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Between unity and distinctiveness
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IDENTITY

Between unity and distinctiveness
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www.pismahumanistyczne-wns.us.edu.pl
pismahumanistyczne-wns@us.edu.pl

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Editorial

Dear Readers,

The question of identity is one of the most fundamental problems for the deliberations of humanities and social sciences. Identity can be viewed both in individual and collective perspective. The question asking ‘who are we?’ is equally important to ‘who are we not?’. One’s self is always accompanied by the other and identity is always related to otherness.

More interestingly, the identity once defined is not the identity defined for ever. In Conversations With Benedetto Vecchi, Zygmunt Bauman claims that belonging and identity “are not cut in rock, that they are not secured by a lifelong guarantee, that they are eminently negotiable and revocable; and that one’s own decisions, the steps one takes, the way one acts – and the determination to stick by all that – are crucial factors of both. In other words, the thought of ‘having an identity’ will not occur to people as long, as ‘belonging’ remains their fate, a condition with no alternative”.

Our journal is published in Silesia – the region of strong and differing identities. Over the course of it’s history, Silesia belonged, partially or fully, to Bohemia, Poland, Habsburg Monarchy and Germany. This heritage still matters very much for the inhabitants of the region. A lot of them could relate to a story Bauman tells about the representatives in the census who were not able to get answer for the question concerning nationality. What they heard was just ‘we live here’ or ‘we belong here’. Finally, the authority succumbed to the people and decided to add ‘the locals’ to the list of answers.

We cordially invite you to study the twelve perspectives on the problem of identity presented by our Authors!

Editorial Staff
Introduction

The problem of personal identity touches a variety of problems, mainly philosophical ones, but also of psychological, sociological or anthropological nature. As a metaphysical issue, it is a subject of discussions within the continental as well as the Anglo-American tradition. The disagreement in this matter encompasses different views about the existence of personal identity, its proper understanding, foundations, and importance.

On the basis of selected theories that are the representatives of substance-based ego concept, reductionist conception or narrative approach, the article addresses the issues of ontological foundations of identity with relation to the questions concerning morality and ethics. However, the paper does not attempt to resolve the problem of the ontological foundations of identity. Its objective is not supporting one of the theories that are presented below, i.e. the substance-based, relational or narrative conception. It focuses on selected issues regarding moral implications of accepting particular conceptions of personal identity. It pays special attention to the views, which deny the existence of personal identity in its traditional form, as by this denial they challenge the natural notion of the nature of morality and prudence as well as the relations between them. In the article it will be argued that the view that is refuting the substance-based concept of personal identity entails a redefinition and modification of justification not only for prudence but morality as well.

1 Ethics is understood here as a theoretical foundation of morality (actual moral practices).
1. Substance-based concepts

In Europe the philosophical considerations on the essence of human beings go back to the thinkers of ancient Greece. The concept of human soul was widely developed by Plato and then by Aristotle. While Plato put the emphasis on the fact that man in his very essence was an immaterial soul trapped in a material body, Aristotle conceived human being as a specific unity of body and soul as its form. Christian thinkers took inspirations in this matter both from Plato (saint Augusto) and Aristotle (saint Thomas). In the Christian tradition, which dominated the European thought for centuries, the essence of human being was identified with their soul, a separate substance that ensured each individual his numeric identity. This identity was a unity which lasted over time and which separated sharply one individual from another.

As the phrase personal identity refers to the notion of person, it evokes the name of Boethius and his definition of person that explicitly points to the substantial understanding of this concept. A person for Boethius is “an individual substance of a rational nature”. This concept was fully accepted by Descartes. His idea of two substances: body (belonging to res extensa) and soul (res cogitans) has survived until present times, being a paradigm example of the traditional conception of the soul as the foundation for human identity. This traditional understanding of human essence, in philosophy often called the Cartesian ego, is fully compatible with commonsense, natural view. Although this concept evokes some unresolved metaphysical questions and is burdened with serious difficulties, it seems to be naturally acknowledged by the majority of people, even in contemporary times.

However, although this view is naturally and automatically accepted, the commonsense thinking does not avoid a certain amount of ambivalence and incoherence. Stanisław Judycki, arguing in favour of the substantiality of personal identity (the self, that is in fact human soul), pays attention to the evidence of inner experience – the experience of being a self, an absolute unity that preserves its numerical identity over time. But it seems that this inner experience, although should not be disregarded as irrelevant, clashes with another kind of experience that appears to be natural and common as well. This competitive outlook is reflected in the fact that it is common to treat my own self, which is “located” in my distant past or distant future, as belonging partly to me and partly to someone else. For instance, it is extremely hard for a young


person to get a full insight and care for the notion of themselves as elderly people, so the care for what will happen at that time is relatively small. Therefore, the inner experience acts both in favour as well as against the idea of a simple, substance-based self or ego\textsuperscript{4}. However, that incoherence refers to the psychological interpretation and experiencing the self and does not interfere with accepting or denying the reality of the substance-based identity.

If personal identity is in fact based on the Cartesian ego, it can serve as a metaphysical foundation for moral responsibility and entails a strong division between self-interest and the interest of other people. Within this approach, there is no dilemma why moral responsibility should be attributed to people for their past actions, as the changes that people undergo do not interfere with their core identity (which makes them to be who they are, regardless the changes and the passage of time). This can also explain the rationality of special care of one's future welfare. In this approach, from the moral and rational point of view, self-interest for the present welfare is no different from the self-interest for the future welfare. The only difference is that the care for one's future interest requires some sort of prudential wisdom and the ability to refrain from the whims of the moment.

2. The 17th and 18th century theories denying the substance-based concepts

The concept of the Cartesian ego was challenged in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} century by the British empiricist thinkers, who, at present times, serve as an inspiration for some of the contemporary theories rejecting the substance-based notion of identity.

The first elaborate considerations on this matter were conducted by John Locke, who is regarded as a precursor of the relational understanding of human identity. For Locke the key for the notion of identity was self-consciousness and the memory of past events; he identified memory with consciousness that extended itself backwards\textsuperscript{5}. It can be regarded as a relational type of identity, because in this approach identity is understood as a psychological relation. It is obvious that memory as a basis for identity and responsibility can be a subject for serious objections, of both logical and ethical nature.

\textsuperscript{4} In this paper ego and self will be treated as synonyms, which is common within the Anglo-American philosophy.

One of the logical paradoxes emerging from Lockean view was presented by Thomas Reid. In this polemics with Locke he noticed that this concept entailed a situation when a subject was and was not identical with itself. The paradox was discussed on the example of a Brave Officer case. Let us imagine that the Brave Officer did something wrong as a child. Then he performed some action at the age of forty-five and at that time he still remembered what he did when he was young. That made him the same person as the 10-year-old. But eight years later he could remember the action that he performed at the age of forty-five and completely forgot what he did as a child. That would make him a person identical with himself at the age of forty-five, but not identical with himself at the age of ten. But being identical with himself at the age of forty-five, he should be identical with himself of ten, because himself of forty-five was identical with himself as a child (If \( x=y \) and if \( y=z \), then \( x \) should =\( z \))\(^6\).

As far as ethical issues are concerned, the obvious problem appears in case of memory loss, which in extreme form may be caused by different kinds of injuries, but to some extent is a natural phenomenon. If responsibility is linked with memory, then the situation reveals a kind of a paradox, because moral responsibility, a concept which is claimed to be of objective nature, would be based on a subjective and vulnerable foundation\(^7\).

However, in spite of the difficulties arising from this approach, Locke was not the only philosopher of that time who attempted to place identity in psychological factors. Another thinker who denied the concept of substance-based ego was David Hume\(^8\). The rejection of substantial understanding of personal identity was connected with his rejection of the concept of substance as such\(^9\). Hume argued that personal identity was a kind of fiction (based on a bundle of impressions), and also a pseudo-philosophical problem of an overestimated importance\(^10\). In this respect he can be viewed as a precursor of the contemporary reductionist theories, in particular Derek Parfit’s view.

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\(^7\) Locke was aware of this difficulty, that is why he tried to resolve this problem by referring to the Judgement Day, with all the consciousness and memory restored. See: J. Locke, Essay concerning human understanding..., p. 51.


\(^9\) Cf. A. Stoński, Tożsamość a moralność w świetle koncepcji Dereka Parfita, Olsztyn 2013, p. 93.

\(^10\) Cf. J. Giles, The No-self Theory: Hume, Buddhism and personal Identity...
3. Derek Parfit’s reductionist theory

Derek Parfit calls his view a reductionist theory. In this approach identity is understood and defined as psychological continuity (called relation R), which expresses itself in several factors, such as memory, character, desires etc. There is nothing beyond those psychological factors, which interact and give an individual an illusion of substantial unity. In Parfit’s view, then, the fiction and illusion of unity refers not only to persistence over time, but also to experiencing the unity of ego at a particular moment of time. In order to make a strong case with his conception, Parfit performs several psychological experiments (mainly of purely theoretical nature). The purpose of those experiments is to prove that all versions of the classical concept of the Cartesian ego, called by Parfit “non-reductionist theories”, have to face overwhelming logical and practical difficulties.

One of the implications of Parfit’s reductionist approach is that experiencing some amount of indifference towards one’s distant future turns out to be a rational attitude, as the distance between now and then makes the relation R weaker. However, the receding self-interest or prudential care is supposed to be taken over by moral obligation, so it looks that the space of reasons is never void. Parfit’s postulate in regard with this matter is that instead of thinking of a possibility of ourselves suffering in the future, we should think that there will exist some suffering, somehow related to present experiences. This approach to suffering, then, dissolves the difference between my suffering and other people’s suffering. In this case there is no substantial difference between morality and prudence. In other words, prudence, or self-interest care for my own future becomes one of the aspects of moral concerns whose aim is to reduce the existing suffering and promoting general welfare. In this approach it is irrelevant whom this welfare or suffering is attributed to. There is no substantial difference between myself at present, myself in the future, and other people. However, it would be an overstatement to say that in Parfit’s conception there is no difference at all. As it was already mentioned, the relation R gets weaker with the passage of time, so the process of dissolving prudence or self-interest in morality seems to be gradual and never complete. However, this view enables a different perspective on the nature of prudence and morality. Instead of claiming that in the case of one’s distant future

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12 Ibid., p. 199-302. Those mental experiments involve such cases as teleportation, sleeping pills erasing memories, the existence of series-persons.
13 Ibid., p. 281-282.
morality gradually takes over prudence, or deciding that morality and prudence are two sides of the same coin, it can be argued that the category of prudence (as long as it is conceived as an intelligent form of self-interest, not as wisdom in general) can be regarded as redundant, as all the undertaken actions refer to more or less distant future, and are, in fact, of moral nature.

As it already becomes evident from the forgoing, the problem of personal identity encompasses not only the question of metaphysical foundations for ethics (a theory) and morality (practice), but it also finds its place in normative ethics, especially in the debate between the consequentialist and deontological approach. Parfit belongs to those philosophers who emphasize the influence of the conception of identity on normative ethics, claiming that his solution of the identity problem strongly purports the consequentialist approach. Indeed, the acceptance of the theory that there is no subject of suffering that could exist as a separate unity, separate form other individuals and keeping his numeric identity over time, seems to be coherent with the consequentialist view that makes all the interests equally important. Moreover, this approach appears to go well even with the most extreme, lacking subtlety form of utilitarianism, such as Geremy Bentham’s calculations and weighing the general happiness.

Parfit’s arguments in favour of consequentialism come together with a controversial thesis that the existence of personal identity in its classical, substance-based form is irrelevant when it comes to justification of morality. It is well illustrated in the passage where Parfit writes about “liberation from the self”14.

[...] I find it liberating, and consoling. When I believed that my existence was such a further fact, I seemed imprisoned in myself. My life seemed like a glass tunnel, though which I was moving faster every year, and at the end of which there was darkness. When I changed my view, the walls of my glass tunnel disappeared. I now live in the open air [...]. Other people are closer. I am less concerned about the rest of my own live, and more concerned about the lives of others15.

It should be noted that his argument could work in favour of the thesis that the actual existence of the Cartesian ego is not necessary for the occurrence of moral practices or experiencing the feelings of sympathy and compassion. However, as far as the ontological justification of moral requirements is concerned (e.g. the foundations of moral responsibility), the psychological criterion does not seem to be sufficient.

14 Ibid., s. 281.
15 Ibid.
In other words, the psychological criterion plays satisfactory role in explanation, but not in the justification of the phenomenon of morality.

In the light of those considerations, it might be reasonable to consider a biological criterion of personal identity, as it seems to be more promising in dealing with the discussed difficulties. One of the theories that are reductionist on one sense and non-reductionist in another meaning is Thomas Nagel’s idea of identity. It is interesting and worth mentioning, because on the one hand, it is reductionist in the sense that Parfit uses this notion – i.e. Nagel does not acknowledge the existence of identity/soul that would function independently from the brain. On the other hand, he treats each self from a particular moment of time, as a representative of a whole that persists through time\textsuperscript{16}. Although, considering the psychological experiments submitted by Parfit, and even Nagel himself\textsuperscript{17}, his idea does not avoid various difficulties, the simple biological identification: \textit{me} = \textit{my brain}, enables to understand both the persistence of the identity over time, as well as the separateness from other selves. It also enables to sustain the sharp division between morality and prudence. In normal circumstances, then, excluding unique cases such as brain division etc., biological criterion seems to be sufficient from practical point of view and it provides an explanation why it is rational to consider a particular person as a unity in the diachronic dimension and in opposition to other individuals. However, in spite of being satisfactory from the practical point of view, it does not fully resolve the foundations for identity, as it is still unknown how brain processes are “translated” into the experience of personal identity and in what way the personal identity exists. There are in fact different metaphysical stances that can be coherent with this view, e.g. materialist monism, or neutral monism.

4. Narrative identity

In the narrative approach, represented by a number of philosophers, among others by Paul Ricoeur\textsuperscript{18} or Alasdair MacIntyre\textsuperscript{19}, diachronic identity is connected with a self-told story that is created by the subject. Paul Ricoeur points to the importance of the issue of identity, especially its ontological aspect and the question what

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\textsuperscript{17} See: e.g. T. Nagel, \textit{Brain Bisection and the Unity of Consciousness}, [in:] \textit{Mortal Questions}, Cambridge 1979, p. 147-164.

\textsuperscript{18} See: e.g. P. Ricoeur, K. Blamey, \textit{Oneself as another}, Chicago ; London 1994.

\textsuperscript{19} See: e.g. A.C. MacIntyre, \textit{After virtue: a study in moral theory}, Notre Dame 1984.
the self is. He pays special attention to the importance of the distinction between idem (sameness, i.e. lack of difference) and ipse (selfhood, i.e. numeric identity). Narrative identity enables to reconcile idem and ipse. Those two concepts of identity are two poles of identity, which in the moral dimension reveal themselves as character and commitment. Personal commitment and keeping promises, being a reflection of ipse, is something performed against the undergone changes (partial loss of idem). MacIntyre, like Ricoeur, also combines the notion of identity with character, which provides an individual the stability and unity of the self. His references to the ancient thought and the category of virtue, strongly connected with the notion of character, reflect his emphasis on the close correlation between the issues of identity and morality.

As for metaphysical foundation of narrative identity, in MacIntyre’s vision it seems to exhaust itself in an external, social identity that is incorporated into a “single life story”. It is basically coherent with the ancient outlook, emphasizing the role of community in creating human identity. Ricoeur appears to be more sensitive to the question of individual identity, pointing out that narrative approach implies the existence of an active subject that gathers all the experiences in a one, self-told story. By those claims he contradicts Hume and Parfit’s understanding of identity as a bundle of interacting factors. But his idea does not avoid a certain difficulty: if an active, experience-gathering ego already exists, the idea of a self-told story becomes redundant – at least from the metaphysical point of view, as it still holds its usefulness as an account of psychological interpretation of the self. In other words, while this approach does not seem to settle the metaphysical issues in a sufficient way, it provides good psychological explanation of how particular acts or experiences are considered to belong to me and contribute to the conceptualization of my identity.

