classical physics," *Foundations of Physics Letters*, vol. 14 (2001) pp. 553-63

Dika, Tarik, "Heidegger's Concept of 'Sense' in Being and Time," *Crossing: The INPR Journal* 1 (2020), pp. 41-53.

Euclid, *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, Vol. I, 2nd ed, transl. & ed. T. Heath New York: Dover, 1956.

Gorner, Paul, *Heidegger's Being and Time: An Introduction/* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Heidegger, Martin, *Being and Time.* New York: SUNY Press, 2010.

Hegel, G.W.F., *Hegel's Science of Logic*, transl. A.V. Miller. New York: Humanity Books, 1969, pp. 82.

Hempel, Carl, "Geometry and Empirical Science," *The American Mathematical Monthly*, 52:1 (1945), pp. 7-17.

Hilbert, David, *Foundations of Geometry*, transl. E.J. Townsend Illinois: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1950.

Knasas, John, "A Heideggerian Critique of Aquinas and a Gilsonian Reply," *The Thomist: A Speculative Quarterly*, 58:3 (1994), pp. 128-40.

Lees, H.D.P., "Geometrical Method and Aristotle's Account of First Principles," *The Classical Quarterly*, 29:2 (1935), pp. 113-24.

Lodge, et al., "Unconscious Conceiving and Leibniz's Argument for Primitive Concepts," *Studia Leibnitiana* 38:2 (2006), pp. 177–96.

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, *Leibniz: Philosophical Writing*, trans. M. Morris (London: J. M. Dent, 1973).

Mulhall, S., *Heidegger and Being and Time*, 2nd Ed. (London & NY: Routledge, 2005).

Nelsen, Roger, *Proofs Without Words: Exercises in Visual Thinking.* The Mathematical Association of America, 1993.

Ohmer, Merlin, *Elementary Geometry for Teachers* (Massachusetts: Addison Wesley, 1969), pp. 34-35.

Tarski, Alfred, *Introduction to Logic and to the Method of Deductive Sciences*, 4th Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 110.

ENDNOTES

1. For more on the distinction between essence, existence, and the focal sense of being (originating in Aristotle), as this relates to Heidegger's thought, see, Knasas (1994).
2. A visual proof is an intuitive demonstration of a geometrical theorem through the use of a visual picture or diagram. For examples, see Nelsen (1993).
3. For more on this, see, Lees (1935): 113-124.
4. We see the use of primitive terms not only in mathematics, but also in any discipline for which a formal axiomatics (akin to that found in Euclid's elements) is used. For examples in other sciences, see Dacosta & Sant'Anna (2001) and Hempel (1945). 7-17. For a general discussion of the role of primitive terms and the axiomatic method, see Carnap (1958).
5. Heidegger states, "What is *asked about* in the question to be elaborated is Being, that which determines being as beings, that in terms of which beings have always been understood no matter how they are discussed" (2010, 46).
6. For more on Heidegger's notion of the priority of the meaning of being, see Gorner (2007) and Mulhall (2005).
7. As Gorner notes: "Heidegger says that we cannot define the essence of Dasein by specifying its 'what'. Its essence lies rather in the fact that 'it has its being to be and has it as its own'." Gorner (2007), 24.
8. For more on the structural relations between these terms including a critique Heidegger's attempt to ground these in a focal sense, see Dika (2020).

John Gray's Political Philosophy

Spencer Davis

Peru State College

John Gray is one of England's most prominent and controversial political philosophers. This stature is in some ways remarkable, not because it is unsought, but because it is sought in ways that might backfire on him. His writing is often dense and more difficult than necessary; he seems to be signaling readers that he will be making few concessions to them. Gray mentions his obligations to Norman Cohn and Isaiah Berlin, but there are distinguished and deservedly admired figures in the history of political and economic ideas—A.O. Lovejoy, Ernst Cassirer, Jacob Viner, Lionel Robbins among them—whom Gray must have read but whose influences on him are left unclarified. Gray does not hesitate to generalize, to describe in the most extravagant terms, to praise and blame with confidence; and he relies in great measure on his readers to indulge if not enjoy these rhetorical excesses. Gray is most recognized for the speed with which he has changed his position. He has been by turns a conventional liberal (defending J. S. Mill), a pluralistic liberal (developing Isaiah Berlin's position), an antiliberal, a traditional conservative, an opponent of traditional conservatism, an economic conservative, an opponent of economic, Thatcherite conservatism, a Green conservative, an opponent of all varieties of socialism, whether Marxism, academic neo-Marxism, or social democracy, an environmentalist, and an environmentalist skeptic (Fawcett 444-45).

Despite these shifting allegiances, Gray has remained steadfast in two beliefs. He has rejected Marx's plan for a workers' state on the grounds that Marx had no proof that all work in a socialist state would be enjoyable and no proof that workers could sit down and rationally decide how much and how their factory would produce. Gray's second steady belief, his disdain for John Rawls's contract theory, deserves comment.

Gray rejects Rawls's method of "reflective equilibrium" which proposes a dialog between moral sentiments and rational contract principles, and instead he insists on a "naturalism" that accepts and begins with political life as it is (Gray, "Reply," 232). The very project of discovering a contract agreed upon by all parties strikes Gray as a misguided attempt to eliminate actual politics from political life. Rawls insisted that what was right had to be defined and enacted before what was good could be defined, while Gray insists that the good is prior to the right. Rawls inherited from the leaders of the Enlightenment the belief in universal principles that Gray rejects as dangerous simplification (Fawcett 444-45; Berlin 38-40). Judith Sklar's political theory, labelled the "liberalism of fear," and her lack of enthusiasm for Rawls should have appealed to Gray, but he is not looking for allies (Moyn, 3-8, 54-61).

By "naturalism" Gray means the search for the most basic facts about human nature and the identification of the most basic elements required for "human flourishing"—sure that in both these searches we can reach objective truth (Gray, "Reply" 232). But Gray has another, rather contradictory, aim, and that is to reduce the part politics plays in every person's life and to direct us to more meaningful and rewarding activities. Although it is true that political debate can harden divisions, it is also true that few candidates can go before a democratic electorate with the promise to do as little as possible (Gray, *Gray's Anatomy* 16). How can Gray answer those who believe that low voter turnout, and civic ignorance, bad manners and violent behavior are already too large a part of contemporary politics and political engagement too small a part of life (Levitsky and Ziblatt)?

Although withdrawing from politics may reward some individuals and have a minor impact on politics, if millions of citizens were to withdraw, it is hard to believe that politics would be as productive or more productive than at present. Strangely, Gray forgets Chicago economist George Stigler's warning "things can always get worse."

Gray forcefully criticizes his colleagues in political philosophy for failing to develop a critical perspective (Gray, *Gray's Anatomy* 92-93, 141). Few philosophers admit to the collapse of political thinking which is so evident to Gray. Political thinking he asserts has simply failed to keep up with the facts. English party platforms as well as philosophers' works lack realism. Social democracy, which is the Labour Party ideal, promises to deliver continuous full employment by means of government management of the economy. But full employment cannot be delivered and preserving the commitment to it has meant more and more costly programs to address unemployment, programs whose continual expansion the electorate will not support. Social democracy is thus empirically a failure. The alternative theory of faith in free markets (called by Gray, Thatcherism, or neo-liberalism), which had become the Conservative Party ideal, also failed to fit the facts. With new jobs, new skills, new markets, new products, and new facts there is at the same time a destruction of traditional jobs, skills, markets, products, and facts that is inevitably disorienting

and painful. Unlimited competition actually destroyed the middle-class stable employment that was the social ideal of Thatcherism. Because neither version of British politics and political philosophy fits the facts, Gray recommends a commitment to political compromise and commitment to local administration and local variation in government programs.

Gray suggests that there may be a third, new political culture whose members are ambitious professionals for whom either major party is just a means to advance. Tony Blair is the prime example of the party leader without connection to his party's sentiment, a Labour leader uninterested in working class culture. But Gray does not explain how such cynical party membership can be a culture, a part of one's identity. It may not be reading too much into Gray to find the fear that in parliamentary elections in which voters are untethered by class or subculture, the results can swing wildly and bring inexperienced figures to high offices.

Gray suggests that significant political philosophy must be coherent and rooted in a robust political culture. Gray wants to revive the connection between political philosophy and political culture by reviving (or creating) a political culture. Reviving a vanished culture—nostalgia—is one theoretical means that seems to attract Gray. A second possibility, which Gray developed in more detail, is creating a new culture rooted in evolutionary humility about the human species. But Gray cannot define a political culture that would specifically connect to his political philosophy of prudent and tolerant compromising. And his survey of subcultures is incomplete. Missing from Gray's list of political cultures is white nationalism and its leading figure in the 1960s, Enoch Powell.

In more recent works, Gray has shifted his focus from British political life to human nature and political psychology and has become notably pessimistic. Gray's picture of the violence and intolerance of all political societies, contemporary as well as ancient, makes his case for modus vivendi look irrelevant. Gray insists on the continuing extent of war and violence. In particular he rejects Steven Pinker's argument for the long-term decline of war fatalities. And beyond the numbers, there is the fact of innate violence. Gray believes humans "seek death for themselves, and inflict it on others, in order to secure meaning in their lives or vent their rage at its absence" (Gray, *New Leviathans* 15).

One might expect Gray to describe how powerful governments provide the meaningful lives their citizens crave, but he does not do so, at least not directly. Gray's interest seems to be explaining the inevitable decline of liberal government.

The 21st century is marked according to Gray by the transformation of states into leviathans (states whose governments have unlimited power). Today's powerful governments protect their citizens not so much from foreign and domestic violence as from social chaos and lack of meaning in their lives. Such an objective requires much wider powers than Hobbes imagined for Leviathan. The power of the state grows because groups now ask their governments not for freedom but for protection from rivals or opponents. Prioritizing safety over personal freedom constitutes the end of liberalism. "Humans are" he tells us in an earlier work, "weapon-making animals with an unquenchable fondness for killing (Gray, *Straw Dogs* 10 and *Soul* 80-94, 161).

Moderation, or modus vivendi as Gray terms it, evidently will not fit the new reality of Russian and Chinese state capitalism. Hence Gray's newest work, *The New Leviathans*. It is not an easy work to evaluate. It repeats Gray's attacks on liberalism, introduces new criticism of illiberal Western thought, and returns to familiar works such as *Heart of Darkness* and *Darkness at Noon* without providing any new interpretations. But Chapter Two is valuable for a dozen very powerful thumbnail biographies of artists or writers (often troubled or eccentric) who were persecuted by Stalin or Hitler. Their lives are the evidence of the pain and distorted political life that persisted after the end of Fascist and Communist autocracy. The use of a dozen examples is better than the use of a single example, but it is still an evasion of the need to quantify and weigh evidence. Still this method allows us to see Gray has a thesis, the human toll of totalitarianism prevents successor revolutionary regimes from making rapid progress once they take power.

The defeats of Communism and Nazism seemed to show Hobbes's assertion that only unlimited central governments could provide lasting peace was wrong. Limited and liberal government worked, and the number of liberal democracies increased. But after the fall of Soviet Communism, the liberal trend reversed, and central governments grew stronger. Gray knows where he wants to put the blame—he blames the people whose desire for safety and welfare fuels their demand for strong government. But leaders as well as followers are to blame; governing elites accumulate more power so they can transform their subjects; the rulers want to be "engineers of souls" (Gray, *New Leviathans* 6-8). Persons who seek political power are often driven by the need to transform people to fit the social blue-prints they embrace. Gray makes sure that readers understand his implication that political correctness in Western societies belongs in the same category as Putin's and Xi's autocracy (Gray, *New Leviathans* 5-7; Desmet 122).

Gray identifies three types of totalitarian states; in chronological order they are "old-fashioned tyrannies," the 20th century ideological states of Soviet Russia, Fascist Germany, and Maoist China and then the current "neo-totalitarian states" (Gray, *New Leviathans* 19). Gray

does not pursue this chronology but proposes an important turning point with the decline of the Soviet system and China's conversion to capitalism. These events provided an opening in the West for the delusion that a world-wide conversion to capitalism would soon occur. This myth of globalization rested on two alleged explanations—Friedrich Hayek's thesis of the evolutionary superiority of capitalism and Francis Fukuyama's thesis of a Hegelian and rational succession of ideals. Gray considers these ludicrous (Gray, *New Leviathans* 19 and *Hayek on Liberty* 41-53, 72-78, 144-54). There is no single, final destination for all societies, but there is a contemporary development. "The seeming triumph of liberalism and the free market was not an evolutionary trend, but a political experiment, which has run its course. The result has been to empower regimes in which market forces are instruments of the state. Instead of China becoming more like the West, the West has become more like China. In both, the ruling economic system is a version of "state capitalism" (Gray, *New Leviathans* 23; Luce 89-100, 120-22; Bregman 2, 13, 110-11).

Gray alleges that the Cheka (Lenin's secret police) "was explicitly founded to create a new kind of society" (Gray, *New Leviathans* 28). This is too vague to be very helpful; it is as likely that Lenin created the Cheka to cement his own rule and eliminate all his opponents. Gray recognizes that Russia fits no category; it is singular because its history of totalitarianism is more violent and continuous than in any other European nation and because it bears no comparison to non-European nations. Russia constitutes a category of one (Gray, *New Leviathans* 38-41).

China, it turns out, is also a category of one. Gray uses the term "surveillance society" to characterize contemporary China but also describes Xi's rule as in effect a singular experiment in combining dynamic technology in the economy with despotism in the political system (Gray, *New Leviathans* 48-49).

Chapter 2 of *The New Leviathans* proposes a comparison between life under Lenin and Stalin and life in those contemporary Western nations that have been "captured by a hyperbolic version of liberalism" (Gray, *New Leviathans* 57 and *Feline Philosophy* 95). Gray believes the two types of societies have "real similarities" though in fact he provides only one point of similarity, the existence in both of "an intelligentsia that attacked the society that nurtured them" (Gray, *New Leviathans* 57; Brinton 39-49). Having presented his thesis, Gray ignores it and provides a brief biography of the Russian reactionary writer Konstantin Leontiev (1831-1891). Eccentric, often impoverished, an Orthodox monk in his last years, Leontiev was discovered by Gray after Vladimir Putin's reference to Leontiev in a 2013 speech (Gray, *New Leviathans* 57-61). In any case, Gray found in Leontiev a description of "a pathology of liberal civilization," specifically the process by which the liberal enthusiasm for individualism results in conformity and the loss of diversity; when everyone tries to be different—which is impossible—everyone turns out alike (Gray, *New Leviathans* 62). Here Gray seems to rely on Tocqueville, Talmon, and Berlin but does not improve on their accounts of the "uniformity of diversity" thesis.

Survivors of a terrorist regime are either complicit in its crimes or psychologically hollow (and cannot recognize themselves). Either way, they cannot participate in normal politics. Those who can participate in normal politics believe they are architects of universal progress and become the victims of their hubris.

As Gray sees the future, autocracy will persist, and liberalism will decline. The future of autocracy is clear:

- More capitalism in Russia and China does not mean more freedom—state control of the economy will increase.
- If political revolution occurs, much of autocracy will survive in the new regime.
- Russia and China will grow in power; the US will decline in power.
- Autocrats who are willing to punish their opponents will find plenty of subordinates willing to do the dirty work because sadism is a powerful motive in many persons.
- The urge to persecute minorities is strong in the majority and autocrats can indulge it as needed to preserve their power.
- The age of liberal democracy is ending (Friedrich 37-39).

In a world with kleptocracies and dangerously nationalist autocracies, democracies will need stronger resources than attachment to modus vivendi (Gray, *New Leviathans* 3-5, 15, 37-39, 47). But Gray cannot identify these resources and does not pursue his brief references to localism. Gray can and perhaps will do better; at least he provides a distinct challenge to his colleagues. We may feel it imprudent to announce yet again the demise of liberalism, but Gray forces political thinkers to consider what in liberalism ought to be saved (Gray, *Soul* 41, 83, 110-43, and *Black Mass* 14).

WORKS CITED

Primary Sources

Gray, John. *Black Mass*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2007.

——. *Feline Philosophy: Cats and the Meaning of Life*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2020.

——. *Gray's Anatomy: Selected Writings*. London: Penguin, 2009.

——. *Hayek on Liberty*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge, 1998.

——. *The New Leviathans: Thoughts After Liberalism*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2023.
——. "Reply to Critics." *The Political Theory of John Gray*, edited by John Horton and Glen Newey, London: Routledge, 2007, pp 211-35.
——. "Reply to Critics." *The Political Theory of John Gray*, edited by John Horton and Glen Newey, London: Routledge, 2007, pp 211-35.
——. *The Soul of the Marionette*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2015.
——. *Straw Dogs: Thoughts on Humans and Other Animals*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2002.

Secondary Sources

Berlin, Isaiah. *Four Essays on Liberty*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.
Bregman, Rutger. *Humankind: A Hopeful History*. New York: Little, Brown, and Co., 2020.
Brinton, Crane. *The Anatomy of Revolution*. Revised and expanded ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1965. 1st ed., 1938.
Desmet, Mathias. *The Psychology of Totalitarianism*. Trans. by Els Vanbrabant. White River Junction, Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2022.
Fawcett, Edmund. *Liberalism: The Life of an Idea*. 2nd ed. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2018.
Friedrich, Carl J. *An Introduction to Political Theory*. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.
Hampshire, Stuart. *Justice is Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.
Levitsky, Steven and Daniel Ziblatt. *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown, 2018.
Luce, Edward. *The Retreat of Western Liberalism*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2017.
Moyn, Samuel. *Liberalism Against Itself*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2023.

Topos of Stiva Oblonsky's *Ribald Dream* and Lev Tolstoy's *Philosophical Conception of Music*

Nina Efimov
The Florida State University

In a letter to Tchaikovsky, Lev Tolstoy called music "the highest art in the world." Tolstoy inherited from his family the love for music: as a youth, he prepared for a musical career and played the piano three-four hours a day, studied music theory and actually wrote several pieces for piano. He had a music insight better than many of the musical critics of his time and his assessment of music performers was appreciated by Russian musicians. He met with Anton Rubinstein and Alexander Dargomuzhsky; Alexander Scriabin and Sergei Rakhmaninov played in his house in Khamovniki, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov visited him at Yasnaya Polyana, while Fyodor Shalyapin sang for him in Moscow. His favorite composer was Chopin, although Beethoven had a more powerful effect on him. His unconventional view on music shocked and infuriated music lovers and was the object of debates in Russia and Europe. Tolstoy had always considered opera an artificial art—although he praised Mozart's *Don Giovanni*—and preferred it to folk music played on folk instruments. In his book on art, he tried to find the essence of music and argued that among all arts, music produced the most powerful effect on human emotions. He marveled why sounds of different pitch and degrees of strength, separate or sounding together in a rhythmical pattern, were able to have an irresistible impact on man. Tolstoy's family often heard him play piano before starting his writerly work. Tolstoy stated: "Когда слушаешь музыку, это побуждает к художественному творчеству." ("When you listen to music it enhances artistic creativity" my trans.) (Goldenweiser,160).

Tolstoy's characters have a special relationship with music. For Nikolenka in Youth playing the piano is a means to seduce maidens and Iosif Eiges afferms that through the perception of music Tolstoy depicts his character's vanity and inner emptiness (Eiges, http://feb-web.ru/feb/tolstoy/critics/est/est-241-.htm). Musical talent and passion for music redeems an immoral artist in the short story "Albert", while the performance of the first movement of Kreutzer Sonata marshals the plot of the novella of the same name and motivates Poszdnyshev to crime. Likewise, in *War and Peace*, Natasha's singing brings Nikolay Rostov to a reevaluation of the conventions of the officer code of honor.

I argue that Tolstoy's recourse to music in Stiva Oblonsky's dream as a topos disclosing the character's persona and its associated life world. Music from Mozart's operas echoing in Stiva's dream enables him to explain away his family scandal. Although the dream is an insertion without narrative consequences in the text of the novel, it also allows the reader to see how Prince Stepan Arkadievich Oblonsky—or Stiva, as he was called in society—identifies himself subconsciously with the philandering hero from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* and simultaneously with Prince Tamino, the rescuer of his bewitched lover in *The Magic Flute*. Tolstoy applies his musical aesthetics in the construction of his protagonists so that the hero's personal feelings for music serve as a device for character's representation and development. Music in Stiva Oblonsky's dream is used by Tolstoy to reveal his protagonist's inner world, his convictions and moral (or rather immoral) code. The action in *Anna Karenina* starts with Stepan Arkadievich Oblonsky awakening from a pleasant phantasmagorical dream after a family scandal provoked by his infidelity. His attempt to remember the dream is presented as a stream of consciousness:

> Ah yes, now how did that go? he thought, trying to recall his dream. "Ah yes, how did that go? Yes! Alabin was giving a dinner in Darmstadt; no not Darmstadt, something American. Yes, but then Darmstadt was in America. Yes, Alabin was giving a dinner on glass tables, yes—and the tables were singing Il mio tesoro—no, not Il mio tesoro, something even better, and there were tiny decanters, and they were women, too," he recalled. Stepan Arcadievich's eyes twinkled, and he lapsed into reverie, smiling. "Yes, that was fine, very fine. And there were so many more excellent things to it, even awake you could never put it all into words and ideas. (Tolstoy, 3-4)

The reader's attention is captured by Stiva's dream imagery with glass music and women as glass-decanters. Vladimir Nabokov in his brief analysis of the opening scene wrote: "The interesting point is that Steve's light-hearted, transparent, philandering, epicurean nature is cunningly described by the author through the imagery of a dream. This is the device for introducing Oblonski: a dream introduces him" (Nabokov, 153). Nabokov does not give us an interpretation of the role of music in Stiva's dream, although on a different occasion he mentions that Il mio tesoro is sung by Antonio, Mozart's hero who is much more moral than Oblonsky in his fidelity to women.

Literary critics writing about Stiva's dream have many interesting suggestions. James Rice, in his article, "Some Observations on Stiva's Dream," points out that in the early version of Anna Karenina, Tolstoy used the name Alabin for Oblonsky and suggests that in Stiva's dream Alabin may be his alter ego. After Rice, Stiva's dream expresses "a wish for unencumbered security from the importunings of conventional virtue and conjugal duty" (Rice, 120), and that longing for adultery without consequences means that he unconsciously wishes to escape to German Darmstadt or to far America. The singing glasses, which are some sort of women-decanters symbolize Stiva's sexual pleasures in food, drinking and philandering, although the danger of accountability manifests through the famous aria Il mio tesoro by Don Ottavio in Mozart's opera Don Giovanni, where Don Ottavio promises to avenge against Don Giovanni who had seduced his fiancée. The dream indicates Stiva's desire to escape from responsibility and to search oblivion in the dream of life. Stiva's pleasure-seeking life-style is justified by an Epicurean approach that defines his immorality. Peter Marzalik in his essay, "Oblivion in Tolstoy's I," states that by equating his love affair to a fragrant "sweet roll," Stiva solidifies the relationship between food and sexuality and supports Helena Goschilo's conviction that Tolstoy tends to treat food functionally: "As an advocate of vegetarianism and strenuous toil, Tolstoy heartily despises all that Stiva represents" (Goschilo, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4208958). Mikhail Bakhtin, however, does not seem to think that Tolstoy judges his protagonist so rigorously. Stiva takes life occurrences and love affairs easily, has no spiritual crises and his cheating does not lead to serious consequences. Although this is against moral principles it justices the writers artistic vision (Bakhtin, 258). Indeed, Stiva is the only major protagonist who does not undergo psychological development and in the end remains the same charming Epicurean as he was four years ago.

Nevertheless, investigation of Tolstoy's choice of music in Stiva's dream gives us insight into his less obvious traits that make him a more complex character. What music does sound have in his dream and what effect does it have on him? Il mio tesoro refers us to the archetypal womanizing-hero in Mozart's opera Don Giovanni and Tolstoy-the artist provides deceiving clues to an inattentive reader. The complete title of opera is "*Il dissoluto punito, ossia il* Don Giovanni," literally *The Rake Punished, or Don Giovanni*. Dolly, with the heart broken by Stiva's unfaithfulness, calls him "a dissolute father" and Stiva ironically refers to his work place as "a den," in the sense of a "place for illicit affairs." The question is with whom does Stiva identify himself, with Don Giovanni or with his adversary, Don Ottavio, whose aria Il mio tesoro is the promise for vengeance against the libertine?

It might seem that images of women-carafes symbolize women as object of pleasure associated with sex and drinking and Stiva's unsubstantial personality is reduced to these aspects. However, Stiva is not just a consumer of food and sex, nor is he also the embodiment of elegant mediocrity. His dream is rooted in Mozart's music and the imagery of singing glass tables with crystal womencarafes is associated with the composer's two works for singing glasses, *Quintet for Glass Harmonica, Flute, Oboe, Viola, and Cello in C minor*, K.617 (musical glasses) and *Adagio for Glass Harmonica* in C, K.356. Mozart's graceful and light melodies are for glass harmonica—or singing glasses—a common musical instrument in the 18th century, with unreliable tuning and extremely hard to play. They remained in the 19th century a party trick performed on crystal drinking glasses tuned to different notes by filling them with liquid at different levels. It is the party trick that echoes in Stiva's subconscious and merges with his imagery of women as a source of sexual and aesthetic pleasure. As a Mozart fan, Stiva knew that the Austrian composer considered his last opera *The Magic Flute* his best work, it was played 100 times in one year and on his death bed he asked to have it played for him. The context of Mozart's music in Stiva's dream suggests that the melody "even better than Il mio tesoro" which Stave had heard was one of the well known arias from this opera. Stiva identified himself with its charming hero, Prince Tamino, who had rescued Pamina, the daughter of the Queen of the Night, from evil spells.

For Tolstoy, music is reminiscent of our feelings experienced in the past. In the draft for Childhood he explains why music has different effect on men. The idea that our feelings produced by music are connected with memories of the past, are also expressed in his multiple essays on art and in fiction. Light cheerful music by Mozart evokes in Stiva pleasant memories. Mozart's music as echo of some experience that Stiva never had had is a substitute for unpleasant reality. Shamefully caught by Dolly, he does not truly blame himself and justifies his infidelity by his good health and sexual appetites. Dolly's accusation against him as a dissolute father does not lie heavily on his consciousness and the musical plot line of promiscuous Don Giovanni fades away in the din of singing glasses. On the other hand, Don Ottavio's beautiful aria when he is seeking revenge and justice, does not sound tragic in Mozart's opera. In Stiva's dream, it resonates with his slight remorse, not morally but aesthetically. He admits that an affair with a governess is trivial and vulgar:

> True, it was not good that she had been a governess in our own house. Not good at all! There is something common, vulgar even, about making love to

> one's own governess. But what a governess! (He enthusiastically recalled Mademoiselle Roland's mischievous black eyes, and her smile.) It is true, though, that as long as she was in our house, I never took any liberties. Worst of all, she is already… You'd think it was all on purpose! Oh my, oh my! But what, what am I to do? (Tolstoy, 5)

Stiva does spell out even in his thoughts what is this "the worst" in Mlle Roland's situation, when "she is already…", and Tolstoy leaves it to our imagination. However, at lunch with Levin Stiva, he talks about his French mistress as she were a meek, gentle and loving creature who had sacrificed herself for their love: "You must understand that the woman is a dear, meek, loving creature, poor and lonely, and she has sacrificed everything. Now that the deed is done—you understand me—how can I abandon her?" (Tolstoy, 40).

Apparently, Stiva sees it differently: "Mlle Roland's mischievous black eyes," and unconsciously justifies his sexual allowance by regarding himself as a rescuer, lover-savior on a higher mission, a type of Prince Tamino. Framed by Mozart's music Alabin's dinner in Darmstadt in America refers us to Mozart's librettist, Lorenzo Da Ponte, who was banished for 15 years from Venice for his dissolute life. In Vienna, he collaborated with both Mozart and Salieri and wrote the libretti for Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*, Così *fan tutte*, and *Don Giovanni*. Dismissed from Imperial Service, Da Ponte arrived to New York, taught at the Colombia college and founded the first American opera theater, the New York Opera Company, the predecessor of the New York Metropolitan Opera. Lorenzo Da Ponte died in 1838 and an enormous funeral ceremony was held for him in New York. The events of Anna Karenina unfold in 1874, 36 years after Da Ponte's death. Da Ponte's memoirs in the manner of a picaresque adventure story were published in 1823 and it is likely that Stiva, fluent in French, English and German, had read it. Stiva links the life of Da Ponte with his libretto for Don Giovanni and therefore America as the Da Ponte's space appears in his dream as the location of his friend Alabin's dinner.

Alexander Goldenweiser, a prominent Russian pianist, friend, personal secretary and follower of Tolstoy's teaching, in his book, *Near Tolstoy*, noted that Tolstoy loved Mozart, although he saw in his music traces of vulgarity. What Tolstoy saw as vulgarity and sublime in Mozart matches with Stiva's nature. In his affair with the French governess, Stiva perceives his mistress as a tragic heroine, however, his love for Mozart shows his elegance, musical appreciation and charming but superficial quest for high aspirations. Stiva's musical taste is explained by the author's attitude to his character. Sharing with his protagonist the love for Mozart the writer stresses Stiva's sensitivity and makes him a deeper character, immediate and spontaneous like the Austrian composer. At the same time, Stiva is fond of Johann Strauss' operetta Fledermaus—he recites its couplets to Levin. His fondness for the waltz king and for light opera gives him a touch of shallowness.

Tolstoy's choice of music in Stiva's dream is a construct that adds to his characterization as literary persona, giving us insight into his less obvious traits and makes him a more complex character.

WORKS CITED

Bakhtin, Mikhail. "Problemy tvorchestva Dostoevskogo 1929. Statii o L.Tolstom" 1929. Sobranie Sochinenii. Tom 2. Redaktory Bocharov, Melikhova. Russkie slovari. Moskva 2000. ("Problems of Dostoevsky's Works. 1929. Articles on L. Tolstoy"). *Selected writings*. Vol. 2. Editors Bocharov, Melikhova. Russian dictionaries. (Moscow. 2000). http://www.k2x2.info/literaturovedenie/tom_2_problemy_tvorchestva_dostoevskogo_1929_stati_o_l_tolstom_1929_zapisi_kursa_lekcii_po_istorii_russkoi_literatury_1922_1927/p5.ph p?ysclid=m44leieeys512880063 Accessed 11/30/2024

Eiges, Iosif. *Vozzrenie Tolstogo na muzyku*. (Tolstoy's view on music.) http://feb-web.ru/feb/tolstoy/critics/est/est-241-.htm Accessed 11/30/2024.

Goldenweiser, Alexander. V blizi Tolstogo.Vospominania. (*Near Tolstoy.* Memories). Moskva. Zakharov, 2002.

Goscilo, Helena. "Tolstoyan Fare: Credo a la Carte." *The Slavonic and East European Review*. Vol. 62, No 4, October 1984. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4208958 Accessed 11/30/2024

Nabokov, Vladimir. *Lectures on Russian Lliterature*. Edited by Fredson Bowers. *A Harvest book*. Harcourt, Inc. Orlando, 1981. http://feb-web.ru/feb/tolstoy/critics/est/est-241-.htm Accessed 11/30/2024.

Rice, James. "Some Observations on Stiva's Dream". *Tolstoy Studies Journal*. Vol. VIII, 1995- 96.

Tolstoy, Leo. *Anna Karenina*. (Trans. by Marian Schwartz). Yale University Press. New Haven. London, 2014.

A Daughter of Cornwall: The Overlooked Literary Relevance of Maria Branwell, Mother of the Brontës

Elsa Fierro
Independent Scholar

Maria Branwell (1783–1821), the mother of arguably three among the most gifted British authors of all times, is mostly known to posterity as a pretty face in a sepia portrait. We hear of her early demise and sympathize with her bereaved children, then she fades into obscurity. In this paper, however, I contend that the mother of Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë was not merely a faint shadow in the light of her daughters' genius; on the contrary, her literary output—although modest due to family obligations and premature death—displays all the marks of a promising writer.

The daughter of one of the most prosperous and prominent families in Penzance, Cornwall, Maria was an avid reader, educated, pious and comfortably wealthy, leading a life of fashionable gentility in a fine Georgian house.[1] Far from being benighted or isolated, Penzance was a hub of regional and international trade, where dances, plays and cultural events went hand in hand with superstition, Celtic folklore and belief in the supernatural—all elements that played an important role in Maria's formative years.[2] The only biographical novel ever written about her, *Removing the Shroud of Mystery* (2012) by Maddalena De Leo, offers a very plausible depiction of the independent, comfortable and socially active life that Maria led in her elegant house on Chapel Street.

The death of both her parents was the beginning of deep changes for Maria. She decided to move to Yorkshire, where her uncle and aunt Fennell needed help managing a newly founded Evangelical school for boys. Early in 1812, she met Patrick Brontë, a charming young Irish curate, and it was love at first sight. Their marriage was happy but brief: illness—probably caused by frequent pregnancies— claimed Maria's life in 1821.[3] She left behind not only six young children and a grieving husband, but also a collection of literary works, consisting of nine letters and a religious essay intended for publication.

Throughout their engagement, from August to December 1812, Maria and Patrick had an intense correspondence. Only Maria's letters survive, and they offer a fascinating record of their whirlwind romance: in an accomplished and elegant prose, she expresses her deep esteem for her future husband as a man of God, as well as her undeniable attraction for him as a vigorous young man. In 1850 Charlotte was allowed to read these letters, lovingly preserved by her father for decades, and in her missive of February 16 to her childhood friend Ellen Nussey, she wrote:

> Papa put into my hands a little packet of letters and papers—telling me they were Mamma's and that I might read them—I did read them in a frame of mind I cannot describe … it was strange to peruse now for the first time the records of a mind whence my own sprang … to find that mind of a truly fine, pure and elevate order. … there is a rectitude, a refinement, a constancy, a modesty…a gentleness about them indescribable. I wished she had lived and that I had known her (Barker 266-7).

Also we modern readers can understand and share Charlotte's admiration for her mother's writing. In an elegant and expressive style, Maria's letters reveal her state of mind, the depth of her faith and her broad cultural knowledge, as well as her remarkable command of English prose, as shown by the following extracts.

On September 18th, she addresses the issue of a wife's subordination to her husband. After the death of her parents, Maria and her sisters had been free to run their life without having to defer to any man, but she seems ready to renounce her freedom for love:

> For some years I have been perfectly my own mistress, subject to no control whatever … my sisters … and even my dear mother used to consult me in every case of importance and scarcely ever doubted the propriety of my opinions and actions … yet in circumstances of perplexity and doubt, I have deeply felt the want of a guide and instructor. … I shall now no longer feel this want … nor do I fear to trust myself under your protection or shrink from your control. It is pleasant to be subject to those we love, especially when they never exert their authority but for the good of the subject. (De Leo 108-9)

Maria's words might sound jarring to modern ears, but the emphasis on the liberty and the esteem that her family afforded her subtly suggests that Patrick is acquiring quite a sensible wife, whose opinions should definitely be taken seriously. This sentiment would later be echoed at the end of Charlotte's novel *Shirley*, where the eponymous protagonist willingly submits to her future husband's authority.[4]

Passion and faith are beautifully interwoven in Maria's letter of September 23rd, where material and spiritual love skillfully create a touching, intense prose:

> And may we feel every trial and distress … bind us nearer to God and to each other! My heart earnestly joins in your comprehensive prayers. I trust they will unitedly ascend to a throne of grace, and through the Redeemer's merits procure for us peace and happiness here and a life of eternal felicity hereafter. Oh, what sacred pleasure there is in the idea of spending an eternity together in perfect and uninterrupted bliss! (113)

The letter written on September 5th shows us Maria torn between her desire to open her heart to the man she loves and her fear of going too far, thereby risking his disapproval:

> I have now written a pretty long letter without reserve or caution, and if all the sentiments of my heart are not laid open to you, believe me it is not because I wish them to be concealed, for I hope there is nothing there that would give you pain or displeasure. My most sincere and earnest wishes are for your happiness and welfare, for this include my own. … Forgive my freedom, my dearest friend, and rest assured that you are and ever will be dear to MARIA BRANWELL. Write very soon. (106)

This missive of Maria's is especially significant, because it seems to anticipate her daughter Charlotte's dilemma both when corresponding with her teacher Professor Héger[5] and when confiding in her "dearest Nell" (Ellen Nussey) under the oppressive supervision of Arthur Bell Nichols, Charlotte's narrow-minded husband.[6]

The most famous letter, probably due to the intimate nature of the exchange, is the one written on November 18th. Here we get a glimpse not only of Maria's sense of humor, but also of the strong physical attraction between her and Patrick:

> My dear saucy Pat—now, don't you think you deserve this epithet far more than I do that which you have given me? I really know not what to make of the beginning of your last; the winds, waves and rocks almost stunned me. … Both the doctor and his lady very much wish to know what kind of address we make use of in our letters to each other. I think they would scarcely hit on this! (119–21)

Still charming today for their wit, spontaneity and elegance, Maria's letters are not her only literary production, however. In 1816, she decided to contribute to Evangelical literature, becoming the first female Brontë to take up the pen to make her voice heard in the world. Like her daughter Anne many years later, Maria believed that her writing had to be useful and offer some moral guidance. The result of her efforts was an essay titled *The Advantages of Poverty in Religious Concerns*, her only work intended for publication.[7]

Religious pamphlets, known as tracts, were very popular at the time and Evangelical preachers considered them an excellent instrument of conversion among literate lower-class people. Poverty had always been a widely discussed topic and had become especially poignant in 1816, the so-called "year without a summer," when the eruption of mount Tambora in Indonesia caused catastrophic climate changes across the Northern Hemisphere.[8] In England, cold and rainy weather worsened the effects of failed harvests, rising unemployment, low wages, and high food prices. Although Maria had never experienced indigence herself, she felt compelled to comfort the destitute and chose to do that using her pen: "While Mary Shelley responded to the gloom by beginning work on a gruesome afterlife in *Frankenstein*, Maria urged keeping one's attention on a wholesome alternative in Heaven" (Wright 113).

Of course, it would be unrealistic and unfair to expect revolutionary proposals in *Advantages*: Maria was influenced by her deep religious beliefs, other Christian female writers and the cultural *milieu* in which she lived. Thus, her arguments align with the themes discussed in contemporary printed sermons and magazines addressed to the poor. Essentially, she advocates for a patient acceptance of a life of hardship on Earth in anticipation of eternal bliss after death. She also reassures the poor that their penury doesn't indicate lack of God's love; on the contrary, the absence of material comforts serves to elevate one's spiritual life:

> Poverty is generally, if not universally, considered an evil … But is not this a mistaken notion—one of those prevailing errors which are so frequently to be met with in the world and are received as uncontroverted truths? … what is poverty? Nothing—or rather something, which, with the assistance and blessing of our Gracious Master will greatly promote our spiritual welfare and tend to increase and strengthen our efforts to gain that Land of pure delight, where neither our souls nor bodies can possibly know pain or want (173).

Maria reiterates the distinction between deserving and undeserving poor, backing the "current middle-class dogma that poverty was largely deserved" (Gordon 25):

> Such a wretched extremity of poverty is seldom experienced in this land of general benevolence. When a case of this kind occurs, it is to be feared the sufferers bring it on themselves by their own excess

> and imprudent folly … The poor but honest and industrious Christian, for whose benefit this humble attempt is made, is scarcely ever suffered to languish in extreme want. (Wright 174)

From her position of relative privilege, Maria seems also to imply that being poor is an enviable state when compared to the situation of the wealthy, who worry constantly about their material possessions rather than focusing on their spiritual life:

> Being prevented from sharing in the luxuries of life, you are less liable to be assailed by the corrupt dispositions and disorderly passions which an enjoyment of these luxuries tends to produce … That poverty which is sanctified by true religion is perhaps the state most free from care and discontent, the farthest removed from pride and ambition, and the most calculated to promote scriptural views and feelings, and the universal welfare of the soul … The man who … has no property to improve or secure …is free from the anxious inquietude and perplexing care of the man of business (174-5).

She certainly cannot have even remotely conceived that one day her own daughters might find themselves neglected, famished and cold—as they were at the charity school that they attended in Cowan Bridge (1824-5)—or that they "might suffer … the evils of poverty" (Gordon 26), as they sadly did for a good part of their life. It is rather disturbing to think that Maria's pieties—expression of her faith and sincere desire to help—would have been readily shared by Reverend William Carus Wilson (1791–1859), the superintendent of the Cowan Bridge school, and by his fictional representation Mr. Brocklehurst, the cruel and hypocrite principal of Lowood school in *Jane Eyre*.[9]

Perhaps because seen as too sermonic or obvious, Maria's *Advantages* was never published. However, Patrick Brontë devoutly kept it for the rest of his life, adding to it the note "The above was written by my dear wife, and sent for insertion in one of the periodical publications. Keep it, as a memorial of her" (Wright 173). Though *Advantages* might appear naïve or self-righteous today, it demonstrates Maria's remarkable debating talent. Its real significance, however, lies not so much in its content, but in its very existence. Despite the numerous duties imposed on her by a patriarchal society, Maria found the time to craft such an elegant essay, proving how much her daughters inherited from her: "No other family in English literature suggests a genetic element to literary genius as powerfully as the Brontës" (115) and this genetic element can also be traced to Chapel Street in Penzance.

Both letters and essay are available in *The Mother of the Brontës* (2019) by Sharon Wright, but they were published for the first time by the journalist and literary critic Clement Shorter (1857–1926) in *The Brontës and Their Circle* (1896). Shorter was an avid collector of the Brontës' work and in his book, after explaining that the papers received by Charlotte in 1850 were now in his possession, he acknowledged the influence of Maria's literary talent on her daughters: "One notes that from both father and mother alike Charlotte Brontë and her sisters inherited some measure of the literary faculty. … It is sufficient that the zest for writing was there, and that the intense passion for handling a pen … must have come to a great extent from a similar passion in father and mother" (32).[10]

The beauty and intensity of Maria's writing make us regret that her output was so frustratingly modest. We must remember that, however, while Patrick, as a man, could enjoy leisure time, Maria's work was never done; doomed by Victorian patriarchy, she had no choice but to take care of the household and the children that kept coming year after year, with precious little time for writing. As the English literary critic and writer Cyril Connolly (1903–74) drily observed in his *Enemies of Promise* (1938), "There is no more somber enemy of good art than the pram in the hall" (Wright 117).

In our collective imagination, motherhood, housekeeping, and early death have reduced Maria Branwell to an almost insubstantial figure, her daughters' genius completely eclipsing her passionate life. It is therefore time to "put this precious jewel in its rightful place in the Brontë mosaic" (De Leo 10) and appreciate that her example taught her children that women too could write and let their voices be heard outside the home. Although many scholars still consider her daughters as her only legacy, Maria Branwell was an intelligent, well-read and sharp-witted writer, whose literary relevance has been overlooked for far too long and deserves to be finally acknowledged.

ENDNOTES

1. Thomas Branwell, Maria's father, was a successful merchant, who owned warehouses and properties across town and beyond and who took an active role in public life together with his sons. The Branwells were Methodist, educated their daughters as well as their sons, and were instrumental in building the first Wesleyan Methodist chapel in Penzance in 1814. On her mother's side, Maria was related to the Carnes, who too were pillars of the West Cornish community and who supported the scientific and technological advances of the eighteenth-century.
2. For more information about Maria's family and the cultural environment of Penzance, see The Mother of the Brontës, by Sharon Wright, Chapter 1, and Removing the Shroud of Mystery, by Maddalena De Leo, pp. 15-44.
3. No autopsy was performed on Maria's body and for a long time it was thought she suffered from uterine cancer. However, modern medical theories point to cervical

cancer, due to Maria's age and her numerous full-term pregnancies, or to pelvic sepsis and anemia caused by the birth of her last daughter Anne. What we know for sure is that she died after seven and half months of agony, during which Patrick did his best to attend and comfort her, while trying to keep up a semblance of normality for the children.

[4] Shirley (1849) is set in Yorkshire during the Luddite uprisings in the textile industry of 1811-12. Its heroine, the orphaned heiress Shirley Keeldar, is an intelligent, independent and strong-willed young woman, who marries Louis Moore, a humble tutor, with an attitude reminiscent of Maria's: "Mr. Moore,' said she …' teach me and help me to be good. I do not ask you to take off my shoulders all the cares and duties of property, but I ask you to share the burden, and to show me how to sustain my part well …Be my companion through life; be my guide where I am ignorant; be my master where I am faulty; be my friend always!" (548).

[5] Constantin Héger (1809–1896) was a Belgian literary figure of the Victorian era. He taught French to Charlotte and Emily Brontë during their stay in 1842-43 at the boarding school in Brussels run by his wife. Although a gifted educator in his own right, he is mostly remembered today for his connection with Charlotte. She developed strong – and not reciprocated – feelings for him, whose nature was publicly revealed only in 1913, when her letters to him were published for the first time. The letters are today in the British Museum and Héger inspired some characters in Charlotte's novels, especially Rochester in Jane Eyre and Paul Emmanuel in Villette.

[6] After their marriage, Nicholls became very controlling, even monitoring Charlotte's letters: "Now, as she wrote as always to her oldest friend, Arthur was looking over her shoulder, deploring her freedom of expression. Letters were dangerous, he told her … He said he would rule out any further correspondence unless Ellen agreed, in writing, to burn all Charlotte's letters … Mr. Nicholls deplored the element of license in Charlotte's letters" (Gordon 354).

[7] The essay was most likely written for a local magazine, the monthly periodical The Pastoral Visitor, founded in 1815 by the Welsh evangelical cleric and friend of the Brontë family William Morgan (1782–1858).

[8] The massive eruption in April 1815 of Mount Tambora on the island of Sumbawa, in the Dutch East Indies (modern-day Indonesia), caused a volcanic winter: the significant quantity of volcanic gas and ashes released into the atmosphere blocked sunlight, leading to extreme weather conditions with disastrous consequences on agriculture and human survival. For more information, see Tambora: The Eruption That Changed the World by Gillen D'Arcy Wood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

[9] The Cowan Bridge School was a Clergy Daughters' School, founded in the 1820s, at Cowan Bridge, Lancashire. It offered low-cost education to daughters of the poorer members of the clergy. In her Life of Charlotte Brontë (1857) Elizabeth Gaskell explicitly connected Cowan Bridge with the fictional Lowood school in Jane Eyre. For more information see The Brontës by Juliet Barker (London, UK: Phoenix Press, 2001), Chapters 5, 18, and 27.

[10] In her Life of Charlotte Brontë (originally published in 1857), Elizabeth Gaskell had already expressed admiration for Maria as a writer: "The writing of these letters is elegant and neat … there are also allusions to the books she has read, or is reading, showing a well-cultivated mind … Mrs. Brontë must have been … a well-balanced and consistent woman. The style of the letters is easy and good" (37).

WORKS CITED

Barker, Juliet. *The Brontës*. London, UK: Phoenix Press, 2001. Print.

——. *The Brontës. A Life in Letters*. London, UK: Viking, 1997. Print.

Brontë, Charlotte. *Shirley*. Edinburgh, UK: T. Nelsons et Sons, 2023. Kindle Edition.

D'Arcy Wood, Gillen. *Tambora: The Eruption That Changed the World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015. Print.

De Leo, Maddalena. *Removing the Shroud of Mystery. Maria Branwell's Autobiographical Novel*. Raleigh, NC: Lulu Press Inc., 2012. Print.

Gaskell, Elizabeth. *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. Ed. Elisabeth Jay. London, UK: Penguin Books, 1997. Print.

Gordon, Lyndall. *Charlotte Brontë. A Passionate Life.* London, UK: Virago Press, 2008. Print. Shorter, Clement K. *Charlotte Brontë and Her Circle*. London, UK: Hodder and Stoughton, 1896. Print.

Wright, Sharon. *The Mother of the Brontës. When Maria Met Patrick*. Barnsley, Yorkshire, UK: Pen and Sword History Books Ltd, 2019. Print.

Thea von Harbou and Fritz Lang Imagine *Metropolis*

Andrew J. Gregg
Independent Scholar

OCTOBER 1924: FRITZ LANG ALLEGEDLY ENVISIONS THE FUTURE

In the autumn of 1924, Fritz Lang, a German Expressionist filmmaker, embarked on a tour of the United States. UFA, Lang's home studio had charged him with two stated objectives. As the talented director who bought Die Nibelungen to the big screen, Lang introduced his latest epic to American audiences and would encounter Hollywood's most influential producers, artists, and talented technical innovators in hopes of learning the latest production techniques that were rapidly emerging in the world's cinematic capital. (McGilligan, 1997, 104) Because of his alien status, Fritz Lang was compelled to remain aboard the SS Deutschland until a US visa could be arranged. As Lang's ship lay anchored in the New York harbor, the 34-year-old director was awestruck by the striking vertical Manhattan skyline, its electrically powered illumination, ambient sounds, and redolent aromas. According to Fritz Lang's personal reminiscences, his inspiration for the visual realizations of the future motion picture that would become *Metropolis*, invaded his senses that evening. (Bogdanovich, 1967, 6) Fritz Lang's account emphasizing that his initial inspiration for *Metropolis* was the direct result of having been awestruck by Manhattan's glimmering nocturnal skyline has become legendary, but is not, in fact, completely accurate.

Thea von Harbou, Fritz Lang's wife, enjoyed a reputation as a prolific author of literature that drew on German folklore, legends, and fairy tales. von Harbou established a practice of releasing her novels simultaneously with the motion picture based on the book. As early as April 1924, Lang and von Harbou were at work on the novel that would be the basis for *Metropolis*. When Lang and von Harbou visited Vienna, the July 4, 1924, edition of Illustrierties Wiener Extrablatt reported that the couple would enjoy a working vacation in the Alps near Salzburg. Finishing the screenplay for their new collaboration, *Metropolis*, was the stated goal (McGilligan, 1997, 109). Even before UFA sent Fritz Lang and colleague, producer, and fellow director Erich Pommer to Hollywood in October, Thea von Harbou had completed the *Metropolis* storyline replete with the scenes that would become familiar to future viewers. Thea von Harbou created descriptions of the utopian upper world built by slaves who populated a netherworld of advanced industrialization maintained by miserable laborers. The story's heroine, Maria, a would-be savior-turned-martyr is a character straight out of Teutonic mythology (Ibid., 110).

Film scholars appreciate *Metropolis* on any number of levels as the film nears its centenary year, but in its initial release, Thea von Harbou's screenplay was criticized for its sentimentality (Bachmann, 1996, 3). British science fiction genre pioneer, H. G. Wells, extensively reviewed *Metropolis* for *The New York Times Magazine*, and provided ample evidence of numerous previous works, including his own, from which von Harbou lifted characterizations, situations, settings, motifs, and themes without attribution (Wells, 1927, 4, 22). Dubbed "The Countess of Kitsch," Thea von Harbou never apologized for her composition formula of haphazardly combining national nostalgia, regional mythology, and popular conventions into best-selling novels and financially successful motion pictures (Keiner, 1984). Given a screenplay that was rife with trivialities and unoriginal by every measure, the makers of *Metropolis* faced the formidable task of elevating the production's impact by dint of the possibilities spectacular visuals presented. In the face of this seemingly overwhelming liability, Fritz Lang found an opportunity to display his genius.

Following Lang's return from the United States, *Film-Kurier*, a popular German trade publication, printed essays the director wrote detailing his American adventures in stunning terms (Lang, 1924, n. p.). Although Fritz Lang was generous in his praise of New York's visual assets, pulsating pace, and aesthetically pleasing architecture, the director left unwritten palpable evidence that darker, unpleasant influences were in force beneath the city's surface. The director's awareness of anxiety, desperation, avarice, and extralegal activities leavened his enthusiasm for the aspects Lang deemed to be exhilarating. The ambivalence Lang noticed also influenced his film sense as *Metropolis* came into sharper focus (Bachmann, 1996, 5). In retrospect, Fritz Lang's reaction to the vistas of New York City represent less of a sudden, monumental inspiration based on an unanticipated first impression, than the realization of Thea von Harbou's narrative which had been on his mind for months. New York's night skyline provided Fritz Lang with a model reflecting the setting of von Harbou's novel, but certainly

not an image that inspired a future screenplay because *Metropolis* was already effectively completed.

SPRING 1925: IMAGINING THE FANTASTIC

More than 40 years after *Metropolis* premiered, Fritz Lang recalled the challenges involved in transforming Thea von Harbou's novel to the big screen. The director spoke in grandiose terms of presenting a conflict between "modern science" and "occultism" with an "evil magician" as the agent responsible for the resulting chaos. (Bogdanovich, 1967, 124) A conflict, central to von Harbou's original story, between the technologically advanced robots and a subterranean proletariat condemned to service the machinery remained in the final script. Critic Hans Siemsen concluded, incorrectly, that the conflict was "official Germany in its entirety as we know it and experience it first-hand every day" (Siemsen, 1927, 949). Stripped of so many significant science fiction and supernatural elements that would have distinguished *Metropolis*, the surviving plot reflected the reasons Thea von Harbou was derisively called "Lady Kitschener"(Keiner, 1984). Lang indicated that many of his ideas proved to be impractical, that proposed elements of science fiction were abandoned, and that without the "courage" to retain magical aspects, that the script lost enough compelling components that the resulting film had a patchwork quality (Bogdanovich, 1967, 124.) Nevertheless, Fritz Lang and Thea von Harbou took their imperfect script to their UFA colleagues with every expectation that a talented cast and skillful technicians would deliver a sensational production.

In the early Spring of 1925, Fritz Lang boasted to The New York Times that his forthcoming production of *Metropolis* would be Europe's most expensive, feature a cast of thousands, require constructing enormous sets, and create special effects that would eclipse any that were previously devised. Lang's swagger was neither hyperbole nor exaggeration. Behind the headlines, UFA executives braced themselves for the anticipated, but, nonetheless, staggering impacts. Producer Erich Pommer never expected that *Metropolis* would be profitable, and his most ardent hope was that the film might eventually break even at the box office. The most realistic goal was to release a blockbuster that would impress Hollywood's moguls and gain a toehold for UFA in American markets. Fritz Lang's prediction that *Metropolis* would be the costliest motion picture to date proved prescient; the production would nearly bankrupt UFA and result in Erich Pommer's abrupt dismissal from the company (McGilligan, 1997, p. 110).

UFA's production team, although thoroughly professional, was not free from the frictions of interpersonal conflict. Fritz Lang always had clear ideas about what he wanted viewers to see on the screen and was not overly appreciative of the length to which his colleagues routinely went to realize the director's visions. Cameraman Carl Hoffman had expertly brought Lang's concepts to the screen in previous projects but was unavailable to lens *Metropolis*. Fortunately, producer Erich Pommer successfully exerted his considerable tact and influence to coax a sometimes-reluctant ensemble to acquiesce in working with Fritz Lang. "Papa" Karl Freund, already a legend in European cinema, was cajoled into joining the production team despite his personal enmity toward director Lang. Freund's grudge stemmed from his suspicion that Fritz Lang was directly responsible for the director's first wife's death that was officially ruled a suicide. Pommer promised Freund that the cinematographer would have limited interactions with Lang if he deigned to take the assignment. And, because Freund never shrank from an artistic challenge, he knew *Metropolis* would be a sensation and was under contract to UFA, he accepted. Erich Pommer was also compelled to persuade Aenne Willkomm, a former fashion designer who rapidly ascended UFA's organizational chart to become head of the costume department, to accept the monumental task of creating thousands of outfits for *Metropolis*. One especially talented technician, Eugen Shufftan, was delighted to work on the new production. "The Shufftan Process," originally developed for, but unemployed in Gulliver's Travels, was a groundbreaking optical effect that allowed live foreground action as well as miniature background scenery to be compositely captured on film (Ibid. 111.)

Preproduction meetings were routinely scheduled for late afternoons in the apartment von Harbou and Lang shared. Participants learned early on that the hosts would provide a midevening meal, but that work sessions could extend into the small hours of the night. In addition to the author and director, camera operator Freund, and costumer Willkomm, set designers Erich Kettelhut, Otto Hunte, and Karl Vollbrecht attended the preparation conferences that began late in 1924. (Ibid., 55, 83, 94, 110-111.)

Throughout the Winter of 1924-1925, the *Metropolis* production team was almost constantly collaborating to translate the visions inspired by the New York City skyline to sets, scenery, and a shooting script. Inevitably, some of the concepts, motifs, and narratives described in Thea von Harbou's novel were abandoned due to cultural concerns over how Weimar moviegoers would receive them. Late in his career, Fritz Lang lamented his lack of courage in deciding to omit the more fantastic elements of *Metropolis*. Lang saw von Harbou's story as a clash between modern science and medieval magic. The battle between stratified societal elements, an increasingly blurred line that separates humanity and robotic machines, and inequities that leads to class warfare were

deemphasized to the point that what remained was the sentimental storyline for which Thea von Harbou's novel was most severely criticized (Bogdanovich, 1967, 124).

A serialized version of *Metropolis* was appearing in Illustrierties Blatt while the film was in production. Producer Erich Pommer's early form of multilevel marketing paid dividends with other releases, and this practice helped make Thea von Harbou one of the most famous popular German authors. Published by August Scherl, *Metropolis*, as an unabridged novel, was scheduled to coincide with the motion picture's premiere. (Kreimeier, 1995, 88, 105.) Fritz Lang's own December 1924 article in *Film-Kurier* described his ambitious visions of the city's skyline without regard for the technical challenges realizing the vistas posed to his design team. Although Lang's ideas always required trials, modifications, and adjustments, Thea von Harbou's scripts were straightforward stories heavily influenced by popular German literary predecessors. Despite von Harbou's reliance on well-worn motifs and settings, the creative team was focused on making *Metropolis* as ultramodern as Die Nibelungen had been traditional. Germany of the 1920's featured artistic foment, competing schools of thought, and a constant influx of suddenly new and always conflicting styles and movements. Fritz Lang's creative staff openly engaged exponents of Surrealist, Bauhaus, Expressionist, Dada, and even Fantasist votaries in creating the futuristic city. Elements of most contemporary art forms are in evidence in the *Metropolis* photoplay. Fritz Lang's German biographer, Heide Schonemann, acknowledged the film's avant-garde nature by observing, "The beauty and the horror of the machine world would excite many artists" (Schonemann, 1992). In his memoirs, Erich Kettelhut described the seemingly interminable discussions related to set design. Although Kettelhut wanted to present "The Tower of Babel," one of the futuristic city's central images, as a round building that rose to a pinnacle, colleague Otto Hunte's design was more traditional. Cinematographers Karl Freund and Gunther Rittau advocated for Kettelhut's design. However, Fritz Lang, who had studied art and painting as a young man, showed colleagues his own renderings that resembled Hunte's "Tower." Following a protracted, sometimes heated argument Kettelhut, Freund, and Rittau lost the debate. As design compromises progressed, the Lang/von Harbou proposals increasingly prevailed. Team members began to realize, with no small sense of resentment, that the decisions regarding scene, shots, and sets had been made in advance. Fritz Lang's finicky attention to detail caused consternation among creative staff members who were suddenly relieved when producer Erich Pommer entreated his director to move forward with casting. With Lang's attentions diverted, Eugen Shufftan and Karl Freund could begin work on filming the opening scenes of *Metropolis* unencumbered (McGilligan, 1997, 112.).

310 DAYS, SIXTY NIGHTS, AND 5,000,000+ REICHSMARKS LATER…

When Fritz Lang boasted that *Metropolis* would be a production on a colossal scale, the ledger proved him to be correct. After Fritz Lang left his technicians began transforming the written descriptions of the upper and nether worlds to the screen, he began assessing the available acting talent to cast an ensemble that would portray the various roles. One of Lang's notable practices as a director was to bring new faces to the screen. In the leading role of Maria, Brigitte Helm, an unknown actress with no previous motion picture credits, was, seemingly a "find" of Lang's. Not yet twenty years of age, Miss Helm was guaranteed prominence, if not stardom, by dint of headlining a production as momentous as *Metropolis*. But, at the time of her casting, she had no inkling of the pressures Lang would impose, the rigors she would endure, or impossibly high standards the director would expect, and exact from her in the coming year. Industry insiders would joke that Fritz Lang's penchant for "discovering" new talent that resulted in "a virgin star" being featured in every production. If Brigitte Helm became known as "The Virgin of Babelsburg," her castmates represented UFA's repertory company of actors who regularly appeared in Fritz Lang's motion pictures (Ibid, 114).

Special effects, that included filming the fabulous transportation modes that operated in the futuristic city, utilizing the Shufftan Process to portray live action against enlargements of complex miniatures, and the on-camera endowment of life in the robot Maria, were not always immediately successful. Through persistent trial and error, flaws were patiently overcome. Those triumphs required patience, good humor, and formidable expenditures of resources. Fritz Lang's directorial style was to drive his company relentlessly, and the actors were not alone when it came to meeting great expectations. In addition to the technical advancements that elevated *Metropolis*'s visual impact, Fritz Lang's architects fabricated some monumental sets both internal and external. With *Metropolis*, Lang's behind-the-scenes colleagues presented an amalgamation of cinematic techniques that had never been seen previously. Fritz Lang's sojourn in Hollywood gave him first-hand exposure to developing technologies appertaining to stop-action filming as well as combining live action shots with miniatures. Fortunately for Lang and his associates, UFA's long tradition of presenting supernatural stories disposed studio leaders to accept the excesses involved in bringing *Metropolis*'s visuals to fruition (Minden and Bachmann, 2000, 16-17).

UFA's technicians brought all their considerable talent to bear as scenes from Thea von Harbou's screenplay were transformed into the photoplay. Although the enormous sets, skillful miniatures, matte shots, forced perspectives, and imaginative uses of the Shufftan Process would impress audiences and critics alike, Fritz Lang's staff created stunning illusions by cleverly utilizing much more commonplace materials. Other scenes, such as depicting the various modes of transportation in the great city in motion was the result of painstakingly capturing stop-action footage that was exposed a few frames at a time. Gunther Rittau described the tedious task involved when creating the illusion of vehicles transversing roadways. A technician would move vehicles a few centimeters, and a camera operator would roll the camera ahead a few frames. The routine was repeated thousands of times over the course of an entire week to produce forty meters of film that would run for less-than ten seconds when projected on a screen. Erich Kettelhut indicated that only the most persevering of technicians were able to convincingly provide such special effects (Rittau, 1927, 6).

Of all the astonishing scenes Fritz Lang and company brought to the screen in creating *Metropolis*, transforming the mechanical robot into the "False Maria" remains the film's most sensational sequence. Cinematographer Gunther Rittau devised the use of a black velvet silhouette in the exact shape of the robot Maria that would allow the use of illuminated light rings that would appear to surround the apparently seated figure. Fashioned from a food grade wrapping material known in Europe as "Stullen-papier," the light rings appear to brightly glow. Two rings were photographed in each take. The process, when repeated six times, would produce the effect of twelve light rings imbuing the "False Maria" with life. When Brigitte Helm herself was photographed via a final superimposition in the place of the velvet silhouette, the image of the robot being brought to life by dint of the twelve light rings was stunningly realized on-screen (Giesen, 2008, 39.)

Like Soviet director Sergei Eisenstein, Fritz Lang was interested in creating visual impact. In collaboration with Karl Freund, Lang used the camera in unorthodox ways. By suspending the camera and allowing it to swing like a pendulum, viewers could sense the reverberations of a cataclysmic explosion. Using superimposition, a character's discomfort and anxiety could be effectively conveyed. Karl Freund understood visual expressions of terror's power, and how that dynamic would elevate a scene's influence on viewers. Freund would apply these lessons in Hollywood a few years later in Universal horror movies including *Dracula* and *The Mummy*, which he also directed.

At the time of its release, *Metropolis* was the most expensive German film. Fritz Lang's perfectionism impelled him to film multiple retakes of complicated scenes without significant regard for his actors' comfort or safety. These practices led critics to characterize the director as "fanatical." Although Fritz Lang's notoriety accompanied him throughout his long career, his style was hardly unique among UFA's directorial corps. F.W. Murnau, E.A. DuPont, and Arthur von Gerlach, all Erich Pommer's directors, also conducted themselves in a manner strikingly similar to Fritz Lang in terms of excessive ego, stretching human and economic limits, and commitment to the highest standards of cinematic expression. Nevertheless, it was Fritz Lang, no doubt buttressed by the spectacle that is *Metropolis*, that placed him above that august group of filmmaking legends, as a notoriously importunate artist. Erich Pommer stood as UFA's most accomplished and successful producer, no small thanks to the fact that *Metropolis* symbolized the studio's standing as Weimar Germany's most influential social and cultural exponent (Kreimeier, 1995, 188).

Fritz Lang had no illusions that the *Metropolis* shooting script reflected fewer of the fantastic elements described in Thea von Harbou's novel than he would have preferred. In retrospect, the director expressed ruefulness when he considered abandoned plot elements, truncated characterizations, and insurmountable challenges his technical team faced to transform some of the action from the page to the screen. In an interview with American filmmaker Peter Bogdanovich, Fritz Lang lamented the fact that once the promised magic of *Metropolis* had been discarded, the story seemed to be less cohesive and more a pastiche of scenes. Although Fritz Lang regretted that he could not realize all the fabulous potential found in von Harbou's novel, he was able to retain the kernels of inspiration that he could use in later projects. For example, Lang originally wanted the hero to escape the chaotic city by flying off to the galaxy. Although that climactic conclusion was not to be seen in *Metropolis*, Thea von Harbou retained the idea as the basis for 1929's Woman in the Moon that her husband would successfully direct (Bogdanovich, 1967, 125).

"A DURABLE GABARDINE SUIT"

There may be a fine line between a ritual and a superstition. Just prior to the commencement of shooting a new motion picture, Fritz Lang would visit Knize's, a Viennese bespoke men's clothing establishment that had a shop in Berlin's and be fitted for a what *Metropolis* cast member Gustav Frohlich described as, "A durable gabardine suit." Frohlich, one of Fritz Lang's favorite actors, was a keen observer when it came to his boss's habits. The director would not wear the custom-made suit to the studio but change into it before he went on-set. Lang would wear the same wardrobe while working and leave the suit to be brushed and hung in his office when shoot-

ing was finished for the day. When *Metropolis* finally wrapped, Fritz Lang gifted the well-worn suit of clothes to Gustav Puttcher, his obsequious assistant. Lang would observe this practice after every production (McGilligan, 1997, 128).

Although a tailor-made outfit was Puttcher's official reward for his steadfast service, the suit was also symbolic for the director. Every "durable gabardine suit" represented an extension of Fritz Lang himself like a layer of armor worn for the duration of a given production. When the film was completed, Lang sloughed off the garments like a layer of skin as if to indicate that the battle was won, and he was free to take on another challenge. Lang's work suit also served as a costume that anointed him to play the megalomaniacal "meister" of the director's chair while it was worn, and allowed a return, for better and worse, to his true personality when it was removed.

AFTERWORD

Thea von Harbou and Fritz Lang ended their successful professional and marital relationships as Germany's Nation Socialist Political Party ascended to prominence in the mid-1930's.

So respected was Lang's work that Nazi Party officials invited the legendary director to lead UFA studios. Fritz Lang declined the invitation by pawning his wife's jewels and absconding to the United States via Paris. Once in Hollywood, Fritz Lang cemented his legacy as a great filmmaker by directing 22 feature motion pictures. In 1963, Lang appeared as himself in Jacques Cocteau's *Contempt*, his final film. Across the next decade, Fritz Lang burnished his legacy and reputation through a series of articles and interviews until his death in 1976 at the age of 85 years (Ibid. 473-415).

Thea von Harbou elected to remain in Germany as the shaky political landscape of the Weimar Republic gave way to the Third Reich. von Harbou successfully wrote and directed 22 "State Films" in her new capacity as a Nazi Party member. Thea von Harbou continued to advocate for women's and workers' rights under the new regime. Steadfast to her country until the Second World War's conclusion, Thea von Harbou was subsequently imprisoned by the British and forced to be a "rubble woman" scavenging in the ruins of Berlin. In declining health, von Harbou continued to write until complications related to high blood pressure claimed her life at the age of 65 in 1954 (Ibid, pp. 413-414).

Critics may have derided *Metropolis* for its sentimental plot elements, but none had anything but praise for the audacity of the prodigious collaborations that inspired the production's special effects and technical achievements. Across the past century, audiences have been, and continue to be, astounded by the motion picture's powerful impact.

Although the spectacle that is *Metropolis* will continue to be viewed, discussed, and appreciated by cinema aficionados the world over, the genesis of the film's ingenuity was conceived during languid, cozy Berlin afternoons in the fertile imaginations of Fritz Lang and Thea von Harbou.

WORKS CITED

Bachmann, Holger. "The Production and Contemporary Production of *Metropolis*." *Films of UFA*. Essen: The Blue Owl, 1996.

Bogdanovich, Peter. *Fritz Lang in America*. London: Studio Vista, 1967.

Giesen, Rolf. *Special Effects*. Berlin: 8th ed. 1985.

Keiner, Reinhold. *Thea von Harbou and the German Film in 1933*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1984.

Kreimeier, Klaus. Die UFA-Story. Munich: Heyne, 1995.

Lang, Fritz. "Was ich in Amerika sah-Neu York und Los Angeles," Film. Kurier. Berlin, 1924.

McGilligan, Patrick. *Fritz Lang: The Nature of the Beast*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Minden, Michael and Holger Bachmann. *Fritz Lang's Metropolis: Cinematic Visions of Technology and Fear*. Rochester: Camden House, 2000.

Rittau, Gunther. "Special Effects in *Metropolis*," Berlin: Mein Film 60, 1927.

Schonemann, Heide. *Fritz Lang: Filmbilder, Vorbilder*. Berlin: Ed. Hentrich, 1992.

Siemsen, Hans. "One Film Critic," Berlin: Die Weltbuhne, 1927.

Wells, H.G. "*Metropolis*, A Review," New York: New York Times Magazine, 1927.

The Europe of Wandering Strangers—Creatively Viewed by an Estranged European Among Them,

or,

Danish Writer Homesteading Homelessness in Europe

Poul Houe

University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

I

Movement, in almost every literal and figurative sense, is key to the performance art of author 1) Claus Beck-Nielsen *alias* 2) Das Beckwerk *alias* 3) Madame Nielsen, et al. *Claus Beck-Nielsen (1963-2001)*, subtitled *A Biography* and published post-mortem in 2003 by author 1), begins with the chapter, "Who Am I?"[1] and focuses on the title character walking out of his/her/their identity on the streets of Copenhagen, while one Claus Nielsen, who arrived there from Germany in 2000, leaves again, even "disappears," at book's end about one year and 200 pages later.

Between the book's covers, one (type of) identity subtly moves in and out of another in a manner that sets the stage for this author's/these authors' entire complex of identity mobility. Whether literally or figuratively, it is a plasticity that defines not only one identity's (dis) connection to another, as its "double," but also the literary output this composite enables overall. A compelling task facing the reader of the "Nielsen" authorship is thus to locate the Archimedean point from which the defining characteristics of its complexity can be identified. In my pursuit thereof, I'll be touching on traits of Europe's cultural and democratic crisis as well.

II

Part I of Das Beckwerk's five-part novel *Suverænen* (The Sovereign, 2008) takes off from the old world. As Rasmussen, along with Nielsen and their "box of Democracy," returns from a tour in chaotic Iraq, he reflects in Copenhagen's airport on the delusion underpinning the trip's display of the box as a facilitator of democracy. Nielsen, the *artist* of the project, believes he is more political than artistic, whereas Rasmussen maintains that political art in Denmark—and the West in general—is only for "self-direction and identity production" (Das Beckwerk 15). As one wandering possibility, this exemplary European and citizen of the world proves at odds with his own task.

Rasmussen's Iraqi journey, as a political artist, bordered on the catastrophic, so he headed for America to find his Utopia realized. Although democracy is nowhere universal, in America it's like an outpatient psychiatric clinic short of oxygen. There his goal proves a lost cause, so perhaps one should rather seek a place where one is rooted and from which one may long to get away—as opposed to being "a swirling universal ideal" doomed to catapulting oneself out of oneself, across the Earth, into Utopia. Meanwhile, Rasmussen's homeland is at a standstill and in decay, so his last word is "Ithaka" (Das Beckwerk 302). After this last breath of his, Nielsen despairingly copies Rasmussen's habits, including his way of resting like a corpse under a white sheet. With Rasmussen gone, Nielsen returns to Europe.

Toward the end of his life, Rasmussen more and more frequently substantiated the visions of his homeland retreat as Horne Land, and after Nielsen's return to Denmark, *his* narrative I is both taken in and scared by this reference. After first hoping it was merely a figment of Rasmussen's imagination, Nielsen comes to realize its geographical reality yet still postpones facing it. Nonetheless, coincidence takes him there, and although initially fearful that the actual place might discredit Rasmussen's memory of it, Nielsen soon begins to sense quite the opposite being the case, and so an Archimedean point *does* emerge—both for reliving and writing the existential history that he and Rasmussen shared and squabbled about. A real homecoming, both personally and artistically, is brought to fruition by this narrative voice as stated in the book's conclusion and practiced throughout the text preceding it:

> If there is any place in the world, or rather beyond it, a place so adequately distanced from it all that history can be written, then it is here. This is the land Outside, I thought. No more questions. This was the answer. Here I would settle down. No matter what. Take place, … And write. The Whole History. Yes, I thought, I have finally come home (Das Beckwerk 321).

Nielsen's movement on foot across the Middle East before crossing the Atlantic, and then again on foot across the US on the Pond's other side, finally seems fulfilled.

III

In 2016, twelve years after this homecoming, the author's identity has further transitioned, from das Beckwerk to Madame Nielsen, and 'her' genre output to an educational novel named *Invasionen: En fremmed i flygtningestrømmen* (The Invasion: A Stranger in the Tide of Refugees)—much in tune with refugees on the move now becoming the visual image of history's voice and the new framework for an educational journey across Europe, as "the history of humanity approaches its finish line and a new chapter in Europe's history is in the offing" (Nielsen 27).

Initially, Madame naïvely believes that "man, created to wander, can still walk through the world she herself has changed into an increasingly wild movement" (Nielsen 38). "She herself" wanders aimlessly and stops and reflects by the open sea on "Europe's border, one you never cross, one you go underneath and disappear into" until it absorbs you and "spits your stinking cadaver onto an accidental beach" (Nielsen 44). Having given up her spirit, she now considers "her life and movement … one great mistake, one can no longer wander through the world" (Nielsen 52-3, 64). At one point she comes to a halt, surrounded by the chaos of refugees as

> the only one who has nothing to do here. And feels at home … and is suddenly alien to herself. And likes it. The Excitement. Between myself and the alien. Within me. She feels herself exposed, all senses wide open … But why precisely here, on the border, by the border, in the borderland? It is here things happen, she thinks. What? History, the world's history, our history, everything's transition into something else (Nielsen 65).

Men of *Bildung*, Madame considers "a dying species … the real aliens in this history, travelers of another era, which closes behind them, no camp is awaiting them, nor any asylum, only death, oblivion, exit Europe" (Nielsen 66-7). The outskirts, or the periphery, is the world's new center, after the *Bildungsreisen* and the time when frightened humans did not get on the run (Nielsen 69-70). Madame lives in the age of paradoxes, when Europe's borders are closed to legal citizens with passports, and only refugees and the undocumented have permission to cross them (Nielsen 80).

Reality is the stream of refugees crossing Europe into the future, and Madame's rendition thereof amounts to fictions that interlink "things, views and voices in a progress that resembles a narrative, my history and yours" (Nielsen 119), signs of "European state power as violent powerlessness, a clumsy colossus on clay feet" (Nielsen 127). She accounts for this tortuous no-man's-land in the borderland (Nielsen 128) and spells out the laws of refugee streams, whose *movements* are their only identity, and whose *border movements* form the vivid democracy of the accidental (Nielsen 130-2). Not until Graz in Austria does she arrive at the EU of self-esteem, and although she herself is from nowhere and knows nobody, she is disgusted by her own disgust and repelled by repulsive humility (is it human or inhuman?) (Nielsen 138). A chaotic life without directions surrounds Madame (Nielsen 139-40).

All in all, the laws of Europe (Nielsen 163-7) are those of the borderland and identify a border that is not the site of thought, but of suspicion, and a site of revelation, but where the revealed is yet another veil. "The border is the place that is not a place" and where the power of the state is laid bare (as the power of violence as well as of incapacity):

> Where the border disappears, suddenly nobody can separate hope from nightmare or Utopia from a place that should not – never – have existed. … The border is the blind angle of the state, society, and the community; the border reveals truths and phenomena "we" don't want to face but prefer to believe are non-existent, though it also reveals what we couldn't dream of and hope for – i.e., what? (Nielsen 164-5).

In conclusion: "Am I then a refugee, says Madame. And wakes up" (Nielsen 167).

Her novel's epilogue depicts the end of her text as the end of the contemporary stream of refugees moving up through Europe (Nielsen 188). Yet, "that the stream was brought to a halt, that that was possible, *that* was merely a dream. It continues, along other routes, always slightly different, it will never end. Never? No, never" (Nielsen 189). The Invasion novel's last moment is "0:59. It is after midnight. Europe has gone to sleep" (Nielsen 189)—and its final chapter concludes: "The world is insane, we should cease to exist, but it is too late, tomorrow begins a new chapter of its history. Goodnight, Europe" (Nielsen 190). *Movement* has stalled, but only for a *moment* in history.

IV

To the question: who is this novel's Madame, really (Nielsen 180-1), the answer seems to be: not only a stranger, but the epitome of all the unknown humans depicted streaming across Europe in Madame's educational novel about this chapter in world history (Nielsen 184-8). Like these characters, the author is seeking a home in 'another' world but is chiefly locating home, both for them and herself, in the journey and search per

se, or more precisely: in the homelessness they somewhat share. It is like a mobile home, not on wheels but on feet. The question remains what its mobility entails, be it for her, her characters—and her readers.

In "The European Homelessness," a chapter in his *Forsømmelsernes bog* (*The Book of Neglect*, 2001), Nielsen's colleague, the novelist and culture critic Carsten Jensen, describes the entire "European house" as "a place where the refugee and the settled seem to melt together or at least share surfaces of contact: in a homelessness that goes too deep to be contradicted by data in the population registry" (Jensen 114). It seems an elusive and ambiguous scenario, and in Paul Auster's *Moon Palace*, Jensen himself sees the novel's protagonist addressing such homelessness as more than the "result of despair and weakened will. It also involves a metaphysical temptation" that makes him believe that surrendering to chaos in life might reveal some kind of "secret harmony" (Jensen 116) – much like the stimulation Jensen elsewhere sees emanating "from once rooted values that are now thriving best in the homes of fantasy and imagination" (Jensen 115).