If we focus on the story-telling aspect of narrative approach, it appears that it is possible to find the foundations for individual responsibility, but responsibility understood as a voluntary commitment, a kind of virtue, and not an objective moral obligation. A person is an active creator of the story of self, so one’s moral responsibility also appears to be a kind of their narrative creation. In MacIntyre’s version of narrative identity, moral responsibility also can be regarded as a kind of virtue, but the individual, voluntary aspect is completely taken over by the social dimension and the idea of a good life.

Therefore, narrative approach either to some extent ignores the metaphysical

22 Cf. Ibid.
23 P. Ricoeur, Tożsamość osobowa…
foundation for individual identity (MacIntyre), or presupposes the classical notion of the self (Ricoeur). Either way, the metaphysical foundation does not seem to be the key issue in this approach. It is probably connected with the fact, that narrative theories focus on the practical dimension of identity\textsuperscript{24}.

**Conclusion**

In the traditional approach personal identity is considered to be a substance-based unity, usually identified with an immaterial soul, only apparently changeable, nut in fact preserving its own self over time. Substantial approach, although tangled in a number of metaphysical difficulties, can provide an easy justification for moral responsibility and sharp division between moral and prudential reasons. Therefore, the problem of personal identity and the relations between identity and morality does not appear to be resolved easily, because those conceptions which are burdened with strong metaphysical assumptions, are able to provide justification for such phenomena as moral responsibility, or account for the difference between prudential and moral reasons. In contrast, those conceptions that avoid metaphysical ambiguity and choose to be based on the minimum number of assumptions are unable to justify moral requirements and properly distinguish morality from other phenomena and practices.

**Summary**

The article discusses moral implications of particular conceptions of personal identity. On the basis of selected representatives of classical, reductionist, and narrative approach, it analyzes the notions of morality and prudence as well as the relations between them, and their connection to the metaphysical issues. The paper pays special attention to the reductionist theory. It seems that in this approach the category of prudence can be replaced by moral obligation, as there is no substantial difference between one’s later self and other people. The article shows that acknowledging the denial of personal identity in its traditional form entails a redefinition of prudence and morality. It also points out to the main difficulties, which each of the presented theories must face.

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. J. Davenport, *Narrative Identity, autonomy and mortality. From Frankfurt and MacIntyre to Kierkegaard*, New York 2012, p. 16.
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Weronika Wojtanowska – a PhD candidate at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Cracow. Research field: meta-ethics and contemporary Anglo-American philosophy.
**Cultural aspects of infrahumanization**

**Introduction**

The subject of interest in this article is the influence of culture on the perception of emotions of other people. In particular, the phenomenon of infrahumanization of the outgroup was examined among Bulgarian, Polish and Indonesian respondents.

**Infrahumanization**

Infrahumanization is a specific attribution error due to the difference in the perception of the ingroup and the outgroup on a dimension of humanity. Lower degree of humanity is attributed to the outgroup than to the ingroup\(^1\). Many researchers believe that this phenomenon is of universal nature, occurs even without real causes and is created by the mere fact of social categorization\(^2\), but this opinion is debatable\(^3\). According to Mirosławska\(^4\), it is a phenomenon of unconscious, automatic nature. Sometimes also referred to a subtle form of dehumanization, (which is a behavior or

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process that undermines individuality of and in others), as it is not accompanied by extreme manifestations of dehumanization and denying humanity of others.

Haslam\(^5\) distinguishes two types of dehumanization: animalistic and mechanistic. Animalistic dehumanization involves denying that an outgroup can possess typically human features, for example: intelligence, creativity, morality, culture. Mechanistic dehumanization is a denial of a human nature to the outgroup, equating its members to the cold, psychologically shallow machines\(^6\). Infrahumanization is a kind of animalistic dehumanization.

According to Leyens\(^7\), humanity is designated by following specifically human features: use of language, ability of abstract thinking and feeling emotions specific for humans, which are called secondary emotions. The research of Leyens team, focusing on the emotional dimension, indicates that people attribute fewer secondary emotions to people from an outgroup than to representatives of an ingroup. Evaluation of emotions as primary or secondary is largely correlated with the degree to which it is assessed as “uniquely human”\(^8\).

Primary emotions are shared by humans and animals. Advanced cognitive processes are not necessary for their emergence. They appear in early ontogeny and are of universal and innate character. According to Leyens\(^9\), the representatives of ingroups and outgroups are not differentiated in the dimension of primary emotions.

**Studies on infrahumanization**

Leyens, Demoulin, Vaes, Gaunt and Paladino\(^10\) conducted a study using the Implicit Association Test – IAT. The IAT measures the strength of associations between

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concepts and evaluations or stereotypes. The main idea is that making a response is easier when closely related items share the same response key. Researchers were measuring the timing of secondary emotions categorization to the category “Us” and category “They”. The research showed that the time of categorization of secondary emotions to the category “They” is significantly longer than to the category “Us”. Secondary emotions category is therefore very much in line with the category “We”, however, it is poorly consistent with the category “They”, also at the level of implicit processing. The research showed no difference in case of primary emotions, which suggests that this category is associated both with the category “We” as well as “They”. Paladino, Leyens, Rodriguez, Rodriguez, Gaunt and Demoulin\textsuperscript{11} received similar results. In their studies, the Belgians were an ingroup, and the Arabs were an outgroup. Also in this case, the categorization of secondary emotions to an ingroup proceeded significantly faster. The strength of implicit association was therefore greater in term of the relationship between the ingroup and the names of secondary emotions, than in the case of the outgroup.

Studies carried out on groups of students from Spain and the Canary Islands show that the phenomenon of infrahumanization is not dependent on the sign of emotion, both positive and negative emotions can be primary (for example: curiosity, pain, joy, sadness, fear, trust, rage) or secondary (for example: amusement, frustration, fright, compassion, shame, remorse, melting-mood). This is what distinguishes it from discrimination and favoritism\textsuperscript{12}.

The conflict between groups favors infrahumanization, however, is not essential to its occurrence, which stabilizes the universality of the phenomenon\textsuperscript{13}. Also the level of knowledge about the outgroup does not limit infrahumanization, which means that it can not be explained by the concept of familiarity. Studies revealed that the range of information about the members of the outgroup does not modify the phenomenon\textsuperscript{14}.


Tomasz Baran\(^{15}\) conducted a study on a group of high school students, which confirmed the occurrence of infrahumanization among Poles. The respondents were given a questionnaire containing the list of secondary and primary emotions. Both among the primary and secondary emotions there were emotions of a positive and negative nature. The task was to assign which emotions do the members of the ingroup (high school students), and the outgroup (technical college students) experience most often. The results showed that the respondents attributed a significantly greater ability to experience secondary emotions to the ingroup than to the outgroup.

Universality and stability of the phenomena are supported also by the results of research conducted among the real social groups. The research was conducted on a group of 98 students who declared themselves as Catholic. The respondents’ task was to assess religious groups in terms of experiencing emotions. Assessment covered four groups: Catholics, Orthodox Christians, Muslims and Judaists. The attitude towards particular religious groups was also measured. The results indicated the most positive attitude towards the ingroup, so the effect of favouritism occurred. In addition, respondents attributed lower overall emotional sensitivity to all outgroups than to the ingroup, which means that also the effect of dementalization occurred, referring to a wholesale denial of mind in the outgroups. Also an effect of infrahumanization of all outgroups was observed\(^{16}\).

The effect of infrahumanization was also observed in the so-called minimal group paradigm, which is a method for investigating the minimal conditions required for infrahumanization to occur between groups\(^{17}\). The condition for its occurrence is the activation of collective identity, and the ingroup needs to have certain significance to respondents. If there is no personal significance, for example due to the fact that the ingroup is distinguished on the basis of the roll of the dice, the respondents do not identify with it\(^{18}\). In case of the outgroup, just thinking about a particular group is suf-


Cultural aspects of infrahumanization

Studies by Kofta and Mirosławska indicate that infrahumanization occurs at the same level of intensity in minimal and real groups. In the case of real groups, however, there was a greater tendency to assign both the primary and secondary emotions, and therefore tendency to perceive more intense emotional experience. For minimal groups, greater tendency to assign primary emotions to the outgroup occurred.

Mirosławska conducted a survey on twenty-eight female and male students of humanities. Researcher presented pairs of images to the respondents and asked them to select the one they like more and to state the reasons for their choice. Then, the respondents received information that some of the other persons have made the same choice, and some of them have made different choices. It was the way to create minimal groups. Then respondents were asked to assign emotions and character traits to members of both groups, given the false information that aesthetic preferences reflect the personality of a man. The survey results indicated the presence of dementalization (referring to a wholesale denial of mind in the outgroup) and infrahumanization of the outgroup, as well as an effect of the ingroup favoritism.

Another study by Mirosławska, carried out on a group of thirty-two female and male students of humanities in the conditions of minimal groups, had an analogous procedure to the preceding survey, but by the end of the study, participants were asked to evaluate the similarity in terms of character traits of two triple groups of speakers. Respondents received information that one set contains speeches of the ingroup members, and a second of the outgroup members or vice versa. In this study, the infrahumanization effect was also observed. There were also the effects of favoritism of the ingroup and homogenization of the outgroup, but none of these effects correlated with infrahumanization, which may indicate that infrahumanization and favorization of the ingroup are separate phenomena. Interestingly, similar studies conducted on groups of students of non-humanities, did not show a statistically significant level of infrahumanization, which may mean that aesthetic preferences were important for the students of the humanities, but not for other students.

Infrahumanization effect can be observed in groups of low and high status. However, Vaes and Paladino report that infrahumanization effect is stronger when

21 For: M. Tarnowska, P. Sławuta, M. Kofta, Procesy dehumanizowania „obcych”..., p. 131-165.
the status of one’s own group is subjectively assessed as high, than in the case of status assessed as low. The influence of status is smaller in studies comparing emotions than intelligence or linguisticabilities. This allows showing the effect of infrahumanization also for members of groups with low status in relation to groups of high social position. Leyens, Rodriguez-Perez, Rodriguez-Torres, Gount, Paladino, Vaes and Demoulin\textsuperscript{23} conducted a study which showed that Canarian people, as a group of low social status, to the same extent attributed fewer secondary emotions to Spaniards living on the continent (who have a higher social status) as the Spaniards from the mainland to Canarian people.

However, above mentioned groups live in different areas and Canarians on everyday basis do not experience domination of having a higher status Spaniards from the mainland. Miranda, Gouveia-Pereira and Vaes\textsuperscript{24}, after conducting research on groups of low status who experience actual marginalization in relation to the group of higher status, received different results. They examined the Romani Portuguese, and black Portuguese. They asked the respondents to evaluate the outgroup, which had a higher social status – white Portuguese. At the beginning, the respondents were asked to generate features that they consider characteristically human. Then they were asked to assign generated features to an ingroup and an outgroup. The results indicate that neither Romani population nor black people attributed to the white Portuguese fewer human characteristics than to their own group. On the other hand, white Portuguese attributed less human characteristics both to Romani and black Portuguese. However, the differences in results of research on Spaniards and Canarian people and on Romani and black Portuguese may also result from differences in research methodology.

Activation of a common group, superior to the ingroup and the outgroup, turns out to be insignificant for the phenomenon of infrahumanization\textsuperscript{25}. Such strategies are effective in reducing stereotypes, which are thoughts which can be adopted about specific types of individuals or certain ways of doing things, but turn out to be insignificant for infrahumanization - indicating the individuality of both phenomena.


According to Delgado, Rodriguez-Perez, Vaez, Leyens, Betancor\textsuperscript{26}, infrahumanization is a ductile phenomenon, which means that depending on how the group is perceived, the members can be infrahumanized by the respondents or not. Infrahumanization effect may be weakened or even eliminated in the case of intentional action in the conditions of access to free cognitive resources, such as attention, recognition, and memory, whose capacity directly determines the complexity and quantity of processing that people can manage\textsuperscript{27}. According to Baran\textsuperscript{28}, this effect may be waived when an ingroup and an outgroup cooperate with each other, or if they compete in terms of so called intelligent rivalry, which requires usage of higher cognitive functions, especially if identification with an ingroup is not strong. Research on groups of football fans\textsuperscript{29} indicate that the effect of infrahumanization can be waived, or even reversed, when the dimension of primary emotions constitutes the image of the ingroup.

According to Pereira, Vala and Leyens\textsuperscript{30}, members of the foreign group are less infrahumanized when external sources of information, such as scientific research, attribute secondary emotions to them. According Leyens et al.\textsuperscript{31}, also individualization limits the infrahumanization effect. Therefore infrahumanization does not occur when respondents do not judge a person through the prism of the group affiliation.

An interesting result was obtained in studies that checked the level of infrahumanization by Caucasian (white) Brazilians in black and white skin color Brazilians comparison. The respondents were given the information about professional success or failure of the individuals concerned. It turned out that the effect of infrahumanization was greater in case of people of a black skin colour, as well as those experiencing failure (Lima, Vala 2005)\textsuperscript{32}. Groups that often are objects of infrahumanization are


\textsuperscript{28} T. Baran, Dehumanizacja w stosunkach międzygrupowych, Warszawa 2007.


also, among others, sexually objectified women, immigrants or nationals of countries which do not have a good reputation among respondents\textsuperscript{33}.

Marcu and Chryssoochou (2005)\textsuperscript{34} compared the attitude of the British and Romanians to Romani people. It turned out that the British infrahumanized Romani to a much greater extent than the Romanians. These results may be due to the fact that the difference between the economic status of Romani and the majority group is much higher in the United Kingdom.

Bilewicz, Spencer and Castano (2006)\textsuperscript{35} question the essentialist character of infrahumanization and understanding of this phenomenon as an automatic consequence of the categorization by division into an ingroup and an outgroup. The results of their study indicate rather its functionalist nature, as a justification for class domination and stabilizer of hierarchical structure. The survey was conducted in Poland. Participants were presented the story of accident, in which a driver died, which was of Polish or Russian nationality. A manipulation on social class of a victim was used. The victim was presented as a manual worker or a member of the board of directors of the company. The description stated that the person drank a glass of strong alcohol before the accident. In case of the worker it was vodka, and in case of the member of the board of directors – cognac. The participants were asked to assess emotions which the members of the close family of the victim could experience. There was no statistically significant difference in attributing primary and secondary emotions to members of the Polish and Russian family in case of wealthy people. But when participants evaluated poor families, they attributed far less secondary emotions to the Russian family than to Polish one.

As observed by Demoulin, Leyens and Yzerbyt\textsuperscript{36}, there is a link between infrahumanization and nationalism, however infrahumanization usually has a hidden form\textsuperscript{37}, while nationalism – overt form. Both phenomena, however, are characterized by bringing the ingroup over the outgroup. It is confirmed by studies of Viki

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{33} J. P. Leyens, M. P. Paladino, J. Vaes, Esencja i umysł..., p. 97-130.
\item\textsuperscript{34} For: M. Bilewicz, Funkcjonalna dehumanizacja..., p. 131-165.
\item\textsuperscript{35} For: Ibidem, p. 131-165.
\item\textsuperscript{36} S. Demoulin, J. P. Leyens, V. Yzerbyt, Lay theories of essentialism. “Group Processes & Intergroup Relations”, 2006, no. 9, p. 25-42.
\end{itemize}
Cultural aspects of infrahumanization

and Calitri\textsuperscript{38}, which showed a significant positive correlation between infrahumanization of the foreign outgroup and nationalism, and negative between infrahumanization and patriotism.