That said, the homelessness at issue is far from cost free. In Don DeLillo's *Mao II* novel, one homeless character has typically "lost his humanity, simply because he has lost the possibility to retrieve and recognize himself in others" (Jensen 115). In fact, even the language of the homeless becomes homeless itself, "no longer a dwelling for anybody" (Jensen 117), and so "the homeless European—post the age of explorers—has replaced the goal-oriented move of the journey with a drifting around in the chaos of time and space." Like these fictional characters, we too, according to Carsten Jensen, may be facing a huge void and "a future that only we ourselves can fill and populate" (Jensen 118), situations altogether similar to the one envisioned more optimistically in the works of Claus Beck-Nielsen, Das Beckwerk, and Madame Nielsen.

For one thing, "writing must be nomadic. If the body stops moving, so does art," as Nielsen put it in an interview. Movement from one identity into another is no less crucial, and even moving into nothingness opens up new possibilities so long as others do the same. Short of that, becoming a woman proves the best option for Nielsen and the drive behind walking on obsessively—only short of becoming an antique idiot, who speaks truths that others prefer to ignore (Dressler-Bredsdorff). A reviewer of the author's later book about *Alverdens-vandringerne* (The World-Wanderings) from 2019 notes that "wandering to her is a goal in itself: She falls into this state of mind, out of herself, slightly ecstatic" and does so because her mission, no matter its expression, is to transform the world into true writing. Much like the traveling Hans Christian Andersen, "she takes place," in every sense of that phrase (Rothstein). As she herself has put it, calming down in stability is obviously tempting, yet "I will never calm down. This is life and great literature: we never come home. … The world is not either-or. The world is both-and, and one can be both man and woman, human and animal, stone and biology. And so can my writing," which challenges especially "Europeans, who insist upon understanding and illuminating everything in the world" to instead, like a lover, appreciate the magic of duplicity (Tschermerinsky).

Secondly, the intricate connection between movement and writing, reflected equally in Madame's wandering and discursive practices, makes her the author of impossibility, as Mikkel Krause Frantzen pointed out in his address at an award ceremony for her novel about Romania's dictator Ceaucescu. However, like Nielsen's activities overall, the impossible is a double-edged sword in her hand, stressing also what is most necessary. Danish theologian K.E. Løgstrup might have said that Nielsen keeps impossibility intact—as a possibility (Frantsen). Or, in Derrida's terms, as a ghostly event (Rösing). Besides all its other implications, the impossible even reflects the Utopia that stood out as the ghostly mix of the real and the illusional, if not delusional, in Nielsen's novels about democracy traversing the US and refugees traversing Europe, respectively.

Which brings me to my third point about this author's take on—or being taken on by – movements, be they of democracy or refugees, or travel and identity. In addition to my account for these matters in his/her works, comments are implied in such scholarly titles as "Is Nielsen a ghost?" (Rösing) and "Precarious Life—Nielsen's Search for a Life beyond Identity" (Schultz). Writes the latter: "Madame Nielsen is not in the first place a queer identity. Rather, she is an aesthetic device, an exploitation of the female as a tool for transformation, or even a machine that may create new possible forms of existence" (Schultz).[2]

V

Though it may feel uplifting, in a time of simplistic confrontations on key cultural matters, to have someone like Nielsen illuminate the dystopia that may well ensue if we remain locked in polarization instead of following her roadmap, the question remains how well her artistic approach may resonate beyond literary and cultural studies—and reach into political and social sciences not to mention into social and political life itself. Let me conclude with a few pieces of evidence in that regard.
How does the cultural identity of a foreign wanderer through Europe square with that of the continent's settled people. The Arabic film director Omar Shargawi's answer

to journalist Layal Freije is telling. The longer Shargawi has lived in Denmark, the more ambiguous his identity has become, and the more at home and homeless he feels both here and there: "It is like the more integrated in a society you become, and the more balance you find between your "innate" and adopted culture and religion, the more your adopted society accuses you of not being Danish enough." It makes him "despondent and inclined to pack up and leave. Once again" (Shargawi).

On the larger scale, this disturbing duplicity shows in a whole country, like Denmark, as well. In 2015 one scholar put it this way: "It is a great schism in Danish self-comprehension that we have taken a lead in third world support and international solidarity, on the one hand, although shown to be very troubled by immigration, on the other. The result has contributed to the overheated debate" (Termansen). Or in the words of a colleague cited in the same article: "In literature about international relations since the 1970s, Denmark is described as the humane internationalist. This ended about ten years ago." As Madame Nielsen crisscrossed Europe from its epicenters to its borders and back again, he/she envisioned both an innovated and enriched continental identity, which has proven to be as problematic as it is promising. Its future is still at issue, or as the author and archeologist Jeanette Varberg in 2015 put it in an article titled "Man is born a wanderer": "The question is if the Europe we know today … will be recognizable in five years. Can major sweeping changes be avoided? I find it hard to imagine. The question is whether Europe will prove weakened or strengthened afterwards." The answer keeps blowing in the wind.

ENDNOTES

[1] This and subsequent translations from Danish are all mine.

[2] This reading corresponds well with Nielsen's interview with Marie Nyeng: "Jeg siger tit: Kald mig den eller det, eller hun eller han. Det er ikke vigtigt, bare du behandler mig godt" (Nyeng 30).

WORKS CITED

Beck-Nielsen, Claus (2003). Claus Beck-Nielsen: En biografi. København: Gyldendal. Das Beckwerk (2008). Suverænen: Roman. København: Gyldendal.

Dressler-Bredsdorff, Matthias [interview with Madame Nielsen] (2017). "Jeg er meget smukkere som kvinde, ikke sandt?" Politiken/Bøger, November 11.

Frantsen, Mikkel Krause (2018). "Tale til umulighedens forfatter." Politiken/Bøger, March 17.

Jensen, Carsten (2001). Forsømmelsernes bog. 2nd ed. København: Rosinante.

Nielsen, Madame (2016). Invasionen: En fremmed i flygtningestrømmen: Dannelsesroman.
København: Gyldendal.

———. (2019). Alverdens-vandringerne. Aarhus: Herman & Frudit.

Nyeng, Marie [Interview with Madame Nielsen] (2023). "Madame Nielsen er en fin dame på 59 år – nu har hun skrevet et oprørsk teaterstykke til den unge generation." Kulturspind København, Maj—August.

Rothstein, Klaus (2019). "Madame finder sted." Weekendavisen/Bøger, August 2.

Rösing, Lilian Munk (2009). "Den sene Derrida, eller: Er Claus Beck-Nielsen et spøgelse?" Passage, 61 (Sommer).

Schultz, Laura Luise (2022). "Precarious Life—Nielsen's Search for a Life beyond Identity." A Cultural History of the Avantgarde in the Nordic Countries Since 1975, Vol. 41.

Shargawi, Omar [fortalt til Layal Freije] (2017). "Vi har en stat, der systematisk prøver at tvinge folk til at blive danske" [debat/identitet]. Politiken, December 9.

Termansen, Vibe (2015). "Romerrigets fald?" [Europa]. Weekendavisen/Ideer, October 9.

Tschermerinsky, Kathrine [interview with Madam Nielsen] (2017). "Det er mig der skal have Nobelprisen." Weekendavisen/Bøger, March 31.

Varberg, Jeanette (2015). "Mennesket er født som vandrer." Politiken [kronik], September 9.

Changing Support among Different European Union (EU) Members During the First Year of the War in Ukraine

Ivan Dinev Ivanov

University of Cincinnati

Since the beginning of the Russian military aggression in Ukraine on February 24, 2022, NATO and the European Union expressed their full support for Kiev's right to self-defense and has extended various forms of military, humanitarian, financial and other aid.[1] The European Union, along with other allies, introduced ten different packages of sanctions against Russia for the first year of the war.[2] The latter included sanctions against individuals, financial sanctions (e.g., restricted access to financial markets, the SWIFT payment system, limits of financial flows, transactions in cryptocurrency) suspension of Russian media broadcasting, prohibition of sales and investment in key sectors (including energy, raw materials, precious metals, dual use technology) and different services, including boycott on Russian exports such as crude oil, natural gas, etc.[3]

The international aid, along with the sanctions regime on Russia, have imposed notable costs for the European consumers and have had an overall adverse effect on European economies (Medunic 2023; Demertzis, 2023). One of the consequences we can expect is the decline in public support for EU policies on Ukraine could be expected over time, at least in some of the member-states (*PBS Newshour* 2023). How has the support for Ukraine changed since the outbreak of the war? Has there been notable decline in the support for international aid and sanctions regime among some or all EU members? These questions have important implications for future EU policies on Ukraine, as well as for the cohesion of the allied efforts as a whole.

It should be noted that decline in the support among only a few EU members might impact adversely the organization's cohesion on the matter of EU sanctions on Russia and aid for Ukraine because most sanctions-related decisions within the EU require unanimity, i.e., if only one member disapproves a decision cannot be made (*CRC Insight*, 2024). Hence, delayed or rejected aid requests could have important adverse effects on Ukraine's ability to defend itself to resist the Russian aggression and could undermine Ukraine's ability to defend itself. There are at least several factors that work against continued support among the public in a number of EU members: First, the growing costliness of the sanctions on Russia for European consumer over time could well increase European consumer's skepticism about the sanctions' effectiveness and could very well create pressure to lift them and to cut international aid for Kiev. Second, domestic constraints captured by the initial public response to the war indicated that the level of support for EU policy on Ukraine among its members varies substantially.

Third, these divisions as a result of the outbreak of the conflict in Ukraine has facilitated the emergence of a group of vulnerable EU and NATO members whose public has remained fairly skeptical about the West's support for Ukraine and are reluctant to accept sanctions against Moscow as a foreign policy tool to counter Russia's aggression (Ivanov, 2023, 106). In some cases, these public moods have brought to power pro-Russian governments, while on other cases they have contributed to high level of political instability and fragile government coalitions.[4] Using the fuzzy sets Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA), this paper explores whether this pattern of diverging and declining support for aid to Ukraine and sanctions on Russia among EU members continued over the course of the first year after the outbreak of the war and whether it is attributable to key conditions such as economic growth, democratic rule, geopolitics, energy independence from Russia and trust in social media. The study has several important implications: On a theoretical level the dynamics of the sanctions regime on Russia and the aid for Ukraine would provide better understanding about the effectiveness of international sanctions on senders' and receivers' behavior and the conditions under which this effectiveness declines over time. Furthermore, understanding the costliness of sanctions has implication about their use as a foreign policy tool. Additionally, the study highlights the possibilities for long-term EU vulnerabilities due to possible rifts among the EU and NATO members and how these rifts can be exploited by different adversaries.

UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS AND AID ON THE WAR IN UKRAINE

Sanctions have increasingly become a preferred foreign policy tool to respond to an international conflict as they constitute a middle-ground approach between doing nothing and engaging in direct military actions. There are several groups of factors accounting for sanctions effectiveness, such as domestic politics, signaling and conflict expectation. Although the signaling approach

shares a broader skepticism about sanctions' ability to generate effective concessions and, therefore, approaches them mostly as effective signals, domestic policies ties sanctions' outcome to the internal characteristics and dynamics of the sender and the receiver nations (Drezner, 2011, 215-16).

Consensus has emerged in the literature that comprehensive sanctions tend to have low effectiveness (Weiss, 1999: 499-509; Cortright and Lopez, 2002a; Cortright and Lopez, 2002b; Brzoska, 2003; Wallensteen and Staibano, 2005). Their shortcomings can be attributed to a number of factors, most of which are related to successful implementation of the economic sanctions and the coordination of efforts for effective national control systems ensuring that embargoed goods do not "slip through the sanctions net" and that there are international supervisory mechanisms in place (Doxey 99). One possible way to increase effectiveness is to design smart sanctions as a "useful focal point for policy coordination among key stakeholders." Smart sanctions constitute one such version of targeted sanctions that focus on individuals, exports and financial transactions, but excluding humanitarian aid and other key exchanges (Drezner, 2011, 96–108).

The EU sanctions on Russia were originally designed as "targeted," i.e., focusing on individuals in Putin's elite, specific Russian exports, financial and other services, media and other international outlets. However, the cascading effect of the 10 different rounds of sanctions has resulted in a more comprehensive package, which quite expectedly caused massive circumvention of sanctions via third countries such as the Central Asian republics (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kirgizstan), Turkey and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), as well as other "Kremlin-friendly" governments. The so-called "high priority items" of sanctions version (including manufacturing equipment and electrical components) have been the primary focus, most of which have dual (i.e., military and civilian) use. In these cases, we have seen a sharp increase in exports toward Kremlin-friendly third countries that almost entirely make up for the decline of exports toward Russia (Moller-Nielsen, 2024). Hence, the limited success of sanctions on Russia is quite expected, given that the Russian economy has shown a tendency to adapt to the EU and Western sanctions regimes since 2014 and has found ways to circumvent these restrictions and penalties in the past.[5]

Another argument congruent with the signaling approach highlights that sanctions create costs on sender countries, which will dampen the appetite of these nations to impose trade restrictions (Galtung, 1959: 67–68; Lindsay, 1986, 153–173; Kaempfer and Lowenberg, 1988, 786-793). The stronger the opposition to sanctions among the senders' domestic population, the greater dampening effect on sanctions (Belin and Hanousek, 2021: 256). Since the introduction of sanctions relies on approval of all EU members, it takes only a few in which the public disagrees to dampen any sanctions initiatives. The same logic applies to international aid, where it is natural to expect declining support due to the EU's reliance on energy imports from the Russian Federation and due to the fact that this reliance is not the same among all EU-27 members (Pospieszna, Skrzypczyńska and Walentek, 2020: 683-699).

Domestic political concerns seem to play a role in the decision-making of both the target and sender governments bearing a cost to both of them (Allen, 2005a, 117–138; Allen, 2005b, 117–138). From that perspective, public support for sanctions is also a function of subjective evaluation. If the public perceives that sanctions are effective, the latter tend to enjoy more public support. Alternatively, when the public perceives declining effectiveness, it is expected to note declining support (McLelan and Roblyer, 2017, 233–254).

Specifically, in periods of national or international economic stress, such as the post-COVID economic recovery and subsequent surge of inflation, recourse to sanctions "could be particularly unattractive" (Doxey, 1985: 90). In the case of sanctions against Russia, the cost for the EU members tends to be disproportionately higher for those who introduce the sanctions. This pattern can be explained with the fact that in hybrid and authoritarian regimes like Russia, leaders have an incentive to "create private and excludable goods for supporters, as opposed to public goods for the mass citizenry" (Drezner, 2011, 100; Brooks, 2008; Allen, 2008a, 255–274; Allen, 2008b, 916–944).

Not only do sanctions have redistributing effects among sender and target countries, but often times this redistributing effect may be asymmetric (Chan and Drury, 2000: 12). In the case of the conflict in Ukraine, sanctions on Russia bear especially high cost for poorer EU members whose geographic location is closer to Russia and that are more dependent on Russian energy imports.[6] By and large, type of governance system also matters in determining the sanctions' effectiveness. Coercion appears to work better when the target state is a democracy and also to worsen the level of democracy in these states (Bolks and Al-Sowayel, 2000, 241–265; Allen, 2005a, 117–138). Similarly, democratic regimes are more likely than nondemocracies to impose sanctions to pursue their foreign policy goals, but a political alignment with the target leadership leads to a higher probability of sender capitulation (Marinov and Nili, 2015, 765–778; Lektzian and Souva, 2003: 641–660; Attia et al, 2020). If these patterns are correct, they tend to favor Putin's authoritarianism and work to the disadvantage of the EU members from CEE. The 2017 French presidential election is

an example how exposure to sanctions against Russia caused an increase in the vote share for pro-Russian (and far-right) candidates (Crozet and Hinz, 2023).
Similarly, the combination of external factors, such as slow economic recovery after the COVID-19 pandemic could additionally contribute to declining support, at least among some EU sender nations, with regard to sustaining the existent and adding new sanctions or providing aid over time. As a result, it could be expected that many EU citizens would favor ending the RussiaUkraine war as they suffer from "the effects of war-related sanctions, resulting in various crises, such as food, energy, supply chain, economic, migration, military, and other crises" (Jakupec, 2024, 47).

The logic behind the connection between trust in social media and support for international sanctions on Russia and aid for Ukraine is based on the assumption that misinformation about latter is most likely to spread via social media. This includes misinformation on the war in Ukraine that could lead for an eroding support for the official EU and national government positions among citizens of certain EU countries.[7] Therefore, high trust in social media exposes greater vulnerabilities to misinformation on the war in Ukraine.
Finally, the model presented in this paper expects that eroding public support for the war effort could also result in reduction, delay or elimination of various forms of aid to Ukraine. It should be noted, however, that literature on aid is not conclusive about this connection. In fact, studies have shown that in some cases aid performance increased or decreased in accordance with public opinion, while in other cases, performance went against public opinion (Otter, 2003, 115–125).

DECLINING SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE AND THE EMERGENCE OF SUBGROUPS

Our previous work has shown that initial public opinion predispositions in the European Union after the beginning of Russia's aggression on February 24,2022, led to the emergence of a group of "spoiler" EU nations, such as Bulgaria, Greece and Cyprus, but also Hungary, Czechia and Slovakia where the public support for sanctions on Russia and assistance to Kiev is disproportionately lower that the rest of the Union. The emergence of a group whose public is sympathetic to Moscow could have a number of adverse consequences—the undermining of NATO and the EU's institutional capacity to agree on common actions against Russia (i.e., new sanctions or aid packages for Kiev), incentives to circumvent existing punishments, and or possibly to exert pressure to lift existing sanctions.

Has this pattern changed over the course of the first year if conflict? Drawing on quarterly data collected by Eurobarometer from Spring of 2022 to Spring of 2023, it seems that the EU's support for Ukraine and the backing of sanctions against Russia has declined on average and among majority of its members. Specifically, several important patterns have emerged. First, humanitarian support for Ukraine and the backing of financial and economic sanctions has eroded significantly (between 8 and 15 percent on average for the EU as a whole) and that pattern is detected in at least 15 or more EU allies (see figures 1, 2 and 3).[8]

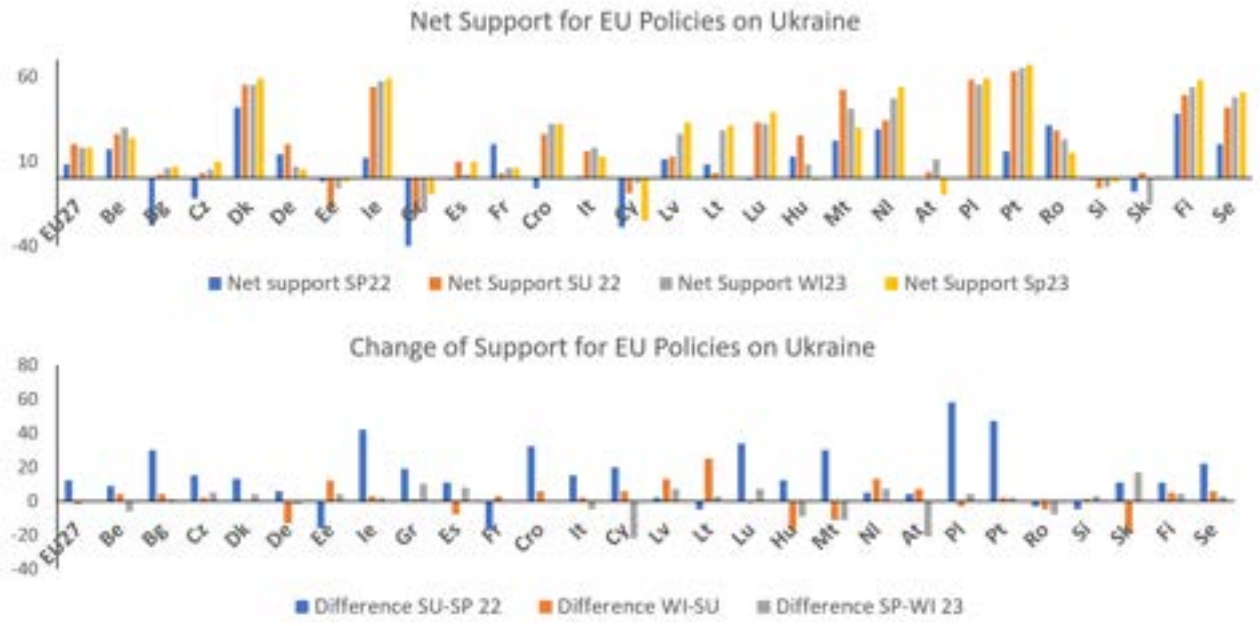


Figure 1. Support for EU Policies on Ukraine: Net Quarterly Support and Quarterly Change of Support, Spring 2022-Spring 2023

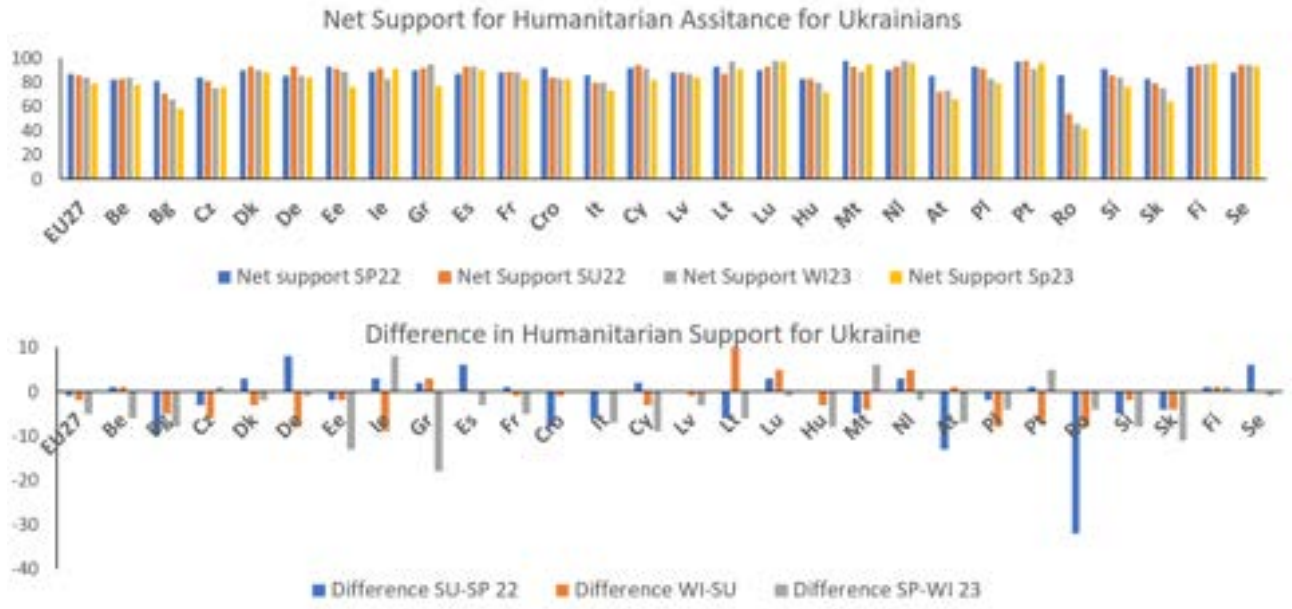


Figure 2. Humanitarian Support for Ukrainians Fleeing the War: Net Quarterly Support and Quarterly Change of Support, Spring 2022-Spring 2023

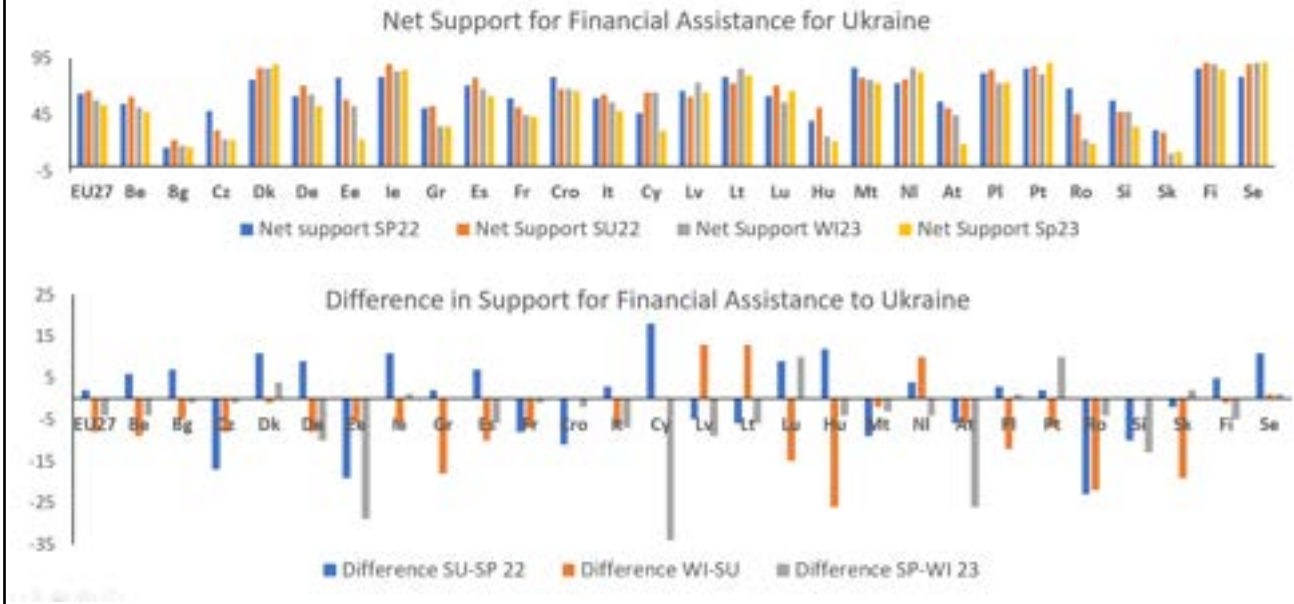


Figure 3. Financial Support for Ukraine: Net Quarterly Support and Quarterly Change of Support, Spring 2022-Spring 2023

Second, support for economic sanctions has had the sharpest decline of about 14% on average, a pattern that was recorded in 20 EU members (or 74% of all member-states).

Third, data for the first year of the war has confirmed an increased backing of EU policies on Ukraine (+10%) with an increased support in 19 EU members and decline in only 7 members (Estonia is the only case where public support has remained flat during the first 12 months of the war). A similar pattern can be noted on the question of EU humanitarian support for Ukraine with Romania being the only important deviation from it. At the same time, the backing of EU sanctions for Russian media due to their misinformation campaign has remained flat and

has declined in only 8 EU nations as shown in figures 4 and 5. This pattern departs from the previous two patterns.

UNDERSTANDING THE DYNAMIC OF EU PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE WAR IN UKRAINE

The model presented in this paper argues that the dynamic of public support among EU members is a function of five key conditions: democratic rule, economic growth, distance from the conflict area, energy dependence on Russia and trust in social media. It should be noted that regime type and economic wealth are highly correlated in my model; hence, the "democratic rule" condition is used to capture both indicators. Similarly, because Russia's energy exports constitutes the largest share of the trade between Moscow and its EU members, energy dependence with Russia is also a proxy for overall trade dependence.[9] Therefore, for the purpose of the analysis, this study focuses on the following five sets of conditions:

- Democratic Rule (DEMOCR)—the overall score for each EU member's democracy index for 2022. Data have been drawn from the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) 2022 report (EIU, 2022).
- Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Growth Rate (GROWT)—measures the GDP growth in volume based on seasonally adjusted data by Eurostat (Eurostat, 2023a).
- Mean Proximity to the frontline (DISTAN)—it is an average distance (in thousand kilometers) from the geographic center point of the national capital of each EU member-state to the south-western and north-eastern tips of the frontline of the war in Ukraine.[10]
- Energy Independence (RENERG)—it measures imports from Russia in gross available energy for 2020 as measured by Eurostat (Eurostat 2020).
- Trust in social media (MEDIATR)—net distrust in social media is calculated as a difference between those who partially and fully disagree and those who partially and fully agree that they trust social media (Eurobarometer 2022).

The outcome set is average change in support for Ukraine (AVCHNG) as an average value of the difference between support for and opposition to specific policies on Ukraine from Spring/Summer 2023 to Spring 2022 for the following five indicators (Eurobarometer 2022, 2023b):

- Support for Economic Sanctions on Russia
- Support for Media Sanctions on Russia
- Support for military aid (the purchase of military equipment) for Ukraine
- Humanitarian Support for Ukraine
- Support for Refugees from Ukraine
- Funding for Ukraine

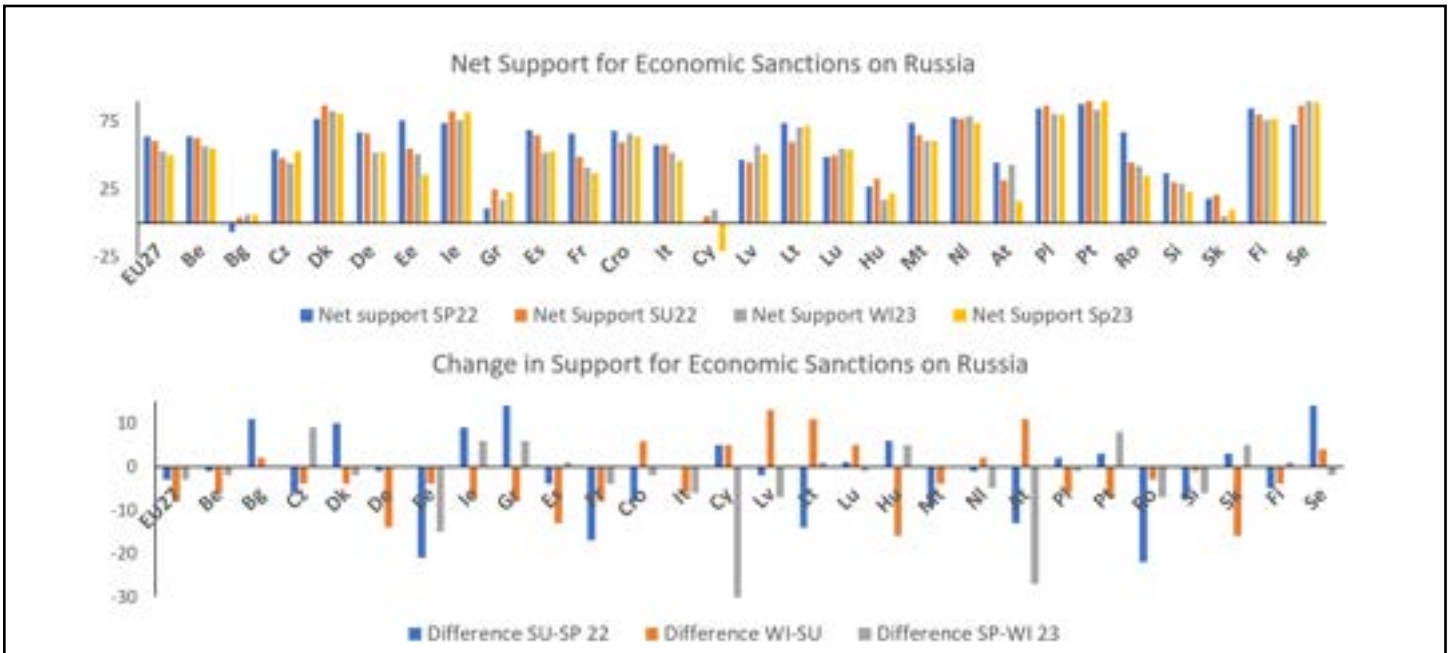


Figure 4. Support for Economic Sanctions on the Russian Government: Net Quarterly Support and Quarterly Change of Support, Spring 2022-Spring 2023

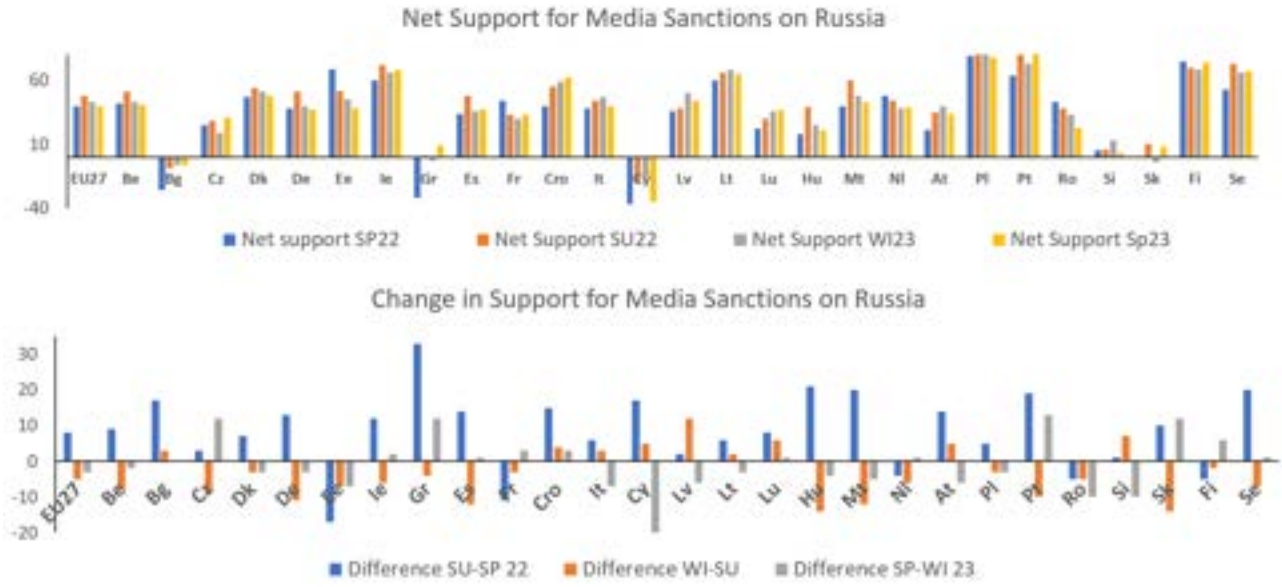


Figure 5. Support for Imposing Media Sanctions on the Russian Government: Net Quarterly Support and Quarterly Change of Support, Spring 2022-Spring 2023

The theoretical expectations of our model indicate that all five conditions impact the change of public approval for the war in Ukraine, namely, EU members located further from the frontline (i.e., ~DISTAN) with higher level of democratic rule (DEMOCR), faster economic growth (GROWT), less energy dependence (and overall trade dependence) on Russia (RENERG) and whose public has low trust in social media (RTRUST) is most likely to experience increase of public support (AVCHNG). Alternatively, EU members located near the frontline (i.e., DISTAN) with lower level of democratic rule (~democr), slower economic growth (~growt), greater energy (and overall trade) dependence on Russia (~renerg) and whose public has high trust in social media (~rtrust) is most likely to experience lack of increase (or decline) in public support (~avchng). Our directional expectations are summarized in Table 1.

THE FSQCA MODEL

The Fuzzy Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA) method allows us to focus on causal relations within a relatively small sample of 15-50 cases. Its algorithm is a tool to study different causal paths through which the interaction of varying conditions produces a certain outcome (Ragin, 2008; Makarovič and Kildi, 2017: 81). Thus, fsQCA is a method of inquiry that enables us to identify different paths by which causal conditions for all 27 cases of EU members. These paths contain a combination of several conditions that include GROWT, DISTAN DEMOCR, RENERG and RTRUST—determining the impact of the conflict on the change in public opinion among EU members (AVCHNG).

The fsQCA analysis makes three underlying assumptions: First, the assumption of equifinality, which means

Table 1. Support for Ukraine: Classification and Theoretical Expectations for Causal Condition Support for Ukraine

Growth	**De-mo-cra-cy**	**Front Prox-imity**	**Energy Indepen-dence**	**Distrust in Social Media**	**Sample EU Members**
Present (High)	Present (High)	Absent (High)	Present (Low)	Present (Low)	Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, Austria, Belgium, the Netherland, Luxembourg, Scandinavian nations
Absent (Low)	Absent (Low)	Present (High)	Absent (Low)	Absent (Low)	Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Cyprus, the Baltic nations, Croatia, Slovenia, Czechia, Slovakia,

that multiple different causal paths exist that lead to the same outcome. Hence, we expect multiple combinations of conditions to explain the change in public support for the war in Ukraine. Second, the assumption of conjunctural causation, which means that case-specific factors affect the outcome. It signifies that the calibrated values of a particular case in a set determine the very composition of the causal interaction. The fsQCA method is extraordinarily sensitive whose results are susceptible to minor parametric and model specification changes (Krogslund et al, 2015: 22). To address this challenge, we have made extra efforts to make theoretically and empirically sound calibration for each of the sets to minimize possible errors (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1980). Third, the assumption of asymmetrical causation, which implies that the causes leading to the presence of an outcome may be quite different from those leading to the absence of that outcome. Namely, the conditions for the increase in public support for Ukraine may differ from the conditions accounting for its decline.

The fsQCA understands factors not as simple crisp set membership ('1' or 'present' and '0' or 'absent'), but rather as sets in which the observed cases differ in the level of its membership. The process by which cases are attributed to different level membership is called "calibration." It uses qualitative anchors to determine the stage at which the condition is deemed fully present (fuzzy value ≥ 0.95), fully absent (fuzzy value ≤ 0.05) and an indifference point at 0.5 (Hinterleitner et al, 2016: 556). The 0.5 benchmark establishes a qualitative difference, where cases are either "more members than not" (between 0.5 and 0.95) or "more not members than members" (between 0.5 and 0.05).

Following Schneider and Wagemann's recommendation, we select the degree of membership values shown on Table 2 using criteria for set membership that are external to the data (Schneider and Wagemann, 2013, 33). For example, in the case of AVCHNG, we assume that no change in public support (0.5=0), while the fully in case (0.95 would be +10% increase in public support), while fully out (0.05=-30 or a decline of 30% or more). Such an assumption for set membership is also driven by the overall expectation that average support for Ukraine is more likely to decline that increase in the 12 months after the beginning of the Russian invasion in Ukraine. Detailed discussion for the selection of qualitative anchors is provided in Table 2.

Regarding the calibration of model's conditions, we expect the average growth rate (GROWT1) for EU members in 2022 as a crossover point (0.5=3.4%), and a higher than average fully in growth rate of 7% (0.95=7) due to NextGen Funds (or the EU stimulus package). Alternatively, slow economic recovery at a rate of 1% or less growth would mark fully out members (0.05=1).[11] When it comes to the ranking of democratic rule (DEMOCR1), we accept the minimum score for full democracy (8.0 or higher) as a crossover point (0.5=8), while 9.0 as fully in value (0.95=9.0) according to the Economist Intelligence Unit. Similarly, the crossover point for average distance from the conflict area (DISTAN1) is at 1.5 thousand kms,

Table 2. Conditions and Outcome: Measurement and Calibration

Type	**Set**	**Measurement**	**Calibration (set membership)**		
			Fully out 0.05	Neither in nor out 0.5	Fully in 0.95
Outcome	Average Change in Support for Ukr (AVCHNG)	Expected year-to-year change in net % of support for aid for Ukr and sanctions on Russia.	-30	0	10
	Economic Growth (GROWT)	GDP growth rates based on IMF and Eurostat predictions. EU stimulus factored in.	1	3.5	7
	Democratic Rule (DEMOCR)	Distinction between flawed vs. full democracies factored in.	6	8	9
Con-dit-ions	Distance from conflict (DISTAN)	An average distance of 1.5 thousand km assumed as an anchor point.	1	1.5	3
	Energy Independence from Russia (RENERG)	Standard qualitative anchors for (in)dependence of energy reliance.	0.95	0.5	0.05
	No Trust in Social Media (RTRUST)	Anchors based on 1:2 and 1:1.5 ratios of trust and mistrust in social media.	0	-30	-50

while fully in value (0.95=3 thousand kms) and the fully out value (0.05=1) is one thousand kms. The energy independence (RENERG1) score (in terms of percentage of energy consumption originating from Russia) uses standard qualitative anchors (95% fully out; 50% crossover point and 5% fully in). Lastly, the lack of trust in social media (RMEDIATR1) also assumes standard quantitative anchors (0% fully out when the number of respondents who have and do not have trust in social media is about the same; -30% crossover point fully in when those who have trust in social media is lower by about 30% than those who do not have trust and, finally, fully in if those who have trust in social media is lower by about 50% than those who don't. The correlation between the calibration and raw scores distributions are shown in figures A1-A6 in the Appendix.