Demoulin, Cortes and Leyens\textsuperscript{39} conducted a study in which they presented to the participants descriptions of fortunate and unfortunate events happening to members of the ingroup and the outgroup. The participants were assessing the impact of these events on the primary and secondary emotions of an author. The results varied according to which of these groups the events concerned. In the assessment of the ingroup, participants indicated that more secondary emotions had been presented to them than in the case of an outgroup, even if in fact this was not true. Assigning primary emotions in a greater extent to the ingroup was not observed.

Brown\textsuperscript{40} mentions studies which show the impact of infrahumanization on emotions in relation to a representative of the ingroup and the outgroup. In the Italian experiments, a person was shown to participants. The person was of a typically Italian name, perceived as a representative of an ingroup, or of a name sounding African, representing an outgroup. These persons were expressing primary or secondary emotions. It turned out that the expression of secondary emotions by a representative of the ingroup was associated with pro-social reactions of the respondents, including expression of solidarity at the linguistic level, increase of conformism on a latent level, and acceleration of approach response at the level of automatic reactions. In the case of a representative an outgroup expression of secondary emotions caused opposite reactions of the respondents. These results indicate that secondary emotions shown by members of outgroups may be met with aversion and lack of understanding.

Foregoing thesis is supported by the study, which analyzed the content of 178 articles, which appeared in the American press during the three days following the two disasters: Hurricane Katrina in US, which caused the death of around 1600 people, and the tsunami in Asia, which caused about 230 000 deaths. A number of words denoting primary and secondary emotions was calculated. It turned out that in the description of Hurricane Katrina the names of secondary emotions were much more likely to appear than in the description of tsunami\textsuperscript{41}.

\textsuperscript{40} R. Brown, \textit{Procesy grupowe: Dynamika wewnątrzgrupowa i międzygrupowa}, Gdańsk 2006.
\textsuperscript{41} M. Bilewicz, \textit{Funkcjonalna dehumanizacja...}, p. 131-165.
Castano and Ginger-Sorolla\textsuperscript{42} conducted a study on the response to information about immoral behavior. During the study, nationals of countries, which are former colonial empires, assessed their ingroup or members of other former colonial empires, and the members of the colonized countries. Similar studies were conducted in different contexts. Among others, a study on imaginary situation in which people destroyed the civilization of aliens. Results of these studies indicate that if the perpetrators are members of the ingroup, victims are infrahumanized. This does not happen when the perpetrators are members of the outgroup. These results support the thesis that infrahumanization can justify aggression in intergroup relations.

In the Polish study information materials on violence against Iraqi prisoners during the stabilization mission were presented to students. One group received information that the perpetrators were Polish soldiers, while the other, that they were American soldiers. Then, a set of emotions was presented to the students: two positive primary emotions and two negative primary emotions, two positive secondary emotions and two negative secondary emotions. Respondents were asked to identify which of these emotions and to what extent the prisoner experiencing violence could feel. In addition, the level of prejudice against three groups was measured: Germans, Arabs and Jews. In the group of respondents informed that perpetrators of violence were Poles, the phenomenon of infrahumanization of victims was observed. This phenomenon was not observed in the case of a group that received information that the aggressors were Americans. Interestingly, when people from the second group learned that the perpetrators were Poles, they ceased to perceive secondary emotions in Iraqi prisoners. The measured level of prejudice was lower in the group of respondents referring to immoral behavior of their own group. It turns out that the threat for a positive image of an ingroup on the dimension of morality leads to infrahumanization of the group of victims, while reducing prejudices towards the outgroup. This may indicate that infrahumanization is a way of distancing oneself from the awareness of the suffering inflicted on outgroups, which supports the intergroup violence.

Results of other studies, conducted by Bilewicz, Imhoff and Drogosz\textsuperscript{43}, support this thesis. The first study was based on a comparison of the extent to which meat eaters and vegetarians attribute primary and secondary emotions to animals. The study was conducted on a group of 123 Germans, including vegans, vegetarians and meat-eaters.


It has been shown that eating meat was associated with a lower level of secondary emotions attributed to animals. There was no difference in attributing primary emotions. The second study was conducted on seventy four Polish students. Half of them were vegetarians, and half were meat-eaters. It confirmed the results of the first study. In the third study researchers examined the attribution of primary and secondary emotions to pigs, which are considered to be edible animals, and dogs - commonly considered in Polish culture as inedible. Meat-eaters tended not to attribute secondary emotions to pigs. The degree of attribution of primary and secondary emotions to dogs was similar in the group of vegetarians and meat-eaters.

Wójcik, Cisłak and Zięba (2012) wondered whether infrahumanization is a phenomenon caused by the use of specific methodology, which consists of selecting those of the primary and secondary emotions, which characterize the representatives of the ingroup and the outgroup, or selecting on the Likert scale the extent to which, according to respondents, representatives of particular groups feel the given emotion. Researchers decided to conduct a study, which would take into account samples of spontaneous and free natural language, derived from the descriptions of the groups which are involved in the actual intergroup conflicts. The study analyzed two sets of texts. The first was a text material collected from 400 blogs of US soldiers stationing in Iraq between 2003 and 2008. The second set consisted of thirty seven diaries written by the soldiers of the Entente, fighting on the French front during the First World War. All materials were written in English. An automated version of the method of semantic fields analysis was used in the study, which means that the frequency of co-occurrence of words relating to the writer, writer’s ingroup or outgroup, with words related to the primary and secondary emotions, was checked in the texts. Then differences in proportions of primary and secondary emotions attributed to particular categories were analyzed. Researchers found that differences in proportions of attributed primary and secondary emotions are statistically significant. The proportion of secondary to primary emotions turned out to be dependent on the object to which these emotions have been attributed. Secondary emotions were most often attributed to the “Self”, and significantly more often to the ingroup than to the outgroup. This indicates that during spontaneous descriptions of intergroup relations, the outgroup is infrahumanized, what supports the concept Leyens et al.44. The result showing that the most secondary emotions in comparison to primary emotions are attributed to oneself is also interesting. This may be a sign of a significant role of Self in the pro-

cess of attributing humanity to other people, both belonging to the ingroup and the outgroup.

According to Leyens\textsuperscript{45}, neither necessary nor sufficient conditions for the occurrence of the phenomenon of infrahumanization are known. It is certain that identification with an ingroup and collective identity are necessary\textsuperscript{46}. However, it is not known whether activation of collective identity should be based on the differences between groups, the perceived inferiority of the outgroup or the superiority of the ingroup.

To sum up, presented research studies suggest that the phenomenon of infrahumanization is not dependent on the sign of emotion and the conflict between groups is not necessary to its occurrence. Also the level of knowledge about the outgroup does not limit infrahumanization. The condition for its occurrence is the activation of collective identity, and the ingroup needs to have certain significance to respondents. In case of the outgroup, just thinking about a particular group is sufficient. Activation of a common group, superior to the ingroup and the outgroup, turns out to be insignificant for the phenomenon of infrahumanization. Infrahumanization effect can be observed in groups of low and high status. However, infrahumanization effect is stronger when the status of one’s own group is subjectively assessed as high, than in the case of status assessed as low. Also, infrahumanization effect may be weakened or even eliminated in the case of intentional action in the conditions of access to free cognitive resources, such as attention, recognition, and memory, whose capacity directly determines the complexity and quantity of processing that people can manage. The effect of infrahumanization can be waived, or even reversed, when the dimension of primary emotions constitutes the image of the ingroup. Some results suggest its functionalist nature, as a justification for class domination and stabilizer of hierarchical structure or even aggression, by distancing oneself from the awareness of the suffering inflicted on outgroups. Studies do not, however, answer the question, whether infrahumanization is a culturally universal phenomena. There is a significant lack of studies carried out in Eastern cultures, especially in comparison with the Western ones.


Research issue and general goal of the Study I and Study II

The goal of a Study I and Study II, presented in this article, is to examine the phenomenon of infrahumanization in the context of intercultural differences. They focus on relationships between the country of origin and infrahumanization and try to answer the question, whether the intensity of infrahumanization effect vary between respondents from different countries. Especially a diversity of the culture between East and West, together with its consequences for the formation of the specifics of “Self” in form of individualism and collectivism, seems interesting in case of infrahumanization and was examined in the Study II. Studies presented in the introduction did not include a comparison of Western and Eastern countries. This is why a large part of formulated questions were of an exploratory nature. Lack of direct empirical or theoretical datum justified the formulation of research questions in a non-directional form.

Presented empirical studies are fragmentary and do not enable to draw general conclusions, but they are presented as an example which may help the reader to gain a greater insight into the infrahumanization.

Due to the universality of the phenomenon, at the starting point its occurrence in all cultural contexts was expected. This expectation is justified by a lot of research results indicating the universal nature of infrahumanization⁴⁷, although not all researchers share this view⁴⁸. Demoulin et al.⁴⁹ reported that the activation of thinking about an outgroup is required to the occurrence of infrahumanization, and in the case of an in-group it is required to activate the collective identity and significance of the ingroup for the respondent. Such a substantial identity in the present study is the national identity.

Study I: Exploratory question

The aim of the study was to examine whether there are differences in the intensity of the infrahumanization phenomenon between representatives of different nationalities, on the sample of a group of Poles and Bulgarians. The study was quasi-experimental.

⁴⁸ M. Bilewicz, *Funkcjonalna dehumanizacja...*, p. 131-165.
The exploratory question was as follows: Will, in the two national groups, a statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup occur, with the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup?

Study I: Dependent and independent variables and their operationalization

The following variables were operationalized:

- The dependent variable - infrahumanization;
- The independent variable - nationality.

A definitional indicator, which comes from the description of infrahumanization phenomenon made by Leyens, was used. It is expressed by the fulfillment of two conditions:

- the existence of statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to an ingroup and an outgroup.
- the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to an ingroup and an outgroup.

This indicator is a dichotomous variable indicating the occurrence of infrahumanization phenomenon or lack of it.

Variable nationality was operationalized by question of the nationality of the person examined in the questionnaire.

Study I: Respondents

The study involved 150 respondents. Half of them were students of the University of Warsaw, the other half were the students of the University of Sofia “St. Kliment Ohridski”. A group of Polish students consisted of forty-nine women and twenty-six men, while a group of Bulgarian students of sixty-four women and eleven men. The average age in the group of Polish students was twenty-two years (sd = 2,832), while in the group of Bulgarian students – twenty-one years (sd = 1,800).

Study I: Research procedure

The study was conducted on paper questionnaires and was implemented in two stages. The study took place at the University of Warsaw and at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”. In both cases the study had an individual character. The experimenter informed the respondent that taking part in the research is voluntary and anonymous and that the survey is of scientific nature, and asked to read the first page of the questionnaire and not to jump to the next pages before completing the task. In both experimental conditions an equal number of people were tested.

Study I: Research tools

Two questionnaires containing seven primary emotions (curiosity, pain, joy, sadness, fear, trust and rage) and seven secondary emotions (amusement, frustration, fright, compassion, shame, remorse, melting-mood) were used to measure the infrahumanization effect. A list of emotions was developed on the basis of studies conducted by Baran\(^{51}\). The respondents were indicating on a five-point scale (never, rarely, sometimes, often, very often) how frequently representatives of a particular group experience different kinds of emotions. Polish respondents evaluated representatives of the Polish and Lithuanian nationality, and Bulgarian respondents evaluated representatives of the Bulgarian and Serbian nationality. The nationalities were chosen due to the prevision that citizens of neighboring countries, as highly recognisable to respondents, will be a well distinguished outgroups. The questionnaire was drawn up in two languages – Polish and Bulgarian. The original version had been written in Polish. Bulgarian translation was done by a last year student of Slavic studies. Then, in order to verify the correctness of the translation, the questionnaire in Bulgarian was translated into Polish. Both language versions of the questionnaire had two variants, differing in order of matrices for measuring the infrahumanization effect. In other words, questionnaires for both groups were prepared in two versions: in one the intensity of experiencing emotions by members of the ingroup was evaluated first, and then the outgroup, in the second version – first the intensity of experiencing emotions by members of the outgroup was evaluated, and then the ingroup. The aim of this manipulation was to reduce the impact of the order in which the objects were activated (the ingroup and the outgroup) on the attribution of intensity of emotions.

\(^{51}\) T. Baran, *Dehumanizacja w stosunkach międzygrupowych*...
The questionnaire also contained additional questions, in which participants indicated their age and gender.

**Study I: Results**

The analysis included data from all participants who fully completed the questionnaire, namely 150 people, seventy-five persons of every nationality. Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to verify the normality of distribution. Distributions of variables were significantly different from the normal distribution, both in the total sample and in national groups. Therefore, non-parametric Wilcoxon signed-rank test was carried.

a) **Poles**

Analysis of Wilcoxon signed-rank test showed that in the group of Polish respondents the frequency of experiencing secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup was lower than the frequency of experiencing secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 1). Therefore, the condition of significance of the difference between the intensity of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

The frequency of experiencing the primary emotions attributed to the outgroup among Polish respondents was not statistically lower than the frequency of experiencing the primary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 1). The condition of lack of significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

**Table 1. Results of Wilcoxon signed-rank test on a definitional indicator of infra-humanization for Polish respondents.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M rank</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary emotions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingroup</td>
<td>29,20</td>
<td>-0,521</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outgroup</td>
<td>29,76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary emotions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingroup</td>
<td>21,81</td>
<td>-5,078</td>
<td>&lt;0,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outgroup</td>
<td>35,23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation
b) Bulgarians

In the group of Bulgarian respondents, the frequency of experiencing secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup was lower than the frequency of experiencing secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 2). Therefore, the condition of significance of the difference between the intensity of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

The frequency of experiencing the primary emotions attributed to the outgroup among Bulgarian respondents was not statistically lower than the frequency of experiencing the primary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 2). The condition of lack of significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

Table 2. Results of Wilcoxon signed-rank test on a definitional indicator of infrahumanization for Bulgarian respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M rank</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary emotions</td>
<td>ingroup</td>
<td>29.20</td>
<td>-0.924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>outgroup</td>
<td>29.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary emotions</td>
<td>ingroup</td>
<td>27.98</td>
<td>-2.052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>outgroup</td>
<td>31.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation

Study II: Hypothesis and exploratory questions

The aim of the study was to examine whether there are differences in the intensity of the infrahumanization phenomenon between representatives of different cultures of East and West, on the sample of a group of Poles and Indonesians. The study was quasi-experimental.

It is expected, that the effect of infrahumanization of the outgroup will occur in the total sample. A hypothesis can be formulated:

H1. Statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to an ingroup and an outgroup will occur, with the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup.
No empirical evidence on the cultural conditions of infrahumanization limits the ability to formulate further hypotheses. Only formulation of explorative questions is justified.

Q1. Does a statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup, with the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup occur in both national groups?

The second question is related to the issue indicated at the beginning of the article, whether despite of the universality of the infrahumanization phenomenon, its intensity is culturally varied. Therefore, the following question was formulated:

Q2. Does the value of the full index of infrahumanization differ significantly between national groups?

**Study II: Dependent and independent variables and their operationalization**

The following variables were operationalized:

- The dependent variable - infrahumanization;
- The independent variable - nationality.

Two indicators of infrahumanization were used. One was a full indicator of infrahumanization, same as in research of Kofta and Mirosławska\(^{52}\), calculated based on the basis of average values for primary and secondary emotions for the ingroup and the outgroup, calculated by the formula:

\[
\text{Infrahumanization} = \frac{\text{sum of secondary emotions for the ingroup}}{\text{sum of all emotions for the ingroup}} - \frac{\text{sum of secondary emotions for the outgroup}}{\text{sum of all emotions for the outgroup}}.
\]

A plus value denotes infrahumanization of the outgroup, negative – infrahumanization of the ingroup.

Second one was a definitional indicator, which comes from the description of infrahumanization phenomenon made by Leyens\(^{53}\). It is expressed by the fulfillment of two conditions:


• the existence of statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to an ingroup and an outgroup.
• the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to an ingroup and an outgroup.

This indicator is a dichotomous variable indicating the occurrence of infrahumanization phenomenon or lack of it.

Variable nationality was operationalized by question of the nationality of the person examined in order to grant the access code to the questionnaire.

Study II: Respondents

The study involved 120 respondents – sixty Poles and sixty Indonesians. A group of Polish respondents consisted of thirty-one women and twenty-nine men, while a group of Indonesian respondents consisted of twenty-four women and thirty-six men. The average age in the group of Polish respondents was twenty-eight years (sd = 8,045), while in the group of Indonesian respondents – twenty-six years (sd = 9,594).

Study II: Research procedure

The survey was conducted using a web application created specifically for this study, due to the difficulty of conducting research in two so distant countries. The study was individual, anonymous and single step. Each participant of the study received a one-time access code. Access to the platform was limited to 40 minutes. These procedures were aimed at the control of the research conditions.

Respondents filled a questionnaire designed to test the infrahumanization effect. Depending on the access code, respondents filled in a questionnaire in rotated order: version starting with the attribution of emotions of an ingroup or an outgroup. In the Polish group, fourteen women and sixteen men filled the questionnaire starting with questions about the average Indonesian (the outgroup), and seventeen women and thirteen men filled the questionnaire starting with questions about the average Pole (the ingroup). In the group of Indonesians, fourteen women and eighteen men filled the questionnaire starting with questions about the average Indonesian (the ingroup), and ten women and eighteen men filled the questionnaire starting with questions about the average Pole (the outgroup).
At the end of the questionnaire respondents answered questions indicating their gender, age and level of education.

**Study II: Research tools**

In order to operationalize the variables, a computer method was used. To carry out the study, four versions of the questionnaire were drawn up in the form of a web application. The questionnaire was prepared in two language versions – Polish and Indonesian. The original version was written in Polish. A translation into Indonesian was made by the by a graduate of oriental studies, who obtained an Indonesian language certificate on C1 level. Then, in order to verify the correctness of the translation, the Indonesian questionnaire was translated into Polish. Both language versions of the questionnaire had two variants, differing in order of matrices for measuring the infrahumanization effect. In other words, like in the study I, the order in which the respondents estimated the intensity of experiencing emotions by members of the ingroup and the outgroup was rotated. The aim of this manipulation was to reduce the impact of the order in which the objects were activated (the ingroup and the outgroup) on the attribution of intensity of emotions. The questionnaire contained two tasks and additional questions, in which respondents indicated their age, gender and level of education.

To measure the infrahumanization effect, two questionnaires containing seven primary emotions (curiosity, pain, joy, sadness, fear, trust and rage) and seven secondary emotions (amusement, frustration, fright, compassion, shame, remorse, melting-mood) were used. A list of emotions was developed on the basis of studies conducted by Baran\(^5\). Respondents indicated on a five-point scale (never, rarely, sometimes, often, very often) how often representatives of an ingroup and an outgroup experience different kinds of emotions. Questionnaires have been prepared in two language versions – Polish and Indonesian. In both groups, respondents evaluated representatives of Polish and Indonesian nationality. In the Study I the nationalities were chosen due to the prevision that citizens of neighboring countries, as highly recognisable to respondents, will be a well distinguished outgroups. In the Study II more neutral nationalities were chosen to avoid the intensification of infrahumanization due to the potential strongly negative attitude towards the outgroup. The various emotions (primary and secondary) were mixed, but the order in both language versions did not differ.

\(^5\) T. Baran, *Dehumanizacja w stosunkach międzygrupowych...*
Study II: Results

The analysis included data from all participants who fully completed the questionnaire, namely 120 people, sixty of every nationality. Distributions of variables were significantly different from the normal distribution, both in the total sample and in national groups. Therefore, non-parametric tests were carried. Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to verify the normality of distribution.

In the study, rotation of the order of tasks was used to avoid the influence of priming on infrahumanization effect. Analyses were started by comparing the intensity of infrahumanization in groups varied by the order of activation of an ingroup and an outgroup. The full indicator of infrahumanization was used for comparison. Due to non-normal distribution of the variable, Mann-Whitney U test was used. Analysis showed no differences between the groups. Respondents attributing first the emotionality of the ingroup are not characterized by a higher level of infrahumanization than respondents attributing first the emotionality of the outgroup (see: Table 3). These results show that the order of tasks did not affect the infrahumanization effect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>U</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup first</td>
<td>2060,00</td>
<td>0,168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup first</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation

The hypothesis assumed that there is a statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup, with the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup.

Analysis by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not confirm the normal distribution of variables. Due to the non-normal distribution, Wilcoxon signed-rank test was used. Analysis of secondary emotions by Wilcoxon signed-rank test showed that the sum of secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup is lower than the sum of the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 4). Therefore, the conditions of the significance of the difference between the intensity of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.
Analysis of Wilcoxon signed-rank test showed that the sum of primary emotions attributed to the outgroup is lower than the sum of primary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 4). Condition of lack of significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup have not been met.

Table 4. Results of Wilcoxon signed-rank test on a definitional indicator of infra-humanization for all respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary emotions</td>
<td>-4.634</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary emotions</td>
<td>-7.177</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation

First exploratory question concerned testing the difference between the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup separately in national groups of Poles and Indonesians.

a) Poles

Analysis by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not confirm the normal distribution of variables. Due to the non-normal distribution, Wilcoxon signed-rank test was used. The analysis showed that the sum of secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup is lower than the sum of the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 5). Therefore, the condition of significance of the difference between the intensity of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

Next analysis showed that the sum of primary emotions attributed to the outgroup is not significantly different from the sum of primary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 5). Condition of lack of significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

Table 5. Results of Wilcoxon signed-rank test on a definitional indicator of infra-humanization for Polish respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary emotions</td>
<td>1.580</td>
<td>0.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary emotions</td>
<td>-3.652</td>
<td>&lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation
b) Indonesians

Analysis by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not confirm the normal distribution of variables. Due to the non-normal distribution, Wilcoxon signed-rank test was used. The analysis showed that the sum of secondary emotions attributed to the out-group is lower than the sum of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 6). Therefore, the condition of significance of the difference between the intensity of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

Another analysis showed that the sum of primary emotions attributed to the ingroup is higher than the sum of the secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup (see: Table 6). Condition of lack of significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have not been met.

Table 6. Results of Wilcoxon signed-rank test on a definitional indicator of infrahumanization for Indonesian respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary emotions</td>
<td>4.955</td>
<td>&lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary emotions</td>
<td>-6.219</td>
<td>&lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second exploratory question concerned the difference in the value of the full index of infrahumanization in national groups.

The full index of infrahumanization was used for the comparison. Analysis by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not confirm the normal distribution of variable. Due to the non-normal distribution, the Mann-Whitney U test was used. The analysis showed that the differences between groups were not statistically significant. Indonesians are not characterized by a higher level of infrahumanization than Poles.

Table 7. Results of Mann-Whitney U test on Polish-Indonesian comparison of the full index of infrahumanization.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>U</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>1633,00</td>
<td>0,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation
In summary, among Polish respondents the difference in attribution of emotions to the ingroup and the outgroup occurred in case of secondary emotions, but not in case of primary emotions. Among Indonesian respondents differences in both categories occurred. No significant difference between nations in terms of full index of infrahumanization was observed.

Additional analysis concerned the differences between the nationalities in the average intensity of all emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup.

Analysis by Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not confirm the normal distribution of variables. Due to the non-normal distribution, Mann-Whitney U test was used. The analysis showed that Indonesians attribute a greater intensity of the emotions to their ingroup than Poles. However, there was no significant difference in average intensity of emotions attributed by Indonesians to Poles and by Poles to Indonesians.

Table 8. Results of Mann-Whitney U test on Polish-Indonesian comparison of the average intensity of all emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>1283,00</td>
<td>p = 0,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>2018,00</td>
<td>=0,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own compilation

Discussion of results

In the first study, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed the impact of variable Nationality of the infrahumanization effect, which in the case of Polish respondents was significantly stronger than among Bulgarian respondents. There are several possible explanations for this result According to Baran55, the infrahumanization effect can be waived under the conditions of cooperation or intelligent competition. Serbs may be one of such groups for Bulgarians, which affects the greater tendency to attribute secondary emotions to them. Another explanation for this phenomenon may be related to the image of the ingroup. Maybe Bulgarians constitute the image of their ingroup based on the primary emotions to a greater extent than Poles.

55 T. Baran, Dehumanizacja w stosunkach międzygrupowych...
The attribution of intensity of experiencing primary emotions to the ingroup and the outgroup did not differ between groups, but attribution of intensity of experiencing secondary emotions varied. This result corresponds with results of many studies supporting the theory that people attribute less secondary emotions to members of the outgroup than to members of the ingroup and do not differentiate between the representatives of the ingroup and the outgroup on the dimension of primary emotions.\footnote{Cf: J. P. Leyens, M. P. Paladino, R. Rodriguez-Torres, S. Demoulin, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Gount, \textit{The emotional side of prejudice...}, p. 186-197; J. P. Leyens, S. Demoulin, J. Vaes, R. Gaunt, M. P. Paladino, \textit{Infra-humanization: The Wall of Group Differences...}, p. 139-172; J. P. Leyens, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Rodriguez-Torres, R. Gount, P. Paladino, J. Vaes, S. Demoulin, \textit{Psychological essentialism and differentia attribution...}, p. 395-411.}

In the second study one hypothesis and 2 research questions were examined. Results of the analysis confirm the hypothesis only partly and indicate differences between groups. Analysis concerned nationality and infrahumanization phenomenon. Its aim was to replicate results obtained previously by different researchers, indicating universal nature of infrahumanization. New element concerned verification of the expectation that infrahumanization is a culturally universal phenomenon.

Hypothesis of this study anticipated the occurrence of infrahumanization effect throughout the sample. There was no occurrence of the infrahumanization phenomenon, understood as denying secondary emotions to the outgroup in the absence of differentiation in terms of primary emotions. Respondents were attributing a lower frequency of experiencing emotions, both secondary and primary, to the outgroup than to the ingroup. This result seems to stand in opposition to the statement of Leyens at al.\footnote{J. P. Leyens, B. P. Cortes, S. Demoulin, J. F. Fiske, R. Gaunt, M. P. Paladino, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Rodriguez-Torres, J. Vaes, \textit{Emotional prejudice...}, p. 395-411.}, that infrahumanization is a universal phenomenon, for which occurrence social categorization is sufficient.

However, not all authors agree with the thesis on universal character of infrahumanization. For example Bilewicz, Spencer and Castano (2006)\footnote{For: M. Bilewicz, \textit{Funkcionalna dehumanizacja...}, p. 131-165.}, question the universal character of infrahumanization and understanding of this phenomenon as a consequence of the automatic categorization by division to the ingroup and the outgroup. In the view of their thesis, which states that infrahumanization is justification for class domination and stabilizer of hierarchical structure, existence of infrahumanization effect in this study would not be justified. Indonesians and Poles are groups living in distant areas, so they can not come into frequent interactions. However, the derived differentiation in terms of both types of emotions requires commentary.
Systematically lower tendency for attribution of primary and secondary emotions to the outgroup may be an expression of a different perception of the others in terms of emotional functioning. Aforementioned argument of the lack of interaction between the two national groups, which may limit infrahumanization, may also promote differentiation in terms of emotional functioning. The proximity of the ingroup promotes greater availability of emotions, hence the intensity of attribution of primary and secondary emotions is greater to the ingroup.

First research question in this study concerned the occurrence of the infrahumanization effect in separate national groups. It turned out that the classical phenomenon of infrahumanization, understood as avoidance of attribution of the secondary emotions to the outgroup in the absence of differentiation in terms of primary emotions, occurred only in a group of Polish respondents (See: Tab 5). In the group of Indonesian respondents, frequency of experiencing emotions by the outgroup, both secondary and primary, was attributed as lower (See: Table 6).

The result obtained shows that infrahumanization is characteristic rather for Poles than for Indonesians. Only in the group of Poles the classic effect of infrahumanization of the outgroup occurred. The question arises, why Indonesians attributed less emotions, both primary and secondary, to the outgroup? This result can be explained by the phenomenon of familiarity. In everyday life the average Indonesian rarely has the opportunity to come up with information about Poles, and especially in the context of emotional functioning. For Indonesians the category “Poles” often involves only superficial elements. Thus, physical and psychological distance may be a reason for reduction of attributed emotionality of the outgroup in both types of emotions, in comparison to the ingroup. Indonesians tend more to attribute a general “emotional coldness” to the outgroup. However, this effect has not occurred in the group of Polish respondents. The final conclusion of what mechanism is responsible for this result at this stage is not possible and require further research.

The last research question concerned the impact of nationality on the level of infrahumanization of the outgroup. The results of the study showed no significant differences between the two groups in the full index of infrahumanization. These results may indicate a cultural versatility of the infrahumanization phenomenon.

An interesting result is the higher attribution of total emotionality to an ingroup among Indonesians than among Poles, with in the absence of significant differences in the case of an outgroup (See: Table 6). This result provides arguments for greater integration with the ingroup among people coming from the eastern cultural circle. Poles, as representatives of Western culture, to a lesser extent than Indonesians dif-
Cultural aspects of infrahumanization
derentiate the ingroup and the outgroup, whereby the level of emotionality attributed
to these groups is characterized by smaller differences.

Presented studies do not prove the claims of Leyens et al\textsuperscript{59}, that infrahumanization
is of a universal nature, to which only the occurrence of social categorization
is necessary, but may suggest a cultural differentiation of the phenomenon. But the question, whether infrahumanization
is an attribution error typical for individualistic cultures, remains still open and the causes of variation between
national groups require further investigation.

Summary

Infrahumanization is a specific attribution error due to the difference in the perception of the ingroup and the outgroup on a dimension of humanity. The subject of the paper includes two quazi-experimental studies concerning cultural conditions of infrahumanization. Occurrence of the effect of infrahumanization among all the respondents was expected and it was speculated if cultural differences in the intensity of the phenomenon occur. The first study involved 150 people, seventy five of Polish origin and seventy five of Bulgarian origin. The second study involved 120 people, sixty of Polish origin and sixty of Indonesian origin. The hypothesis was partially confirmed. The classic effect of infrahumanization occurred among Polish and Bulgarian respondents, but the effect was stronger among Poles. The classic infrahumanization effect did not occur among Indonesian participants.

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mgr Anna Ciechomska – a graduate of Psychology at the University of Warsaw. Currently, a Research Assistant at the Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development of the Polish Academy of Sciences and a PhD student at the Warsaw School of Economics.
We and our Enemy. The self-perception of the Romans through their imagination of the Carthaginians

Introduction

The self-perception of identity is based on the realisation of the fact of coexisting with other people and their identities. Such affirmation gets even stronger if the carriers of the identities in question remain in a position of conflict. Therefore, the Enemy may be considered the Other par excellence, for they do not just catalyse the self-perception but one way or another endanger our identity and because of that compels us to comprehend, protect and reaffirm it. If no actual enemy is present, or the existing one does not fulfil its role properly, one can be created. It comes with particular ease since what is relevant for construction of identity of the group is not factual properties of the Enemy but their image, quite often very differentiating from its original reference.

The individual enmities by their nature are confined to the antagonized pair and their lifespan does not exceed that of the interested parties. On the other hand, the enmities between collectives can be passed from one generation to another and endure not only the disappearance of the original reasons behind it, but even the extinction of the Enemy. The object of my examination, the ancient enmity of the Romans and the Carthaginians, one of the most bitter and enduring in the history, serves as an example of such feud. Its tremendous importance is based not only on its influence over the course of the political history of the Mediterranean, but also on the fact it played a pivotal role in shaping the Roman identity.