The fsQCA method selects different combinations of sets to create causal paths that lead to an outcome. These causal combinations are shown in a "truth table" (see Tables A1 and A2 in the Appendix). The results are evaluated in a range from 0-1 using two indicators – consistency and coverage. Consistency "signals whether an empirical connection merits the close connection of an investigator" (Ragin, 2008: 46). By and large, this indicator should be as close to 1 as possible. We used the widely accepted 0.8 benchmark for sufficient conditions' consistency. The coverage indicator shows how much of the variation in an outcome can be explained by causal conditions (Veri, 2018: 133−158). Further information about our expectations for these conditions is shown on Table 1.

THE EU SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE: RESULTS

The fcQCA algorithms identify three solutions—a parsimonious, an intermediate and a complex solution. In our case, the intermediate and complex solutions are identical. They have identified four distinct paths characterizing the relationship between democratic governance, economic growth, geographic location, energy dependence and trust in social media when it comes to increased EU support for Ukraine. Additional descriptive statistics for these sets are shown on Table 3.

The results for increased support (AVCHNG1) are summarized in Table 4 while the results for the lack of support (~avchng1) are shown in Table 5. The model with AVCHNG1 outcome shows 84% coverage and 71% consistency, while the model with the declining support (~avchng1) outcome shows 82% coverage and 82% consistency. Each of these individual paths contains a unique solution that lists a combination of specific conditions whose presence (listed in CAPS) or absence (listed in ~lower cases) is shown on the second row. Additionally, the consistency and coverage scores are shown in separate rows whereby each path has over 84% consistency and 23-57% raw coverage. The latter indicates which share of the outcome is explained by each alternative path.[12] Finally, separate rows show cases with membership in the path higher than 0.5 as single case coverages and which EU members these cases represent.

The first two paths in the AVCHNG1 model depict "invulnerable" cases of EU members where increased support for Ukraine remains strong among core EU members who are energy independent from Russia and have a combination of one of the following characteristics—either robust economic growth and are far from the conflict area, or strong democratic governance and a healthy distrust in social media. This pattern is consistent with our expectation that members with strong democratic rule, geography away from the conflict area and societies which are less trustful in media and share healthy skepticism about misinformation are most likely to support the EU policies on the war in Ukraine. Each path contains eight such allies.[13] The other two paths—Paths 3 and 4—represent a group of outlier cases, namely nations where EU support for Ukraine could increase despite low scores on democratic rule, proximity to the conflict area and greater energy dependence. The third path includes two cases with sluggish economic growth (Latvia and Slovakia), while the fourth path includes two cases whose societies share distrust in social media, such as Slovakia and Hungary. Also, it should be noted that path 4 has a very low unique coverage.

Similarly important are the observations about the five different paths identified in the model describing

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics of Raw Sets for Average Change in Support for Ukraine Outcome, and fsQCA Model Conditions

Set	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Standard deviation	Skew
AVCHNG	-37.2	15.2	-5.04	-6.7	11.73	-1.08
GROWT	-1.025	12.15	4.17	3.8	2.43	0.98
DEMOCR	6.45	9.39	7.89	7.75	0.87	0.12
DISTAN	0.78	3.65	1.74	1.49	0.66	1.27
RENERG	0.02	0.97	0.26	0.21	0.21	1.57
RMEDIATR	-50	12	-30.67	-37	16.08	1.08

Table 4. Conditions for Presence of Average Change in Support for Ukraine (AVCHNG1)

	Path 1	Path 2	Path 3	Path 4
Complex Solution	GROWT1*DISTAN1 *RENERG1	DEMOCR1*RENERG1* RMEDIATR1	~growt1*~democr1* ~distan1*~RENERG1	~democr1*~distan1* ~renerg1*RMEDIATR1
Single case coverage	Pt, Ie, Es, Mt, It, Dk, Nl, Si	Se, Lu, Ie, De, At, Fi, Es, Fr	Lt, Sk	Sk, Hu
Consistency	0.79	0.79	0.82	0.78
Raw Coverage	0.63	0.65	0.23	0.21
Unique Coverage	0.09	0.12	0.05	0.002

Solution coverage: 0.84

Solution consistency: 0.71

the absence of positive change (~avchng1). The first two paths in the model focus on "vulnerable" democracies from Central and Eastern Europe sharing lower levels of democratic rule as a common characteristic within the EU. Path 1 includes a cluster of EU members with stronger growth and greater energy independence from Russia—Croatia, Poland, Romania, Malta, Slovenia, Italy, Bulgaria and Greece. The second path includes the three Baltic nations—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—that are close to the conflict area and whose public has greater trust in social media.

The third and fourth paths include two groups of EU members with similar geographic location not far from the war in Ukraine whose public displays strong distrust in social media but vary in terms of democratic rule and level of energy dependence from Russia. Path 3 includes Slovakia and Hungary both of whom share lower levels of democratic rule attributable partly to their post-communist legacies and democratic backsliding, but also to greater energy dependence due to their landlocked geographic location and insufficient efforts to diversify their sources of energy. Path 4 includes the cases of Austria and Finland where public support has declined despite strong democratic rule and strong energy independence from Russia. Finally, the fifth path has the smallest unique coverage (0.02), and it includes a diverse group of EU members who are further from the conflict, have greater energy independence, but have experienced lower levels of democratic rule and healthy public distrust in social media, such Belgium, Italy, and Slovenia.

The results of the fsQCA analysis point to several important patterns about the change of the EU's public support for Ukraine. First, the fsQCA model confirmed that key criteria, such as democratic rule, geopolitics operationalized as a proximity to the conflict area and energy dependence on Russia, along with more general patterns of economic growth impact significantly the change of public support on Ukraine over time. Namely, nations that experience lower or declining democratic rule, have greater dependence on energy imports from Russia (and overall trade with Russia), which s are closer to the conflict areas are more likely to experience decline in public support for Ukraine.

Table 5. Conditions for Absence of Average Change in Support for Ukraine (~avchng1)

	Path 1	Path 2	Path 3	Path 4	Path 5
Complex Solution	GROWT1* ~democr1* RENERG1	~growt1* ~democr1* ~distan1* ~rmediatr1	~democr1* ~distan1* ~renerg1* RMEDIATR1	DEMOCR1* ~distan1* RENERG1* RMEDIATR1	~democr1* DISTAN1* RENERG1* RMEDIATR1
Single case coverage	Cro, Pl, Ro, Mt, Si, It, Bg, Gr	Lt, Lv, Ee	Sk, Hu	At, Fi	Be, It, Si
Consistency	0.87	0.84	0.93	0.84	0.91
Raw Coverage	0.57	0.27	0.23	0.37	0.40
Unique Coverage	0.13	0.06	0.04	0.10	0.02

Solution coverage: 0.82

Solution consistency: 0.82

Second, the results showed inconclusive patterns about the trust (or mistrust) in social media, as different paths of EU members displaying low or high level of trust in these types of media have been identified for both models studying the presence of change (AVCHNG1) and absence of change (~avchng1) in the public's approval. The lack of trust in social media is sometimes linked to strong tradition in democratic rule (in cases like Sweden, Luxembourg, Ireland, Germany, Austria, Finland, Spain, and France), but also in cases with weak traditions (e.g., Slovakia and Hungary). Hence, it cannot be concluded definitely that the spread of misinformation through social media can be such a factor across board driving EU's declining support for Ukraine.

Third, the two models (AVCHNG1 and ~avchng1) attest to the clear bifurcation among the EU members into "vulnerable" (i.e., those that are likely to experience decline in public support for Ukraine) and "invulnerable" states (i.e., members who are unlikely to do so). Furthermore, the group of vulnerable allies expands beyond the obvious cases (such as Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, Hungary, and Slovakia) to also include the Baltic nations, Austria, and even Finland.

Fourth, the cases of Austria and Finland attest to the fact that a decline of public support for Ukraine during the first year of the conflict does not solely occur in Central and Eastern Europe, but also in wealthy European societies with consolidated democratic rule. Such an observation poses additional long-term challenges for sustaining the EU consensus to back Ukraine.

Fifth, the cases of Hungary and Slovakia are especially worthy of a detailed discussion because of their proximality to the conflict—they are two of the four EU nations that share a common border with Ukraine. Hence, their influence is important not only from political and strategic, but also from diplomatic point of view, given the fact that Hungary has had the Presidency of the EU Council in the Fall of 2024.

THE EU'S DECLINING SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE: THE CASES OF HUNGARY AND SLOVAKIA

Hungary and Slovakia represent two different cases of EU members whose eroding support could undermine the future EU capacity to deliver aid for Ukraine. In the case of Hungary, skepticism about the EU and its institutions has been detected for many years prior to February 23, 2022 and is partially attributable to the overall decline of democracy combined with greater reliance on trade with Russia to secure affordable energy resources during Victor Orban's rule. In this case, the Hungarian public aligned with their government to oppose to many EU policies, including the one on supporting Ukraine and sanctioning Russia. In the case of Slovakia, the public and elite in power had diverging perspectives to the war in Ukraine and the government in Bratislava chose to align with EU policies despite public disapproval.

Aside from their geopolitical location, a major commonality between the Hungarian and the Slovak case is that both nations are landlocked and, as a result, asked for an exception when the sixth package of sanctions on Russia was introduced. This package introduced an embargo on Russian crude oil imports that took full effect on the end of 2022 and whose goal was to halt 90% of Russia's crude imports into the 27-nation bloc. Because the Druzhba pipeline is the only way for these two nations and for Czechia to have low-cost crude oil deliveries, they were granted such an exception from the sanctions regime. However, this situation once again shows how geographic vulnerabilities and geopolitics could shape public opinion in undermining EU policies (Abnett, Strupczewski, & Melander2022).

In the case of Hungary, its illiberal turn has been going on for over a decade resulting in patronal autocracy. The regime there has sought to consolidate its position by breaking down institutions and centers of power that could potentially threaten its control such as the autonomous media, the nongovernmental sector, as well as the autonomy of citizens and entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, Budapest has preserved or curtailed basic individual freedoms without jeopardizing the country's membership into the EU yet" (Madlovics and Magyar, 2023: 257).

Additionally, Prime-Minister Viktor Orban has developed a patron-client relationship with Putin's Russia since 2010. This relationship is based not only on economic transactions and geopolitical interests, but also ideological and interest-based compatibility between Budapest and Moscow. Both Putin and Orban have shared support for illiberal conservatism and its values based on nationalism, nativism and special economic, political, and other interests.

Hungary's skepticism about the sanctions regime against Russia is based on a disagreement between its government and the rest of the EU whether Russia poses a threat to European security. Mr. Orban argued in front of European leaders that "his objection to sanctioning Russia and committing more aid for Ukraine is about principles, not cash" (Higgins 2023). In response, the EU leadership has stepped up the pressure on the regime in Budapest and the carefully coordinated, behind-the-scenes pressure, which forced Mr. Orban in January 2024 to step out of the European Council's meeting and fold to ensure consensus. Thus, after standing in the way as the only holdout among 27 leaders for weeks, he "finally agreed to a landmark fund for Ukraine worth 50 billion euros, or $54 billion" (Stevis-Gridneff, Pronczuk, and Horowitz 2024). Giving up to the pressure by EU leaders could become much harder if Mr. Orban was to be joined at the Council by other heads of government.

Another such instance of declining support for Ukraine is the case of Slovakia. As discussed earlier, this case is quite different from Hungary—while the Slovak elite was a strong proponent of the EU's policy on Ukraine in 2022, the public in the country was quite skeptical about these policies from the very onset of the war—only 22% supported the effort with 68% opposing or a difference of about 46% (Eurobarometer, 2022). This gap between the ruling elite and the masses was exploited by the Slovakia's former Prime-Minister Robert Fico in the 2023, when he ran and got elected on a populist, pro-Russian and antiWestsern agenda in which he opposed EU sanctions on Russia, questioned whether Ukraine can force the Russian troops out of its territory and offered that "instead of sending arms to Kyiv, the EU and the US should use their influence to force Russia and Ukraine to strike a compromise peace deal" (PBS Newshour, 2024). Fico's leadership has caused major polarization in the country that has resulted in a politically motivated assassination attempt on May 16, 2024 (Bubola, 2024). This instance once again attests how the polarization of CEE societies can result in their destabilization in the future, which could have major long-term implications for the EU, its foreign policy and influence around the globe.

CONCLUSIONS

The paper confirmed the initial hypothesis that nations experiencing low levels of democratic governance are most vulnerable, at least in comparison to full democracies, to experience decline in public support for Ukraine's right to defend itself from the Russian aggression, thus highlighting the broader implications of the war in Ukraine for the state of EU democracy. Furthermore, it showed that the support for Ukraine (that includes aid for Kiev and sanctions on Moscow) are directly related to EU's fundamental values and its *raison d'etre*. Using fsQCA analysis, this paper showed that changing support for Ukraine among the EU members has led to an emergence of several groups of allies, the most important of which are the so-called 'vulnerable' allies. Our analysis showed that vulnerability expands beyond just CEE nations or those that are energy dependent on Russia to include stable democracies located near the conflict area. Additionally, the condition for democratic rule matters in combination with other characteristics such as energy independence from Russia and the conflict's geopolitics, whereby greater energy dependence and closer proximity mark greater likelihood for a decline of public support. Lastly, sluggish economic growth can be adding to EU's overall vulnerability vis-à-vis the conflict in Ukraine.

These patterns have several important policy implications: First, continued war in Ukraine can further strengthen the divisions in Europe on issues related to supporting Kiev and could make consensus less and less likely. It should be noted that Europe has successfully addressed some challenges related to energy dependence thanks to EU's NextGen stimulus funding for renewable sources, which allowed for many businesses and households to install solar panels, heat pumps, and other renewable technologies thus reducing the EU's dependence on Russian energy imports. Furthermore, the war in Ukraine helped in an obscure way expedite EU's energy transition toward green and suitable energy—one of the few positive externalities of the conflict in Ukraine. To sum up, the combination of an ongoing war (that implies eroding public support over time), along with an increased cost of the war effort and a lasting pattern of declining democratic rule in Europe and around the globe, is a recipe for mounting challenges for the EU, its institutions, and its allies across the Atlantic and around the globe.

ENDNOTES

1 See "European Council Conclusions," 21 and 22 March 2024, Brussels, Belgium. Also available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/70880/euco-conclusions-2122032024.pdf (5/29/2024). "Statement by the North Atlantic Council on Russia's attack on Ukraine," 24 February 2022, Brussels, Belgium. Also available at: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_192404.htm?selectedLocale=en (5/29/2024). "Vilnius Summit Communiqué" issued by NATO Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Vilnius, Lithuania, 11 July 2023. Also available at: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_217320.htm (5/29/2024).

2 Other EU allies who introduced sanctions on Russia included, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia, Switzerland, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore.

3 "EU response to Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine," Council of the European Union, Brussels, Belgium. Also available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-response-ukraine-invasion/#invasion.

4 Pro-Russian support has been most notable in Hungary and Slovakia as shown by their leaders Victor Orban and Robert Fico, but latent support for Moscow has been strong in Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, Czechia and other places. See Andrew Higgins, "Orban Endangers Hungary's Status as an Ally, U.S. Diplomat Says," The New York Times, 14 March 2024, available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/14/world/europe/orban-hungary-nato-us.html (3/29/2024). Also, Andrew Higgins, "What Does a Russia-Leaning Party Win in an E.U. Nation Mean for Ukraine?" The New York Times, 30 September 2023, available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/30/world/europe/slovakia-election-ukraine.html (3/29/2024).

5 Other notable examples of nations that have successfully adapted and sustained sanctions over time are Rhodesia and Cuba (Hasse, 1978; Griffin, 1993).

6 By and large, it should be noted that EU members in the southern and eastern part of the content tend to be less wealthy than their western and northern counterparts. Similarly, most former Soviet satellites in the eastern part of content tend to have higher dependence on Russian energy exports that the rest of the EU. For more information (Engelbrekt et al, 2024).

7 The Russians have used "propaganda" and "disinformation" via social and mass media on the conflict in Ukraine for a long time

since 2014 to sway public opinion and destabilize these societies (Szostek, 2017: 116–135). Also, Marinov and Popova (2021: 222–236) offer a detailed discussion on the spread of misinformation that enables private interests in CEE.

[8] See "Eurobarometer Surveys." the European Commission: Directorate-General for Communication, Brussels, Belgium, 2022-2023. Also available at: https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys (6/3/2024).

[9] The correlation coefficient between regime type and wealth is 0.63, while the correlation coefficient between Energy dependence and trade dependence is 0.64.

[10] We have accepted that the western tip of the frontline is Kinburns′ka Kosa National Park (Geographic Coordinates: 46°34'37"N 31°30'44"E) and the eastern tip of the frontline is at the village of Topoli in Kharkiv Oblast (Geographic Coordinates: 49°57'52″N, 37°54′31″E).

[11] The EU Commission noted in 2022 that approximately about 1% of the GDP rate between 2022 and 2026 would be attributable to the EU recovery fund, i.e., for an economy recovering by about 0.4% in previous years, it is expected that it would grow by at least 1.4%. For details on EU economic recovery see Jan Strupczewski, "EU's Unprecedented Recovery Fund Has Spurred Growth," Reuters, 21 February 2024. Also available at: https://www.reuters.com/markets/europe/eu-recovery-fund-boosted-growth-investment-jobs-commission-2024-02-21/ (6/1/2024).

[12] "Raw coverage" denotes how much of the outcome can be explained by each alternative path, whereas "unique coverage" signifies what share of the outcome can be explained by only a specific path (Schneider and Wagemann, 2013: 133).

[13] The cases identified in Path 1 include: Portugal, Ireland, Spain, Malta, Italy, Demark, the Netherlands, Slovenia. The cases identified in Path 2 include: Sweden, Luxembourg, Ireland, Germany, Austria, Finland, Spain France.

[14] Note that the straight lines denote crossover points (0.5 values).

WORKS CITED

Abnett, K., J. Strupczewski, and I. Melander, "EU Agrees Russia Oil Embargo, Gives Hungary Exemptions; Zelenskiy Vows More Sanctions," *Reuters*, 31 May 2022, https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/best-we-could-get-eu-bows-hungarian-demands-agree-russian-oil-ban-2022-05-31/ (6/6/2024).

Allen, S. H., "The Determinants of Economic Sanctions Success and Failure," *International Interactions* Vol. 31 (2005): 117–138.

———. "The Determinants of Economic Sanctions Success and Failure," *International Interactions* Vol. 31, no. 2 (2005), pp. 117–138.

———. "Political Institutions and Constrained Response to Economic Sanctions," *Foreign Policy Analysis* Vol. 4 (2008), pp. 255–274.

———. "The Domestic Political Costs of Economic Sanctions," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 52, no. 6; (2008): 916–944.

Attia, H., J. Grauvogel and C. Von Soest, "The Termination of International Sanctions: Explaining Target Compliance and Sender Capitulation," *European Economic Review*, Vol. 129 (2020).

Belin M., and J. Hanousek, "Which Sanctions Matter? Analysis of the EU-Russian Sanctions of 2014," Journal of Comparative Economics, Vol. 49 (2021): 244–257.

Bolks, S., and D. Al-Sowayel, "How Long Do Economic Sanctions Last?" *Political Research Quarterly* Vol. 53 (June 2000), pp. 241–265.

Brooks, R., "Sanctions and Regime Type: What Works, and When?" *Security Studies* Vol. 11, no. 4 (2002): 1–50.

Brzoska, M., "From Dumb to Smart? Recent Reforms of UN Sanctions," *Global Governance* Vol. 9, no. 4 (2003): 519–535.

Bubola, E., "What to Know About the Shooting of Slovakia's Prime Minister," *The New York Times*, 16 May 2024, https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/16/world/europe/robert-fico-slovakia-shooting-what-to-know.html (6/4/2024).

Chan, C., and A.C. Drury, "Sanctions as Economic Statecraft: An Overview." In *Sanctions as Economic Statecraft: Theory and Practice* edited by S. Chan and A.C. Drury, New York, NY: Palgrave McMillan, 2000.

Cortright D., and G. Lopez (eds.), *Smart Sanctions*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.

———. *Sanctions and the Search for Security*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner, 2002.

Crozet, M., and J. Hinz, "Blowback: The Effect of Sanctions on Democratic Elections," *Kiel Institute Working Paper*, December 7, 2023. Also available at: https://www.ifw-kiel.de/publications/blowback-the-effect-of-sanctions-on-democratic-elections-20509/ (5/30/2024).

Demertzis M., "The Limits of the Effectiveness of EU Sanctions on Russia," *Bruegel*, 14 November 2023. Also available at: https://www.bruegel.org/comment/limits-effectiveness-eu-sanctions-russia (5/29/2024).

Doxey, M., *Economic Sanctions and International Enforcement*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Drezner, D., "Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice," *International Studies Review* Vol. 13 (2011): 96–108.

Engelbrekt A.B., P. Ekman, A. Michalski and L. Oxelheim (eds.), *The EU's Dependence on Russian Energy—A Force that Divides or Unites the Union?* Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave McMillan/ Springer, 2024.

Galtung, J., "Pacifism from a Sociological Point of View," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 3, no. 1 (1959): 67–68.

Griffin, C.E., "The Illogic of the Logic of US Sanctions against Cuba," *Caribbean Studies* Vol. 26, no. 1/2 (1993): 161–174.

Hasse, R., Why Economic Sanctions Always Fail: The Case of Rhodesia," *Intereconomics* Vol. 13, no. 7/8 (1978) Hamburg, Germany: Verlag Weltarchiv:

194–199.
Higgins, A., "How Hungary Undermined Europe's Bid to Aid Ukraine," *The New York Times*, 17 December 2023. Also available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/17/world/europe/hungary-ukraine-eu.html (6/3/2024).
———, "Orban Endangers Hungary's Status as an Ally, U.S. Diplomat Says," *The New York Times*, 14 March 2024, available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/14/world/europe/orban-hungary-nato-us.html (3/29/2024).
———, "What Does a Russia-Leaning Party Win in an E.U. Nation Mean for Ukraine?" *The New York Times*, 30 September 2023, available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/30/world/europe/slovakia-election-ukraine.html (3/29/2024).
Hinterleitner, M., F. Sager and E. Thomann, "The Politics of External Approval: Explaining the IMF's Evaluation of Austerity Programmes," *European Journal of Political Research* Vol. 55 (2016): 549−567.
Ivanov, I.D., "Resilience and Vulnerabilities Related to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: The Emergence of a New Club of NATO and EU Members," *Baltic Journal of Law and Politics* Vol. 16, no. 1, 2023: 105–121.
Jakupec, V., "Dynamics of the Ukraine War: Diplomatic Challenges and Geopolitical Uncertainties," *Cham*, Switzerland: Springer, 2024.
Kaempfer W., and A. Lowenberg, "The Theory of International Economic Sanctions: A Public Choice Approach," *The American Economic Review* Vol. 78, no. 4 (September 1988): 786–793.
Krogslund C., D. Choi and M. Poertner, "Fuzzy Sets on Shaky Ground: Parameter Sensitivity and Confirmation Bias in fsQCA," *Political Analysis* Vol. 23 (2015): 21−41.
Lektzian, D., and M. Souva, "The Economic Peace Between Democracies: Economic Sanctions and Domestic Institutions," *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 40, no. 6 (2003), pp. 641–660.
Lindsay, J., "Trade Sanctions as Policy Instruments: A Re-examination Get access Arrow," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 30, no. 2 (June 1986): 153–173.
Madlovics, B., and B. Magyar, "Hungary's Dubious Loyalty: Orbán's Regime Strategy in the Russia-Ukraine War. In *Russia's Imperial Endeavor and Its Geopolitical Consequences: The Russia-Ukraine War* (Volume 2), Central European University Press, 2023.
Makarovič M. and J. Kildi, "Towards a Model Explaining the Political (In)stability and Variety of Regimes in the Post-Soviet Region," *Comparative Sociology* Vol. 16 (2017): 66−101.
Marinov, N., and M. Popova, "Will the Real Conspiracy Please Stand Up: Sources of Post-communist Democratic Failure," *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 20, no. 1 (August 2021), pp. 222–236.
_____, and S. Nili, "Sanctions and Democracy," *International Interactions* Vol. 41 (2015), pp. 765–778.
McLelan E., and D. Roblyer, "Public Support for Economic Sanctions: An Experimental Analysis," *Foreign Policy Analysis* Vol. 13 (2017), pp. 233–254.
Medunic F., "Damage Done: Ways to Measure European Sanctions' Success against Russia," European Council on Foreign Relations, 18 April 2023. Available at: https://ecfr.eu/article/damage-done-ways-to-measure-european-sanctions-success-against-russia/ (5/29/2024).
Moller-Nielsen, T., "EU Sanctions on Russia 'Massively Circumvented' via Third Countries, Study Finds," *Euractiv*, 26 February 2024. Available at: https://www.euractiv.com/section/economy-jobs/news/eu-sanctions-on-russia-massively-circumvented-via-third-countries-study-finds/ (5/30/2024).
Otter, M., "Domestic public support for foreign aid: Does it matter?" *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 24, no. 1, (2003), pp 115–125.
Portela, C., P. Pospieszna, J. Skrzypczyńska and D. Walentek, "Consensus Against All Odds: Explaining the Persistence of EU Sanctions on Russia," *Journal of European Integration* Vol. 43, no. 6 (2020): 683–699.
Ragin, C., Redesigning Social Inquiry: Fuzzy Sets and Beyond. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press (2008).
Sabatier P., and D. Mazmanian, "The implementation of Public Policy: A Framework of Analysis," *Policy Studies Journal* Vol. 4 (1980): 538−560.
Schneider, C., and C. Wagemann, Set-theoretic Methods for the Social Sciences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
Stevis-Gridneff, M., M. Pronczuk and Jason Horowitz, "How a Game of Good Cop-Bad Cop Sealed the E.U. Ukraine Fund Deal," *The New York Times*, 1 February 2024. Also available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/01/world/europe/eu-hungary-ukraine-fund.html (6/3/2024).
Szostek, J., "Nothing Is True? The Credibility of News and Conflicting Narratives during 'Information War' in Ukraine," *The International Journal of Press/ Politics* Vol. 23, no.1 (November 2017), pp. 116–135.
Veri, F., "Coverage in Fuzzy Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA): A New Fuzzy Proposition for Describing Empirical Relevance," *Comparative Sociology* Vol. 17, no. 2 (2018), pp. 133−158.
Wallensteen P., and C. Staibano (eds.), *International Sanctions: Between War and Words in the International System*. London, UK: Routledge, 2005.
Weiss, T., "Sanctions as a Foreign Policy Tool," *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 36, no. 5 (1999): 499–509.

DOCUMENTS AND ORIGINAL SOURCES

"Democracy Index 2022: Frontline Democracy and the Battle for Ukraine," *Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU)*, London, UK, 2022 report. Also available at: https://pages.eiu.com/rs/753-RIQ-438/images/DI-final-version-report.pdf?mkt_tok=NzUzLVJJUS00MzgAAAGOVQ-J81KMwPUy7LxbEGDlg7Dxw3SNTI6aDybP3Gox-fWsEs3z6VuDoUtexoUW8uAkH64gbwliseBaA-iRJtPtsBMjAfvxQyBFNyfIORcNtMLNNRZbA (6/1/2024)

"EU Indicators," *Eurostat*, March 2023. Also available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/16249744/2-08032023-AP-EN.pdf/30b3811c-f085-b7aa-c533-4733b1457ab9 (6/1/2024).

"EU response to Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine," *Council of the European Union*, Brussels, Belgium. Also available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-response-ukraine-invasion/#invasion

"European Council Conclusions," 21 and 22 March 2024, Brussels, Belgium. Also available at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/70880/euco-conclusions-2122032024.pdf (5/29/2024).

"Imports from Russia in gross available energy in 2020," *Eurostat*, 2020. Also available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=-File:Imports_from_Russia_in_gross_available_energy_in_2020_10-03-2022.png (6/1/2024).

"Russia's War Against Ukraine: European Union Responses and U.S.-EU Relations," *Congressional Research Center (CRC) Insight*, 27 March 2024, Washington, DC. Also available at: https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IN/IN11897 (5/29/2024)

"Slovakia's Ex-Premier with pro-Russian Stance Leads his Leftist Party to Election Win," *PBS Newshour*, 1 October 2023. Also available at: https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/slovakias-ex-premier-with-pro-russian-stance-leads-his-leftist-party-to-election-win (5/29/2024)

"Standard Eurobarometer 97–Summer 2022," *Eurostat*, Summer 2022. Also available at: https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2693 (6/1/2024).

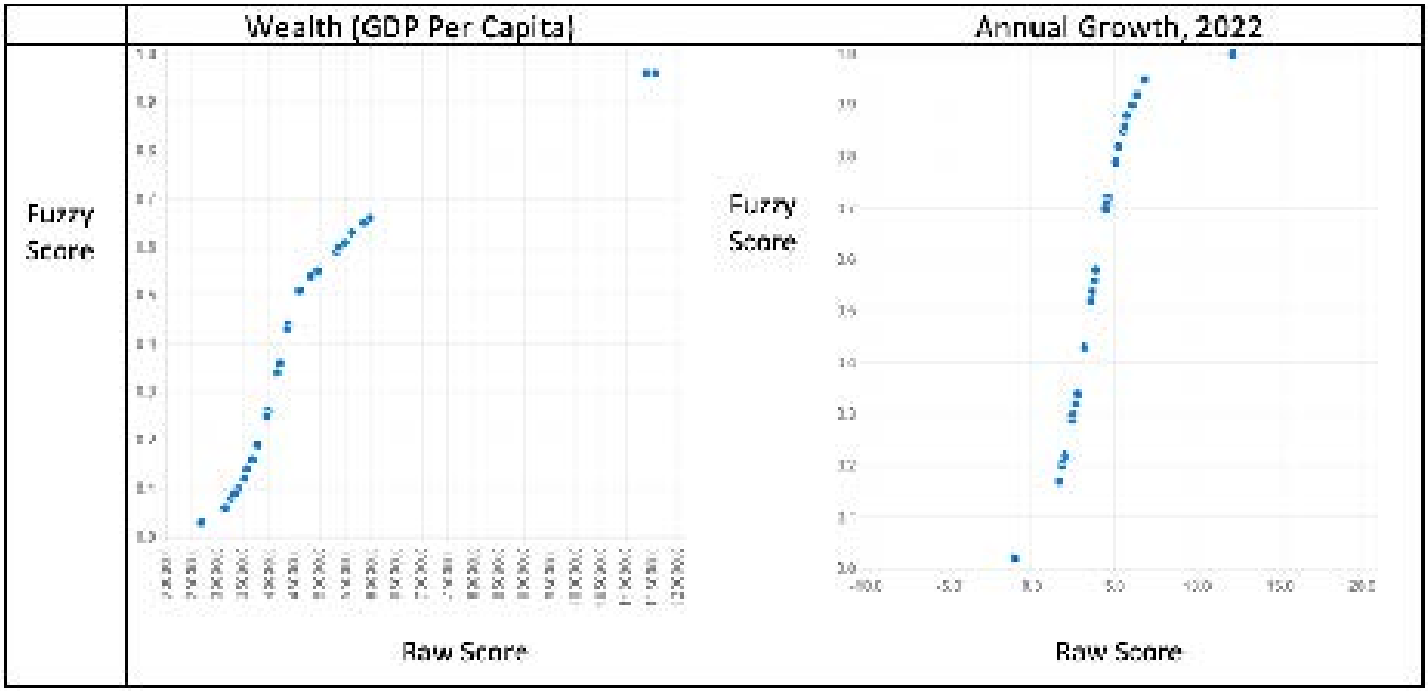
"Standard Eurobarometer 97–Summer 2022," *Eurostat*, Summer 2022. Also available at: https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2693 (6/1/2024).

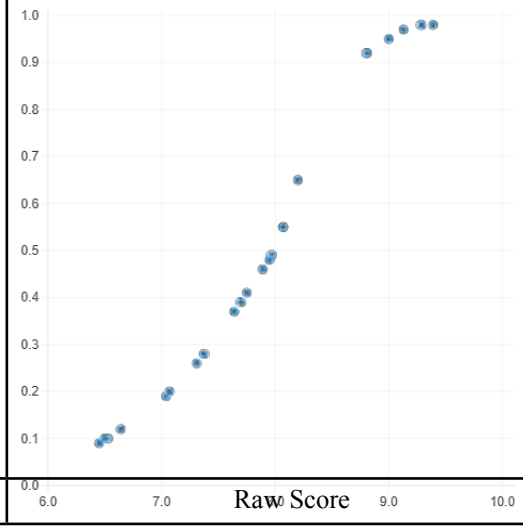
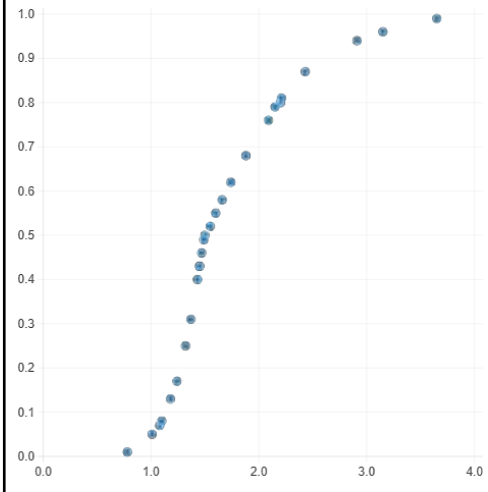
"Statement by the North Atlantic Council on Russia's attack on Ukraine," 24 February 2022, Brussels, Belgium. Also available at: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_192404.htm?selectedLocale=en (5/29/2024).

"Vilnius Summit Communiqué" issued by NATO Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Vilnius, Lithuani 11 July 2023. Also available at: https://www.nato.int

APPENDIX

Figures A1-A4. Calibration and raw scores distribution[14]



	Level of Democracy		Distance from Conflict
Fuzzy Score		Fuzzy Score	
	Raw Score		Raw Score

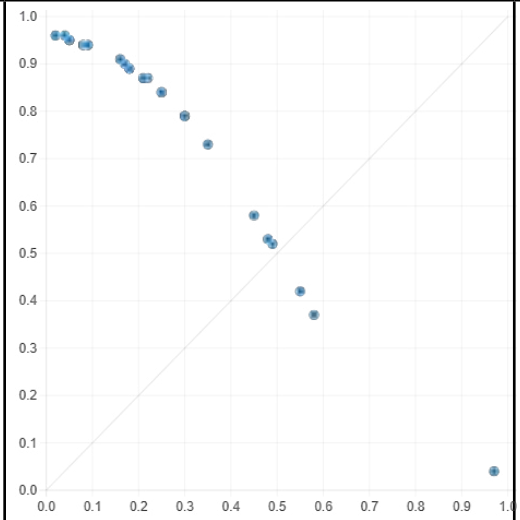
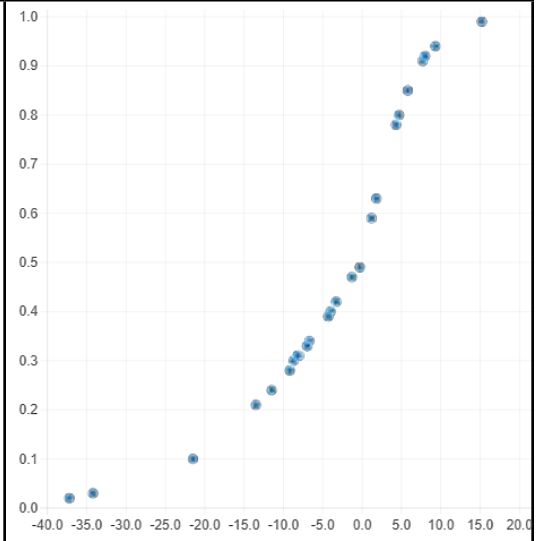
	Energy Dependence on Russia		Average Change Support for Ukraine
Fuzzy Score		Fuzzy Score	
	Raw Score		Raw Score

Table A1. *Truth Table for Outcome "AVCHNG1"*

#	GROWT1	DEMOCR1	DISTAN1	RENERG1	RMEDIATR1	AVCHNG1	Consistency	PRI	Cases
1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0.98	0.93	Dk
2	1	0	1	1	0	1	0.91	0.66	Mt, Pt
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.90	0.75	Es, Ie
4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.88	0.36	Lt
5	1	0	0	0	1	1	0.88	0.38	Hu
6	0	1	0	1	1	1	0.87	0.57	Fi
7	1	1	0	1	1	1	0.85	0.53	At
8	0	1	1	1	1	1	0.83	0.59	De, Fr, Lu, Se
9	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.82	0.02	Sk
10	1	0	1	1	1	1	0.81	0.33	It, Se
11	1	0	0	1	1	0	0.78	0.18	Cy
12	0	0	0	1	0	0	0.77	0.25	Ee, Lv
13	0	0	1	1	1	0	0.76	0.03	Be
14	1	0	0	1	0	0	0.74	0.20	Bg, Cro, Gr, Pl, Ro

Intermediate and Complex Solutions: GROWT1*DISTAN1*RENERG1 + DEMOCR1*RENERG1*RMEDIATR1 + ~growt1*~democr1*~distan1*~renerg1 + ~democr1*~distan1*~renerg1*RMEDIATR1

Solution Consistency: 0.84

Solution Coverage: 0.71

Parsimonious Solution: ~renerg1 + DEMOCR1 + GROWT1*DISTAN1

Solution Consistency: 0.91

Solution Coverage: 0.67

Table A2. *Truth Table for Outcome "~avchng1"*

#	GROWT1	DEMOCR1	DISTAN1	RENERG1	RMEDIATR1	AVCHNG1	Consistency	PRI	Cases
1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.99	0.98	Sk
2	0	0	1	1	1	1	0.99	0.97	Be
3	1	0	0	1	1	1	0.95	0.82	Cy
4	1	0	0	0	1	1	0.92	0.62	Hu
5	1	0	0	1	0	1	0.91	0.74	Bg, Cro, Gr, Pl, Ro
6	1	0	1	1	1	1	0.90	0.67	It, Si
7	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.90	0.68	Ee, Lv
8	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.88	0.36	Lt
9	0	1	0	1	1	1	0.84	0.44	Fi
10	1	0	1	1	0	1	0.83	0.34	Mt, Pt
11	1	1	0	1	1	1	0.83	0.47	At
12	0	1	1	1	1	0	0.76	0.41	De, Fr, Lu, Se
13	1	1	1	1	1	0	0.69	0.25	Es, Ie
14	1	1	1	1	0	0	0.69	0.07	Dk

Intermediate and Complex Solutions: GROWT1*~democr1*RENERG1 + ~growt1*~democr1*~distan1*~rmediatr1 + ~democr1*~distan1*~renerg1*RMEDIATR1 + DEMOCR1*~distan1*RENERG1*RMEDIATR1 + ~democr1*DISTAN1*RENERG1*RMEDIATR1

Solution Consistency: 0.82

Solution Coverage: 0.82

Parsimonious Solution: ~distan1 + ~democr1

Solution Consistency: 0.86

Solution Coverage: 0.75

From Cradle to Grave: Turn of the Century Department Stores and the Intersection of Modernity

Marissa Knaak
Michigan State University

In the early 20th century, summer meant sales for department stores. Those in Sheffield and Cologne were no exceptions, and John Walsh in Sheffield and Carl Peters in Cologne used full page newspaper advertisements in July 1906 to proclaim items and prices included (*Sheffield Daily Independent*, 2). Between the two stores, everything from stationary to footwear to curtains to underclothing to baby linen to hats to men's outfits was included. In other advertisements, the stores and others like them, also listed cabinets, flooring, furniture, funerals, and heating services. Most also had a tearoom or restaurant to provide shoppers with refreshments. The sheer scope of available products covered almost every aspect of life—from cradle to grave. The all-encompassing nature of department stores, for both shoppers and employees, seems to mark them as different from previous forms of retailing. Department stores, thus, are part of the modern age. But what does this mean?