1 M. Vuorinen, Enemy images as Inversions of the Self, in: Enemy Images in War Propaganda, ed. M. Vuorinen, Cambridge 2012, p. 1: "The inclusion of some into a limited-membership community, e.g. a national, political or an ethnic group, necessarily presupposes the exclusion of certain others. An in-group identity and an out-group identity therefore become understandable only in relation to one another".
The methodological problems

A researcher of the topic at hand has to overcome tremendous obstacles right at the beginning of his way. The primordial difficulty is that of a practical lack of viable first-hand sources to document the animosity. Although coincidently the Roman literature started traditionally in 240 BC, just a year after the conclusion of the First Punic War, almost nothing of that archaic period has survived, and what we know of it, we learn from the spare citations and references included in works of later authors. It is an irrecoverable loss since great share of that lost texts was dedicated to the wars with Carthage, such as Naevius’ epic *Belli Punici Carmen*, Ennius’ *Annales* or Fabius Pictor’s prosaic historiography of the same title, to name just a few most prominent. What the modern scholars have deduced from the later references is that those destroyed monuments of the Roman literature were notoriously biased, slanderous to the detested Carthaginians and presenting a hyper-patriotic Roman point of view. The Carthaginian analogous literature – if it ever existed – cannot be of any help, since it was utterly destroyed in the Roman “culturcide” of their civilization. Because of that, later authors, even of Greek origin and therefore less inclined to pro-Roman bias, had to base their works almost entirely on that one-sided source material. “After three bloody wars against Carthage […] the Romans were not only responsible for the material destruction of her community, but also projected a malicious and distorted view of their vanquished enemies” – concluded one of the scholars. What we got in the result is a proof for the saying that “history is written by the victors”. This creates enormous challenge for the modern classical historians, who need to dig through layers and layers of Roman twisted interpretations and blatant fabrications in order to unearth Carthage and her people as they really

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were. For the author however, this handicap turns into an advantage, since what is important in the following examination is not who the Carthaginians really were, but firstly how the Romans perceived and imagined them and secondly how they saw themselves through that Punic prism. An actual challenge is to separate the views of the Romans of the middle Republic era, those who actually interact and fight with the Carthaginians, from the retrospective opinions of the posterior generations, although the latter hold their own value and are equally important to author’s deliberations. The image of the Enemy endures and influences long after the actual enemy vanishes and may be constantly recreated to serve current identity.

The similarities in body politics

The relationship of the Carthaginians and the Romans is rooted very deeply in the archaic history, reaching to the times of Etruscan hegemony. Later Roman intellectuals fictionally extended this connection into the mythical age, finest example being Vergil and his Aeneid, which, although it ostensibly portrays most ancient history, actually represents imperial mind-set of the Augustan age. Similarly, Silius Italicus’ epic poem of Punicca searches for the roots of the Punic Wars in the times of Dido, mixing history and legends.

The first generations of the Roman-Carthaginian relations were that of friendship, friendship born of common interest in overcoming the Greek influence in the Southern Italy and Sicily (so called Magna Graecia). Once the Hellenic power in the western Mediterranean had been decisively extinguished, two former allies almost instantly turned on each other and entered into a fierce contest for the dominion over the region, their first battlefield being Sicily (the First Punic War of 264-241 BC). Since that time the Carthaginians, a foe of magnitude never before encountered by the Romans, had become reimagined as the definitive Enemy.

5 H.H. Scullard, op. cit., p. 517.
6 With the failure of the Epirotic king Pyrrhus’ intervention on behalf of the Italian Greeks in 280-275 and the subsequent fall of Tarentum in 272.
7 E.S. Gruen, Rethinking the Other in Antiquity, Princeton-Oxford 2011, p. 115.
The Carthaginians proved themselves as an excellent choice for this role, since they represented a well-balanced blend of similarity and exoticism. Among the similarities the Romans – or being more precise Greco-Roman men of letters – noticed parallel political systems, comparable might and shared drive towards forging their own empire. This equality and comparability is best noticeable in the descriptions of the Second Punic War. Polybius, for whom the comparison of Rome and Carthage was one of the main research objectives, while explaining the reasons for which he described the military endeavours of 218-201 most thoroughly, states:

Moreover the two states themselves were at the precise period of their history when their institutions were as yet in their original integrity, their fortunes still at a moderate level, and their forces on an equal footing. So that those who wish to gain a fair view of the national characteristics and resources of the two had better base their comparison upon this war rather than upon those which came after.

Keeping in mind the fact that the ancient historiographers came exclusively from the upper echelons of their societies, an unexpected division emerges clearly from their texts, which runs across not ethnicities but social strata. If we are to believe Polybius, Livy and the others, the tensions between the rich and the poor, the exclusive ruling class and the masses troubled indiscriminately, although in warrying degrees, Rome, Carthage and all the Italian cities caught between them. The aristocratic historians are clearly biased and as a rule they show the upper classes as reasonable, whilst the people, or, speaking frankly, the mob, is presented as violent and mindless force, which is to be kept content but on a short leash. The Romans, in spite of the numerous strains, managed to maintain the unity of their nation and avoid civil strife. The other Italians and the Punic people did not.

As a reoccurring pattern in Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita* it is almost always the people, who are to be blamed for defection of one or the other Italian city to the Punic cause, whilst the elites urge for upholding the alliance with Rome as a course of action both moral and sensible. Quite similarly it is the Carthaginian mob who was to blame for blasphemous attack on the Roman envoys during the short-lived ceasefire granted

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10 Examples of such tensions can be found in: Plb. III 80; Liv. XXVII 21; Liv. XXXI 6.
by Scipio in 202, whilst reasonable authority figures tried, to no avail, to protect the integrity of their city. Even while describing the Enemy, pro-Roman writers did not forget the social divisions and did not degrade the Punic nation to one hostile mass, but clearly distinguished between the nobility and the common people. It may be seen as solidarity of the elites united by their common scorn for the mob.

The intellectuals of the late republican and imperial era tried to understand why the Republic, once so vigorous and effective, eventually declined and fell. The answer they found was that the Roman people lost their moral backbone. The supposed reason of this decay was the disappearance of formidable enemies, who would fill hearts of the people with healthy anxiety, thusly preventing the corrupting power of prosperity. This philosophical invention has been weaved into historical narratives and so Appian in his *Roman History*, explaining the reasons for which in 201 Scipio the Elder pressed for peace instead of utterly destructing Carthage, mentions

> There are some who think that in order to preserve the Roman discipline he wished to keep a neighbour and rival as a perpetual menace, so that they might never become intoxicated with success and careless by reason of the greatness of their prosperity.

Appian reiterates this concept, while describing the senatorial debate ca. 151 BC whether or not to start a new Punic war. For the destruction of the city advocated, of course, Cato the Elder, whilst his principal opponent was Scipio Nasica Corculum, a cousin of Scipio the Elder.

> Scipio Nasica held the contrary [to the Cato – ed. aut.] opinion that Carthage ought to be spared so that the Roman discipline, which was already relaxing, might be preserved through fear of her.

The concept of the disappearance of the Punic menace being a catalyst of decay of the old *virtus Romana* may belong to the realm of patriotic fantasy but the connection between the victorious struggle for the empire and disintegration of the old Roman

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11 App. Pun. 6.34.
12 One of the best known representatives of such view was 1st century BC statesman and historian C. Sallustius Crispus (Sallust); cf. J.M. Quillin, Information and Empire: Domestic Fear Propaganda in Republican Rome, 200-149 BCE, ”Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics” 2004, vol. 160, no 4, p. 768.
13 App. Pun. 9.65.
society is firmly established in the historiography. What is important for this analysis is that self-perceived rift between nobilitas and the common people, already present in the times of the Punic Wars and growing ever bigger alongside the empire and its prosperity. The descriptions of civil strives in Carthage, diagnosed as one of the reasons of her fall, served as a warning of what happens, if the common people gain to much influence over state affairs.

Polybius argues that Rome emerged victorious from the Punic Wars, because the city’s politics were influenced mostly by the Senate, while in Carthage it was the people, who held the greatest power; the Roman mixed government was supposed to be superior and a major factor in this city’s unprecedented success\textsuperscript{15}. Whether Polybius’ opinion of the Carthaginian constitution was correct is of secondary importance. The point is that ideas of this Greek historians pleased aristocratically-minded elites of Rome and influenced its intellectuals, including Cicero\textsuperscript{16}. The fate of Carthage served to them as a warning.

**The exoticism of “Punicness”: race, fashion and language**

However may Carthage and Rome be similar in their body politics, in the eyes and minds of the sons of Romulus the dominating quality of the Punic people was that of exoticism, miscomprehended and approached with a mixture of curiosity, haughtiness and antipathy. The nature of the differences was fundamental. The Romans were of Indo-European, or, to be more specific, Italic descent, while the Carthaginians constituted the westernmost outgrowth of the Phoenician, i.e. Semitic group, to some degree mixed with the native Berber populace. Therefore, both ethnicities represented two completely different traditions of language, religion, custom and even race\textsuperscript{17}. That last one feature is thusly accounted by Polybius:


\textsuperscript{17} It may be appropriate to remind the classical definition of an ethnic group provided by Max Weber: “[An ethnic group is one whose members] entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration (as quoted by R.D. Alba, *Ethnicity*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of Sociology. 2nd Edition*, vol. 2, ed. E.F. Borgatta and Rh. J.V. Montgomery, New York 2010, p. 841). Both the Carthaginians and the Romans with their distinct features and well established origin myths fit this formula perfectly.
The fact is that Italians [i.e. Romans and kin ethnicities – ed. aut.] as a nation are by nature superior to Phoenicians [Carthaginians and other Semitic settlers] and Libyans [native Berbers] both in physical strength and courage 18.

Even if the idea of racial superiority of Romans over Carthaginians came from Polybius alone (racism was a common theme in Greek political thought) and not his contemporary Roman surrounding, the thought had become available to the minds of literary Romans for centuries to come 19.

A more down-to-earth consequence of the differing racial features is that the physical appearance of the Punic people was noticeably alien; combined with the fact that the Carthaginians followed different fashion in clothes than the Romans, it caused that a Carthaginian could be instantly recognized by the Romans as a foreigner without even uttering a word (and vice versa). This fact can be observed in a manner exaggerated for comic purposes in Plautus’ comedy Poenulus (The Little Carthaginian) 20, in which the titular character of Hanno and his entourage, once introduced on the stage, instantly fall victim of rude remarks on their appearance. It is speculated that to amplify the effect special theatrical masks, designed to represent Punic men, were used 21.

Mil. (catching sight of Hanno, attended by his servants): But what bird is this, pray, that’s coming hither with the tunic on? / Is he from the baths, I wonder, enveloped in his cloak? / I’ faith, the countenance is surely Carthaginian. The man’s a Gugga

18 Plb. VI 52.10.

19 One must be careful while applying a modern-age category of “racism” to the Greco-Roman political thought, which application many scholars consider misjudged. Among proponents of “ancient racism” is B. Isaac (Proto-Racism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity, “World Archaeology” 2006, vol. 38, no. 1 (Race, Racism and Archaeology), p. 32.), who claims “that prototypes of racism were prevalent in Greek and Roman” contrary to “[the] consensus that racism as such originates in modern times. Since it is thought not to be attested earlier, conventional wisdom usually denies that there was any race hatred in the ancient world […] The prejudices that existed, so it is believed, were ethnic or cultural, not racial”. Decade earlier J.S. McClelland (From Polis to Cosmopolis, [in:] Idem, A History of Western Political Thought, London-New York 1996, p. 72) claimed similarly: “The ancient Greeks were racist in theory and practice in something like the modern sense. They divided the world, as Aristotle did, between Greeks and the rest, and their fundamental category of social explanation was race”.


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[word of unknown meaning – ed. aut.]. / I’ faith, he certainly has got some ancient and antiquated servants. / Ag.: How do you know? Mil.: Don’t you see the fellows following, loaded with luggage? / And, as I fancy, they’ve got no fingers on their hands. / Ag.: How do you know? Mil.: Why, because they go with their rings in their ears 22.

Unsurprisingly, not only physicality and clothes of the Carthaginians seemed funny, if not repulsive, to the Romans; the same can be said about the Punic tongue. In one of Livy’s speeches, a Roman consul claims, that Punic language barely qualifies as human (“lingua prope humana” were his words)23. To put these words into perspective let’s keep in mind that the Carthaginians were the first major nation outside the family of Indo-European languages encountered by the Romans since the Etruscans.

At least since the times of the tower Babel, the matter of language is crucial in terms of group identity, because nothing else unites or divides people more effectively as the ability to communicate or lack of it. The theme of lingual differences is present, albeit not very exposed in various historiographic narrations of the Punic Wars, but to find the Carthaginian tongue portrayed in more prominent role we must return to Plautus’ Poenulus.

The play and its author are worthy of being discussed more thoroughly. Plautus, a contemporary to the Punic Wars, is one of a few early Roman literary men, whose works (or at least a substantial part of them) have survived to our age. As an archaic Roman playwright he specialized in fabula palliata, i.e. adaption of the Greek so called New Comedy into Latin and for the tastes of the Roman audience. Because of that it’s not easy to distinguish which themes of his plays are simply artefacts of their Greek templates, and which constitutes a genuine Roman layer. Poenulus is an example of such adaptation. The plot, ostentatiously taking place in Greece, is a generic comedy of that time, constructed from stock characters and conventional dramatic devices, borrowed from a lost Greek play, possibly written by one certain Alexis24.

What makes this play noteworthy is the fact that the titular senex25 character is of Punic ethnicity. This figure of Hanno holds a tremendous importance, since it’s the earliest extant portrayal of a Carthaginian in the Latin literature. Quite peculiarly

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22 Pl. Poen. 975-981.
23 Liv. XXIII 5.
24 Controversies surrounding the authorship of the lost comedy are discussed by W.G. Arnott, The Author of the Greek Original of the Poenulus, "Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Neue Folge" 1959, bd. 102, h. 3, p. 252-262.
25 One of fabula palliata’s stock character, an old man.
he is not a villain, but a generally sympathetic character, an elderly father searching for his lost daughters, nonetheless Plautus does not miss the opportunity to ridicule and stereotype him since the very beginning. The mocking of Hanno’s Punic has been quoted above, but in fact Plautus begins to draw his caricature already in the play’s prologue:

But their [i.e. the lost girls’ – ed. aut.] Punic father, after he’s lost ‘em, / searches everywhere on land and sea. / As soon as he’s entered a city, immediately / he seeks out all the harlots, where they live; / he pays the fee, spends the night, asks afterwards / whence they come, whose they are, whether captured or stolen, / born of what family, who their parents were. / Thus craftily and cunningly he seeks his daughters. / And he knows all languages; but though knowing he fakes that / he doesn’t know. He’s thoroughly Punic. What need of words?26

Plautus establishes his character as a quintessence of “Punicness”. I will discuss the most important characteristic, “astus” (“cunningness”), separately, but at this point I it would be valuable to bring attention to a revolting implication, that if the search method of Hanno was to eventually succeed, he would find his daughters only after having a sexual intercourse with them (luckily it does not come to this in the course of the play). Plautus not only further ridicules the Carthaginians, but also reinforces a sexual taboo of incest by associating its violation with a detested group. Thus among all of the silliness an inadvertent lesson in Roman morals is provided27.

Although being a titular character, Hanno appears on stage very late in the play. His aforementioned strange looks are amplified tenfold by the fact he speaks actual Punic throughout a significant part of his introduction, thusly concealing his actual linguistic capabilities, as it what foreshadowed in the prologue (suggesting that the Carthaginians are so deceitful by nature, that they try to deceive even there is nothing to gain by that deceit). It was a daring dramatic choice of Plautus to write a portion of his play in a language incomprehensible to the majority his audience. It pays off quickly through the hilarity of nonsensical translation provided by Milpho, a servus callidus character28. One can guess that share sound of strange Punic speech, presumably uttered by the actor in purposefully mocking manner, must had been funny to the Roman audience.