When we think about modernity, we often use ideas of newness, speed, and innovation. With industrialization, came the compression of space and time—life sped up and became more interconnected. People, goods, and ideas could move more quickly and farther. In terms of retailing, mass consumption of mass-produced goods by a public easily led by advertising and trends comes to mind. We also think about the modern and modernity as different from the past in some sort of observable way. Modernity relies on the perception of newness, not necessarily the reality of it (Baudrillard, 1987). As we will see with department stores, some elements were innovations or configurations that were, indeed, *new*. However, they relied on the continuation of older practices—as did much of society. Furthermore, some tensions I discuss later were part and parcel of modernity.

In the following discussion, I start with a broad-strokes look at retailing in the early 19th century. Next, I discuss department store innovations—laces where department store owners introduced new practices based on changing circumstances (Benson and Shaw 1992). This change is followed by the ways in which department stores depended on traditional methods of retailing and employment even as they promoted visions of "modernity" and innovation. Finally, I focus on two of the places of tension within this situation: that between a simultaneously democratizing and restricting environment that was promoted as a leisure paradise but existed as an industrialized workplace. This paper explores themes of modernity as part of my larger dissertation, where I argue that department stores, and the retailing universes they inhabited, were *both and*: modern and traditional, democratizing and restricting, leisure paradises and industrialized employers. Department stores were highly unsettling for many people at the time, but they successfully rooted themselves in daily lives for over a century.

By the mid-19th century, shops had introduced many factors of what we would understand as *modern* shopping—for example, standard prices placed on or near goods. Most existed as small shops, focusing on a particular concern, some of which were owned by artisans or tradespeople. Particularly in the realm of clothing and fashioning, tailors, drapers, haberdashers, and the like maintained processes from the guilds. In Britain, apprentices often continued to live-in with masters and their families and young men in training were often sent away from their family's stores to gain experience before fully joining the business. The John Atkinson family, in Sheffield, had two generations trained in this way: John trained at Cole Brothers, also in Sheffield, during the late 1860s, and one of his sons, Harold (1861 Census of England and Wales, 5), was trained in Leicester from around 1900 until 1906. This practice continued primarily in England into the 20th century but fell out of popularity more quickly in other places.

Department store owners frequently had training in a skilled trade or as traveling salesmen. The owners of the top stores in Sheffield in the 1890s all trained as drapers. Leonhard Tietz trained with family in Prenzlau (Busch-Petersen 13). Most men among the universe of department store owners came from similar backgrounds – thus, specific "innovations" are hard to pin down to an individual. These innovations include the use of plate glass and steel infrastructure to create open show floors and large display cases and electric lighting and elevators. Even within a single city, it is hard to determine which store was the first to utilize the combination of tactics. "Firsts," then, are less useful than the understanding that many stores followed the same pattern in a similar time frame—contributing to the feeling of inexorable change.

In Germany, department stores had a few characteristics that distinguished them from those in other countries. Many stores were founded by Jews, who had histories of

travelling sales, and many originated in the same place, Birnbaum an der Warthe, today Międzychód, Poland (Busch-Petersen 9-10). The large stores in Germany, for example Leonhard Tietz, Hermann Tietz, Wertheim, and Nathan Israel, operated multiple locations in single cities *and* across regions. By 1910, Leonhard Tietz had three stores in addition to their flagship in Cologne, plus at least ten more, reaching into Belgium. They also collaborated more closely with the production of specific goods for their stores, ordering wholesale to specifications rather than finishing products in-house. Familial and business relationships spanned the whole German empire for largest department stores. This span led to many successes but also to a range of critics. Small business owners decried department store owners as dangerous for their business tactics *and* the Jewishness. Lerner has written extensively on this situation in *The Consuming Temple*. These groups were loud, but not especially effective in slowing department store sprawl. For example, the department store tax, favored by critics of all kinds, was almost impossible to impose and featured a number of loopholes, and, thus, was never effective.

The turn to advertising, particularly in newspapers, set many of the largest department stores apart from their predecessors and the small shops in similar markets. Although the boom in newspapers (and readership) opened the advertising field to any businesses that found it beneficial, department stores took it to the next level. As we saw earlier, full page advertisements for sales were frequent and exhaustive. Many businesses, large to small, advertised on a daily basis.

One of the factors of modernity is the way it encompasses every part of life. For the people at the end of the nineteenth century, there was no escaping the feeling of change. The prospects of innovation, and the ways in which innovations could "improve" life (questions of accessibility notwithstanding), suffused European societies. Changes in industry, cities, and transportation shifted patterns of life—from the macro to the micro. In terms of department stores, these changes built upon earlier models but on a larger scale. For example, young men had traveled from home to complete training for generations, but by the end of the nineteenth century, the hundreds of young women employed in stores could move from home to work or from store to store to find better opportunities, particularly from the provinces to the capitals, like London or Berlin. For shoppers, the possibility of buying all items in a single store decreased the amount of time needed to complete tasks, at least for some people. From William Whiteley's declaration of being a "universal provider" in the 1860s, department stores claimed virtually every aspect of life that fell under their umbrellas (Graham). In some early stores this claim included some element of groceries or foodstuffs. T. B. & W. Cockayne's articles of association when the business became a limited share company included a list of the departments in which they could carry out business. In addition to those departments already part of the offerings, they included refreshments, poulterers, and fishmongery, and travel and tourist services (Sheffield Archives). By 1914, none of them were part of the annual account records (Sheffield Archives). Over time, the inclusion of more and more types of products spread and became a concrete reality, rather than an aspirational or advertising claim.

Furthermore, and perhaps most significantly, shopping became a leisure activity, and no day out was complete without at least looking in the windows of the department stores. The quotidian task of provisioning remained a necessary one that consumed energy and time for most families—particularly women—the idea of "shopping," window shopping, or browsing, solidified in the common imagination. Department stores were not just settings of everyday, lived experiences, but also the settings for novels and plays. Emile Zola's *Ladies Paradise* is perhaps the most famous, but Margarete Böhme's *W.A.G.M.U.S.* (*Warenhaus-Aktiengesellschaft Müllenmeister und Sohn* or, in English, *The Department Store: A Novel of To-Day*) was also concerned with the day-to-day lives of people in the department store universe and the social impacts (Böhme). A primary plot line is about the expansion of the department store and the impact on small tradesmen and shopkeepers. Böhme presents a great many characters who support the shopping world, and their perceptions of their society vary across experience and time. In Britain, *The Shop Girl: A Musical Farce* was popular from its debut in 1894 (Dam). It presented a rags-to-riches story set in a department store. Rather than the intense plot of the novels, *The Shop Girl* included some mistaken identity and a romance, as fitted its theatrical nature. The department store and its people presented a familiar setting rather than a novelty. Thus, between the physical act and various media representations of it, shopping was almost inescapable.

At the same time that department stores introduced new concepts and evolutions of older traditions, they also reinforced social norms and expectations. It is in this space that the tensions of modernity lie. For all that department store owners claimed to be democratizing space—where people (mostly women) of all classes would encounter each other and anyone could browse without necessarily buying—reality undercut these claims. Social norms and expectations were the first hurdle to a fully democratized space: whether one would be seen as an acceptable customer. This question references both class and gender as well as who was considered "respectable" in which spaces. Despite the promotion of browsing, if one spent too long "just looking" or even looked as though they could not buy, the floor walkers

and managers could have them escorted out. The visuals of belonging even transferred to the fictional store: in *W.A.G.M.U.S.* the owner's son sees a woman who "evidently belonged to the working classes, and wore a shabby round cloak," trying to gain the attention of the shop assistants but, when she does not, steals the biscuits she was looking at. The son does nothing to stop her and presumes she would continue stealing in the future Böhme).

The arrangement of departments mirror divisions of space in other types of buildings. Just as domestic residences had specific rooms for specific purposes, so too did department stores. Sales floors were arranged so unaccompanied men or women would not trespass into the others' territory, especially for items like underclothing. Employee-only areas were similarly divided. Employee mealtimes were heavily regulated so there was not too much mixing between men and women, and for those employees who lived-in, accommodation and other leisure spaces were divided and guarded. At John Walsh, in Sheffield, the new building plans had to have a second door drawn in to the dining room as, originally, the room was only accessible through the men's half of the floor (Flockton, Gibbs, and Flockton). Ultimately, for spaces to be "democratized," social divisions needed to be understood and if it was more difficult to determine to which class someone belonged, it was more difficult to properly address them. Late 19th-century European society, particularly in Germany and Britain, depended on people knowing their place and maintaining the social divisions.

One of the most enduring images of department stores from the turn of the century is that of the ladies' paradise (Zola). What is lost in the fiction and the imaginings, however, are the lives of the employees. Labor histories of department stores are not nonexistent, but shop assistants present a difficulty to the labor historian. Ego documents are difficult to find, similarly to the situation with factory workers, and other written records do not often include much on the employees themselves. Census records tell us something about their demographics, and some records of daily lives—business rule books, governmental investigations and testimony, social welfare records, and political organization documents—persist, which allow historians to craft some idea of the lived realities for these workers. From this perspective, I argue in my larger project, department store work was both skilled and physical. Stores variously hired women and, decreasingly, men to work on the sales floors, in fabrication departments, and as servants. Each type of position required a skill set and some level of physical exertion. The demands of being a servant are hardly new. Fabrication workers required skills in furniture making, cabinetry, or tailoring—all which also required an immense amount of physically taxing labor. One young woman in Sheffield was left "slightly crippled" after just six years of work in the Cole Brothers's workrooms (Sheffield Archives). Shop assistants were required to stand and keep departments tidy while maintaining the correct affect for serving customers; they also had to *sell* products and provide service using skills that, for many, cannot be taught (House of Help, Sheffield Archives). Focusing solely on sales assistants curtails a true discussion of the types of department store work that all contributed to the meteoric rise of owners' families into the industrialist bourgeoisie. Furthermore, the feminization of retailing—where shop assistants were increasingly women (and remain so)—lead to the devaluation of the work to a point where it became seen as deskilled and easy.

By the turn of the 20th century, department stores across Europe and North America had cemented themselves in the daily lives of millions. Although the actual share of the market held by department stores remained low until after the First World War, their place in imaginations and urban life was significant. Because of this placement, department stores illustrate many facets of modernity. As new, large, and shiny physical realities, they burst onto urban landscapes with seemingly little concern for their smaller competitors. Owners instituted the newest technologies and practices for their customers' comfort and leisure. Young people were pulled in to work in these paradises, either temporarily or across years, at a single store or at many, and were able to earn wages and create lives previous generations could not have imagined. Within the shadows cast by the new electric lights of the stores lay the inverses of these examples. Some societies were exceptionally concerned about the effects on small retailers—the small business owners in Germany and their antisemitic claims were just one. In stores, the new technology was not to be used by employees—lifts, for example, were for customers and goods; employees used the stairs. The open spaces, sunlight, and uncluttered show floors were the opposite of the cramped, dimly lit, and spartan back-of-house spaces. Ready-made clothing was a boon to customers who could not afford completely bespoke wardrobes, but for the tailors and seamstresses making it, the conditions were frequently poor and sweated work was seen as vital to the industry. Sales assistants, lured to department stores by beautiful promises, were often overworked and in poor health, leading the majority to age out of the industry by thirty-five, with few career prospects and little training in other trades. Within the confines of the modern department store, one could experience whole universes and lives—from cradle to grave.

WORKS CITED

1861 Census of England and Wales, HO 107/1338/2, page 7, accessed via FindMyPast.co.uk.

1901 Census of England and Wales RG 13/3007 ED 44, page 5, accessed via AncestryLibrary.com.

Baudrillard, Jean. "Modernity" in *CTheory* 11, no. 3 (1987): 63-72.

Benson, John and Gareth Shaw, eds., *The evolution of retail systems*, c. *1800-1914.* Leicester University Press, 1992.

Böhme, Margarete. *The Department Store: A Novel of To-Day* [W.A.G.M.U.S.]. Translated by Ethel Colburn Mayne. D. Appleton and Company, 1912.

Busch-Petersen, Nils. *Leonhard Tietz: Fuhrmannssohn und Warenhauskönig von der Warthe an den Rhein*. Hentrich & Hentrich, 2014.

Dam, H. J. W. "The Shop Girl: Musical Farce," Hopwood & Crew, 1895, https://archive.org/details/shopgirlmusicalf00cary/page/n5/mode/2up

Flockton, Gibbs & Flockton, "High Street, Sheffield—J Walsh—Plans," 1896, CA206/2649a-d, CA 206 Sheffield City Council, Planning Department, Sheffield Archives, Sheffield, UK.

Graham, Kelly. "Gone to the Shops": Shopping in Victorian England. Praeger, 2008.

House of Help for Friendless Girls and Young Women, "Case Books," 1900, X158/5/1/5 case C185, X158—Oakdale House, House of Help for Friendless Women and Girls, Sheffield Archives, Sheffield UK.

Kölner Local-Anzeiger, 1 July 1906, 2.

Lerner, Paul. *The Consuming Temple: Jews, Department Stores, and the Consumer Revolution in Germany, 1880-1940*. Cornell University Press, 2015.

Porter Benson, Susan. "The Cinderella of Occupations; Managing the Work of Department Store Saleswomen, 1900-1940." In The Business History Review 55, no. 1 (1981): 1-25.

Sheffield Daily Independent, 21 July 1906.

T. B. & W. Cockayne, "Incorporation," 1957, SY492/B1/1a, Schofields (Yorkshire) Ltd., Department Store, Angel Street, Sheffield (Formerly T.B. and W. Cockayne), Sheffield Archives, Sheffield, UK.

T. B. & W. Cockayne, "Trade accounts, profit and loss accounts and balance sheets (half-yearly)," SY492/B5/50-82, SY492 – Schofields (Yorkshire) Ltd., Department Store, Angel Street, Sheffield (formerly T. B. and W. Cockayne), Sheffield Archives, Sheffield, UK.

Zola, Émile. *The Ladies' Paradise*. Translated by Ernest Alfred Vizetelly. Hutchinson & Co., 1895.

Contemporary Russian Perceptions of Tsar Nicholas II

Cadra Peterson McDaniel
Texas A&M University—Central Texas

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russian citizens, historians, and leaders began to reconsider the Imperial era. In particular, these individuals sought to reexamine Tsar Nicholas II's actions and legacy outside a Marxist context, in which the tsar had been derided as an inept tyrant. Two specific topics that have been the subject of revision are Nicholas' abdication on March 2, 1917 (O.S.) and his death on July 16/17, 1918. Current Russian interpretations of these two aspects of his reign and life portray Nicholas as a hapless ruler who suffered a tragic death.

The contemporary view of Nicholas appears most readily as that of a martyr. Since July 1992, there has been a commemoration of the death of the tsar and his family in the city of Yekaterinburg, the location of their murders on July 16/17, 1918 (Bratchikov-Pogrebisskiy, "Last Tsar.") This commemoration also seems to have occurred in other cities, notably in 2018. During the author's visit to St. Petersburg in July of that year, she witnessed a portion of a procession of Russian citizens apparently singing hymns and carrying icons of the tsar and his family. These individuals seemed to be commemorating the 100th anniversary of the tsar's and his family's murder.[1] That same year, 2018, a public opinion poll conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) indicated that among the figures listed, which included Nicholas II, Josef Stalin, Vladimir Lenin, Alexander Kolchak, and Anton Denikin, 54% of respondents indicated that they sympathized with Nicholas, with Stalin receiving the next highest level of sympathy at 51%. As indicated by the poll's data, sympathy for the tsar has increased steadily from 42% in 2005 (Gilbert, "Nicholas II, Stalin and Lenin").[2]

Although there appears to be growing interest in and sympathy for Nicholas among the Russian public, this specific study focuses upon the construction of official narratives of the tsar found in Russian middle school and high school history textbooks—a topic that scholars apparently have not yet examined.[3] These history textbooks' interpretations are important because scholars have concluded that these textbook accounts can shape an individual's perception of past events and provide insight into a country's national identity (Aleksashkina and Zajda, 171–184; Wertsch, *How Nations Remember passim*; Peterson McDaniel *passim*; Zhao 99-112; Mujadžević, 293-302.) Frequently, individuals adopt the narrative learned and use it as a framework when describing or remembering the value of historical events. Individuals fashion their perceptions of the past using similar wording and structure that imitate that of the learned narrative (Wertsch, "The Narrative Organization," 122-130).

The authors of Soviet era textbooks (1950-1980s) tended to portray the tsar as an incompetent leader and to subordinate his abdication to the events that led to the February Revolution as well as to not mention in detail his subsequent execution. K. V. Bazilevich et al., in their 1952 textbook, and I. B. Berkhin and I. A. Fedosov in their 1982 textbook, recount that Nicholas ignored the Duma's pleas to make compromises with the people (Bazilevich, et al.132; Berkhin and Fedosov, 122). Bazilevich et al., declare that due to the role of the Petrograd Soviet, "[o]n 27 February (O.S.—added by the author) the revolution triumphed (Bazilevich et al., 133)." Amid these actions, Bazilevich et al. contend that "bourgeois Duma deputies and the leaders of the Mensheviks and SRs" (Socialist Revolutionaries) sought to save the monarchy by convincing Nicholas to create a government, comprised of the Duma members, which would act as the country's new authority" (Bazilevich et al., 133-135). The authors do not refer to the royal family's death in detail (Bazilevich et al., 218).

Berkhin and Fedosov provide a generally similar understanding of the events. Although there is no statement concerning the revolution's victory occurring on February 27 (O.S.), these authors continue the framing of the tsar's abdication in the context of class conflict. Specifically, these authors emphasize that bourgeois leaders unsuccessfully attempted to save the monarchy, which ended in March 1917 (Berkhin and Fedosov 126). Berkhin and Fedosov, in their discussion of the Russian Civil War, do not seem to address the tsar's and his family's death (Berkhin and Fedosov, 206-218).

The interpretations presented by these Soviet authors cast the tsar as an unresponsive leader who chose to ignore his subjects' plight. His abdication, according to both sets of authors, resulted from the failure of nefarious bourgeois political leaders' attempts to preserve the monarchy. Such narratives clearly reinforce the official Soviet view of history marred by class conflict. In the 1952 textbook, Bazilevich et al.'s decision to announce the revolution's victory on February 27 (O.S.) indicates that

even before Nicholas' abdication on March 2 (O.S.), he had become an inconsequential figure. Although Berkhin and Fedosov do not cite the revolution's victory as occurring on February 27 (O.S.), the fall of the monarchy is still presented as the outcome of the failed efforts of the bourgeoisie to thwart the people's calls for a revolution.

In neither textbook do the writers focus on the royal family's death. This stance appears to stem from the prevailing sentiment in the Soviet Union that the execution of the royal family was a subject that generally was not mentioned, and the burial site of the family's remains continued to be an official secret until the late 1980s (Marshall, "Russian Revival"; Montefiore, 647, 650-651). The reasons for this approach are not completely clear. Possible concerns may have been that the murdered family could act as a focal point for critics of the Soviet regime, which seems to have been a reason for their execution in 1918 (Montefiore, 637-643).[4] Moreover, after the tsar's abdication, he no longer needed to be considered as a factor in history; instead, he had been replaced by the Communist Party as the country's guiding power. Thus, Nicholas' and his family's death was not a central aspect of the historical record, and in its place would be a chronicle of the triumph of the Reds in the Civil War.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, textbook authors' descriptions of Nicholas' abdication underwent various transformations. Without the overarching Marxist framework for historical analysis, authors in the early post-Soviet era (1995-2013) began to incorporate elements absent from Soviet era explanations. Instead of the focus upon the triumph of the revolution, or the depiction of politicians' and other political groups' actions as nefarious machinations to preserve the monarchy, the narrative focused more on factors that led to Nicholas' abdication. In an early post-Soviet textbook, published in 1995, V. P. Ostrovskii and A. I. Utkin briefly note that once the tsar realized that his miliary commanders all favored abdication, he agreed to renounce the throne. These authors then restate Nicholas' views on the event as recorded in his diary—that he was surrounded by "treason, and cowardice, and deception" (Ostrovskii and Utkin, 125-126). There does not seem to be a detailed discussion of the tsar's or his family's execution though the execution is portrayed as a means to divide clearly Imperial Russia from Communist Russia (Ostrovskii and Utkin, 149-169, 175-178).

A few years later in 1998, the textbook authors A. A. Danilov and L. G. Kosulina adopted a different approach. Although these authors, too, offer a succinct version of Nicholas' abdication, instead of focusing upon the reasons for the tsar's action, they include excerpts from his abdication manifesto followed by the question that prompts students to explain what factors guided Nicholas' decision (Danilov and Kosulina, 1998, 88-89, 95-96.). Regarding the tsar's execution, Danilov and Kosulina state that the Ural Regional Soviet, with the approval of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), carried out the murders. The authors explain that not only were Nicholas, his wife, and children executed, but also, these authors detail the deaths of other members of the imperial family. The death of the tsar and his family is described as "[o]ne of the ominous pages of the 'Red Terror'" (Danilov and Kosulina, 1998, 122).

Other accounts of the post-Soviet era, such as that from 2009 by A. A. Levandovskii, Iu. A. Shchetinov, and S. V. Mironenko, appear somewhat reminiscent of the Soviet era's focus on liberal politicians and their efforts to preserve the monarchy. Generally, these authors note that the revolutionary actions in Petrograd undermined liberal politicians who sought to transform Russia into a constitutional monarchy. Nicholas' decision to abdicate resulted from the revolutionary upheavals in the capital and the views of his military commanders (Levandovskii et al., 71-73). Later, as the authors discuss the strengthening of the Red forces, they insert a side discussion at the bottom of the page regarding the royal family's murder. To justify the family's death, the authors rely on an excerpt from the writings of Leon Trotsky, who explains that the execution aimed to destroy the hopes of the Bolsheviks' opponents as well as to demonstrate to "'one's own ranks'" that retreat was not an option. The Bolsheviks must continue until they reached either "'complete victory or complete death'" (Levandovskii et al., 114).

In contrast to this 2009 textbook, a 2012 textbook, authored by S. V. Perevezentsev and T. V. Perevezentseva, presents Nicholas as a sympathetic and isolated figure. These authors explain that military commanders echoed the Provisional Government's demand that the tsar abdicate (Perevezentsev and Perevezentseva, 79). Even other members of the imperial family from whom Nicholas sought assistance counseled him to renounce the throne. This isolation appears as the factor that prompted Nicholas' abdication, and Perevezentsev and Perevezentseva include the entry from Nicholas' diary in which he described being surrounding by "treason, and cowardice, and deception!" (Perevezentsev and Perevezentseva, 79). Regarding the tsar's death, a description of this event is in an inserted box within the section concerning the development of the one-party state and the Red Terror. In addition to noting the family's execution, the authors explain that in 2000, the Russian Orthodox Church canonized the royal family as martyrs (Perevezentsev and Perevezentseva, 99-100).

In contrast to this more detailed account, Iu. N. Lubchenkov and V. V. Mikhailov in their 2013 textbook provide a very condensed version of events. The authors explain that the frontline military commanders supported the tsar's abdication, which led to the tsar renouncing the

throne (Lubchenkov and Mikhailov, 50). Although this very short description provides little context regarding the tsar's decision, the authors provide excerpts from Nicholas' abdication manifesto with the questions asking the reader to explain the specific conditions that prompted Nicholas to abdicate and to ponder if other courses of action could have been possible (Lubchenkov and Mikhailov, 55-56). There is a brief mention of the royal family's death but no detailed discussion (Lubchenkov and Mikhailov, 62-63).

As evidenced from these various writers' approaches to the tsar's abdication and the royal family's death, Nicholas appears as a more central figure in these post-Soviet textbooks. For example, some authors note the tsar's response to the events surrounding his abdication, which humanize him, and which stand in opposition to the more negative portrayals of the Soviet era. Additionally, this focus on Nicholas most readily appears in the accounts that utilize excerpts from his abdication manifesto and that prompt students to then answer questions based on the text. By having students read the tsar's manifesto, they draw their own conclusions regarding the factors surrounding the event. Such an exercise causes students to consider the tsar's stated reasons for abdicating and to consider the challenges that he faced. These questions, furthermore, may be understood as a refutation of the Soviet era's characterization of Nicholas as a leader who disregarded his subjects' welfare, and these questions may be recognized as being reflective of the post-Soviet era's focus on historical inquiry concerning subjects not openly or frequently discussed in the Soviet era. The exception would be Levandovskii et al.'s explanation that seemingly indicates the continued importance of some aspects of Soviet interpretations.

Moreover, textbooks that contain an examination of the imperial family's death evidenced a break from the Soviet era. The inclusion of the family's murder, which is described as an "ominous" event or which ends with a mention of their canonization, may be recognized as attempts to begin to explore censored topics during the Soviet era and to begin to recognize the extent of the Red Terror while simultaneously providing a historical narrative that acknowledges the family's fate. Based on the comments of former Russian President Boris Yeltsin, regarding the guilt associated with the Romanovs' murders, the decision to address the royal family's death may be understood as a form of atonement for their execution.[5]

Although textbooks published from 1995-2013 evidnce more interest in the tsar's abdication and death, since 2014, the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I, attention to the war and events in the very late Imperial era has increased within Russia. Concurrently, there have been efforts by leading Russian officials, including President Vladimir Putin, to develop a more unified and patriotic historical narrative.[6] An examination of textbooks published from 2014 to 2023 offers insight into the attempts to create this patriotic and more unified interpretation regarding Nicholas' abdication and death.

In a 2014 history textbook, A. A. Danilov, L. G. Kosulina, and M. Iu. Brandt record that telegrams sent by the leader of the Duma to military commanders raised the idea of the tsar's abdication. These commanders then reached an agreement that the best course of action was for Nicholas to abdicate (Danilov et al., 2014, 75). The authors recall that these commanders' stance stunned the tsar, who agreed to renounce the throne. Following this discussion are excerpts from the tsar's abdication manifesto and questions prompting the reader to note Nicholas' reasons for abdicating and asking the reader if the tsar's abdication could be characterized as voluntary (Danilov et al., 2014, 76.). Regarding the royal family's execution, the account is the same as that from Danilov's and Kosulina's 1998 textbook, which assigns blame to the Ural Regional Soviet who acted with the approval of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) (Danilov et al., 2014, 112-113).

Other authors who rely on a previous edition of their work are A. A. Levandovskii, Iu. A. Shchetinov, and S. V. Mironenko whose 2015 textbook is very similar to their earlier 2009 edition. The authors generally left unchanged their contentions regarding the events leading to the tsar's abdication and death. These authors again note the role of some liberal politicians in seeking to preserve the monarchy, and these authors continue to utilize the writings of Trotsky to explain the reasons for the royal family's death (Levandovskii, et al., 2015, 71, 112-113).

In contrast to Levandovskii et al.'s focus on revolutionary events in Petrograd, O. V. Volobuev, S. P. Karpachev, and V. A. Klokov, in their 2021 textbook, present an analysis that recalls the tsar's actions and responses. These authors state that only at a meeting with frontline commanders did Nicholas learn of the Duma's and military leaders' resolve that he should abdicate and that frontline commanders shared this opinion (Volobuev, et al. 29). Moreover, the authors recount that Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaevich urged the tsar to abdicate. Nicholas, "under pressure from all sides" chose to abdicate. The authors further selected a longer excerpt from Nicholas' diary for that day, which offers an extended version of Nicholas' response to the day's events: "At one at night I left Pskov with a heavy sense of what I had gone through. All around treason and cowardice and deception" (Volobuev et al., 29). At the end of the section, there are questions that ask the reader to consider the factors that guided Nicholas to abdicate and to examine the outcome of his decision (Volobuev et al., 29-30). In a subsequent section recounting the Russian Civil War and War Communism, the authors describe "complete terror"

as pervading the entire country. Amid this discussion, the authors then recall the execution of the imperial family in July 1918 (Volobuev, et al., 62, 72).

Volobuev's, Karpachev's, and Klokov's writing partly seems to serve as the basis for the narrative presented in the 2023 textbook authored by V. R. Medinskii and A. V. Torkunov. The emphasis is upon the sentiment among the Duma and military leaders that Nicholas should abdicate. With the frontline military commanders agreeing that the only course of action was for Nicholas to abdicate, the tsar, stunned, signed the abdication manifesto (Medinskii and Torkunov, 39). There is also the text of the abdication manifesto followed by questions such as asking the reader to note the tsar's motives for renouncing the throne and to note the factors that the tsar perceived as needed for governing Russia (Medinskii and Torkunov, 48-49). In a later examination concerning the Red and White Terror, Medinskii and Torkunov insert a discussion of Nicholas' and his family's death in a separate box distinct from the main text. Next to the text is a photograph of the Ipatiev House, the location of the family's imprisonment prior to their execution. The opening line of the paragraph describing the family's death begins with the phrase, "[o]ne of the most ominous pages of the Civil War…" (Medinskii and Torkunov, 105-106). Medinskii and Torkunov mention the imperial family's execution and then describe the fate of the Ipatiev House. The authors note that in the late 1970s, Soviet officials opted to destroy the house, and in its place, in 2003, there was built the Church on Blood in Honor of All the Saints Resplendent in the Russian Land (Medinskii and Torkunov, 105-106).

Efforts to develop a more unified narrative regarding Nicholas' abdication and death appear to be ongoing. The general trend is to note the agreement between the Duma and military leaders concerning the necessity of Nicholas' abdication. Another common theme is that these recent accounts, as with some earlier post-Soviet interpretations, humanize the tsar by emphasizing his shock at his military commanders' call for abdication; by quoting from his diary to demonstrate his feelings of betrayal; and/or by focusing on his motivations for abdicating, thereby, casting him as personable.

Although these more contemporary textbook authors generally provide a more humanized view of Nicholas, there still seems to be some uncertainty regarding the manner in which to address the tsar's and his family's murder. Among these varied accounts, Medinskii's and Torkunov's writings prove to be highly interesting. Because Medinskii is a close advisor to President Putin, the discussion found in this 2023 textbook may be reflective of the official view of the royal family's death. This narrative recognizes that the family died during the Civil War but does not assign the blame to the Reds or the Soviets. By using the general term, Civil War, the authors refrain from assigning blame for the family's death, which may be part of an official effort to unify disparate aspects of Russian history.[7] Moreover, the decision to conclude with a discussion of the Church on Blood in Honor of All the Saints shifts the focus from the execution to instead an acknowledgement of the family's legacy as revered saints among a nation of many holy martyrs, thereby ending the account of Russia's monarchy not with a violent execution but with a peaceful legacy.

Changing interpretations of Tsar Nicholas II's abdication and death have provided and continue to provide insight into the Soviet and post-Soviet Russian view of the tsar's legacy. This study allows for an understanding of the differing means of approaching the topic of a country's deposed ruler—a delicate and potentially explosive topic for any government in power. For contemporary Russia, authors' descriptions of Nicholas' abdication as well as his and his family's death may be understood as a means for the state to engage with the last tsar's apparent increasing popularity. This current interpretation aims in some ways to mirror the popular image of Nicholas and his family as hapless and even tragic figures, which in turn may reinforce subtly a patriotic narrative that portrays political and social unrest as leading to violent upheaval and needless deaths.

ENDNOTES

This research topic was developed as part of the author's participation in the McDonnell Collective Memory Network, Washington University, St. Louis. This network has been supported and funded by the James S. McDonnell Foundation. I would like to thank my Graduate Research Assistant Martha Brown for compiling a list of previously published works related to Nicholas II's abdication and death and for James V. Wertsch and Henry L. (Roddy) Roediger III, who led the McDonnell Collective Memory Network, for their interest in this project. All translations are the author's work unless otherwise noted. Dates in the year 1917 follow the Julian Calendar used in Imperial Russia and are marked as Old Style (O.S.). The Julian Calendar, in the twentieth century, was thirteen days behind the Gregorian Calendar used in the West.

[1] The author witnessed a portion of this procession near the Winter Palace in mid-July 2018. A photo accompanying Alexander Morozov's article, "Post-Soviet Russia Has Mixed Feelings for Tsar Nicholas II," shows a commemoration in Kiev in 2002.

[2] The original polling data did not seem to be vailable on VCIOM's website. However, an image of the poll, with data displayed in graph form, appears in Gilbert's article. According to polling data, for the other figures listed, respondents indicated sympathy at the following levels: Lenin received 49%, Kolchak received 36%, and Denikin received 30%.

[3] Textbooks used are for classes 9-11, which corresponds to middle school (class 9) and high school (classes 10 and 11). See International Education Guide. Although numerous English and Russian studies have recounted the tsar's abdication and the royal family's murder, it does not appear that scholars have yet to analyze the changing narrative concerning these two events as presented in Russian history textbooks. Examples of articles that examine Nicholas II's actions include: Sworakowski, "The Authorship of the Abdication Document of Nicholas II,"; Hemenway, "Nicholas in Hell,"; Monastyrev, "Otrechenie Nikolaia II,"; Tsvetkov, "Krushenie monarkhii."

[4] Apparently, the murdered royal family remained a source of concern for Soviet leaders. Stalin refused to allow individuals who participated in the murders to mention the family in memoirs, and Andropov ordered the destruction of the Ipatiev House because he believed it could be a symbol for "anti-Soviet circles in the West." See Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, 647, 650.

[5] For Yeltsin's specific comments, see Montefiore, *The Romanovs*, 651.

[6] For a discussion of these efforts, see Peterson McDaniel, "Russia's Proud Past"; "Informatsionno-metodicheskie materialy"; "Patrioticheskoe vospitanie obuchaiushchikhsia"; "Rol' vospitatelia"; Putin,"Otkrytie pamiatnika"; Putin, "Unveiling of a monument."

[7] For a discussion of these efforts, see Peterson McDaniel, "Russia's Proud Past"; "Informatsionno-metodicheskie materialy"; "Patrioticheskoe vospitanie obuchaiushchikhsia"; "Rol' vospitatelia."

WORKS CITED

Primary Sources

Bazilevich, K.V., et al., *Istoriia SSSR*. 10 klass. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo Ministerstva Prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1952.

Berkhin, I. B. and I. A Fedosov. *Istoriia SSSR*. 9 klass. Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 1982.

Danilov, A. A. and L. G. Kosulina. *Istoriia Rossii XX vek*. 9 klass. Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 1998.

Danilov, A. A., et al. *Istoriia Rossii XX-Nachalo XXI veka*. 9 klass. Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 2014.

"Informatsionno-metodicheskie materialy k obnovlennym FGOS-21." Institut razvitiia obrazovaniia kirovskoi oblasti. 20 avgusta 2021, https://kirovipk.ru/novosti/informaczionno-metodicheskie-materialy-k-obnovlyonnymfgos-21/

Levandovskii, A. A., et al. *Istoriia Rossii, XX-Nachalo XXI veka*. Bazovyi uroven'. 11 klass. Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 2009.

---. *Istoriia Rossii*. Bazovyi uroven'. 11 klass. Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 2015.

Lubchenkov, Iu. N. and V. V. Mikhailov. *Istoriia Rossii*, *XX-Nachalo XXI veka*. 9 klass. Moskva: Mnemozina, 2013.

Medinskii, V. R. and A. V. Torkunov. *Istoriia Rossii, 1914-1945 gody*. Bazovyi uroven'.10 klass. Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 2023.

Osnovy gosudarstvennoi kul'turnoi politiki. Utverzhdeny Ukazom Prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii ot 24 dekabria 2014 goda No. 808. Moskva, Kreml'. Ministerstvo Kul'tury Rossiiskoi Federatsii. 2015, http://mkrf.ru/info/foundations-statecultural-policy/

Ostrovskii, V. P. and A. I. Utkin. *Istoriia Rossii XX vek*. 11 klass. Moskva: Drofa, 1995.

"Patrioticheskoe vospitanie obuchaiushchikhsia." Institut razvitiia obrazovaniia kirovskoi oblasti. https://kirovipk.ru/about/struktura/czentr-vospitaniya-i-psihologii/education- program/regionalnyj-bank-modulejprogrammy-vospitaniya/

Perevezentsev, S. V. and T. V. Perevezentseva. *Istoriia Rossii, XX-Nachalo XXI veka*. 9 klass. Moskva: Russkoe slovo, 2012.

Putin, Vladimir. "Otkrytie pamiatnika geroiam Pervoi mirovoi voiny," 1 avgusta 2014, http://kremlin.ru/events/presidennews/46385

———. "Unveiling of a monumen to World War I heroes." 1 August 2014, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46385 "Rol' vospitatelia v realizatsii edinogo iadra soderzhaniia doshkol'nogo obrazovaniia v kontekste novoi federal'noi obrazovatel'noi programmy doshkol'nogo obrazovaniia 2023." Federal'naia Ploshchadka RF, http://федеральнаяплощадка.рф/main/lenta/priority/news/category=64

Volobuev, O. V., et al. *Istoriia Rossii Nachalo XX—nachalo XXI veka*. Bazovyi uroven'. 10 klass. Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 2021.

Secondary Sources

Aleksashkina, Liudmila and Joseph Zajda. "National History Curriculum and Standards for Secondary Schools in the Russian Federation." *Nation-Building and History Education in a Global Culture*, edited by Joseph Zajda. New York: Springer, 2015, pp. 171–184.

Bratchikov-Pogrebisskiy, Mark. "The Last Tsar: How Russia Commemorates the Brutal Communist Murder of Emperor Nikolai II's Family." RT.com, August 14, 2022, https://www.rt.com/russia/560301-nikolai-family-regicideurals/

Gilbert, Paul. "Nicholas II, Stalin and Lenin, Top Popularity Rating of Russian Historical Figures." Nicholas II: Emperor, Tsar, Saint, December 8, 2019, https://tsarnicholas.org/category/polls/

Hemenway, Elizabeth Jones. "Nicholas in Hell: Rewriting the Tsarist Narrative in the Revolutionary Skazki of 1917." *The Russian Review*, vol. 60, no. 2, 2001, pp.185–204.

International Qualifications Service, Government of Alberta. *International Education Guide for the Assessment of Education from the Former USSR and the Russian Federation*. Edmonton, AB, Canada. 2016, https://open.alberta.ca/publications/international-education-guide-assessment-education-russia

Marshall, Tyler. "Russian Revival: Wave of Nationalism Created by Grave Believed to Be Nicholas II's." *Los Angeles Times*, 27 September 1991, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-09-27-vw-2885-story.html

McDaniel, Cadra Peterson. "Russia's Proud Past and Patriotic Identity: A Case Study of Historical Accounts in Contemporary Russian History Textbooks." *Modern Languages Open*, Liverpool University Press, (1), 2018, https://modernlanguagesopen.org/articles/10.3828/mlo.v0i0.239

Monastyrev, M. M. "Otrechenie Nikolaia II i Mikhaila Aleksandrovicha: zakonnost' poslednikh

Manifestov Romanovykh." In *Rossiia XXI*, nos. 1 and 2, 2014, https://monastyrev.wordpress.com/2014/06/21 and https://monastyrev.wordpress.com/2014/06/24

Montefiore, Simon Sebag. *The Romanovs 1613-1918*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016.

Morozov, Alexander. "Post-Soviet Russia Has Mixed Feelings for Tsar Nicholas II." *Russia Beyond*, 17 July 2013, https://www.rbth.com/society/2013/07/17/postsoviet_russia_has_mixed_feelings_for_tsar_nicholas_ii_27185

Mujadžević, Dino. "The Image of Ottomans in Croatian Historiography: Changing Narratives in Elementary School Textbooks in Croatia—1980s-2000s." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2014, pp. 293-302.

Peterson McDaniel, Cadra. "Russia's Proud Past and Patriotic Identity: A Case Study of Historical Accounts in Contemporary Russian History Textbooks." *Modern Languages Open*, Liverpool University Press, 2018, https://modernlanguagesopen.org/articles/10.3828/mlo.v0i0.239]

Tsvetkov, Vasilii. "Krushenie monarkhii. Byl li akt otrecheniia Nikolaia II ot prestola pravomeren?" Rossiiskoe istoricheskoe obshchestvo, 29 ianvaria 2018, https://historyrussia.org/tsekh-istorikov/konets-monarkhii-byl-li-akt-otrecheniyanikolaya-ii-ot-prestola-pravomeren.html

Sworakowski, Witold S. "The Authorship of the Abdication Document of Nicholas II," *The Russian Review,* vol. 30, no. 3, 1971, pp. 277–286

Wertsch, James V. *How Nations Remember: A Narrative Approach*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2021.

———. "The Narrative Organization of Collective Memory." *Ethos*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2008, pp. 120-135.

Zhao, Zhenzhou, "Pedagogisation of Nation Identity through Textbook Narratives in China: 1902–1948." *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2014, pp. 99–112.

Jerónimo Tristante's *El misterio de la casa Aranda* ("The Mystery of the Aranda House"): Tracing the Beginnings of the Police Procedural

Jeffrey Oxford
Midwestern State University

Jerónimo Tristante (Murcia, Spain, 1969) is best known for his series of detective fiction novels protagonized by Víctor Ros. Regarding such, one critic has aptly noted that Tristante's "prose is fresh and agile, his chapters short, and his reading explosive" ("Reseña"; all translations in this essay are mine). Such, in addition to the author's overall adherence to the spirit and intent of the historical novel genre, has resulted in those novels—now numbering half a dozen—being adapted and eponymously broadcast over fourteen episodes by RTVE (Spain's state-owned, public media services) and La 1 (Spain's TV channel 1) over two seasons in 2014 and 2015.

El misterio de la casa Aranda ("The Mystery of the Aranda House," 2008), the first novel of the series, details the conversion of Víctor Ros—a young thug wannabe—from a life of petty criminality to a mentorship, and employment, under a much older and seasoned police officer to his eventual, simultaneous, and successful resolution of the mysteries surrounding the "haunted" Aranda house and a series of unrelated murder cases involving prostitutes, all in Madrid, Spain, during the summer of 1877. Combining the narrative techniques of both the historical novel and the police procedural, the work offers significant details and cultural perceptions of the burgeoning importance and influence of the sciences and the scientific method on the world of criminology of late-19th century Spain, a time period when artists—writ large—were attempting to make their art parallel the contemporaneous worldview grounded in a scientific, evidence-based understanding of the universe and humans' place in it.[1] In this essay, then, I propose to examine how Tristante, in his first Víctor Ross novel, melds those two genres into one narrative—although at times taking slight poetic license with certain historical facts—to create a literature that is entertaining, enlightening, and, in the majority, historically accurate.

As a literary genre, the police procedural has over the years become one of the most popular variants of detective fiction not only in Spain, but in many countries—for example, in the U.S.: *Law and Order*, *Blue Bloods*, *Hill Street Blues*, *Chicago P.D.*, *NCIS*, etc. Critics have pointed to Wilkie Collin's *The Moonstone* (1868)—in which a Scotland Yard detective investigates the theft of a valuable diamond—as an early antecedent of the genre,[2] and Lawrence Treat's 1945 *V as in Victim,* as the first true police procedural.[3] Although obviously—given its name—the police procedural by necessity focuses on a policeman/policemen investigating crime(s), another commonly accepted characteristic includes that "it must be one in which the mystery is solved by policemen using normal police routines" (Dove 2). George Dove further notes that "there [must] be a main-character detective in the procedural, but he or she does not solve the crime without the collaborative efforts of other police"; in fact, the critic adds, the term *procedural* refers to the methods of detection employed, the procedures followed by policemen in real life. Where the classic detective solves mysteries through the use of his powers of observation and logical analysis, and the private investigator through his energy and his tough tenacity, the detective in the procedural story does those things ordinarily expected of policemen, like using informants, tailing suspects, and availing himself of the resources of the police laboratory (Dove 2).

Dove continues to define the police procedural as a very disciplined genre: one with "the accepted conventions of [. . .] the happily married policeman with family problems" (112), a seven-step narrative framework consisting of "the Problem, the Initial Solution, the Complication, the Period of Confusion, the Dawning Light, the Solution, and the Explanation" (239), and a denouement consisting of "the fictional policeman [...] up in the stuffy squadroom [sic] beating out his report (in triplicate or quadruplicate as required by regulations) with two fingers on the squad's ancient typewriter, hoping to finish in time to get a few hours' sleep before his next shift begins" (250). Gonzalo Navajas has studied the police procedural in Spanish literature, and he highlights the importance of the investigators' use of reasoning and the essentialness of the clarity of "a principle story that predominates over other plots and secondary elements" (226). Other critics have noted other essential characteristics of the genre. Kathleen Thompson-Casado, for example, argues that at "the very core of the procedural [is] a generally positive account of police work as well as police attitudes" (73), and Nina Molinaro postulates that "the police procedural prescribes solidarity within the police force" (111).

Tristante's novel closely follows the majority of the paradigmatic characteristics. Víctor Ross is a policeman and investigates the mystery surrounding the Aranda house with his partner Alfredo Blázquez. Even though the two of them are quite different in personality, age,

and investigative methods, they do very much demonstrate a collaboration and solidarity in the principal investigation. Although normally in a police procedural the story's main character is the more experienced cop and the partner is the less experienced one, in this case, Víctor is the much younger of the two—by some four decades—and can only be considered "more experienced" with regard to his having successfully infiltrated a radical cell in Oviedo and "saved" Spain's government in 1868. Víctor very much agrees in a solving of crimes through a reasoning, deliberative, and thoughtful process, even to the point of telling his partner, "I believe in demonstrating through proof who is the true criminal. I think the police force uses too much brawn and too little brains" (45) when Alfredo asks him, "How else do you get the criminals to confess except by 'working them over'?" (45). Certainly, Tristante's novel presents a positive account of police work; it would be difficult to find anything in the narrative which presents even the faintest negative reflection on "the thin blue line" of late-19th century Spain. And, finally, Tristante has produced a novel that generally fits within the confines of the traditional and somewhat formulaic police procedural paradigm interested in concluding with a restoration of justice and a sense that all is right once again in the world.

Having said, such, however, it is my argument that Tristante also ingeniously, and subtly, subverts widely accepted characteristics of that model to create a narrative form that both harkens back to that style and mimics more modern narrative techniques. Víctor Ross, the main character and a fairly recently-minted police investigator, is actually not solely in charge of the investigation of the *mystery of the Aranda house*; his partner, Alfredo Blázquez—with many more years as an investigator on the force—is, as per police commissioner Horacio Buendía, an equally empowered partner. Another distinction that sets Víctor off from the more typical police procedural protagonist is his civil status. According to Dove, the main character of a traditional police procedural is always a happily married policeman, even if he does have family problems (112); such is definitely not the case with Víctor. He is not married, has not been married, and— until the last pages of the novel—seemingly has no intentions of ever getting married because he realizes that Spanish norms of the time regarding class separation preclude his ever being able to receive in marriage the hand of the Arandas' daughter.

A quiet and nonconfrontational disobedience to superior's orders seems to be another character trait that distinguishes Víctor from the typical detective protagonist of traditional police procedurals. The police commissioner tells Víctor not to get involved in the investigation of the deaths of Madrid prostitutes, that "policemen should protect decent people and not lowlife" (66). The detective, however, is unable to accept such and continues to work behind his superior's back, eventually solving those murders as well. In fact, his investigations of those murders— alone, and without the help of his partner Alfredo—form an equally important second plot of the novel, two clear violations of the genre's paradigm.[4] Furthermore, Víctor's compassion for the prostitute, Lola, whom he frequents, affects his ability to act and react with indifference as mandated by late 19th-century Spain's class-based rules of comportment; his disenchantment and disagreement with those norms ultimately lead him to withdraw from all human contact upon solving the murders of Lola and the other prostitutes. Such, however, is in direct opposition to a character trait that José Colmeiro notes as a fundamental requirement of all detective fiction, not just detective fiction: "[T]he detective is unemotional in reasoning […]. There is no place in him for compassion for the victims" (60)

Another key area in which *El misterio de la casa Aranda* diverges somewhat from the normal rules of the police procedural is through the lack of a narrative ending with the detective "beating out his report (in triplicate or quadruplicate as required by regulations) with two fingers on the squad's ancient typewriter, hoping to finish in time to get a few hours' sleep before his next shift begins" (Dove 250). The famous novelist P. D. James notes that detective fiction narratives are "celebrations of reason and order" (196), and many critics of the genre have even likened the stories to fairy tales because both help satisfy humanity's "yearn for order to be restored […and quest for] achieving at least a measure of justice, though it too is never perfect or complete in this broken world" (Haack). Tristante's novel, however, subverts the part of that paradigm while maintaining allegiance to the second because the novel ends not with Víctor typing up a report of the crimes (the novel is set in 1877, so "typing up" the report would be expected) but with him on vacation on a beach in San Sebastian with his wife—the Arandas' daughter— almost a year later and receiving a telegram from his superiors informing him of his being officially named the youngest police inspector in Spanish history, at which point his wife "congratulates" him with news of her pregnancy. At no point in the novel does Víctor submit a summary report to his superiors—neither in oral nor written form—although the novel certainly has a "fairy tale" ending.

Like the police procedural, the historical novel is also one of the most popular genres of fiction; in fact, *The New York Times* in 2019 noted its popularity in an article entitled: "Why Are We Living in a Golden Age of Historical Fiction?" (O'Grady). The novelist Donna Hatch quotes "a recent survey [in which] 80% of avid readers listed historical novels as one of their top three favorite types of books to read," and the historical fiction

author Joyana Peters cites another survey as reporting that "25% of all respondents across the range of all ages read a historical fiction book last year." Perhaps it is no surprise, then, that Jerónimo Tristante would combine the characteristics of the police procedural and the historical novel in his work.

But what are the main characteristics of a historical novel? The Historical Novel Society states, "To be deemed historical […] a novel must have been written at least fifty years after the events described […or] written by someone who was not alive at the time of those events and therefore approaches them only by research" ("Guide"). Such a definition, then, makes a clear distinction between Realist novels of the 19th century and current historical fiction. Both are now read due to their presenting believable and plausible representations of the past, although obviously "fiction" is not *ipso facto* necessarily 100% verifiable. As great a novelist as Benito Pérez Galdós, Leo Tolstoy, or Charles Dickens may have been (to name only three "canonical," 19th-century Realist authors), in accordance with the Historical Novel Society's definition, their works cannot be considered historical fiction even though they do have tremendous importance for anyone wishing to study a certain period.

Two other characteristics of historical fiction are that "[g]etting the facts right is one of the principal jobs of the writer of historical fiction. […One should] avoid gross anachronisms" (Gooden) and "egregious anachronisms are unacceptable" and that the genre's "intention, beyond providing reading pleasure, is to enhance the reader's knowledge of past events, lives, and customs" (Sarricks). The historical author M. K. Tod notes seven elements that "all writers" of historical fiction have to consider in bringing the past to life: character, dialogue, setting, theme, plot, conflict, and world building. Clearly, Tristante uses these as the point of departure for his novel "The Mystery of the Aranda House," and the work presents a fairly faithful presentation of the world of 1877 Madrid: The multitude of authors, philosophers and poets present at the various *tertulias*, speeches, and other meetings throughout the novel were all very much alive and active in the Madrid cultural scene of the day. "Lo que dirán" ("What others will say") and separation of society by class divisions was quite prevalent at the time. The *chotis*, or German polka had been introduced in Spain in the mid 1800s and was still quite the rage in late 1870s Madrid social society ("El Chotis"). Bull-fighting was already a controversial topic and legislation was being variously adopted or repealed based on who was in power.[5] Robin-Hood style banditry was, indeed, wide spread throughout the Spanish countryside and traveling alone through the Spanish countryside was somewhat taking your life—and certainly your possessions—in your hands; in fact, stopping such rural crime was a major charge given to the Guardia Civil upon their creation in 1844 ("Historia"). In September 1877, there was, as recorded in the novel, a devastating flood in "many points of Spain […] that had leveled areas as far apart as Guadalajara and Ciudad Real," leaving "more than 100 families homeless" in Madrid alone (Tristante 256), a fact almost casually glossed over in the narrative that was quite devastating in reality. And hypnosis, as represented in the novel, was even more controversial than it is today, then often seen as merely sensationalist exhibitions by magnetic healers and occultists (Graus).

The entire mystery of the Aranda house centers on Spaniards who had gone to the Americas to seek their fortune and who later returned to Spain, an actual sociological phenomenon that was changing not only Spain, but a number of countries across Europe: In the decade of the 1830s, European emigration adopted the characteristics of a phenomenon of the masses (Livi Bacci 2012). The great transoceanic stampede of

> Europeans can be considered as the beginning of a habitual migration. In those 50 years [of mid 19th-century], there was a displacement of more than eight million people across countries. In this first period, the migratory casuistry was promoted primarily by a decrease in the productivity of agricultural lands and the modernization of the agrarian society. […] The future was on the other side of the ocean (Valero Matas et al.)

And although the greater massive migration in Spain actually occurred *after* the events of the novel, certainly the social implications of such were already being anticipated in 1877. In fact, between

> 1880 and 1935 [… there was] a departure of approximately four million Spaniards […]. The departure […] was of such magnitude that the government, the media, and intellectuals pointed out the depopulation and the problems that Spain would face from the loss of its citizens, especially those of working and reproductive age. […] In the case of Castilla, the population loss varied between 19 and 20% […]. (Valero Matas et al.) Other "slight" modifications of history also are presented in the novel, although certainly none of them rise to the level of "egregious anachronism." Fingerprints, for example, were not recognized as individually distinct until 1880—a discovery of the Scott Henry Faulds (Tredoux)—and applied to the field of criminal investigations for the first time in 1891 in Argentina by Juan Vucetich Kovacevich ("History of Fingerprints").

And although the Spaniard Federico Olóriz was the one to perfect dactyloscopy, he did not propose this change until 1903 (Bertomeu Sánchez). Consequently, while

Víctor Ross's use of such dactyloscopy in his investigations would have been impossible in 1877, such does help to highlight the cultural transformation that was occurring in relation to the importance of the sciences to solving life's issues and the ushering in of the Industrial Revolution to Spain—much later than in the rest of Europe. In fact, the installation of a steam engine in a Barcelona cotton factory in 1832 is widely recognized as the beginning of the Spanish Industrial Revolution ("On the Industrial").

The Spaniard Mathieu Joseph Bonaventure Orfila (1787-1853) was, indeed, an important forensic doctor who is "credited as one of the first people to use a microscope to assess blood and semen stains" ("Mathieu") and is widely revered as the "Father of Toxicology," but he actually lived almost all his adult life in France. It is important to remember, that in 1875, "Krausism, positivism, and the equally original symbiosis named by Adolfo Posada (1860-1944) as kraus-positivism […] are minority trends whose energy mobilizes only the liberal, progressive intellectuals, not the dominant classes of the aristocracy and the upper bourgeoisie" (Lissorgues). Having said such, however, in the novel under study, Víctor Ross does very much move in those circles, as do his superior, the police commissioner, and much of the narrative public at large, all who generally "feed much more on the traditional orders of a structured Catholicism, recognized by Article 11 of the 1876 Constitution: 'The apostolic, holy Roman Catholic religion is that adopted by the state'" (Lissorgues). To read Jerónimo Tristante's "The Mystery of the Aranda House," then is to read the cultural setting of late 19th-century Spain in all its philosophical, scientific, religious, and artistic manifestations.

In conclusion, Jerónimo Tristante's *El misterio de la casa Aranda* adopts, adapts, and subtly distances itself from both the traditional police procedural and the historical novel. Its main character is a police officer employing traditional police investigative techniques based on reason and logic in a novel with a fairy-tale-like ending where the guilty are punished and order returns to the world. At the same time, although the author may take slight liberties with the historical accuracy of the dates of some scientific discoveries and uses in Spain, such are not egregious anachronisms and certainly aid in portraying the cultural ambiance of 1877 Madrid. In short, with *El misterio de la casa Aranda* Jerónimo Tristante has produced a novel, in 2008, that goes beyond the traditional and somewhat formulaic police procedural paradigm, ingeniously modernizing the widely accepted characteristics of that model to create something that both employs that genre as its point of departure while simultaneously offering a well-written, dynamic historical novel that foreshadows a type of crime fiction that is currently coming to maturity on the Spanish national scene—a historical police procedural.

ENDNOTES

1 Take, for example, the late 19th and early 20th century literary movement of naturalism: "In its simplest sense *naturalism* is the application of principles of scientific determinism to literature" ("Naturalism"). Others, such as Koch Harris, have described naturalism as a scientific experiment in a literary petri dish (28).

2 See, for example, Blake (54).

3 See, for example, Landrum (15, 33, 48).

4 Although police procedurals certainly may have more than one plot, the genre paradigm demands that the focus of the novel be on the investigation surrounding one crime or various related crimes, such as multiple murders, directly tied to the one investigation. For more discussion of such, see, for example, Primasita and Ahimsa-Putra.

5 For a more in-depth study of the topic, see Shubert and Sanchis Martínez.

WORKS CITED

Bertomeu Sánchez, José Ramón. "'Proteger al Bueno, perseguir al malo': Federico Olóriz (1855-1912) y la dactiloscopia en España." *Ayer* 111.3 (2018). 195-223. https://www.revistasmarcialpons.es/revistaayer/article/view/proteger-al-bueno-perseguiral-malo-federico-oloriz-1855-1912-y-/1355. Downloaded November 13, 2024.

Blake, Ann. "Deadlier than the Male: Women as Readers and Writers of Crime Fiction." *Law in Context*. Ed. Judith Grbich. 8.2 (1990): 54-69.

Colmeiro, José F. *La novella policiaca Española: Teoría e historia crítica*. Barcelona: Anthropos, 1994.

Dove, George N. *The Police Procedural*. Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1982.

"El Chotis—The Madrid Relative of the Rheinlander and the Bavarian Polka." *Madrid Natural y Artesanal* (January 22, 2021). https://www.madridnatural.es/el-chotis-the-madriderrelatives-of-the-rheinlander-and-the-bavarian-polka/?lang=en&v=d-3dcf429c679. Downloaded November 13, 2024.

Gooden, Philip. "Language and Historical Fiction: An Exploration of Style, Idiom and Anachronism." *Historical Novel Society* (also published in *Historical Novels Review* 63 (February 2013)). https://historicalnovelsociety.org/language-historical-fiction-anexploration-of-style-idiom-anachronism/. Downloaded November 13, 2024.

Graus, Andrea. "Hypnosis Lessons by Stage Magnetizers: Medical and Lay Hypnotists in Spain." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 71.2 (June

20, 2017): 141-56. doi:10.1098/rsnr.2017.0009. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
"Guide: Defining the Historical FictionGenre." *Historical Novel Society*. (2017). https://historicalnovelsociety.org/defining-the-genre-2/#:~:text=To%20be%20deemed%20historical%20(in,approaches%20them%20only%20 by%20research. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
Haack, Denis. "Detective Stories (2): Achieving Justice." *Ransom Fellowship* (April 7, 2017). https://ransomfellowship.org/detective-stories-2-achieving-justice/. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
Hatch, Donna. "Historical Fiction—My Favorite Escape." *DonnaHatch.com* (June 29, 2019). https://donnahatch.com/historical-fiction-my-favorite-escape/. Downloaded November 13, 2024. "Historia." *Guardia Civil* N.d. https://www.guardiacivil.es/es/institucional/Conocenos/historiaguacivil/index.html. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
"History of Fingerprints." *Crime Scene Forensics, LLC*. (2018). https://www.crimesceneforensics.com/History_of_Fingerprints.html. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
James, P. D. *Talking About Detective Fiction*. New York and Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009.
Koch Harris, Christine Elizabeth. *Liminality in Gender, Race, and Nation in Les Quarteronnes de la Nouvelle-Orléans by Sidonie de la Houssaye*. PhD Diss, Louisiana State University, 2006.
Landrum, Larry. *American Mystery and Detective Novels: A Reference Guide*. Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1999.
Lissorgues, Yvan. "Filosofía idealista y krausismo. Positivismo y debate sobre la ciencia." *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. (N.d.). https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obravisor/filosofia-idealista-y-krausismo-positivismo-y-debate-sobre-laciencia/html/01faafb6-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_2.html. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
"Mathieu Joseph Bonaventurre Orfila (1787-1853)." *National Library of Medicine*. (December 3, 2014). https://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/visibleproofs/galleries/biographies/orfila.html. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
Molinaro, Nina L. "Writing the Wrong Rites?" Rape and Women's Detective Fiction in Spain." *Letras Femeninas* 28.1 (2002): 100-17.
"Naturalism." *A Handbook to Literature*. C. Hugh Holman and William Harmon, eds. 6th edition. New York: Macmillan, 1992.
Navajas, Gonzalo. "Modernismo, posmodernismo y novell policíaca: *El aire de un crimen*, de Juan Benet." *Monographic Review/Revista Monográfica* 3.1-2 (1987): 221-30.
O'Grady, Megan. "Why Are We Living in a Golden Age of Historical Fiction?" *New York Times* (May 7 2019). https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/07/t-magazine/historical-fictionbooks.html. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
"On the Industrial History of Spain." *European Route of Industrial Heritage: Council of Europe*. (N.d.). https://www.erih.net/how-it-started/industrial-history-of-european-countries/spain. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
Peters, Joyana. "The History of Historical Fiction & Why Its Popular." *JoyanaPeters.com*. (August 31, 2024). https://joyanapeters.com/explore-the-history-of-historical-fiction/. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
Primasita, Fitria Akhmerti and Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra. "An Introduction to the Police Procedural: A Subgenre of the Detective Genre." *Humaniora* 31.1 (2019): 33-40.
"Reseña: *La* última *noche de Víctor Ros* de Jerónimo Tristante." *Olé Libros* June 2018. https://olelibros.com/resena-la-ultima-noche-de-victor-ros-de-jeronimo-tristante/. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
Sarricks, Joyce. "Writers & Readers: Historical Fiction—Rules of the Genre." *Oregon State University* (April 10, 2003). https://web.cocc.edu/cagatucci/classes/eng339/Intro/Sarricks.htm. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
Shubert, Adrian and Marina Sanchis Martínez. "En la vanguardia del ocio mercantilizado de masas: la corrida de toros en España, siglos xviii y xix." *Historia Social* 41 (2001). 113-26.
Thompson-Casado, Kathleen. "Petra Delicado: A Suitable Detective for a Feminist?" *Letras Femeninas* 28.1 (2002): 71-83.
Tod, M. K. "7 Elements of Historical Fiction. *AWriterofHistory.com* (March 24, 2015). https://awriterofhistory.com/2015/03/24/7-elements-of-historical-fiction/. DownloadedNovember 13, 2024.
Tredoux, Gavan. "Henry Faulds: The Invention of a Fingerprinter." *FrancisGalton.Org* (December 2003). https://galton.org/fingerprints/faulds.htm. Downloaded November 13, 2024.
Tristante, Jerónimo. *El mistero de la casa Aranda*. 1st ed. Sevilla: Algaida Editores, 2023. Valero Matas, Jesús A., Juan José Mediavilla, Irene Valero Oteo, y Juan R. Coca. "El pasado vuelve a marcar el presente: la emigración Española." *Papeles de población* 21.83 (2015). http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1405-

The Newly Discovered Correspondence of Isabella de' Medici and her Political Role in Renaissance Europe

Giovanna Potenza
University of Naples, Italy, "Federico II"

If it is true that in the glorious history of the Medici dynasty of Florence women have rarely played important political roles, it is also true that Isabella de' Medici (1542-76), favorite daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo I and Eleonora of Toledo, was certainly a brilliant exception to this rule.

Isabella was one of the most cultured women of her time: she was able to converse in Spanish and French; she knew Latin and Greek; she was a talented musician and composed madrigals.[1] At the age of 14, she had been married to Paolo Giordano Orsini of Aragona, first Duke of Bracciano, scion of a powerful Roman family related to the pope, with the intent of strengthening the ancient connection between the Medici and the Orsini families. The religious ceremony was privately performed three years later, on January 28, 1556, shortly before Paolo Giordano left for one of several military campaigns in support of the pope. Although Orsini had made important renovation in his castle to make it a comfortable house, after Pope Pio IV instituted the Duchy of Bracciano, the couple, at the insistence of Cosimo I,[2] kept living in Florence, in Palazzo Medici in Via Larga (today's Via Cavour).[3]

For a decade (1565-1575), Isabella was a prominent figure in the Medici diplomacy and her role was acknowledged also by other European courts. Two official events sanctioned her importance: the wedding of her brother Francesco to Giovanna of Austria, and the papal investiture of Cosimo I as Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1570. On this last occasion, the papal Master of Ceremonies granted the Duchess the solemn entrance after her father, a privilege previous only reserved to her mother.

Intelligent, witty, brilliant, involved in the artistic trends of contemporary Florence, the Duchess was the center of a vivacious cultural salon, whose members were literary men, poets, musicians and aristocrats. Her contemporaries depicted her as Caterina of Alexandria and compared her to the goddess Athena. In the numerous literary works dedicated to her, we can still feel the genuine admiration of the writers, well beyond the wish to capture her benevolence.

To re-establish the historical truth and acknowledge Isabella's real political role, it is greatly relevant to examine her numerous letters, recently published and kept at the Capitoline Archive in Rome. The Duchess' correspondence can be divided into three sections: the first one, the most substantial, includes missives to her husband, 548 of them, written between 1556 and 1576; the second one consists of missives to her family, mostly to and from her brothers; the third one contains missives to important figures of her time, showing the width of her network and her considerable role in the politics of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and of the Papal State in the middle of the 16th century.

Among her illustrious correspondents we find Giovanna of Austria (daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand of Augsburg and wife of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Francesco de' Medici), Margaret of Savoy, Elizabeth of Augsburg, Don Juan of Austria, Francesco Orsini, Madgalena Lamberg of the Earldom of Blagaj. Royals wrote to her too: Caterina de' Medici, Queen of France; Henry III of Valois, King of France; Catherine of Augsburg, Queen of Poland, to name just a few.

In addition, Isabella also corresponded with less famous, but historically important, people, for example Vittorio Cappello, brother of Bianca, the future second Grand Duchess of Tuscany, or Ridolfo Conegrani, ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara in Florence. She also wrote to minor figures of her time, who often asked for her *patronage*. With few exceptions, all her letters are signed, which makes her correspondence of special historical interest and shows the Duchess' prestige and diplomatic skills.

The analysis of her letter exchange with Paolo Orsini enlightens us on the relationship between the two spouses and offers a psychological interpretation of Isabella's murderer. The husband that the Grand Duke of Tuscany had chosen for his daughter was the nephew of two popes and lord of a small but rich Duchy. For Cosimo de' Medici, the marriage of his favorite daughter should guarantee both privileged relationships with the Roman court and political support from a State that occupied a strategic position in the heart of Italy. There was no room for feelings in the combined marriages among powerful families in the last centuries.[3]

The letters to Isabella start in January 1556, when the fifteen-year-old Paolo is called to Rome by Pope Paul IV to fight with the French in defense of the city against the Imperial army. During the years of their marriage, the Duke always alternated short periods of residence in Florence with long military campaigns and visits to the Duchy of Bracciano, to fulfill his duties there as Duke.

As hinted earlier, Paolo would have preferred to live in Bracciano with Isabella but, bending to the will of the Medici family, the couple never moved. Therefore, the two spouses were often apart and wrote to each other frequently, about twice a week.

Although an efficient postal system connected Rome and Florence, the couple preferred to entrust their mail to trustworthy people. It is often difficult for the historian to put the facts in context, because the fear of revealing names or other information forced the two to use short, obscure hints. Many sheets are still today blackened by the fire of the candles used to reveal words written with lemon juice or other means, and that leads us to understand that their letters were especially sought after for their possible sensitive data and references.

To freely express their feelings seemed to be what the couple was not afraid of doing and, contrary to expectations, we can still perceive a deep affection between them, at least at the beginning of their relationship. We often find reciprocal reproaches for not answering sooner and Orsini often tries to get closer to the woman he loves by abandoning the "Vostra Signoria" (Your Lordship) in favor of "musino mio caro" (my dear pretty face). The letters of the two teenages betrothed reveal a reciprocal passion. Isabella is jealous of her future husband and demands repeated confirmation of his love.

Through the years the couple continued to fill the time of the absences with a dense correspondence, where the initial affection and tenderness slowly combined with a strong complicity with the arrival of the children, and eventually grew into incomprehension with the rise of serious political and economic problems in the Duchy of Bracciano. In the letter number 173, from August 1565, Isabella writes:

> Illustrious and excellent lord husband and careful master… I am doing what you bid me to do and write immediately post haste, because there is nothing I wish more than to serve you. Here it is so hot that it has become unbearable. I adore you and, without you, I feel dead. But please love me, I kiss your hands. May the Lord give you all that you wish. From Donna Isabella Medici Orsina, servant and wife of your illustrious Excellence, who adores you and who slept alone in her large bed.[4]

Isabella's writing is clear and calm, and her letters reveal a complex woman, with a strong personality, honest, ironic and practical. She knew, like all the young princesses of her time, that her role demanded her to mix qualities such as beauty, elegance, fertility and education of the children with virtues like courage, strength of character, political intelligence and the ability to cooperate with her husband in the shadows.

However, the relationship with Paolo Giordano Orsini, born as a political alliance and not deprived of tenderness, slowly transformed into reciprocal tolerance, although this feeling was carefully hidden behind a formal affection, for the benefit of the court secretaries who would read the letters before their legitimate addressees. Both spouses, after all, had other relationships: the grand-ducal court knew about the *liaison* of Isabella with Troilo Orsini as well as about Paolo Giordano's interest in the Roman prostitutes[5] and – during Isabella's last years – about his intense passion for the woman who would become his second wife, Vittoria Accoramboni.[6]

Isabella tried to obtain military assignments and the best armies for her husband; she established relationships that were important for his career; she also followed his several legal controversies. However, she also criticized his volte-face towards Philip II in order to go to the French side. In her letter number 200 of October 12, 1566, she wrote:

> It seems very strange to me that you want to leave what is certain in favor of the uncertain and that you want to show the world that you have a fickle brain…because neither Philip nor the King of France will ever trust you again. Therefore I beseech you, think carefully, because these are matters about which one has to reason for a very long time before acting.[7]

Starting in 1566 Isabella, endowed with a sharp political intelligence, that had been refined at the Florentine court and that was hard to suppress behind the mask of the devoted wife, abandoned the tone of the submissive spouse and openly criticized the actions of Paolo Orsini, whose fragility, political naivete and weakness she saw clearly.

The Duchess, who had never wished to leave Florence to bury herself in the small Duchy of her husband, had not only cultural but also political ambitions in her native city. Such ambitions became more evident in her last years, when she grew more and more self-confident, more and more often evading the schemes and the conventions of her time and defying the strict code of behavior that imposed to the aristocracy to never show emotions. With her extrovert character, she instead rejected obligations and simulations: for example, she openly cried in public for the almost simultaneous deaths of her mother and her brothers Giovanni and Garzia; she also fainted in front of everyone in the church at the funeral of her brother Giovanni, scandalizing the Florentine aristocracy of the time.

Paolo Giordano Orsini, on the other hand, would never abandon his military education and lifestyle. In an attempt to keep a stubborn political autonomy, moreover, he lost his battle against the unscrupulous power games

of Renaissance Italy. The distance between him and Isabella widened, with an increase of misunderstanding that would eventually lead to tragic events. In a letter of May 1575, Isabella brusquely replied to her husband's accusation of neglecting him in favor of State matters, saying: "I have no State to govern…My brother takes good care of his States without my help."[8]

As mentioned before, Isabella de' Medici kept a dense network of correspondence for her whole life, also with her family members. She was, in fact, the only surviving woman of the Medici family, guarantor of the familiar cohesion, referee of the "team game" of her dynasty, and supporter of the old Cosimo, who never recovered from the loss of his beloved Eleonora of Toledo. Her correspondence with her brothers Piero and Ferdinando, a cardinal, show how they tried to discredit and vilify Paolo Giordano Orsini, while acknowledging Isabella's importance in the family and political dynamics of the Grand Duchy. They asked for her advice and showed an admiration rarely shown for the women of the time.

The exchange of letters between Isabella and the wives of princes, as well as the men in power of her time offer once again important clues about the Duchess' diplomatic relationships and her influence over the figures who actually governed the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, namely first her father and then her brother. Isabella's letters to Don Giovanni of Austria aimed at helping her husband find a military assignment (letter of March 4, 1574), but her missive to the Prior of Castiglia, don Fernando Alvares of Toledo, sent one month after the Imperial confirmation of Francesco de' Medici's title of Grand Duke, in February 1576, has a different tone. The Prior had contributed to the confirmation and the Duchess had found the right channel to intercede for her brother with Philip II, who had to give his assent to the new title too.[9]

Isabella's position and diplomatic skills allowed her to participate in the dense web of relationships connecting the wives of the sovereigns, in a continuous exchange of favors and secret alliances flourishing outside the official channels. We have an interesting example of this in the letters sent to Isabella by Marguerite of Valois, the cultured Duchess of Berry, daughter of the French King Frances I and wife to Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy. In a missive Marguerite asks for protection for a favorite of hers; in another she asks for Cosimo's opinion.[10]

Some letters are unfortunately lost, but from the moved and affectionate reply of the French Queen Caterina de' Medici, we gather that the monarch had asked her "bonne cousine Isabella" some important advice about delicate matters. Caterina is also thankful "for the help given to the affairs of my son the king" (letters 601-602 of May 29 and December 8, 1574).[11] The queen's letter presumably refers to the loan granted to the French king by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Francesco, a loan supported by Isabella.

Even these few examples prove that the "Medici star"—as Isabella is remembered by posterity—was at the center of a network of favor exchanging and alliances making that represented a diplomatic channel "parallel" to, but not less important than, the official one. Courageous, of modern views, Isabella also used the prestige of her position to protect and save some personages disliked by the Inquisition and had a sincere friendship with the Venetian Bianca Cappello, the controversial second wife of her brother Francesco, defying the hostility of the Medici court.

Isabella also had an important role in female patronage, protecting or encouraging women's careers. It is not by chance that Maddalena Mezari, called la Casulana, famous madrigalist, and the first woman in history to publish her compositions, dedicated to Isabella the *First Book of Madrigal in Four Voices* (published in Venice in 1568). The dedication opens with Isabella asserting the role of women in the professional field: "I want to show the world the stupid mistake of men, who so believe themselves the only masters of the high gifts if intellect, that they don't think these gifts can be in common with women."[12]

The light of the "star" of the Medici house was turned off suddenly and violently on July 16, 1576,[13] proving how difficult it was to be a woman of power in the male universe of the Renaissance. Isabella's assassination[14]—caused either by her adulterine affair with Troilo Orsini or by Paolo Giordano's wish to get rid of his inconvenient wife and remarry—had a wide echo all over Europe both for the celebrity of the victim and for the dramatic circumstances of her death, contributing towards making her the protagonist of a long literary and historiographic tradition between 1600 and 1800.

In *The White Devil*, the famous tragedy by the English playwright John Webster (c. 1578 – c. 1632) staged in London in 1611, the Duchess dies while kissing the poisoned portrait of her husband. In his *Storia d'Italia* (History of Italy, 1824), Carlo Botta (1766–1837) was instrumental in bringing about the nineteenth-century 'black' legend of Isabella de' Medici, describing her as the incarnation of the ambiguity of evil, at the same time victim and executioner, innocent and perverse. The Italian historian inspired the French writer Alexander Dumas (1802-1870), who imagined an incestuous relationship between Cosimo and his daughter in his book *I Medici: Splendore e Segreti di una Dinastia senza pari* (The Medicis: Splendour and Secrets of an Unparalleled Dynasty).[15]

Isabella is also the beautiful and perverse protagonist of the famous historical novel by Domenico Guerrazzi

(1804 – 73) entitled *Isabella Orsini, duchessa di Bracciano* (Isabella Orsini, the Duchess of Bracciano), published in 1845, while the painter Domenico Gnoli (1933 – 70) portraits her as the innocent victim of her unfaithful husband.

If art and literature were fascinated by Isabella de' Medici for her cultural eclectism and her diplomatic role in late-Renaissance Florence, her bad reputation was promoted and propagandized by anti-Medici chronicles, by slanderous libels of Florentine exiles and by diplomatic correspondence of powers who were hostile to the pope and the Grand Duchy—all sources of evident political, not historical, matrix.

ENDNOTES

1 At the age of five, she started studying Latin and Greek under Antonio Angeli da Barga and Pier Vittori. Her music teacher was Mattia Rampollini, court musician from 1551 to 1554. At the age of nine, she was defined as "dotta" (learned) by her tutor Mariotto Cecchi who, in a letter to Pier Francesco Riccio, says about her that "she composes Latin verses longer than a Bible" (Treccani, p. 228, my translation).

2 In her letters to her husband, Isabella never expressed the intention of living under his same roof, using as excuses her family's desire to keep her in Florence or her poor health, that prevented her from travelling. After the death of her sisters and mother in 1562, Isabella was the only woman in Cosimo I's family and, being still childless, she was called by her brother Francesco, heir to the throne, to take care of her younger brothers and her father, whose health was rapidly deteriorating.

3 See Isabella de' Medici. La gloriosavita ela finetragica diuna principessa del Rinascimento by Caroline P. Murphy (Milano Il Saggiatore, 2011).

4 Lettere tra Paolo Giordano Orsini e Isabella de' Medici, ed. by Elisabetta Mori (Roma, Gangemi, 2019), p. 303, my translation.