28 Another stock character of fabula palliata, a clever slave.
The Punic garments and language may have seemed funny to the Romans, but the customs were simply revolting. The allegations of human sacrifices in Carthage are well known and although many scholars suspected them to be anti-Punic slander spread as a post-factum justification of the destruction of the wretched city, archaeological findings suggest that they hold some truth after all. Whether it is correct or not, the point is that the Romans, juxtaposing themselves with such enemy, came out of such comparison triumphant, as a member of the family of the civilized nations29.

Another encounter with unusual Punic customs came after Scipio’s victory in Africa, when the Punic delegation, who arrived to supply for peace, as the sign of their submission performed a full prostration, head to the ground. Both Greek30 and Latin31 and authors describing this custom – proskynesis – know that it is widely practiced in oriental and hellenistic monarchies, but find it thoroughly queer and embarrassing. In their opinion, only deities were supposed to receive such reverence.

The shifting significance of sea and trade

A qui pro quo ensuing from Milpho’s mock translation is very telling; Hanno is labelled as a petty peddler, which is not just random mistaken identity, but one of the most persistent Roman stereotypes about the Carthaginians. This association with trade can be explained by the fact that most of the Carthaginians, with whom the Romans interacted – at least in times of peace – were naturally merchants. This oversimplification persisted up to 20th century and the earlier authors tend to see the main source of the Carthaginian wealth in maritime trade and in the merchants – the ruling class of Carthage, whilst more recent researches shifts the focal point towards the great landowners32.

29 Cf. E.S. Gruen, op. cit., p. 120. And yet in the darkest hour of the Second Punic War, the Romans, after consulting with the sacred Sibylline Books, performed a human sacrifice. Nonetheless Plutarchus (Marc. 3.4), describing this extraordinary measure, praised the Romans for being free of “barbarous or unnatural practices” and similar in spirit to the Greek spirituality.

30 Plb. XV 1.6.

31 Liv. XXX 16.3-4.

32 E.g. B.W. Wells (Business and Politics at Carthage, “The Sewanee Review” 1920, vol. 28, no. 4, p. 499) states very strongly: “Carthage was the first well-organized commercial state of which we know. It owed its existence to trade necessities; its policies were, from first to last, controlled almost exclusively by trade interests”. For an up-to-date examination of the Punic society see: D. Hoyos, Traders and Landowners: Carthaginian Society, [in:] Idem, The Carthaginians, London-New York 2010, p. 59-72.
Quite interestingly, despite the aforementioned stereotype, the Romans were aware of the Punic achievements in the field of agriculture and after destroying Carthage and capturing its libraries in 146 BC only one book, of which we know, was translated on the order of the Senate – a treaty on agriculture by Mago\textsuperscript{33}.

The old Romans were proud of being a land-locked and pastoral-agricultural people. They believed this particular socio-economic model to be more moral and steady foundation of the public prosperity. For long centuries the seas were entirely alien to them, and neither did they know how to navigate them nor how to conduct naval warfare. It was their first war with Carthage, which forced them to master a new element; the resolve and speed, with which they manage to raise their own fleet and stripe the Carthaginians of their dominion over seas, stands as testament to the Roman ingenuity\textsuperscript{34}. They themselves felt very proud of this particular achievement. L. Annaeus Florus, author of an immensely popular brief sketch of the Roman history, wrote:

\begin{quote}
[...] this rude, pastoral people, whose proper element was the land, although the strangeness of the undertaking alarmed them, yet (so great is confidence inspired by courage) showed that for the brave it is matter of indifference whether the fight is waged on horseback or on shipboard, on land or on sea\textsuperscript{35}.
\end{quote}

At that moment a process of transformation has been triggered. The Romans from people fearing the seas, all of them being named after nations alien to the (Tyrrhenian, Adriatic, Ionic, Punic), turned into seafaring people, who called proudly whole of the Mediterranean “Mare Nostrum” (“Our Sea”)\textsuperscript{36}. Quite naturally, this maritime expan-

\textsuperscript{33} Plin. XVIII. 5. Mago’s work gained lasting fame, for a time being eclipsing even Cato the Elder’s treaty on the same subject. B. Reay (\textit{Agriculture, Writing, and Cato’s Aristocratic Self-Fashioning}, “Classical Antiquity” 2005, vol. 24, no. 2, p. 355) concludes: “It is something of a deliciously bitter historical irony that the preeminent agricultural resource after Cato’s death seems not to have been his \textit{De Agricultura}, but the work of Mago – the agricultural expert of the civilization whom Cato so vigorously opposed [...]”.

\textsuperscript{34} Regular Roman fleet was commissioned only in 311 BC (Liv. IX 30.3–4) and before the Punic Wars is known to be deployed and engaged by opponent just twice, both times with disastrous results.

\textsuperscript{35} Flor. Epit. XVIII 2.4.

\textsuperscript{36} M. Leigh (\textit{Early Roman Epic and the Maritime Moment}, “Classical Philology” 2010, vol. 105, no. 3, p. 269-270, 277-279) perceives the naval endeavours of the Romans in the opening years of the First Punic Wars as their establishing “maritime moment”, comparable to the famous inception of Athenian thalassocracy (sea rule) by Themistocles in 5th century BC. He claims that the initial naval experience of the Romans triggered the creation of the first (and long lost) Roman epics: Livius Andronicus’ \textit{Odusia} and Naevius’ \textit{Bellum Punicum}. 
sion was strictly connected with the growth of overseas trade. The Romans turned from the passive receivers of foreign goods into entrepreneurs, and gradually cut out from the profits other nations, including the Punic people. Despite generating huge profits overseas, maritime trade was considered ignoble and un-Roman and in 218 BC a law was passed, Lex Claudia, which strictly restricted the senators’ involvement in it. They were supposed to concentrate on more traditional business – agriculture 37.

Romans, Carthaginians and other ethnicities

Rome, Carthage and their citizens constituted just a fraction of the Mediterranean population. Both emerged as city-states and both retained the constitution typical of such polity, even after securing the dominion over number of other settlements and ethnicities. Any form of the Roman self-perception and their perception of the Punic enemy was not possible in isolation to those other people standing between them.

Since both the Carthaginians and the Romans drew much of their military and economic strength from the subjugated nations, the issue of maintaining the loyalty of their allies proved to be a focal point of all three Punic Wars. One of the chief reasons of Hannibal’s Italian campaign’s ultimate failure was that he turned out to be unable to reach the critical mass of defection among the Roman allies (socii) and crumble his opponent hold over vast resources of the Apennine Peninsula 38.

The various peoples of Italy, both native, like Italians sensu stricto and Etruscans, or of foreign extraction, like the Greeks of Magna Graecia and Cisalpine Gauls, became parts of the Roman dominion gradually, with the latest additions acquired just before the outbreak of the Punic Wars. As a rule, these nations were allowed to keep their self-government but were obligated to deliver auxiliary troops for all the Roman wars without having any saying in that matter. The territories outside Italy (captured

37 However the socio-political background of this legislation should be mentioned. Law of 218 was an initiative of a plebeian tribune C. Claudius proposed in the interests of the middle classes and passed despite almost unison opposition of the senators, which long since stopped paying attention to the possibility of dishonor for their rank brought about by the mercantile vocation; cf. Liv. XXI 63.3-4; J. von Ungern-Sternberg, The End of the Conflict of the Orders, [in:] Social Struggles in Archaic Rome. New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders. Expanded and Updated Edition, ed. K.A. Raaflaub, Malden 2005, p. 316.

from the Carthaginians) were organized into provinces under direct administration of Roman governors.

Despite the fact that the Roman-controlled territory and population multiply exceeded that of the city of Rome herself, the Eternal City just like her Carthaginian rival clutched to her anachronistic constitution of a city-state. In the 3rd centuries BC only handful of the Roman colonies spread thinly throughout Italy enjoyed the full citizenship of their mother city; only those men considered themselves to be “Romans” morally obliged to defend their mother-city as a patriotic duty. The loyalty of the subjugated nations would have its source in reverence for their oath of allegiance, fear of Roman retribution and profits enjoyed from peace and stability ensured by their overlords. This constituted a system roughly similar to the Punic one, in which only the people of Carthage herself possessed full rights, whilst other Phoenician settlements and native territories came under various forms of the Carthaginian over-lordship.

Hannibal in an attempt to break up the Roman system of alliances tried to present his invasion as an opportunity for the Italian people to regain their freedom. He carefully differentiated between Roman citizens and Italian allies; the latter would be released from captivity instantly, so could bring home the word of the Carthaginian’s leader benevolence. The major wave of defections would start only after a disastrous Roman defeat at Cannae in 216 BC.

A valuable acquirement was Capua, the main city of Campania, and second only to Rome on the Italian soil. It is said that Hannibal lured that city with a promise that after the fall of Rome Capua would become the new dominating force in Italy. The Capuan defection was especially shocking to the Romans since the socio-cultural bonds were strong between the cities; Roman citizenship was granted to some Capuans and intermarriage of the elites were common. Two another major defections occurred in the Greek South with Tarentum and Sicilian Syracuse, the latter being
independently ruled by a tyrant but for over half a century joined in an alliance with Rome. Many other cities followed their lead, but as already said, not enough to trigger the collapse of Roman dominion.

Nonetheless the Romans felt they needed to counteract this threat, since the sole fear of retribution – both Roman and divine (breaking the alliance meant breaking the god-sanctioned oath) – could turned out to be not sufficiently deterrent. In that desperate time a new rhetoric has been invented and the Romans attempted to convince their wavering allies that the Hanniballic war was not just another power struggle, which Italy witnessed many times before, but a true clash of civilizations.

The quintessence of this new narration is a xenophobic rant supposed to be spoken by the consul of 216 (and the main culprit of the Cannae disaster) Gaius Terentius Varro. I already quoted on his loathing of the Punic tongue, but the whole speech deserves the same treatment. According to Livy Varo thusly tried to explain to the Capuans (it was before their betrayal) the necessity of defending the common father-land (communis patria):

> Not with the Samnite or Etruscan is the struggle to have the power which has been wrested from us nevertheless remain in Italy. A Carthaginian enemy, not even of African origin, is dragging after him from the farthest limits of the world, from the strait of Ocean and the Pillars of Hercules, soldiers who are unacquainted with any civilized laws and organization and, one may almost add, language too. Ruthless and barbarous by nature and custom, these men have been further barbarized by the general himself, in making bridges and embankments of piled up human bodies, and by teaching them — horrible even to relate — to feed upon the bodies of men. To see and have as our masters men who fatten upon these unspeakable feasts, men whom it is a crime even to touch, and to get our law from Africa and Carthage, and to allow Italy to be a province of the Numidians and the Mauri — who, if merely born in Italy, would not find that abominable?

The ridiculous allegations of Carthaginians making bridges of bodies or even devouring human flesh are repeated in other texts biased with fierce anti-Punic propaganda such as one, which can be found in Appian’s Han. 28. It is difficult to say if those extreme rumours were actually circulated during the Hanniballic War or are they a fabrication of later annalists, seeking to further justify the shameful

41 Liv. XXIII 5.11.
destruction of Carthage in 146, but either way they give a taste of what was considered civilized conduct of war and what not.

In his alleged speech (we must constantly keep in mind that ancient writers were notorious for making up speeches as a form of rhetoric exercise) the Livian Varro presented before the Capuan people a new vision of Rome as a champion not only of her own interests but of whole Italian community, which needs to forget old grudges and squabbles and stay united against the common threat of alien, and therefore disgraceful civilization of the Carthaginians. As we know the actual integration of the Romans and rest of the Italians came only the Social War in 1st century BC.

The ethno-political makeup of the Carthaginian empire was as complex as the Roman. Diodorus Siculus writes about four distinctive groups, which constituted its populace: the Phoenicians (i.e. the Carthaginians and people of other Phoenician settlements), the Libyans (native Berbers), Liby-Phoenicians (mongrels of the first two groups) and the Nomads.

Although the ancient authors sometimes disregarded all these differences and used the umbrella term of Africans, Libyans or even simply barbarians, the Romans in charge were acutely aware of that complexity and not just once drove the wedge between the peoples of the Punic sphere of influence, being in that much more successful than Hannibal was in Italy.

The Carthaginians not only turned out to be unable to kindle pan-African solidarity but even to maintain loyalty of their dependent sister-cities, foremost Utica (the eldest Phoenician colony in Africa), which in the eve of the third Punic war came to remember her old hatred towards more prosperous Carthaginian kin and defected to the Roman side. This reveals the practical nonexistence of “Punic” state identity beyond the walls of Carthage proper, which till the very end did not move beyond the stage of a city-state.

Appian relates the alleged last-attempt embassies in the course of the Third Punic War to the native kings of Africa, including the Roman allies Numidians, which tried to persuade them to unite in the fight against the Roman invaders. The Punic messengers were arguing before the Libyans – to no prevail – that after Carthage, they too would be attacked by the Romans. Those embassies are almost certainly a fabrica-

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42 D.S. XX 50. This polyethnic make-up of the Northern African population and culture, including its Punic component, survived the collapse of Carthage and was adapted by succeeding Berber states, cf. G. Reger, *Ethnic Identities, Borderlands, and Hybridity*, [in:] *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. J. McInerney, Oxford 2014, p. 119.

43 App. Pun. 75.

44 App. Pun. 111.
tion of the author or one of his sources, too accurately they prophesize the actual course of events in the years to come, and the true value of Appian’s account lies in the fact that it mirrors a prominent theme of the process of self-identity of the Romans, i.e. realization of insufficiency of the particular city-state mind-set and adopting a more universal, imperial spirit. Appian, himself living in a 2nd century AD, knew of the perils, to which the Roman Senate and the People were exposed due to their stubborn refusal of granting their citizenship to all Italians. The great revolt of the socii, which ravaged the Apennine Peninsula in 91-88 BC almost costed Romans their empire. If it had happened 120 years earlier, the outcome of the Second Punic Ward would have been different.

Perfidia Punica and fides Romana

The ultimate Roman stereotype about the Carthaginians was the one of their supposed perfidy. The belief in the so called perfidia Punica or, more sarcastically, fides Punica was so widely spread, deeply rooted and eagerly attested by literary Romans of all periods that it survived both the genocide of the Punic Carthage and the eventual collapse of the Roman civilization and even now has its place in modern – although a bit old-fashioned – English language. The Romans accused the Carthaginians that in their conduct of war and diplomacy, business, personal affairs even, they rely on deceit and trickery and a substantial part of their city’s prosperity was founded on those undignified methods\textsuperscript{45}. This trickery was supposed to be of almost compulsive nature, just to remind Hanno the Poenulus feigning disability to speak Latin for no good reason.

The Romans on the other hand believed themselves to be dedicated to their pietas and fides and all what they supposed to be result of their virtus, the Roman valour. The Carthaginian power, based on infidelity both to people and gods had to ultimately fail, because of the inevitability of human and divine retribution, whilst the Romans, thanks to their prudent ways, would continue to prosper and enjoy the favour of the gods.

The references to the notion of Punic infidelity are spread throughout numerous literary works. A patriotically inclined Livy is very fond of them (to a point of being his idée fixe), but even Polybius, a Greek and non-partisan observer, sporadically does invoke this stereotype, e.g. by relating an outlandish story of Hannibal allegedly going

\textsuperscript{45} E.S. Gruen, op. cit., p. 115-116.
through various disguises on the daily basis in order to fool the potential assassins. Polybius labels this high tale as an example of “τὸ Φοινικικὸν τοιοῦτο στρατήγημα” (“a ruse truly Punic”)⁴⁶.

The “perfidy” and other similar terms could refer to all kinds of treacherous behaviours, but in the context of the Punic Wars a military aspect of this notion certainly takes precedence. If we are to believe in the narration of the ancient historiographers, the Romans until the Punic Wars relied on the sheer valour, or, putting it less mildly, brute strength of their troops. They employed little to none tactics and strategy, and despised any kind of ruse. Their idea of a good, clean fight was a straightforward clash of two opposing armies in open field and in that they differed noticeably from the Greeks, who held the concept of a stratagem in high regard. The Carthaginians’ approach to the warfare was similar to the Greeks’, and highly incompatible with the Romans, much to the latter’s annoyance⁴⁷.

Not accidently Hannibal Barcas, and he exclusively, is on regular basis addressed by Livy simply as “The Punic”. In Ab urbe condita it is clearly visible that to the Romans Hannibal was a Punic par excellence, a perfect embodiment of the Punic vice and virtue (since despite their hatred the Romans did not remain blind to the obvious positive qualities of their foes). Livy, after a lengthy introductive description of Hannibal’s valour, tones down this positive picture with words:

> These admirable qualities of the man were equalled by his monstrous vices: his cruelty was inhuman, his perfidy worse than Punic; he had no regard for truth, and none for sanctity, no fear of the gods, no reverence for an oath, no religious scruple⁴⁸.

In the course of his narration Livy did his best to corroborate this evaluation, which could be abbreviated to a statement “Yes, Hannibal was a great commander and he gave the Romans of the old a hard time, but much of his success he owed to his innate Punic treachery. Eventually our ancestors’ commitment to the virtue prevailed and the Carthaginians got justly punished by the gods for their wickedness”. Livy reinforces this vision by introducing the minority of “reasonable” Carthaginians who warn – to no avail – their compatriots about the ultimate doom of unfaithful tactics, e.g. in the eve of the second Punic War an influential politician Hanno

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⁴⁶ Plb. III 78.
⁴⁸ Liv. XXI 4.9.
the Great is represented as the only advocate of peace and upholding the treaties in
the Carthaginian Senate⁴⁹.

A core issue of the Roman fidelity and the Punic perfidy was their treatment of
allies, which, as has been already stated, was of tremendous importance at the time of
Punic Wars. It forced a bit schizophrenic stance, since on the one hand the persever-
ing of our alliances must had been praised as a strongly moral behaviour and on the
other – the perspective of breaking the enemy’s alliances must had been presented as
behaviour at least morally neutral if not equally appraisable.

Quite peculiarly, if we consider Roman supposed dedication to upholding alli-
ances – “Summa foederum Romanis religio est” (“The Romans are most scrupulous
in their observation of treaties”) states proudly Florus⁵⁰ – the Second Punic War was
inaugurated with a massive failure to fulfil the alliance obligations. Despite the fact
that Hannibal’s siege of Saguntum (a Spanish city allied to the Romans, which cap-
ture served as a *casus belli* for the Roman) lasted eight months, the Romans took no
military steps to prevent it, limiting themselves to diplomatic protestations.

Livy wants us to believe that the Saguntum’s fate became a heavy burden for the
conscience of the Roman people and they did their best to help the surviving Sangu-
tines rebuild their community after the liberation from the Punic occupation. The Ro-
man historian accidently contradicts himself, because earlier in his narration, whilst
describing the capture of the city by the Carthaginians, he describes war atrocities so
vividly as to leave impression that none of the settlement and his inhabitants survived⁵¹.

The fall of Saguntum and its later repercussions were supposed to serve both
as a remorse of the Romans’ consciousness and a memory of a strategical mistake.
During the comitial debate over the issue whether to launch or not a second war
against king Philip of Macedonia, the presiding consul Sulpicius Livius warned
the gathered citizens, that inaction against Philip will cause the same distraught as
the failure to defend Saguntum. He asked them rhetorically:

> For who doubts that if, when the Saguntines were besieged and were invoking our
protection, we had promptly sent aid to them, as our fathers did to the Mamertines,
we should have diverted the whole war to Spain, whereas by our delay we admitted it
to Italy, with infinite losses to ourselves⁵².

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⁴⁹ Liv. XXI 10.
⁵⁰ Flor. Epit. I 22 (II 6.5).
Despite the case of Saguntum and later *en masse* defections after the Cannae disaster, the Romans liked to believe, that the prevailing number of their *socii* remained loyal to them, because they treated them well or at least much better than the Carthaginians.

Yet this terror, even though all the country blazed with war, did not cause the allies to waver in their loyalty, assuredly because the rule under which they were governed was just and temperate, nor did they refuse — and that is the only guarantee of loyalty — to yield obedience to their betters\(^53\).

Livy is keen to leave in his readers’ minds the impression that those cities and tribes, which did align with Hannibal, sooner or later realized how grave their mistake was, since such alliance brought only subjugation, exploitation and ultimate betrayal. After the defection of Capua, a man loyal to Rome was chained on the orders of Hannibal and the local senate had little saying in this matter. “*Habetis libertatem, Campani, quam petistis!*” (“You have the freedom you wanted, Campanians!”) he mocked his compatriots before being silenced\(^54\).

**Roman assimilation of the Punic trickery**

Quite interestingly, in Livy’s narration we can actually observe a progressing shift in the Roman warfare paradigm, triggered by their encounter with Hannibal and amplified by the new logic of a freshly forged empire. Apparently in the course of the Second Punic War they assimilated some of the Punic deception and not only became immune to possible Carthaginian ticks but started themselves to set up ambushes, capture cities by means of treason and feign negotiations. At first, the Livian narrative emphasizes how uncomfortably the Romans felt about this shift of their conduct in war and how they tried to justify it by the fact that it was a necessity forced upon them by the Carthaginians and their allies.

In 214 a defection of the Sicilian city of Henna was imminent. Lucius Pinarius, a commander of the local Roman garrison was certain that treacherous Hennensians are awaiting the opportunity to slaughter them and he got his men to launch a pre-emptive massacre, convincing them it is a “killed or be killed” situation.

\(^{53}\) Liv. XX 13.11.

\(^{54}\) Liv. XXIII 10.7.
[...]
tomorrow Henna will be deluged either with your blood or with that of the Hennensians. If forestalled, you will have no hope, nor any danger if you forestall them.
Who first draws the sword will have the victory\textsuperscript{55}.

Realizing the moral repulsiveness of his deed, he also addressed apologetically the protective divinities of Henna:

Mother Ceres and Proserpina, and all the other gods, above and below, who inhabit this city, these hallowed lakes and groves, I pray that ye attend us with your favour and support, if so be that we are taking this step for the purpose of guarding against treachery, not of practising it\textsuperscript{56}.

In 212 BC the Senate was persuaded to sanction an ill-fated endeavour of a veteran centurion named Marcus Centenius Penula, who became certain that not only he would be able to command on his own a sizeable detachment troops but also successfully employ Hannibal’s tactics against him. The advocate of this enterprise, praetor Publius Cornelius Sulla, in this words advertised want-to-be commander and his idea:

He, being well-acquainted, he said, both with the enemy and the country, would soon accomplish something worth while, and as for the arts by which both our generals and our armies had till then been ensnared, he would use them against their inventor\textsuperscript{57}.

Future proved otherwise and the skilful Punic commander easily outmanoeuvred the overeager centurion. In the face of defeat Punela displayed more traditional Roman quality and not wanting to suffer public shame purportedly exposed himself to the enemy’s missiles, choosing death over humiliation.

An interesting example of the Romans assimilating the Punic art of deceit is provided by the history of recapture of Tarentum, a major port city in the Greek south of Italy. In 212 BC thanks to the treason from the inside Hannibal captured the city (although not the Tarentine castle, which remained in the hands of the Roman garrison). In 209 BC the city was recaptured by Fabius Pictor, the famed "Cunctator", also by means of treason, or to be more specific with a help of a Bruttian commander.

\textsuperscript{55} Liv. XXIV 38.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{57} Liv. XXV 19.11.
of the city, who is said to be persuaded to defect by his lover. The deal was that the Bruttian garrison of the city would be spared, but once the legionaries entered the city, they started to slaughter indiscriminately everyone. It was speculated by the ancient authors, that Fabius sanctioned this massacre in order to conceal the fact that he achieved victory by means of betrayal instead of the proper, Roman way of brute force.

The new type of the Roman commander which emerged in the course of the Second Punic War was personified by Scipio the Elder, who in the ancient historiography is clearly being represented as an “anti-Hannibal”, a true Roman equal to the military genius of Hannibal.

How much those two commanders were actually au pair in their military prowess remains debatable, but the charismatic bond of discipline and devotion they both established with their armies is indeed quite similar. Such loyalty of the troops to their commanding officer, more profound than that to the state they were supposed to serve, was not unheard of in Carthage. Hannibal was simply following in the footsteps of his father and brother-in-law, which forged for the Barcas family a private empire in Spain, only nominally subjected to the Carthaginian metropolis, but similarly independent and personal conduct of warfare on Scipio’s account had little precedence in the Roman society. Traditionally the military command over legions changed every year, accordingly to the annual alteration of magistrates. This was an adequate system for small-scale wars of an Italian city-state, but the sheer duration and intensity of the Second Punic War revealed the infectivity of the same system, when applied to realities of the imperial warfare. Enabling a gifted officer, such as Scipio, with an extraordinary and prolonged command (imperium) was a necessity, but also provided a dangerous example for the future generations of military commanders, thus contributing to the rampant warlordism of the late Republic and its ultimate collapse.

58 Polyaen. VIII 14.3.
59 Liv. XXVII 16.
60 Perhaps the most representative example is an apocryphal post-war encounter of Scipio and exiled Hannibal in Ephesus, 193. Appian (Syr. 2.10) relates, that Hannibal, when inquired about the greatest military commanders in history, named in order Alexander, Pyrrhus and himself in the third place. Slightly jealous Scipio asked then how would Hannibal ranked himself, if he had defeated him at Zama. „Above Alexander” – was Hannibal’s answer.
Scipio seemed to have little to no problem with adopting many of his opponent’s tactics, which by the old-fashioned Romans would be deemed contrary to the national spirit. Even his first major success, the capture of New Carthage (the capital city of the Punic Spain, modern Cartagena) in 210 BC, was achieved with a bit of underhanded tactics. Livy relates, or more probably invents, that the Punic commanders forced to inform the Carthaginians back home of this unexpected defeat, tried to spin the story and diminish Scipio’s success, by asserting that it was possible only “necopinato adventu ac prope furto” (“by a sudden arrival and almost by stealth”)63. The Carthaginians blaming their defeat on “almost stealth” must have seemed like a humorous irony to the Roman audience.

Another remarkable example of Scipio’s deceitfulness was observed during the early stages of his African campaign in 203. Having found himself in tactical disadvantaged and outnumbered by the combined armies of Hasdrubal Gisco and his Numidian ally, king Syphax of the Masaesyli, Scipio feigned the interest in peace negotiations, only to gain some time and get to known the layout of the enemy’s camp. Once he felt ready, he terminated the peace talks and ceasefire, therefore preserving the formal fidelity of his actions, and then led a surprise night attack on the camp, achieving a devastating victory. Quite noticeably Livy’s usual excuses and justifications of an action such un-Roman in spirit are no longer emphasized.

In Livy’s history the process of transformation of this particular facet of Roman identity has its symbolical conclusion in 171 BC, in the eve of the third Macedonian War. The historian relates to the return of the Roman legation from Greece. The legates reporting the effects of their mission to the Senate, took particular pride in the fact that by the means of feigning the will to negotiate, they managed to fool king Perseus and thusly bought more time for deployment of the Roman legions in Greece. The majority of the senators expressed their approval of this underhanded tactics, and only a few old-timers showed their discontent at this non-Roman behaviour. Livy thusly expresses words of the forsaken wisdom and valour (or maybe a rant of grumpy old men):

Not by ambushes and battles by night, […] nor by pretended flight and unexpected return to an enemy off his guard, nor in such a way as to boast of cunning rather than real bravery, did our ancestors wage war; they were accustomed to declare war before they waged it, and even at times to announce a battle and specify the place in which they were going to fight […] These are the acts of Roman scrupulousness, not

63 Liv. XXVI 51.12.
of Carthaginian artfulness nor of Greek slyness, since among these peoples it has been more praiseworthy to deceive an enemy than to conquer by force. Occasionally a greater advantage is gained for the time being by trickery than by courage, but final and lasting conquest of the spirit overtakes one from whom the admission has been extorted that he has been conquered, not by craft or accident, but by the hand-to-hand clash of force in a proper and righteous war\textsuperscript{64}.

In two ways we can interpret this speech: as a swan song of long gone “innocent” times, when warfare was simpler and more honourable, and so were the Romans, or a wishful thinking of Livy and those modern to him, who, seeing the corruption of their age, idealized their nation’s past to find in it mythical valour. Either way it is another glimpse into the Roman self-perception.

**Conclusions**

Due to imposed limitations, the author got to barely scratch the surface of the topic at hand. The presented deliberations resemble probes inserted into soil, seemingly at random, in an attempt to learn what lies underneath, when possibility of unearthing is not available. In our case the “soil” is the scramble of half of a millennium of ancient literary tradition, and the bedrock is the Roman quest for self-identity through their perception of the Enemy – the Carthaginian. Those isolated bits of data on their own offer little to no value, but once they are considered together patterns emerge and through them an outline, vague and inconclusive but representing some cognitive value. What patterns can we learn?

First of all, we must be aware that they follow at least two distinctive instances of the Roman self-perception. The first, sticking to the geological metaphor, is a deeper, worse preserved layer representing the identity of the Romans contemporary to the period of the Punic Wars, when the Punic enemy was present and actually influencing their lives; through the overcoming of the Enemy this identity experienced a deep shift. The second layer is that of the posterior generations of the last decades of the Republic and the following centuries of imperial rule, when the Enemy was no more and yet his persisting shadow lingered ever since in the collective memory. Those generations, weary of the decaying prosperity of their age, in search of identity looked back into the past, wishing to see there the greatness of the ancestors and moral guidance.

\textsuperscript{64} Liv. XLII 47.5-8.
Keeping in mind that duality, we see that in the Roman quest for self-perception various descriptions and comparisons with the Carthaginians realized two functions. First of all, establishing what differs Us from Them and what makes us similar served as a confirmation of the Roman superiority. In order to do so, a mirror image of the enemy must have been formed; this universal and timeless phenome did not escape the attention of social psychologists, who also noticed its reciprocity: “Both parties tend to develop parallel images of the self and the other, except with the values reversed. The core content of mirror images is captured by the good–bad dimension”\textsuperscript{65}. And so the Romans perceived themselves as members of civilized nations, while the Carthaginians as barbarians. The Romans were supposed to be honest, clement and pious, while their Enemy was deceitful, cruel and godless. The Romans spoke proper language, wore elegant clothes and followed decent customs, while the Punics had funny clothes and manner of speech, and their customs were revolting. And so on, and so on… We can only imagine, that if Punic literary sources survived to our times, we would get to know their à rebours image of the Roman enemy\textsuperscript{66}.

The Romans attributed to their Punic foes many vices, but weakness was not among them. On the contrary, Hannibal and his kinsmen were represented as a worthy opponent to the Roman might, however despicable their methods were. It was so, because the Carthaginians were perceived as the defining enemy and their defeat as an ideological justification of their dominion over the Mediterranean. A proud Roman could have explained it in these words: “We and the Carthaginians were the most powerful nations of the time. We beat them because we were superior, both morally and military. And because we beat the nation second only to us it is our right to rule the whole world”. Noticeably this train of thought explained the fact of Roman dominion over the Mediterranean not only to the Romans themselves, but Greeks as well. Starting with Polybius number of Greek intellectuals engaged in refining those explanations and through their literary skills influenced the Roman’s self-perception as well.

The second purpose fulfilled by the imagination of the Punic enemy was to serve as a reference point for the transformation of the Roman self-identity, which has been catalysed by the Punic Wars and following great conquests in the Mediterranean. In the course of this process in many ways the Romans became similar to their vanquished foes and assimilated traits previously alien or even detestable to them.


Among the examples of such changes are aforementioned mastering of the seas or accepting deceit as a tool in politics and warfare. In time the remnants of old Roman identity and culture would gave way to a new, imperial one.