5 Orsini was involved in several tavern riots and accused of violent behavior by some prostitutes. The trial papers are in the Vatican archives. See Isabella de' Medici. La gloriosa vita e la fine tragica di una principessa del Rinascimento by Caroline P. Murphy (Milano, Galli Thierry, 2011), chapters 1-2.

6 To marry his mistress, Orsini had her husband murdered by paid assassins.

7 Lettere fra Paolo Giordano Orsini e Isabella de' Medici, p. 343, my translation.

8 Lettere tra Paolo Giordano Orsini e Isabella de' Medici, p. 766, my translation.

9 Lettere tra Paolo Giordano Orsini e Isabella de' Medici,p. 908.

10 Lettere tra Paolo Giordano Orsinie Isabella de' Medici,p. 877.

11 Lettere tra Paolo Giordano Orsinie Isabella de' Medici, p. 728, my translation.

12 *Il Primo libro dei Madrigali a Quattro voci* by Maddalena Casulana (Venice, 1568), Introduction, my translation.

13 Isabella was strangled in the Medici villa of Cerreto Guidi.

14 Among the numerous handwritten reports, let's remember: *Tragico fine della s.ra Eleonora di Toledo moglie di Cosimo primo de' Medici e d'Isabella figlia d'ambidue e moglie del sig. Paolo Giordano Orsini e di molti altri cavalieri seguita gli 11 luglio 1576* (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, *Mss*., 2098); *Casi tragici occorsi per lo più in vari tempi nella città di Firenze* (Florence State Archive, *Mss*., 165); *Memorie fiorentine…compilate da Francesco Settimanni, nobile fiorentino e cavaliere di Santo Stefano* (*ibid*., 128).

15 Original title *Les Médicis: Splendeur et secrets d'une dynastie sans pareille*, published in 1845. The Italian edition is edited by Viviana Carpifave, Florence, Clichy, 2018.

WORKS CITED

Casulana, Maddalena. *Il Primo Libro dei Madrigali a Quattro Voci*. Ed. by Girolamo Scotto. Venezia (Italy): 1568.

Dumas, Alexandre. *I Medici: Splendore e segreti di una dinastia senza pari*. Ed. by Viviana Carpifave. Firenze (Italy): Clichy, 2018.

Guerrazzi, Francesco D. *Isabella Orsini, duchessa di Bracciano*. Firenze (Italy): Salano Editore, 1920.

Mori, Elisabetta, editor. *Lettere tra Paolo Giordano Orsini e Isabella de' Medici (1556-1576)*. Roma (Italy): Gangemi Editore, 2019.

Murphy, Caroline P. *Isabella de' Medici. La gloriosa vita e la fine tragica di una principessa del Rinascimento*. Milano (Italy): Il Saggiatore, 2011.

Potenza, Giovanna. "Isabella de' Medici: innocente protagonista della leggenda nera del Rinascimento italiano." *Vanilla Magazine*, January 4, 2020, https://www.vanillamagazine.it/isabella-de-medici-innocente-protagonista-dellaleggenda-nera-del-rinascimento-italiano-2/ (last accessed on November 13, 2024).

Dizionario biografico degli italiani. Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani S.P.A,Vol. 73. Roma (Italy): 2009.

Vannucci, Marcello. *I Medici. Una famiglia al potere.* Roma (Italy): Newton Compton Editori, 1994.

———. *Le donne di casa Medici*. Roma (Italy): Newton Compton Editori 1996.

Music Evoking the Emotional Relationships Between Jewish Prisoners and SS Guards

Alexis Ritterbush
University of Nebraka at Omaha

Music is part of every culture and background; however, it can also explain situations in history. Music affected the emotional relationships in prisoner camps determined by researching Holocaust survivor interviews and scholarly articles. Music was a tool for Nazi guards to feel in control of Jewish prisoners in the camp, while music also tells how the Jewish people felt about their lives there. For this reason, whether the music was used for torture, pleasure, or other significant uses in places around the camp, the emotional relationships are disclosed between the Jewish prisoners and the SS guards that describe the operations happening in Auschwitz.

The SS guards and the Nazi Party would oppress the Jewish people through antisemitic laws and attacks, but another injustice inflicted against the Jews was the banning of their own culture like music. The reasoning behind this ban of Jewish music was to destroy their culture and to create socially acceptable music for everyone who were not Jewish in the new Nazi Regime. This perfect and acceptable music for the Third Reich was called "pure music," while Jewish music was considered "impure music (Neuschwander, 96)." In *Music of the Third Reich,* Delora J. Neuschwander says that he "criteria by which the Reich determined their 'pure' music was based largely on the race of the composer and on the personal ideology of the listener (Neuschwander, 96)." This quote explains that race and personal ideology were the criteria used to choose what was and was not "pure music (Neuschwander, 96)." Given that in the Nazi Regime, Jewish people are considered a race, and because the Nazis persecuted the Jews, Jewish composers and music would be banned (Neuschwander, 96). However, with many totalitarian regimes that control music and have certain styles and characteristics that define their "pure music," music by Jewish composers was forbidden.

The Nazi regime's reformed music was to form a "pure music" movement. Nazis believed that composers like Ludwig Beethoven and Richard Wagner were acceptable in forming ideas to start the "pure music" movement, because they were not Jewish and displayed conservative music styles. Thus, all these composers' music was acceptable because it cultivated the German national musical identity (Neuschwander, 94-96). The music style traits of these composers, which the Nazi party prized in their "pure music" movement, consisted of providing lyrical melodic movement with some short and suggestive parts to create a dramatic effect on the melody. This movement would create a leading motif to direct the attention of the audience (Borroff, 454-459). Their musical dynamics would create music tension would add further dimension to the music (Borroff, 531-533). Harmony, melody, and rhythm in the music would be considered consistent and normal for the orchestra, but if there was a vocal part, it would be a specific melody to fit the poetry or lyrics in the piece (Borroff, 531-533) In some of the romantic music, there were some incorporation of highly chromatic style, no clear key or no resolution in some places. However, most romantic style played in "pure music" was conservative in terms of the earlier music style traits discussed (Potter, 623-630 The "pure music" movement, with those composers and music style traits as its standard, would bring censorship to other music in Germany and would be the type of music played at Auschwitz by the SS guards. The purification of German music would take away the Jewish musical culture and describe what made their music impure or degenerate.

As previously noted, the most obvious reason Jewish music was impure to the Nazis was that it was composed by a Jewish man or women. Jewish music would be banned, which included Yiddish songs and music by Jewish composers from the past to the present like Aaron Schoenberg and Kurt Weill. The music of Jewish composers was inspired by using the style traits of modes like Phrygian and Lydian, which is related to Yiddish and Jewish Religious music and ornamentation. Their added notes decorated the music in the vocal and instrument's melody and rhythm, so people could continue to grow interested in the piece (Nemtsov, 83-85). In addition, Jewish music would utilize the minors and keys unrelated to the original key, which created unique music unlike the use of related keys and circle of fifths structure of Beethoven and early Wagner music. The pieces would create irregular rhythm and misstructured music throughout it. In the 1900 many Jewish music style traits have mixed with the contemporary music seen in Americanized music, plus with a little bit of Jazz like syncopation, improvisation, and Jazz motifs (Nemtsov, 78-89),. These music style traits would include an extreme use of chromaticism and atonal music scale, which would make the tone sound incomplete to the ear. Adding dissonance does not naturally release tension in the music (Nemtsov, 78-89). This music would be freely composed, meaning

no clear structure in the music, and was not conservative in style, which Hitler and his Nazi Party disapproved (Nemtsov, 80-100). Complex chords and syncopation were music style traits that irritated the Nazi Party, because they did not follow conservative music structure. For example, complex chords are not meant to always be resolved by a dominant fifth chord and will have odd notes that create minor thirds or seventh intervals. This works against resolution of a chord, which is supposed to happen in conservative music, so that music sounds completed (Borroff, 659- 663). These two movements would cultivate the music culture in the camp of Auschwitz.

Auschwitz, one of the most infamous camps for the Jewish deaths and forced labor. Auschwitz was fully in operation with forced labor placed on the prisoners who were mostly Jewish prisoners. Eventually, after the success of the first camp built for prisoners, Himmler would order construction of a second camp called Auschwitz-Birkenau, which was also called Auschwitz II in 1941 (Auschwitz, 1). This camp was used to exterminate Jews with two huge main gas chambers, different from the first and separate camp made to house Jews for forced labor. Auschwitz II was located four miles from the original camp. This camp was not the last time the Nazis would build more extensions to the camps to exterminate and oppress the Jewish people. By the end of Auschwitz's operation, there were three main camps and about a dozen subcamps. The experiences of the Jewish oppression seemed endless because their people would suffer daily beatings, forced labor medical experimentation, exhaustion, and death (Auschwitz, 1). However, there were other ways to abuse the Jewish people in the camps. For musicians, it was to play music in numerous ways to benefit their Nazi perpetrators, to play their Nazi "pure music" and disregard their own Jewish compositions.

These emotional relationships evoked by music in the camp would begin with the Jewish prisoners going to the working fields and having a guard demand one of them sing. After the guard would give an order to sing music, the prisoner would begin in a way that would irritate the SS guards. This annoyance was because the Jew singing would not follow the command of the SS guard regarding their need for the music. Feeling irritation, the SS guards would then beat the Jews wildly, after which the Jews began to form feelings of fear. Many survivors have described their experiences from the music used in the working fields and that evoking their beatings as concluding with torture for them from the guards (Brauer, 10-13). In addition the Jewish prisoners would then see the emotion of enthusiasm created from music stimulated guards to beat the Jewish prisoners, a response causing more feelings of fear in the Jewish prisoners.
Thus, the relationship between the Jews and SS guards become even more tense. With music playing an essential part in forming this relationship, it explains the emotions between the guards and prisoners in the working fields (Brauer, 11-13). The prisoners were full of displeasure and fear from the sound of the music that first wakes and then forces them to sing to and be beaten. This conditions them to respond with an emotional relationship full of fear and displeasure between the SS Guards, creating an abusive relationship (Brauer, 13). This musical experience would also explain the emotional relationship shared between all Jewish prisoners. Due to the need for music, they experienced the same emotions of fear and displeasure, whether in the working fields, forced singing or beatings from the SS guards. Thus, this emotional relationship would create a wretched relationship between the prisoners against the guards. This would not be the last time that negative emotions would be felt in prisoners' relationships with the guards. Music was the key to evoking again in these feelings, but the setting and circumstances would be different.

The next setting of music was in the gas chambers and crematoria, where the SS guards would have a mixture of feelings of apathy and curiosity, while the Jewish prisoner's fear, security, and grief created an odd emotionally dependent relationship with these groups of individuals (Fackler, 67). In the gas chambers, the SS guards would show apathy and curiosity because they would be doing their daily duties to kill and punish prisoners they did not like or care about. However, the Jewish prisoners would feel a mix of fear and security because they were scared, they were going to be gassed, but secure because the SS guards were in the chamber with them. In the testimony of Henry Meyer, a Holocaust Auschwitz Survivor, he explains this odd emotional relationship in the gas chambers. He describes that this brutal SS Guard, who loved music, would wake the band on Sunday to play in the crematoria and the gas chambers. He goes on, after the interviewer asks him to elaborate on playing music in the gas chambers and how he felt about the experience. He pauses and explains that one of the soldiers would ask him and the band as they were about to play, if they were afraid they were going to be gassed in the chamber, and he says "yes." However, he and the band would feel secure when going into the crematoria and the gas chambers because the SS guards were there too. With the guards also being in the chamber, it meant that the chamber would not be gassed because the SS would not gas their own guards (Meyer, 1995). This testimony about music-related labor with the band confirms that the Jewish people would feel the emotions of fear, but also some feelings of security when playing music in the gas chambers. The testimony also showed that SS guards displayed curiosity about the reactions of the Jewish players and the apathy of the music played there. With

these emotions the guards would add a layer of apathy and curiosity feelings to the emotional relationships with the Jewish prisoners, showing that the guards have no feelings for the Jewish prisoners. Because they did not care about the prisoners on a personal level, but was still curious about the Jewish musicians' feelings, they did not need to act against them. With these feelings among the guards, the Jewish people would respond to this emotional relationship with fear and a sense of security. This emotional relationship would force the Jewish inmates to be very dependent on emotional security in their relationship with the SS guards. Would they be punished for their use of music? After playing the music, however, there was another emotion the Jewish prisoners experienced that added yet another layer to this emotional relationship with the SS guards in the gas chambers.

In *Music in Concentration Camps 1933–1945*, it says, "Finally, in the extermination camps, particularly Birkenau, the prisoner orchestras performed their most inhuman activity – an activity that caused some surviving musicians to experience feelings of guilt and depression for the rest of their lives (Fackler, 68)." The quote explains that in the extermination camps at Auschwitz, the Jewish prisoner musicians would have feelings of guilt and depression playing there (Fackler, 68). Music played in the gas chambers and crematoria as the gassing was happening was meant to mock and emotionally damage Jewish prisoners. The mixture of guilt and depression occurred because they were playing "pure music," and were therefore forced to be a bystander to the deaths of their fellow Jewish prisoners (Fackler, 68). Their responses from the "pure music" would create emotional relationships based on sadness. With the sadness, the Jewish people would learn that the emotional relationship with the guards is based on the SS guards using music as a tool to "destroy" their friends and family members, and in the end still be able to kill them. This circumstance created an odd relationship where the Jews might feel secure, but also sad and fearful, because the guards could both protect and destroy them. These feelings would continue in other settings like the private camp performances, furthering the conditioned emotional relationships between prisoners and guards.

Because of the official performance orchestras, Jewish prisoners would play to entertain the guards in a more controlled environment for the most part. The music is chosen beforehand, the high-ranking SS officials wishing for more classical "pure music," while lower SS officials would choose light music for activities like drinking sessions, orgies, and other feasts (Brauer, 17-18).There were numerous parts in entertaining the guards that used the music to bring forth the Jewish prisoners and the SS guards' different forms of emotional relationships. The first part was choosing the musicians in the band. In the testimony of Louis Bannet, he describes how SS guards would demand the Jewish prisoners to play an instrument. In Bannet's case he would play the trombone, after the SS guard demanded him to play it for his life. Bannet did not know what this meant, so the guard repeated "you play for your life." Bannet had issues with playing the trombone because his lips were cold from the weather, and it affected his breathing to play popular Nazi tunes on his instrument. The guard grew frustrated by Bannet's ineffective playing, so they would demand that he and his fellow prisoners in the band leave the room. Bannet would explain his frustration with the experience because he complained that the Nazi guards wanted them to play the music faster. This would insult the guards with them saying that he had no sense of music and had about as much music sense as a styrofoam cup (Bannet, 1989). Through this testimony, the activity of entertaining guards became a mutual emotional relationship for both the Jewish prisoners and the guards. Through music, both groups shared the similar emotional feeling of anger. The guard was angry with his lack of enjoyment in listening to favorite popular German song where he felt prideful of his nation. The Jewish prisoner was also frustrated by the guard's command to play music that he disliked, because it was playing a German "pure music" tune. This experience highlights that despite the other emotional relationships that are full of fear and sadness, there is one emotion that the bonds the relationship between the SS Guards and the Jewish inmates: the fervor of anger.

However, there was another experience when the Jewish prisoners would play for the SS Guards with a different emotional relationship full of security, grief, frustration, and happiness. In the testimony of Henry Meyer, he describes where he would play the violin in the orchestra to entertain for the SS Guards. He begins with context that the musicians would know the favorites of certain SS "Characters." They would ask the orchestra to play these tunes anytime and would enter the room to hear the Jewish prisoners play. One guy from Berlin loved the popular tune Berliner Luft (Air of Berlin), the song describing the Berlin Air with a bouncy, march-like, joyful sound. So, anytime this guy came into the barrack or tent, the conductor would stop the band, and they would begin playing Berliner Luft. One time, however, they played the song as the guy came in, and the conductor and band did not realize that the special commander, who was in charge of the crematoria, was leaving the tent. In response to Berliner Luft playing, the guy became furious and forced Henry and the band to put their instruments away. Afterwards, the Berlin SS guy and other SS guards pushed some of musicians into the mud because it was raining. This killed two of the musicians, which was not completely unusual because after they play a least one of the musicians would typi-

cally not survive the performance. Meyer ends his story by saying that the conductor asked the SS guy why he got mad, and he responded that playing the song was not appropriate to the special commander leaving (Meyer, 1995). This testimony explains that the emotional relationship between the guards and prisoners by playing popular music was not always anger, but feelings of safety. If the musicians knew the favorite songs of the SS Guards, then they might not get hurt or killed if they played that song. However, these feelings of security would shatter into grief and frustration in the emotional relationship between these two groups. The guards would be frustrated by the music and kill the musicians, which would make the surviving musicians feel grief. Even though the frustration of the SS guards was evoked by music, the beginning of the testimony would show signs of a happiness and pleasure relationship because the Jews were playing music. These signs created a new emotional relationship between the guards and the prisoners, one of pleasure not by causing them harm, but by listening to their favorite tunes. Many SS guards probably felt a pleasure relationship with the Jews at seeing them being humiliated by having to play German music, not their own (Brauer, 17-20). These testimonies, with music the crucial factor, help us understand how these private sessions with the SS guards created emotional relationships. Both the Jews and the Nazi guards were full of feelings of false security, grief, anger, and happiness. Emotional relationships between the guards and Jews explain how the Jewish prisoners were dependent on the SS guards' emotions. Music played by the Jews shifted the emotions of guards, therefore creating a dependent, pliant relationship. Around the SS guards, the Jewish prisoners would play the German music and have their emotional responses to it, but they also had moments of playing their own music in their block-performances.

Jewish prisoners would be able to play without any demand from the SS guards in their own barracks. When SS guards had withdrawn from the camp, prisoners might play music together. These block performances were cultural performances that related to the Jewish prisoner's cultural group (Fackler, 75). For example, if a Jewish prisoner was from Czechoslovakia or Austria, the cultural performance would be reciting or singing songs from that nation. These block performances would be short, but they would bring joyful emotional relationships for the Jewish prisoners. However, as previously discussed, emotionally driven relationships would return once the guards became annoyed with the Jews by playing their own music in the barracks. Thus any joyful relationship was definitely in the testimony of Yehudah Baḳon, a Czech Jewish Holocaust Survivor, he describes these block performances. He begins by saying that he and a couple of musicians will perform at the children's block, camp 31. He and others would be divided into little groups, where they would recite all kinds of Czech songs. The children, he, and the band enjoyed that time together, because as Bakon was telling the story, he had a joyful look on his face. He describes one song they would sing called "Dona Nobis Pacem," which he sings happily with a smile on his face. The interviewer would ask if the Germans allowed it, and he responded that they did not care because they believed that they would die anyway, so why waste time worrying about them. However, at the end of his testimony, he explains that he and the children would sometimes perform this song for the SS soldiers, and they would enjoy it. However, if they did not like it, they would blow a whistle to stop the performance (Bakon, 1996). This testimony supports that music evoked joyful relationships for the Jews between their fellow inmates and the guards, because they could at times play their music in front of the guards. This performance created a shared emotional relationship with a feeling of relative joy and content between the guards and prisoners. However, the second half of the testimony would also discuss apathetic and angry relationships between the guards and Jews. The guards felt apathetic relationships towards the Jews because no matter what music they sang, the Jews were going to eventually die in the camp, and it did not bother them at the moment.

However, as previously discussed, anger from emotionally driven relationships would return once the guards became annoyed with the Jews by playing their own music in the barrack. Thus, any joyful relationship was definitely conditional. Although these block performances were planned music sessions for the Jews only, prisoners would also be forced to play elsewhere around the camp, but each place tells the story of music contributing to disclosing the emotional relationships between SS guards and Jews in the camp.

Whether the music was used for torture, pleasure, or other uses in numerous settings, the emotional responses disclose tell the relationships between the individual prisoners and the SS guards, and how these relationships helped describe the operation of the camp of Auschwitz. These emotional relationships disclosed by music will help people understand the emotions that the Jewish and the SS Guards faced in the camp, which might lead people to have more empathy for the Jews in the Holocaust. But leading scholars look at other places like music history to find historical knowledge to understand parts or people in history.

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bakon, Yehudah. *The Virtual History Archive.* By Ravon Yael. USC Shoah Foundation, 1996.

Bannet, Louis. *The Virtual History Archive*. By Toby Blum-Dobkin. USC Shoah Foundation, 1989.
Lennon, Yvette. *The Virtual History Archive.* By Jay B. Straus. USC Shoah Foundation, 1995.
Meyer, Henry. *The Virtual History Archive.* By Susan Harkavy. USC Shoah Foundation, 1995.

SECONDARY SOURCES

"Aaron Schoenberg." Music and the Holocaust Online, 2024. Accessed May 6, 2024. https://holocaustmusic.ort.org/resistance-and-exile/schoenberg-arnold/.
"Auschwitz." Holocaust.cz. 2011, Accessed May 6, 2024. https://www.holocaust.cz/en/history/concentration-camps-andghettos/auschwitz/.
"Auschwitz." Music and the Holocaust Online. 2024, Accessed May 6, 2024, https://holocaustmusic.ort.org/places/camps/death-camps/auschwitz/
Bicknell, Jeanette. "Explaining Strong Emotional Response to Music: Society and Intimacy." Imprint Academic (2005): 1-42.
Borroff, Edith. *Music in Europe and the United States.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1971.
Bradford, Ashley. *Through the Eyes of Children: Social Oppression Under Nazi Rule from 1933 to 1938 Reflections of Three Holocaust Survivors. The Gettysburg Historical Journal* 17, no.6 (2018): 1-33.
Brauer, Juliane. *How Can Music Be Torturous?*: *Music in Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps. Music and Politics* 7, no.2 (2016): 1-14. Accessed April 17, 2024, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mp/9460447.0010.103/--howcan-music-be-torturous-music-in-naziconcentration?rgn=main;view=fulltext#N1
"Composers in Exile." Music and the Holocaust Online. 2024. Accessed May 6, 2024. https://holocaustmusic.ort.org/resistance-and-exile/composers-in-exile/
Fackler, Guido. *Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1845. Music and Politics* 1 (2007): 60-83. Accessed May 6, 2024. https://journals.openedition.org/temoigner/5732.
Geva, Agi. "Opera in Auschwitz." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. October 19, 2008. Accessed May 6, 2024.
https://www.ushmm.org/remember/holocaust-reflections-testimonies/echoesof-memory/opera-in-auschwitz
Kingston, Robert. "Erich Wolfgang Korngold." The Orel Foundation. 2024. Accessed May 6, 2024. http://orelfoundation.org/composers/article/erich_wolfgang_korngold
Nemtsov, Jascha, Schröder-Nauenburg, Beate, and Bell, Dean. "Music in the Inferno of the Nazi Terror: Jewish Composers in the "Third Reich." *Shofar* 18, no.4 (2000):79-100. Accessed May 6, 2024. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42943109?seq=1 Neuschwander, Delora J. *Music in the Third Reich*. *Music Offering* 3, no.2 (2012): 1-18.
"Official Camp Orchestras in Auschwitz." Music and the Holocaust Online. 2024. Accessed May 6, 2024. https://holocaustmusic.ort.org/places/camps/death-camps/auschwitz/camp-orchestras/
Omar, Bwaar. *The Impact of the Third Reich on Famous Composers.* MOSpace Institutional Repository (2020): 1-8.
Potter, Pamela M. *Dismantling a Dystopia: On the Historiography of the Music in the Third Reich. Central European History* 40, no.4 (2007): 623-651. Accessed
"Richard Strauss." Music and the Holocaust Online. 2024. Accessed May 6, 2024 https://holocaustmusic.ort.org/politics-and-propaganda/third-reich/straussrichard/.
Tickler, Carolyn S. *The Effect of Richard Wagner's Music and Belief on Hitler's Ideology. Music Offering* 7, no.2 (2016): 1-14. Accessed May 6, 2024 https://digitalcommons.cedarville.edu/musicalofferings/
Wagner, Gregg. "Kurt Weill." The Orel Foundation. 2024. Accessed May 6, 2024 http://orelfoundation.org/composers/article/kurt_weill

Pavel Korchagin as the Epitome of a Socialist Realist Hero

Brandon Szkutnik
Florida State University

The discussion of Socialist Realism often revolves around the discussion of Maxim Gorky's 1906 novel *Mother.* Often called the prototype of Socialist Realism, this novel introduced concepts and ideas that would later be fully developed into Socialist Realist literature. This paper will examine the development of these ideas within the work of Nikolai Ostrovsky.

HOW THE STEEL WAS TEMPERED

His life and story within the text embody the requirements of a Socialist Realist protagonist, of which are outlined six. Ostrovsky's story furthermore embodies all four principles of Socialist Realism, as defined by Victor Terras. This paper examines how Pavel Korchagin fulfills these requirements and represents the ideal Socialist Realist protagonist and also compares Maxim Gorky's *Mother,* written in 1906, to Ostrovsky's work within the context of both respective works' contributions to the development of Socialist Realism. Though there are notable differences between *Mother* and later SR works, the depiction of its main characters, Nilovna Vlasova and Pavel Vlasov, from workers to revolutionaries would be the prototype for future protagonists.

Socialist Realism, as defined by Victor Terras (1992), consists of four aspects:

1. Partiinost "Partymindedness"—the notion that every artistic act is also a political act, that the source of all knowledge is the party.
2. Ideinost "Idea-mindedness" the "idea" of the artwork should embody the current high priority: party slogan (reconstructing a ruined factory, abolishing drunkenness, building the Moscow metro, destroying the fascist enemy).
3. lassovost, "classmindedness," both acknowledges the social-class origin of art and obliges it to further the struggle of the proletariat. It became less important after 1936, when the new Soviet Constitution declared that the USSR had become a classless society.
4. Narodnost, "people- or folkmindedness," requires art to be accessible and appealing to the masses by drawing on their traditions, language, melodies, rhythms, and values. Because the Soviet Union was a multinational state, narodnost authorized considerable cultural diversity.

These ideas serve as a framework for the development of Socialist Realist literature, however there are several other "requirements" for a SR protagonist.

First, the protagonist must be one who comes from the working class, which ensures that the protagonist is representative of the majority of the population. Second, the Socialist Realist hero must be an extremely dedicated and diligent worker. Their labor is the lifeblood that fuels the revolution, and they must always have a strong sense of work and duty to the party, no matter the job they have. Third, a Socialist Realist hero must also forsake personal love for love of the party, love of the revolution. Love between family members and romantic love is either entirely absent or is rejected in favor of the "higher" call of loving one's party and their duty to it. Fourth, a Socialist Realist protagonist must be heroic and achieve success against the impossible. Regardless of circumstances, the hero will always be victorious against a physical enemy during times of war, or during illness and disease. Fifth, the Socialist Realist hero typically gives up their life for the cause., whether e from a fight against the enemies of the party or an illness. This death is used to "inspire" the masses to be willing to give up their lives for the cause as well. If not killed in battle, illness or unavoidable circumstance kill them in the end. Sixth, the enemy in a Socialist Realist story is intentionally dehumanized. Whether a person or an idea, the antagonist of such a work will almost always be a one-dimensional, cruel, evil, and sometimes cowardly antagonist.

Considering the four pillars of Socialist Realism as defined by Victor Terras and the aspects of a Socialist Realist protagonist, the literary genre of Socialist Realism portrays an inherently "non-realist" portrayal of life. Rather than truthfully portray the actions of its protagonists in a realistic fashion, its intended purpose is to be used as a propaganda tool.

PAVEL KORCHAGIN—FULFILLING THE REQUIREMENTS OF A SOCIALIST REALIST HERO

Ostrovsky's main character, Pavel Korchagin, and his plot throughout the story is largely based on the author's own life and experiences. Many aspects of Pavels character and personality fulfill the specific requirements of the socialist realist hero outlined previously, as well

as aspects of the story that align with the four pillars of Socialist Realism. This section analyzes the character of Pavel Korchagin, and how he fulfills the Socialist Realist character requirements.

Requirement 1—Comes from the Working Class

Pavel comes from the working class, which is established in the very beginning, where from the age of 12, he works at a scullery maintaining the samovars: "Thus began his life of toil. Never had Pavka exerted himself as much as on that first day at work. He realized that this was not home where he could afford to disobey his mother. The cross-eyed waiter had made it quite plain that if he did not do as he was told, he would suffer for it" (Ostrovsky 30). In typical Socialist Realist fashion, Pavel is proud of his status as a worker. Ostrovsky also establishes the clear ideal of only workers as "good" as compared to "non-workers": "Pavel, his first day at work having passed without mishap, hurried home with a sense of having honestly earned his rest." Now he too was a worker, and no one could accuse him of being a parasite" (Ostrovsky 32).

Requirement 2—Hard Worker

From the very beginning of the story, the reader is introduced to Korchagin's unwavering work ethic even from a young age during his time working at the scullery, fulfilling this requirement of a Socialist Realist protagonist: "By now Pavel was receiving ten rubles instead of eight. He had grown taller and broader in these two years, and many were the trials that fell to his lot… Pavel's fiery temper would have lost him the job long since had it not been for his tremendous capacity for hard work. For he could work harder than anyone else and he never seemed to get tired" (Ostrovsky 36). This establishes Korchagin's work ethic that will continue to be an aspect of his character throughout the remainder of his life, including his job at the powerplant, his service in the Red Army, and his job at the Cheka. Even towards the end of his life and despite his illnesses, he insists on working. "I am going to insist on being sent back to work. The doctors have written all sorts of nonsense about me and the comrades are trying to make me cure myself endlessly" (Ostrovsky 591).

Requirement 3—Forsaking Personal Love for Love of the Party

Korchagin's love for the party largely supplants both his love for his family, particularly his mother, and romantic love. Upon returning home, he leaves almost immediately again to fight, at the disapproval of his mother: "You boys never tell your old mother anything. Artem went and got married without a word to me, and you're worse than him in that respect. I only see you when you get yourself crippled…" (Ostrovsky 403). Similarly, Korchagin forsakes any romantic love, finding his love for Tonya has diminished upon reuniting with her: "Tonya, we have gone over this before. You know, of course, that I loved you, and even now my love might return, but for that you must be with us… For I shall always put the Party first, and you and my other loved ones second" (Ostrovsky 300).

Requirement 4—Heroism and Success in Impossible Odds

Korchagin's heroism in his early life, in war, and in his later life fulfill this requirement. During the German occupation of Shepetovka, a young Korchagin attacks a soldier who was transporting Zhukhrai, saving him from arrest. "When the yellow-moustached soldier came abreast of him, Pavel made a sudden lunge at him, and seizing hold of the rifle struck the barrel down. The bayonet hit a stone with a grating sound. The attack caught the soldier unawares, and for a moment he was dumbfounded" (Ostrosvky 154-155).

Later on, during the Polish-Soviet War, Korchagin is commended for his bravery and wounded in battle multiple times:

> For a year now Pavel Korchagin had travelled up and down his native land, riding on machine-gun carriages and gun caissons or astride a small grey mare with a nick in her ear. He was a grown man now, matured and hardened by suffering and privation… the indomitable determination to fight for the power of their class, he had marched over the length and breadth of his native land and only twice had the storm swept on without him the first time when he was wounded in the hip, and the second, when in the bitterly cold in February of 1920 he sweltered in the sticky heat of typhus" (Ostrovsky 257-258).

In his civilian life, Korchagin helps his companion Anna during a robbery: "Korchagin staggered back and began to run sideways keeping his eyes on his assailant. The ruffian, seeing that the youngster was still afraid that he would shoot, turned and made for the ruined house. Korchagin's hand flew to his pocket. If only he could be quick enough! He swung round, thrust his left hand forward, took swift aim and fired" (Ostrovsky 454).

Furthermore, the wounds that Korchagin sustains during these exploits, he is able to recover from, no matter how dire the situation seems: "For the fourth time he crossed the borderline of death and came back to life. It was a whole month, however, before he was able to rise from his bed. Gaunt and pale, he tottered feebly across the room on his shaky legs, clinging to the wall for support" (Ostrovsky 396).

Requirement 5—Giving their Life for the Cause

This is the only requirement that Korchagin does not fulfill within the story. Despite this absence, and with the context of Ostrovsky's life (which heavily mirrors Korchagin's), he does continue to work until the end of his "life" in terms of his ability to do physical work. Struck blind and with a debilitating disease, Korchagin is bed bound, though despite this, finds a way to continue working, repeating to himself the following phrase: "Have you done everything you can to break out of the steel trap and return to the ranks, to make your life useful?" (Ostrovsky 635). Korchagin continues his work by writing a memoir about his time in the war. Though in the novel, it is not revealed whether he died afterwards, Ostrovsky—who suffered nearly identical circumstances—died the day of this novel's publication (Ostrovsky 4). Thus, despite not dying a death in battle, Ostrovsky and by proxy Korchagin die martyr's deaths, working until the very end.

Requirement 6—Dehumanization of the Enemy

The dehumanization of the enemy can come in two forms; the enemy is depicted as quite literally lacking human features or is portrayed in such a way that highlights negative traits such as cowardice, fear, trepidation, etc. Simon Petlyura, the leader of Ukrainian Cossacks is depicted as the opposite what a military leader should be—brave and inspiring: "There was nothing especially warlike about the figure of Simon Petlyura. As a matter of fact, he did not look like a military man at all… Petlyura delivered a ten-minute speech to the troops. The speech was unconvincing. Petlyura, evidently tired from the road, spoke without enthusiasm" (Ostrovsky 190-191).

The enemy will also often commit violent, often barbaric acts such as rape and murder, as was the case describing the aftermath of Petlyura's occupation in Shepetovka:

> It is hard to tell whether those were the more fortunate who were left to live with souls desolated, in the agony of shame and humiliation, gnawed by in-describable grief, grief for near and dear ones who would never return. Indifferent to all this in the narrow alleys lay the lacerated, tormented, broken bodies of young girls with arms thrown back in convulsive gestures of agony. (Ostrovsky 137)

FOUR PILLARS OF SOCIALIST REALISM

In addition to the protagonist's fulfilling of the previous requirements, the story contains elements that fulfill all four elements of Socialist Realism according to Terras.

Partiinost

By fulfilling the requirements for the Socialist Realist protagonist, all the actions he undertook, challenges he faced, and hardships endured, serve as a political message to the reader—that one must give their life for the cause. Korchagin's "Dearest Possession Speech" towards the end of the novel recapitulates this message to the reader and reaffirms the purpose of SR literature as propaganda:

> Man's dearest possession is life, and it is given to him to live but once. He must live so as to feel no torturing regrets for years without purpose, never know the burning shame of a mean and petty past; so live that, dying, he can say: all my life, all my strength were given to the finest cause in all the world—the fight for the Liberation of Mankind. And one must make use of every moment of life, lest some sudden illness or tragic accident cut it short" (Ostrovsky 402-403).

Ideinost

Korchagin embodies the high priorities of the party at that time, including his resolve to quit smoking: "Pavel announced that he was going to give up smoking, which unhealthy habit he had acquired practically in his childhood" (Ostrovsky 472). In his speech at the Solomenk Hostomotel, he praises the members for stopping lighter production: "I understand that the Solomenka Komsomol has thirty per cent more members than before, and that they've stopped making cigarette lighters in the workshops and yards…" (Ostrovsky 422).

Klassovost

Written before *Klassovost* was de-emphasized and the Soviet Union was declared a "classless society", instances of this theme remain in the novel, such as when Korchagin describes his apprehension of Tonya's upbringing when he first met her: "Pavel had grown up in poverty and want, and he was hostile to anyone whom he considered to be wealthy. And so his feeling for Tonya was tinged with apprehension and misgiving; Tonya was not one of his own crowd, she was not simple and easy to understand like Galina, the stonemason's daughter, for instance" (Ostrovsky 107-108).

Narodnost

Born in Ukraine, Korchagin's Ukrainian roots are a theme, albeit minor, present within the text. His affinity for, and skill with, the accordion is one such instance of appealing to the masses with cultural diversity: "One giant of a fellow, seated on the back of a machine-gun carrier, his cap pushed to the back of his head, was playing an accordion… unbelievably wide red riding breeches who was dancing a mad hopak in the centre of the ring" (Ostrovsky 267-68). This skill even plays a role in Korchagin's request to join a new unit, so that he can continue to fight in combat." Korchagin now rode on the

right flank of one of the squadrons in place of Kulyabko, the lamented accordionist. He had been enrolled in the squadron on the collective request of the men, who had not wanted to part with such an excellent accordion player" (Ostrovsky 272).

Happiness through Labor

An analysis of Korchagin's character would be incomplete without exploring his view on happiness derived from labor. Referring to his "Man's Dearest Possession" speech, Korchagin believes that the greatest happiness a person can achieve is to work for the cause. Even later in his life, while bedbound, Korchagin is given hope with the idea that he can return to work: "You have great happiness in store for you. Comrade Pavel. I firmly believe that your dream of returning to the ranks will soon materialize" (Ostrovsky 632). The pursuit of labor is an element that cannot be understated in understanding Korchagin's mentality. Throughout his entire life in the novel, Korchagin's unwavering desire to work drives him.

COMPARISON TO MAXIM GORKY'S *MOTHER*

Written in 1906, Maxim Gorky's *Mother* can be considered a prototype of Socialist Realist literature. Many of the same ideas and themes present in *How the Steel was Tempered* are also present in *Mother,* though there are some notable differences between the two works.

Similarities

Written in pre-revolutionary Russia, Gorky's *Mother* establishes many of the guidelines and principles that would develop into later SR literature, one of the most notable is the development of the protagonist, Pavel Vlasov. Like Korchagin, Vlasov comes from a poor (proletariat) upbringing and begins working at a very young age: "He worked faithfully, without intermission and without incurring fines. He was taciturn, and his eyes, blue and large like his mother's, looked out discontentedly. He did not buy a gun, nor did he go a-fishing; but he gradually began to avoid the beaten path trodden by all" (Gorky 5). Vlasov, however, becomes a hard worker and a revolutionary, commended for his dedication to work and the socialist cause, despite being arrested and imprisoned. "Everyone ought to help you, for your son is perishing for the public cause. He is a fine chap, your son is! They all say so, every blessed soul of them. And they all pity him" (Gorky 38).

Nilovna Vlasova is Pavel's mother. Initially, she is a timid and apprehensive woman, unsure of her son's revolutionary activities "Pavel remembered that in his father's lifetime [Nilvona] had remained unnoticed in the house… Her heavy body, broken down with long years of toil and the beatings of her husband, moved about noiselessly and inclined to one side, as if she were in constant fear of knocking up against something" (Gorky 4). By the end of the novel, she has grown to fully accept not only Pavel's revolutionary activities but becomes one herself: "Nilovna occasionally procured illegal books, proclamations, and newspapers for her. The distribution of literature, in fact, became the mother's occupation… She was the first to enter into conversations with strangers, fearlessly drawing attention to herself by her kind, sociable talk and the confident manner of an experienced person who has seen and heard much" (Gorky 115). Thus, Nilovna Vlasova's and Pavel Vlasov's conversion into diligent revolutionaries is characteristic of SR protagonists.

Differences

Both Korchagin's and Pavel Vlasov's climactic speeches epitomize the propagandist nature of Socialist Realist literature, though with different intentions. Whereas Korchagin's speech is a call for all people to give their strength and lives to the workers' cause and "continue" the revolution, Vlasov's speech (consistent with the setting of pre-revolutionary Russia) is instead a call on the proletariat to begin the revolution: "Our ideas grow; they flare up ever more dazzling; they seize hold of the mass of the people, organizing them for the war of freedom. The consciousness of their great role unites all the working men of the world into one soul" (Gorky 173).

Another theme within *Mother* that would not be present in Ostrovsky's work is personal love. Throughout *Mother,* Nilovna Vlasova's love for, and dedication to, her son and later to the other revolutionaries is the primary force driving her conversion: "Underneath all these emotions an almost burdensome feeling was slowly growing of the fullness of her love for her son—a strained desire to please him, to be near to his heart" (Gorky 254). Thus, her personal love is not forsaken for the revolution, as is the case with Korchagin.

CONCLUSION

The exploration of Socialist Realism within the context of Ostrovsky's *How the Steel was Tempered* reveals the embodiment of the principles of Socialist Realist literature through the main character, Pavel Korchagin. With his humble beginnings as a worker, his growth into a hero driven by love for work, and the party epitomize the principles that Socialist Realism promotes. Compared to Maxim Gorsky's *Mother,* the similarities and differences between the two works are apparent. Gorky's work would set the principles that would be developed further in Ostrovsky's novel, such as the development of the protagonists and the forsaking of love. Korchagin's character stands as a testament to the true purpose of Socialist Realism—propaganda. Despite this purpose, Korchagin's

dedication to work and commitment to revolutionary ideas encapsulates the unique and interesting life of Ostrovsky himself.

WORKS CITED

Gorky, Maxim, and Margaret Wettlin. *Mother*. Collier Books, 1966.

Ostrovsky, Nikolai. *How the Steel Was Tempered*. Novosti Press Agency Pub. House, 1983.

Terras, Victor. "The Twentieth Century: The Era of Socialist Realism, 1925–53." *The Cambridge History of Russian Literature*. Ed. Charles Moser. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. 458–519. Print.

Hate Speech Online in Albania

Eva Teqja
Aleksander Moisiu University, Albania

INTRODUCTION

The right to speech or nondiscrimination has been and remains in the focus of society, which has tried to build mechanisms and find ways to reconcile precisely the competing values of free expression with nondiscrimination. The actors who have faced this issue are the courts, legislatures and the public as well. But today, democratic society is changing its approach to confronting these issues. New media have transformed communication technology, confronting us with previously unknown challenges. The misuse of freedom of expression as a result of the massive use of online platforms has raised the issue of the need for monitoring and responding to dangerous disinformation.

Considering it very important to take measures to prevent and combat the spread of hate speech online, in May 2016, the European Commission established an agreement with Facebook, Microsoft, Twitter, and YouTube on a "Code of Conduct to monitor and combat illegal hate speech online." They also now create the possibility for users to report illegal hate speech on these social platforms. Following the measures taken in this direction, Instagram, Google+, Snapchat, saw the need and announced their intention to join the Code of Conduct in 2019. The United Nations defines hate speech based on religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, color, descent, sex or any other identity factor.

Hate speech is certainly not a new phenomenon. But it, thanks to the opportunities created by technology, has adopted new and quite specific qualities in the internet age. Hate speech on the internet tends to reflect a more complex and global nature than most of its pre-digital equivalents. These qualities increase the potential virality of hate speech on the internet. In these conditions, societies facing this trend must seriously address the issues of free speech and censorship on technological platforms, which are experiencing an ever-widening spread. The data speak of a wide use of online media, especially by young people. It is precisely the potential impact of social networks that is the reason there is a legitimate concern for young people and youth organizations. Although it is easier to monitor and combat in the mainstream professional media, the inability to monitor and measure the impact of communication in online spaces remains a challenge. The activity of static websites can be easily tracked, but the bulk of the action is taking place in meeting spaces (e.g. social networking sites), which are much more difficult to monitor and analyze.

The Internet offers the opportunity for any user/participant to create, publish, distribute and consume media content, thus fostering a space of full participation, engagement and self-expression. The development of social networks, in particular, has increased the level of participation of young people in cyberspace in various ways, ranging from maintaining contact with peers and developing new contacts to sharing content and exploring self-expression. The online space, like the offline space, presents new opportunities, challenges and threats for young people.

Freedom of expression and that of the media are the main pillars of a society and find protection in the fundamental act of a state, the Constitution. More precisely, the Constitution of the Republic of Albania (CRRA) in Article 22 sanctions that "Freedom of expression is guaranteed." The jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights in 2003 states that the limits of freedom of expression and the media can be found in the forms of expression. Regarding the approach that the institutions of the European Union have towards this phenomenon, it is seen that the tendency is to use forms of co-regulation through the negotiation of rules with companies that provide information or communication services online and not only. Despite the guarantees that come to us from the domestic and supranational legal framework, the phenomenon of hate speech on the Internet is growing rapidly, as is the spread of hate messages via the Internet. From a study conducted several years ago in Albania (at the national level) by the Commissioner against Discrimination, the European Union and the Council of Europe, it resulted that over 60% of respondents are of the opinion that hate speech in Albania is widely used.

OBJECTIVES

This paper aims to study hate speech and other forms of intolerance and to explore ways to limit these phenomena, through improving media education of young people and developing a counter-narrative campaign. The aim is to understand the scale and scope of hate content online, taking into account its different forms, from subtle "everyday" actions to overt acts of aggression and criminality. The paper also aims to understand the dynamics and drivers of hate, providing a detailed insight into when, where, and why it appears.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2022 defines the term *hate speech* as more than a descriptive concept used to identify a specific class of expressions. Meanwhile, we find a similarly meaning about definition of hate speech from the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary and Thesaurus* explaining like "public speech that expresses hate or encourages violence." Hate speech is turning nowadays in a disturbing phenomenon because of the new media and the power it has to spread messages and to influence specially the new generations. Anyone can publish social media. Purva Grover et al. underlined that social media consists of networks on the internet that have become mobile in abundance and formed a social network, which impacts brands and consumers (Purva Grover et al, 2022). Davis and Hilbert (2013) say social media is a group that includes interactive applications of Internet networks that facilitate and organize collective or individual creation.

- According to Hootsuite Digital the number of active users on social media reached 4.76 billion in January 2023, representing 59% of the global population and reflecting a 3% growth compared to 2022, with an additional 137 million users (Rodríguez and Neira, 2024). Meanwhile, hatred affects individual victims and the groups to which they belong, generates social polarization and silences large swaths of the population, weakening pluralism and undermining respectable democratic public debate. The COVID pandemic and the war in Ukraine have contributed to further polarization and the spread of racist, xenophobic and intolerant speech. Therefore, addressing hate speech is done by increasing cooperation between civil society and public authorities and other interested parties.

Regarding the situation in Albania, according to the Monitoring Report of Hate Speech in Albania (2022), the three most widespread categories as the subject of hate speech and discriminatory discourse were ethnicity (38.5%), gender (20.5%) and sexual minority (12%). This annual report describes the situation of the discourse of hatred and discrimination in the Albanian media environment. The report is based on media monitoring carried out from January 2021 to April 2022. The units of monitoring were incidents containing hateful and discriminatory discourse (HDD) produced, distributed or even allowed to be expressed in the media, including traditional media. new and social.

The Albanian Commissioner for Protection from Discrimination (KMD) in the study "Beyond definitions. A call for action against hate speech in Albania," clarifies that 58% of Albanian respondents think that hate speech is a national issue, especially during and after the pandemic, as the media has a special role in its spread. Regarding the triggers of hate speech, poverty (54%), social status, political opinion and physical appearance (44%) are perceived as the main bases of discrimination. According to the respondents, hate speech spreads not only in social networks, but also in schools, universities and workplaces, and about 46% of respondents from vulnerable groups have personally experienced hate speech in their lives."

The Internet is public space—do human rights apply there, as in the rest of society. In sporadic cases we have also seen politicians, artists, intellectuals, professors, celebrities, and other individuals with public influence, expressing views on certain topics with hateful and discriminatory vocabulary (Sulce Kolgeci, 2023: 5). Combating hate speech in Albania through creative youth-led initiatives. Since 2014, Albania is part of the "Movement against Hate," and hate crimes are foreseen in the Criminal Code. Meanwhile, the latest report of the ISIGURT.AL highlighting data collected between 2018-2022, shows that about 61% of online incidents belonged to hate speech. According to a study of the Council of Europe, 97% of hate speech cases fail to be reported in Albania, based on a survey data.

A report of the European Commission Against Racism and Tolerance notes that for Albania in the last 10 years, very few cases of crimes and hate speech have been tried and denounced. The Society of Professional Journalists, for instance, outlines a Code of Ethics that emphasizes the importance of seeking truth and reporting it, minimizing harm, and acting independently. In Albania, the poor quality of media contents and products are exposing citizens to biased information and propaganda that is ultimately undermining the Albanian path to participatory democracy and EU accession (Nozima Muratova, Alton Grizzle, and Dilfuza Mirzakhmedova, 2022). According to the *Handbook for Journalists of the Albanian Media Institute*, the digital transformation of the media landscape, from minimal browsing, rumors, and chats to the extraction of data for the purpose of manipulation and destabilization, underlines the growing importance of media and information education.

METHODOLOGY

In this paper, we carry out a comparative approach to the definition given by the Albanian and European legal framework for hate speech, but also to determine the role and responsibilities of social media in the fight against stereotypes and hate speech on the Internet. As a result, an overview is achieved not only of the legal framework but also of the social situation.

The strategy described for achieving the previously mentioned objectives is implemented through the following steps:

1. Systematic quantitative and qualitative monitoring of hate speech and recording of counter-narratives, effective examples in a selection of online media, including social media, in Albania, qualitative analysis and reporting.
2. Conducting a survey that aimed to identify the perception and impact of hate speech among young people.

Through this survey, we aimed to obtain the necessary information to understand and analyze the phenomenon. The questionnaire was dedicated to students at Aleksander Moisiu University of Durres. The purpose of the questionnaire was above all to understand how many young people (university students) are victims or supporters of hate speech. University students completed the questionnaire in manual format.

FINDING AND DISCUSSIONS

- Can you define what does online hate speech mean?
- Has anyone ever posted something about you or other people you know that you didn't like?
- How often do you identify hate speech in online platforms?
- Could you see hate speech as a concern phenomenon for young generation?
- Have you done any efforts to better confront hate speech?
- Do you think that a regulated law framework according to some more responsibility of social media sites can better control hate speech?

To understand more about the perception created by hate speech, we surveyed a more limited number of two other age groups, 15-18 years old and 26-35 years old (Figure 1). This survey was distributed because these are precisely the age groups most active on the networks and consequently most affected by hate speech.

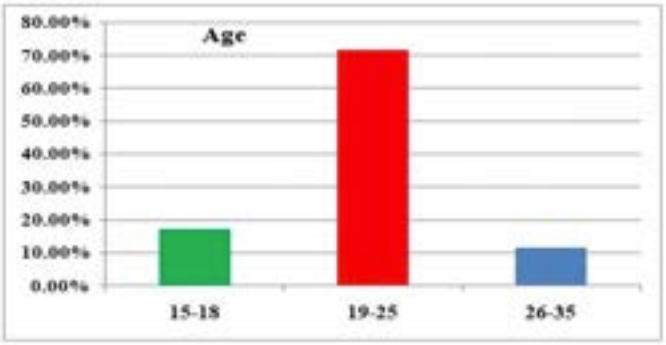


Figure 1: The age of survey participants

In the survey, we see as a limitation the fact that there is a disproportion between male and female students (Figure 2). We found this limitation impossible to overcome due to the almost identical ratio that we obtain from the ratio between the sexes in the university auditoriums. However, this limitation does not significantly impact the responses and does not deviate the conclusions obtained.

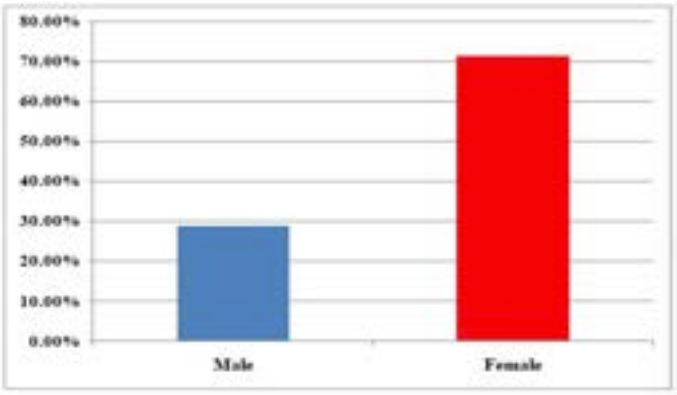


Figure 2: Gender structure of survey participants

In Figure 3, we see a large disparity between the number of students who know the concept of hate speech and those who cannot define it.

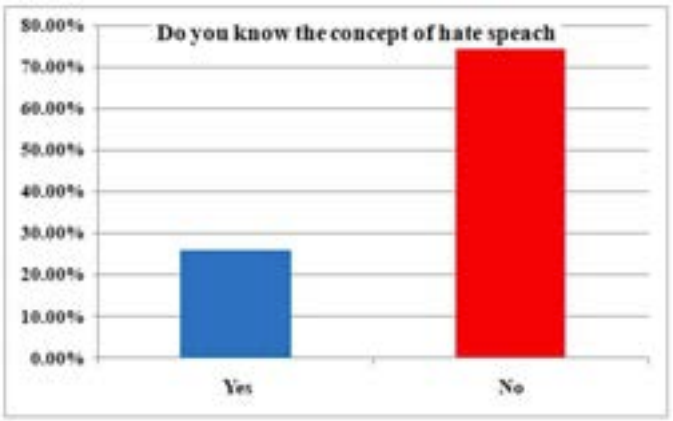


Figure 3: Youth knowledge about hate speech

This fact makes us understand that in the new situation created and imposed by using social platforms, all actors in society must increase efforts for a more complete and broad understanding of this concept. This step further helps in the realization of a broader framework of efforts to prevent the spread of hate speech and to take measures to limit it. But awareness of what hate speech is supposed to be is the cornerstone of any other effort.

In figure 4 to the question have you ever experienced or witnessed hate speech we see a large number of responders have experienced hate speech as their personal experience.

Meanwhile, a considerable number of them respond that even though they have not experienced it as a personal experience, they are witnesses of the use of this language on other people. Because only a small number of them do not recognize it as a phenomenon experienced by themselves or in their wider social circle raises alarm bells because society must act before it is too late for the phenomenon to become dominant in communication. Our concern becomes legitimate when we see that 97%

of respondents see hate speech as a significant problem in Albania.

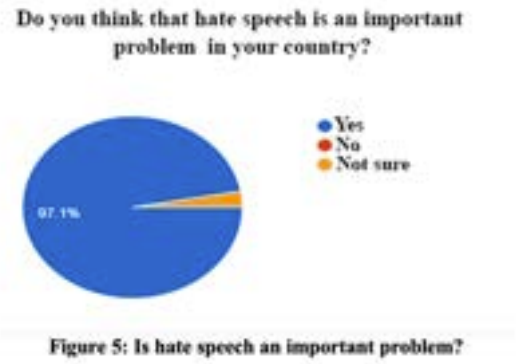


Figure 5: Is hate speech an important problem?

Figure 5: Is hate speech an important problem?

The high number of responses not only speaks to the spread of the phenomenon on the networks, but also shows the importance of the actors who have made hate speech part of the discourse and their imposition in society.

We see that over 50% of respondents believe that hate speech occurs very often in Albania (Figure 6). This result also testifies to the climate of understanding and communication in the country.

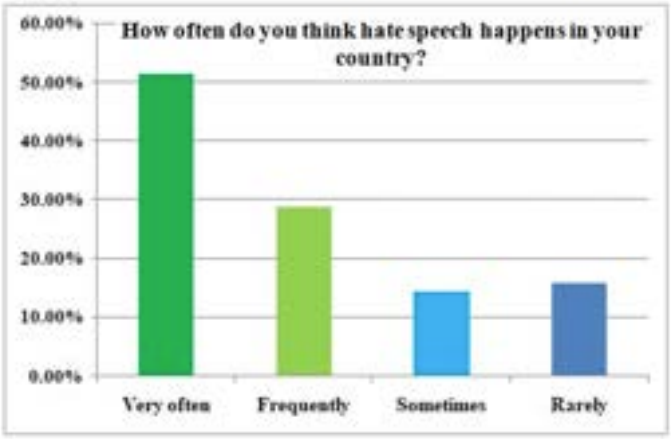


Figure 6: Frequency of hate speech

Figure 7 presents a more optimistic picture, as we see that almost 80% of respondents answered positively to

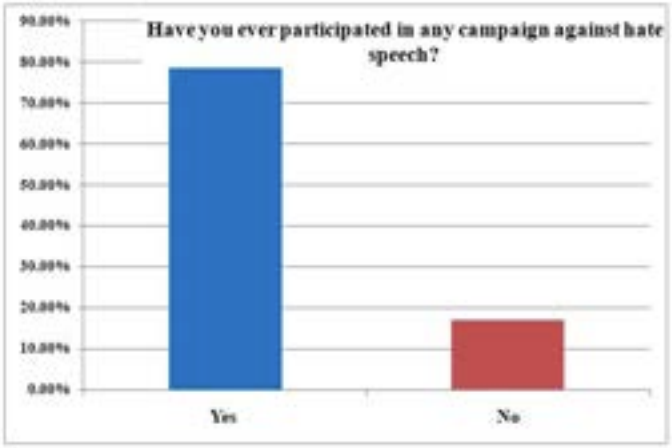


Figure 7: Participation in campaigns against hate speech

the question of whether they have participated in campaigns against hate speech.

This participation testifies to the fact that civil society has increased its sensitivity to the phenomenon and is organizing itself in concrete actions to prevent or combat it. When asked if there is a need for educational programs for young people that help reduce the use of hate speech,

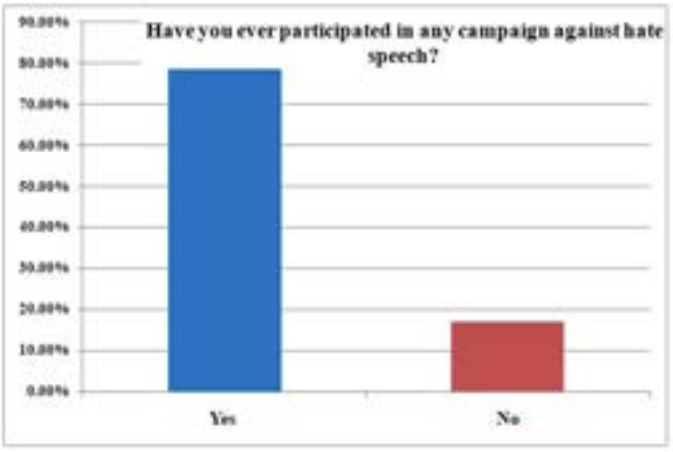


Figure 7: Participation in campaigns against hate speech

75% of respondents answered positively. Figure 8 indicates a lack of genuine programs against the use of hate speech on online platforms specifically dedicated to the youth category.

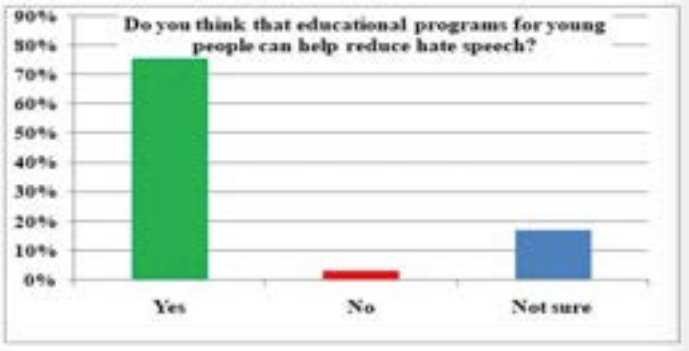


Figure 8: The impact of educational programs

CONCLUSIONS

The phenomenon of the use of hate speech online on social platforms not only in Albania but also worldwide seems to be a growing trend. In addition to aspects related to hatred based on religion and ethnicity, there is also hate speech based on politics, gender, sexuality, language, disabilities, social status, economic, etc. Albanian legislation in the field of discrimination has made important steps by aligning legislation with European and international standards. Regarding the approach that the European Union institutions have towards this phenomenon, it is seen that the tendency is to use forms of coregulation through the negotiation of rules with companies that provide information or communication services online and not only.

The methodology used aims to analyze the phenomenon of hate speech on the Internet, using Albania as a

case study. The analysis of the literature serves to determine the Albanian and European legal framework of hate speech. The research aims to obtain the necessary information to understand and analyze the phenomenon. This analysis will also be accompanied by a questionnaire for young people, who in our case are mostly students. The questionnaire and analysis of the results aim to understand how much Albania needs to build educational programs to prevent or limit the phenomenon.

WORKS CITED

Assimakopoulos S., Baider F., and Millar S. (2017). *Hate Speech in the European Union: A Discourse- Analytic Perspective*. SpringerBriefs.

Davis and Hilbert.(2013). *Hootsuite Digital* https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/albania/make-it-visible_en?s=2142022 Accessed on 30 July. 2023

Declaration on 13.07.2022. Delegation of the European Union to Albania. https://www.institutemedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Media-Monitoring-Report_Albania_ENG.pdf

Dorentina Hysa, and Kristina Lani. (2022) *Monitoring Report on Hate Speech in Albania* (2022) https://www.annalindhfoundation.org/sites/default/files/documents/network-news/Monitoring-Report-on-Hate-Speech-in-Albania-12072022.pdf

Eurobarometer. (2016). Media Pluralism and Demoracy. https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single- market/en/news/media-pluralism-and-democracy-special-eurobarometer-452.

European Commission (2018). Third Evaluation of the Code of Conduit on Countering Illegal Online Hate Speech. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-18-262_en.htm.

European Commission. Data protection - International dimension. Retrieved on February 18, 2024 from https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/law-topic/data-protection/international-dimension-data-protection_en

European Data Protection Board (EDPB). (2020). Guidelines 05/2020 on Consent under Regulation 2016/679. Brussels, Belgium: European Data Protection Board.

Gagliardone I., Gal D., Alves T., and Martinez G. (2015). *Countering Online Hate Speech*. UNESCO Series on Internet Freedom.

Gorwa, R. 'The Platform Governance Triangle: Conceptualising the informal regulation of online content." *Internet Policy Review* (2019), 8(2), https://policyreview.info/articles/analysis/platform-governance-triangle-conceptualising-informal-regul ation-online-content.

Institute, Freedom Forum. 2018. www.freedomforuminstitute.org. June 28. 2018. https://www.freedomforuminstitute.org/wp-content/

Instituti Shqiptar i Medias, OFSA. 2015. Prirjet e gjuhës së urrejtjes në median shqiptare. Një monitorim i disa mediave të shkruara dhe online. *Tirane: Instituti Shqiptar i Medias*.

Kodi Penal i Republikës së Shqipërisë. Kuvendi i Republikës së Shqipërisë, 2016. Tiranë.

Kushtetuta e Republikës së Shqipërisë, 2018. *Ligji për mbrojten nga diskriminimi*, Nr. 10 221, dt. 04.02. 2010, (i përditësuar).

Nozima Muratova, Alton Grizzle, and Dilfuza Mirzakhmedova. 2022. *Edukimi për median dhe informacionin në gazetari*. Instituti Shqiptar i Medias

Society of Professional Journalists (2014). SPJ Code of Ethics. Retrieved on January 22, 2024 from https://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy Hate Speech First published Tue Jan 25, 2022

Sulçe Kolgeci, Spanca (2023). Monitoring report on hate speech in Albania 2023. pp 1-22. Albanian Media Institute.

Sustein C. (2017). *#Republic: Divided Democracies in the Age of Social Media*. Princeton University Press.

The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus. Cambridge University Press) https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/hate-speech

Unesco, Countering online hate speech, *Parigi*, 2015.

Aquileia—Largest Archeological Reserve in Europe

Michael J. Ziemann
Seattle Pacific University

AQUILEIA IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

Roman Republic

Aquileia was founded as a colony by the Romans in 180/181 BCE along the Natiso River, on land south of the Julian Alps but about 13 kilometers (8 mi) north of the lagoons. The colony served as a strategic frontier fortress at the north-east corner of transpadane Italy (on the far side of the Po river) and was intended to protect the Veneti, faithful allies of Rome during the invasion of Hannibal in the Second Punic War and during the Illyrian Wars. The colony would serve as a citadel to check the advance into Cisalpine Gaul of other warlike peoples, such as the hostile Carni to the northeast in what isnow Carnia, and Histri tribes to the southeast in what is now Istria. In fact, the site chosen for Aquileia was about 6 km from where an estimated 12,000 Celtic Taurisci nomads had attempted to settle in 183 BCE. However, since the 13th century BC, the site, on the river and at the head of the Adriatic, had also been of commercial importance as the terminal of the Baltic amber (sucinum) trade. It is, therefore, theoretically not unlikely that Aquileia had been a Gallic oppidum even before the coming of the Romans. However, few Celtic artefacts have been discovered from 500 BCE to the Roman arrival.

The colony was established with Latin Rights by the triumvirate of Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, two of whom were of consular and one of praetorian rank. Each of the men had first-hand knowledge of Cisalpine Gaul. Nasica had conquered the Boii in 191. Flaminius had overseen the construction of the road named after him from Bononia (Bologna) to Arretium (Arezzo). Acidinus had conquered the Taurisci in 183.

The triumvirate led 3,000 families to settle the area. Based on the evidence of names inscribed in stone monuments, the majority of colonizing families came from Picenum, Samnium, and Campania, which also explains why the colony was Latin and not Roman. Among these colonists, pedites received 50 iugera of land each, centuriones received 100 iugera each, and equites received 140 iugera each. Either at the founding or not long afterwards, colonists from the nearby Veneti supplemented these families [meaning Aquileia probably had a population of 20,000 soon after its founding].

Roads soon connected Aquileia with the Roman colony of Bologna probably in 173 BCE. In 148 BCE, it was connected with Genua by the Via Postumia, which stretched across the Padanian plain from Aquileia through or near to Opitergium, Tarvisium, Vicetia, Verona, Bedriacum, and the three Roman colonies of Cremona, Placentia, and Dertona. The construction of the Via Popilia from the Roman colony of Ariminium to Ad Portum near Altinum in 132 BCE improved communications still further. In the 1st century CE, the Via Gemina would link Aquileia with Emona to the east of the Julian Alps, and by 78 or 79 CE the Via Flavia would link Aquileia to Pula.

Meanwhile, in 169 BCE, 1,500 more Latin colonists with their families, led by the triumvirate of Titus Annius Lucius, Publius Decius Subulo, and Marcus Cornelius

The Via Postumia was a strategic Roman road that ran west-east across the northern part of the Italian peninsula. It linked the key Roman port cities of Genova and Aquileia

Cethegus, settled in the town as a reinforcement to the garrison. The discovery of the gold fields near the modern Klagenfurt in 130 BCE brought the growing colony into further notice, and it soon became a place of importance, not only owing to its strategic military position, but as a center of commerce, especially in agricultural products and viticulture. It also had, in later times at least, considerable brickfields.

In 90 BCE, the original Latin colony became a municipium and its citizens were ascribed to the Roman tribe Velina. The customs boundary of Italy was close by in Cicero's day. Julius Caesar visited the city on a number of occasions and pitched a winter camp nearby in 59–58 BCE.

Roman Empire

Although the lapydes plundered Aquileia during the Augustan period, subsequent increased settlement and no lack of profitable work meant the city was able to develop its resources. Jewish artisans established a flourishing trade in glass work. Metal from Noricum was forged and exported. The ancient Venetic trade in amber from the Baltic continued. Wine, especially its famous Pucinum was exported. Olive oil was imported from Proconsular Africa. By sea, the port of Aquae Gradatae (modern Grado) was developed. On land, Aquileia was now the starting-point of several important roads leading outside Italy to the north-eastern portion of the empire—the road (Via Julia Augusta) by Iulium Carnicum

(Zuglio) to Veldidena (mod. Wilten, near Innsbruck), from which branched off the road into Noricum, leading by Virunum (Klagenfurt) to Laurieum (Lorch) on the Danube, the road leading via Emona into Pannonia and to Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), the road to Tarsatica (near Fiume, now Rijeka) and Siscia (Sisak), and the road to Tergeste (Trieste) and the Istrian coast.

Augustus was the first of a number of emperors to visit Aquileia, notably during the Pannonian wars in 12–10 BC. It was the birthplace of Tiberius' son by Julia, in the latter year. The Roman poet Martial praised Aquileia as his hoped-for haven and resting place in his old age. In terms of religion, the populace adopted the Roman pantheon, although the Celtic sun-god, Belenus, had a

The Ancient Roman Inland Port of Aquileia

large following. Jews practiced their ancestral religion. Meanwhile, soldiers brought the martial cult of Mithras.

The Ancient Inland port of Aquileia

In the war against the Marcomanni in 167, the town was hard pressed; its fortifications had fallen into disrepair during the long peace. Nevertheless, when in 168 made Aquileia the principal fortress of the empire against the barbarians of the North and East, it rose to the pinnacle of its greatness and soon had a population of 100,000. Septimius Severus visited in 193. In 238, when the town took the side of the Senate against the emperor Maximinus Thrax, the fortifications were hastily restored, and proved of sufficient strength to resist for several months, until Maximinus himself was assassinated.

Imperator Flavius Victor on this coin as struck in Aquileia mint

During the 4th century, Aquileia maintained its importance. Constantine sojourned there on numerous occasions. It became a naval station and the seat of the Corrector Venetiarum et Histriae. A mint was established of which the coins were very numerous. The bishop of the Diocese of Aquileia obtained the rank of metropolitan archbishop. A council held in the city in 381 was only the first of a series of Councils of Aquileia that have been convened over the centuries. However, the city played a part in the struggles between the rulers of the 4th century. In 340, the emperor Constantine II was killed nearby while invading the territory of his younger brother Constans.

At the end of the 4th century, Ausonius enumerated Aquileia as the ninth among the great cities of the world, placing Rome, Constantinople, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, Trier, Mediolanum, and Capua before it. However, such prominence made it a target and Alaric

Silver coin struck in the Aquileia Mint

and the Visigoths besieged it in 401, during which time some of its residents fled to the nearby lagoons. Alaric again attacked it in 408. Attila attacked the city in 452. During this invasion, on July 18, Attila and his Huns so utterly destroyed the city that it was afterwards hard to recognize its original site. The fall of Aquileia was the first of Attila's incursions into Roman territory; followed by cities like Mediolanum and Ticinum. The Roman inhabitants, together with those of smaller towns in the neighborhood, fled en masse to the lagoons, where they laid the foundations of the cities of Venice and nearby Grado.

Yet Aquileia would rise again, though much diminished, and continue to exist until the Lombards invaded in 568; the Lombards destroyed it a second time in 590. Meanwhile, the patriarch fled to the island town of Grado, which was under the protection of the Byzantines. When the patriarch residing in Grado reconciled with Rome in 606, those continuing in the Schism of the Three Chapters, rejecting the Second Council of Constantinople, elected a patriarch at Aquileia. Thus, the diocese was essentially divided into two parts, with the mainland patriarchate of Aquileia under the protection of the Lombards, and the insular patriarchate of Aquileia seated in Grado being protected by the exarchate of Ravenna and later the Doges of Venice, with the collusion of the Lombards. The line of the patriarchs elected in Aquileia would continue in schism until 699 CE. However, although they kept the title of patriarch of Aquileia, they moved their residence first to Cormons and later to Cividale.

MIDDLE AGES

Patriarchate of Aquileia

The Lombard dukes of Friuli ruled Aquileia and the surrounding mainland territory from Cividale. In 774, Charlemagne conquered the Lombard duchy and made it into a Frankish one with Eric of Friuli as duke. In 787, Charlemagne named the priest and master of grammar at the Palace School of Paulinus II, the new patriarch of Aquileia. The patriarchate, despite being divided with a northern portion assigned to the pastoral care of the newly created Archbishopric of Salzburg, would remain one of the largest dioceses. Although Paulinus resided mainly at Cividale, his successor Maxentius considered rebuilding Aquileia. However, the project never came to fruition.

Although Maxentius was a patriarch, the pope approved the Synod of Mantua, which affirmed the precedence of the mainland patriarch of Aquileia over the patriarch of Grado. However, material conditions were soon to worsen for Aquileia. The ruins of Aquileia were continually pillaged for building material. And with the collapse of the Carolingians in the 10th century, the

Aquileia in a 1493 woodcut from Hartmann Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle

inhabitants would suffer under the raids of the Magyars. By the 11th century, the patriarch of Aquileia had grown strong enough to assert temporal sovereignty over Friuli and Aquileia. The Holy Roman Emperor gave the region to the patriarch as a feudal possession. However, the patriarch's temporal authority was constantly disputed and assailed by the territorial nobility.

In 1027 and 1044 Patriarch Poppo of Aquileia, who rebuilt the cathedral of Aquileia, entered and sacked neighboring Grado, and, although the Pope reconfirmed the Patriarch of the latter in his dignities, the town never fully recovered, but it continued to be the seat of the Patriarchate until its formal transference to Venice in 1450.

In the 14th century the Patriarchal State reached its largest extension, stretching from the Piave river to the Julian Alps and northern Istria. The seat of the Patriarchate of Aquileia had been transferred to Udine in 1238, but returned to Aquileia in 1420 when Venice annexed the territory of Udine.

In 1445, the defeated patriarch Ludovico Trevisan acquiesced in the loss of his ancient temporal estate in return for an annual salary of 5,000 ducats allowed him from the Venetian treasury. Henceforth only Venetians were allowed to hold the title of Patriarch of Aquileia. The Patriarchal State was incorporated in the Republic of Venice with the name of Patria del Friuli, ruled by a proveditore generale or a luogotenente living in Udine. The Patriarchal diocese was only finally officially suppressed in 1751, and the sees of Udine and Gorizia were established from its territory.

The Cathedral is a flat-roofed basilica that was erected by Patriarch Poppo in 1031 on the site of an earlier church and rebuilt in the Gothic style by Patriarch Marquard of Randeck (1365-1381). Today, Aquileia is a town that is smaller than it was when the colony was first founded by Rome. Over the centuries, sieges, earthquakes, floods and pillaging of the ancient buildings for materials mean that no building from the Roman period remains above ground. The site of Aquileia is believed to be the largest Roman city yet to be excavated and is on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Excavations, however, have revealed some of the layout of the Roman town like a segment of a street, the north-western angle of the town walls; the river port; and the former locations of baths, an amphitheatre, a circus, a cemetery, the Via Sacra, the forum and a market. The National Archaeological Museum of Aquileia contains

Roman mosaic image of a Ram in the Basilica of Aquileia

over 2,000 inscriptions, statues and other antiquities and mosaics, as well as glasses of local production and a collection of artifacts

Late Antiquity

An imperial palace was constructed in Aquileia, in which the emperors after the time of Diocletian frequently resided. The archaeological area can be found there, in the open air and with free admission, where the remains of the forum, the river port, and the late antique markets can be explored. On foot, you can reach the Roman burial ground and visit some of the domus.

The precious mosaics uncovered during the excavations are preserved in the Paleochristian Museum and the National Archaeological Museum of Aquileia, where you should dedicate a few hours. The voyage through the city's history must continue in the Basilica of

The archaeological walk into Ancient Aquileia. Main sights

Aquileia, an extraordinary architectural complex bearing the signs of several renovations and extensions carried out over the centuries. At over 750 square meters, the real treasure of the basilica is the floor mosaic from the 4th century, the largest in the Western Christian world.

The archaeological site of Domus and Episcopal Palace are also unmissable stops in Aquileia. Through the work of the Aquileia Foundation, visitors have the rare opportunity to see the superimposed floor levels of different eras thanks to skillful architectural play. This archaeological site is the most recent to be opened to the public.

The admission ticket to the area gives the visitor access to the Aquileia Baptistery and Südhalle dating back to the end of the 4th century. INSERT9 At its center, one can admire the baptismal font used for immersion baptisms, and the southern hall, known as the Südhalle, is now incorporated into a museum building to protect its condition. There one can admire the floor mosaic and the precious "peacock" mosaic used to decorate the apse of the narthex.

Interior of Constantine's Basilica, with the largest Roman above-ground mosaic pavement in Europe

ENDNOTE

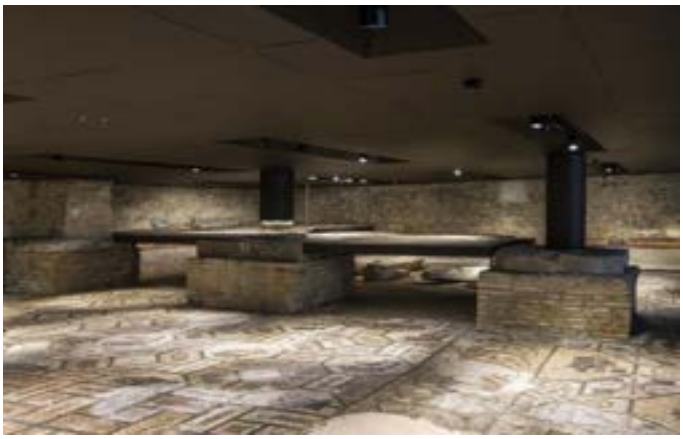
All the contemporary pictures of Aquileia and of the Basilica mosaic floor and altar fresco(s) we took ourselves on site last September, the Aquileia Classica images and mosaic floor details are all on the Aquileia Foundations public website. The historical factoids are Wikipedia Open Source and actually quoted in a submission to

Roman Mosaic depiction of the Holy Spirit as Flames and Butterflies

UNESCO for World Heritage status, as well as in local publications/ brochures.

Constantine's Basilica: Fresco in the Paleo-Christian Main Altar Space

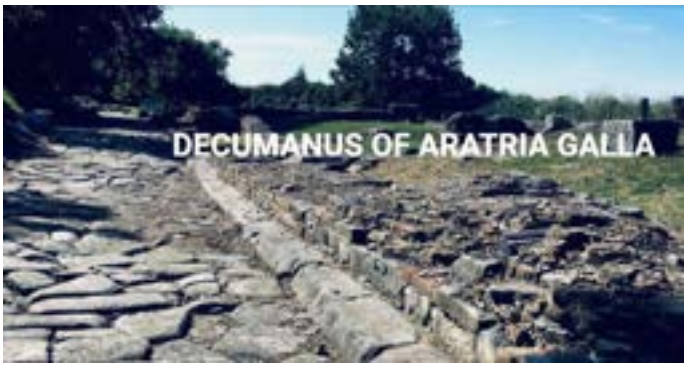
Basilica: Full Immersion Baptistry



Basilica Subfloor: Theodosian Mosaics and Structural Bracing for a Campanile, added in the early 10th Century by Patriarch Popos

Basilica of Aquileia: Large Roman Mosaic of Jonah and Sea Creatures

ANHANG I: THE "BARE BONES" OF AQUILEIA ANTICA IN PICTURES



Aquileia River Port

Aquileia—Forum (Column Restoration & Founders Dedication)

Aquileia—Foundations Of Living Spaces

Domus Tito Macro—Foundations

Remains Of A Wall Fresco

3-D Computer Reconstruction Of Domus Tito Macro

Link to a PDF of the 3-D RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DOMUS TITO MACRO: https://www.fondazioneaquileia.it/files/flyerfondazione-ing-6_compressed.pdf

Link to Aquileia in 3D" https://www.fondazioneaquileia.it/en/visit-aquileia/aquileia-3d

Link to 10 Podcasts (in Italian) about the history of the "Frontier City Aquileia," https://www.fondazioneaquileia.it/it/visita-aquileia/aquileia-citta-di-frontiera