**Summary**

The author examines how the Romans self-perceived themselves in the context of their enmity with the Carthaginians. The subjects discussed are: similarities in body politics, exoticism of “Punicness”, shift in significance of maritime trade, treatment of allies and stereotype of “Punic perfidy”. The author concludes that in the course of history the image of the Punic enemy fulfilled two purposes: first, was that of an antithesis of the Romans as an alien but worthy opponent, whose vanquishing explained the latter’s domination over the world, and second, as a reference point for emerging imperial\(^\text{67}\) self-perception.

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\(^{67}\) Unless the context indicates differently, I use the term “imperial” primarily not as a reference to the monarchical system of government introduced by Augustus in 27 BC, but as a description of the expansionist and latter universalist worldview of the Roman state, its elites and populus contrasted with the original political horizons of Rome as a humble city-state in the confines of Latium and Italy. For the evolution of the terms “imperium”, “imperial”, “empire” etc. cf. P. Edwell, *Definitions of Roman Imperialism*, [in:] *A Companion to Roman Imperialism*, ed. D. Hoyos, Leiden-Boston 2013, p. 39-52.


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We and our Enemy. The self-perception of the Romans...


**Papers in scientific journals**


Mgr Zbigniew Przybyłka – a doctoral student at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Silesia in Katowice. In 2015 he graduated history with master’s thesis “The Relations of Rome, Carthage and Masinissa in years 201-146 BC”. He also studies classical philology. His scientific research interests include pre-Roman Africa, the legal aspects of Roman politics and the reception of Antiquity in contemporary culture.
The identity of the poet and the mystic. 
Contribution to research into the poetic imagination of Juliusz Słowacki

1

The literary emanations of Juliusz Słowacki’s mystical experience reveal the symptoms of decay that ostentatiously disregard the order of ideas, stylistics, genre, composition, and even textology. They create an appearance of inherently non-uniform creations, faithfully reflecting the free torrent of thought of the author.

Mystical writings are easily divided into genre groups – usually the intentions of the author have been expressed in the title or subtitle. However, an attempt to organize the structures will not conceal some of the chaos arising from the desire to enclose the thoughts in the long-standing tradition of literary forms, nor hide the freedom in applying the genre criteria. Following the genological thought stream concerning mystical works of Słowacki may cause a scientific disappointment and bring the effect opposite to the intended one – instead of understanding, it may leave an impression of a draft-like freedom, uncontrolled outbreak of plots captured in incidental patterns and genre clichés. In addition, Słowacki in the mystical phase “liberated himself from the appearances of the continuity of the text”¹, resigned from the casual logic and replaced it with the original vision of a mystical work. This means that the linear shape, bounded by the ternary system: beginning – development – conclusion gave way to a form consisting of mutually supplemented sequences, numerous variants,

loose notes and different versions. As a result, drafts, fixes, strikethroughs and variants created works that demand multidirectional reading, free from the habits which are present when one is interpreting works characterized by a linear layout of the words. It seems that the efforts made by consecutive publishers did not live up to these expectations and Słowacki’s mystical writings to this day are the unresolved editorial and publishing issue. Thirdly – the mystical works of Słowacki abound in ideological, philosophical, anthropological and historiosophical meanings, which even in the fundamental issues do not lend themselves to unambiguous interpretation.

After the year 1842 art has become for the poet a tool to accumulate the meaning of the universe. As, according to the rulings of the mystical courts, in order to reach the ultimate dimension of cognition, the integration of the findings of the philosophers, scientists and artists is required. However, it seems that the ambitious intention of making a synthesis of elements of the universe did not sprang a stable and coherent philosophical system. Juliusz Kleiner wrote that the Genesis concepts delight with the breadth of ideas and the beauty of artistic expression, but may not satisfy the logical demands, since “association instead of evidence” is applied. On the other hand, Kazimierz Wyka turned his attention towards the uniquely subjective and only seemingly intellectual nature of Słowacki’s truths.

Most probably the symptoms of decay, signs of imperfections, omissions and incompleteness signal the problem much more extensive than the case form of a mystical work – there are indications that they include Słowacki’s response to state of the culture of exhaustion. Especially intensively the poet has experienced the consequences of this crisis in the beginning of the forties, when romanticism was already a self-aware formation. After “breaking away from Byron’s belt” Słowacki

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2 According to Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski the handwritten shape of The Spirit King excludes the possibility of the introduction of the poem to the literary circulation without a correction: “unmeaning sketches area large ballast and by boring the reader they rather […] put them off. The printed text cannot maintain all these subtle details contained in the manuscript. […] No doubt The Spirit King sketches make for a very interesting object of study […], however, for this valuable material to be shared and saved, the most conscientious releases are not enough, but it would be fitting to think about adding the photographs.” J.G. Pawlikowski, Komentarz J. Słowacki, Król Duch, vol. 1, Lviv 1925, p. 9-10.

3 A. Kowalczykowa, O Genezes z Ducha, „Pamiętnik Literacki” 1970, no. 61/1, p. 139-160.


felt the need to specify a new literary and ideological program. The void left after the dandyish individualism was fulfilled by mystical aspirations that emphasized insurmountable contradictions arising at the confluence of the elusive meaning of revelation and the desires to verbalize its essence. The search for a new poetic road was motivated by a poignant belief in the death of the language, the common impression of the loss of the ability of bonding the world through speech. Force that would overcome the crisis of culture, pour new content in the relics of the old forms and establish the organizing principle of the emerging concept of poetry turned out to be the poetic imagination. The foundation of mystical poetry created the idea of the new language able to express the essence of the potential inherent in the sphere of characters available with the senses. Loose construction of the poem, the abundance of genres and themes, the plethora of thoughts and images stems from a conscious rejection of causal criteria and replacement of them with the associative structure – a system that reflects interference phenomena from the outside world to the inner–self. The course of the process of threads association, which will eventually make up the vibrating whole, new worlds including the being in all its manifestations, organizes unbounded and demiurgic imagination. In this way, the work created is a record of a non–systemic, non–continuous thought guided by unexpected associations, rather than logic. Multi-directionality of the action, branching ideas and unfinished stories highlight the importance of the meanings hidden under the layer given directly. It seems that in the artistic freedom, apotheosis of creation, extreme censure against mimetically-oriented literature lies the source of modernity and continuously revived attractiveness of Słowacki’s poetics.

2

The process of Słowacki’s unshackling of imagination was launched by the release of the first five songs of the digressive poem Beniowski. Thus ended the poet’s stage of creativity and life marked by the apotheosis of individuality in the style of Byron. This attitude was displayed by proud isolationism and ostentatious contempt towards a harsh émigrés environment. In the narrow framework of the personal biography the rejection may be explained by a few events, named “the killing of Słowacki” by Jarosław Marek Rymkiewicz. The eccentric, spiritual aristocrat, almost autistically cut off from the reality, at the beginning of his stay in Paris was placed in the shadow

of Adam Mickiewicz. In part this was because of statements the author of Pan Tadeusz, who, when assessing Słowacki’s book of poems released in 1832, used an extremely bold term „Church without God”. As Stefan Treugutt argues in the study “Beniowski”, “The crisis of the romantic individualism, these words” should be considered in the context of the contemporary reading expectations:

there existed a specific gap between the post–uprising need of literary political manifests, and between these works of Słowacki, which either were too poetic, or too critical, to be placed just like that between works which inspired the national hope⁸.

Assuredly the exclusion from the canon of civic poetry was enabled by the category of Romantic irony, which in the pre-mystic period organized each level of Słowacki’s songs – language, characters’ construction, story, structure of the text. Gizela Reicher-Thonowa sees in the consistently pursued tactic of the ironist a reflection of the individuality of the poet, characteristic to Słowacki’s sense of superiority of the creative self⁹. Congenital artistic predisposition showed mainly in manifestation of freedom of the poet – a deconstruction of the world presented in a work (permanent parabasis, grotesque, “writing about writing”), an affront to any utilitarian purpose of art, intertextuality, treatment of poetry as the game which unravels “painful rupture of being”¹⁰. It appears that the evident miss with expectations of post-November literature has become a source of deprecating verdicts denouncing Ballady na for its bizarre eccentricity, egotism, coldness of heart, vanity and lack of faith.

Słowacki, initially unaware of the graveness of the accusation of ideological void, has soon received an even graver blow. The surname, which the bard’s mother acquired after her second husband, became infamous in connection with the figure of the nameless Doctor – a character from Part III of Dziady. Readers without difficulty could recognize Słowacki’s stepfather¹¹ in the confidant of the Senator. Another failure

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¹¹ Słowacki reacted very emotionally to the fragment of part III of Dziady concerning his stepfather: “So you know about Adam ... oh! Only now I shall tell [you], how much it cost me to break the first drive of the pride ... Since I have re[ad...] I wanted to duel with him, and immediately I sent [a letter ...to Mi]chal, my friend from the past, asking for his he-[lp]. Michal [...] came in the evening – and with various advices discouraged me from the task. It was [one] of the reasons for which I went to Geneva ... and now you would not believe, how much of the passion [...] I suffer when people want my opinion about Adam. I hate him...” J. Słowacki, Korespondencja Juliusza Słowackiego, ed. E. Sawrymowicz, vol. 1, Wrocław 1962, p. 220-221.
The identity of the poet and the mystic. Contribution to research into the poetic...

was brought during the famous dinner at Eustachy Januszkiewicz’s estate\textsuperscript{12}, during which the author of \textit{The Spirit King} had allegedly recognized his artistic inferiority and humbled himself to the talent of Adam Mickiewicz. The atmosphere of hostility around Słowacki was also created by the cool reviews of the critics concerning his published works. It is no doubt that the issue of readers’ response was for the poet extremely important.

It is assured by the friendship with Zygmunt Krasiński, who was appreciated by Słowacki for his extraordinary insight concomitant with acceptance of his works. Lack of acceptance on the part of the émigrés and a fierce rivalry with Mickiewicz about poetic priority turned out to be a thrilling experience marking memories of the first years of his residence in Paris. This words from the introduction to the III volume of \textit{Poezyje} attest to that: “one year ago I announced in Paris the first two volumes of my poetry; not encouraged by the honor, not killed so far by the criticism, I’m throwing the third volume in this silent abyss...”\textsuperscript{13} and also an excerpt from the letter to the mother from 1843:

I’m feeling better, less and less people oppose me, and what I hear only a good note being played, all people repaying me even after centuries of suffering, if only for the sacrifice of all the drops of my blood. Finally, the power of God, I think, seems to temper my body, transform the nature of my bones, prepares me for a longer existence, the second life announces, of new brand, better than the previous storm that made me so exhausted, I almost wanted to lay in the tomb for a rest\textsuperscript{14}.

As it seems, the publication of the initial songs of \textit{Beniowski} put an end to the fights against a still negative opinion of the émigrés. Defeating opponents symbolically underlined the honorable victory in the duel with Stanisław Rophelewski – the representative of the defamed in the poem\textsuperscript{15}.

\textsuperscript{12} From approximately thirty relations from the improvisational duel the majority is unfavourable to Słowacki. Describing the competition of the poets, George Sand wrote in her journal that Słowacki is a poet who is “quite poor, and a little envious.” But Eustachy Januszkiewicz summarized the essence of the duel in the words: “Słowacki paid tribute to Mickiewicz and acknowledged the weakness of his.” Vide: J.M. Rymkiewicz, op. cit., p. 12.


\textsuperscript{15} In a letter to the mother dated 1841 Słowacki wrote: “I’ll tell you that for one child of mine I have been challenged to a duel, with the most cold-blooded readiness I stood on the square, and those who have had to face me did not appear. Instead they sent friends, and I, without a flinch, proud and whole have gone home.” (Ibidem, p. 395).
The closing of the phase marked by dandified individualism required a creation of a different ideology, a framing for the new literary and ideological program. As is clear from the words of the poet to his mother in a letter dated 28 July of the year 1843, this process has proven to be extremely complicated:

As for me, believe my dear that the it was, little I had to do on Earth already, but now the work is too great for me, I feel all the work of the spirit because of this case, but I do not fall and arm myself with patience and peace of mind. With the idea that shined in the heart like a spark one can bring out all the wisdom. Though short its stay is in me, and I can see more things clearer than formerly I did by the telescope and microscope16.

The author mentions an artistic crisis, ideological void, which was associated with rejection of the pose of an eccentric outsider. As writes Maria Żmigrodzka, challenging earlier standing proved to be tantamount with a negation of values of so far written works:

...criticism of his »former« poetry Słowacki carries in his letters to Krasiński, offering him the role of the sole, without rivals, poet of cause, as neither Mickiewicz or Słowacki himself are any longer able to create poetry. Both were destroyed by »Don Juanism« – making fun of pain and human passions. In a letter to his mother there appears again the condemnation of art attributed to Chopin, but tied with Byron also – »dissonance, sour–melancholic power and the art of grating on nerves as well as a glitter of colours«. Next to the irony and the pursuit of impressive bonnies with a moral accusation meets »lyricism« – individual subjectivism, egocentric »soul« analysis in hand with blindness for the cause of the »spirit«17.

Exhaustion of the capital of this kind of art was a broader phenomenon and focused not only around the issues of creative attitude. The Romantics were increasingly aware that „the word became a strange, senseless burden which could not be

16 Ibidem, p. 430-431.
endured”. Symptoms of decay of the language are the easiest to identify in Beniowski and Fantazy – works written at the turn of the thirties and forties of the 19th century. Rymkiewicz notes in aforementioned works significant artistic treatments that bespoke of the crisis of the Romantic poetry.

Misused and abused language of the Romantic spirits is in Fantazy put in question and ridiculed using the same methods as in Beniowski. And so by using irony, by which what previously has been said, is taken in quotation marks and becomes unreliable. With issues that we might call digressive, and in which the importance and value of used words is evaluated. Finally, by adding great and beautiful words to the words which take away the grandness of these great words: such as giraffe did to the bard.

Therefore, the word used in the play by Słowacki is dissected and deprived of its essential function—giving the appearance of reality. Language becomes the subject and object of an artistic effort, which ultimately points to the cliché and stagnation in solidified form.

In Romanticism, the fear of death of language seems to reach the level of obsession. It was anxiously observed that “foregoing poetry [...] was losing the dimension of necessity, stopped explaining why the spirit weakens and the body decays”. The vitality of Logos was still being checked and put to the test. At the core of this action was the issue of the relationship of the language and the transcendent reality. It was considered if the traditional way of describing the phenomena allows one to bring out even the outline of the barely sensed by the intuition pneumatology.

Adam Mickiewicz also recognized concerns in this regard. Already in The Great Improvisation he reflected on the language as a poor way of articulating thoughts:

Wretched, who for the people the voice and the language troubles:
The tongue lies to the voice, and the voice lies to the thoughts;
The thought flies rapidly from the soul, before it breaks on words,
And the words will absorb the thought and so they tremble over the thought,
As the Earth over a swallowed, invisible river.

18 K. Rutkowski, Poetyka i metempsychoza (Przyczynek do dziejów towianizmu), „Twórczość” 1984, no. 3, p. 93.
19 J.M. Rymkiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki pyta..., op. cit., p. 50.
20 K. Rutkowski, Poetyka..., op. cit., p. 93.
From the tremors of the Earth shall the people inquire the depths of the currents, 
Where does it rush, shall they think of it? — 22

The cited quote outlines a singular antinomy. Word – the final stage of the expression, is worthless, however it is mandatory. The role of the poet is set therefore by an irregular rampaging between awareness of the imminent defeat of the communication process and the need to release the spiritual content. It seems that at the turn of the thirties and forties of the 19th century a sense of distance from the ideal of art, in which the essence of communication will not crash on the barrier of words and common forms of artistic works, reached its apogee. As Mickiewicz wrote:

Historical poems and in general all forms of old are by now co–rotten and may only be revitalized for the amusement of the readers. The true poetry of our century may not yet be born, only the symptoms of its coming are seen 23.

Diagnosis of the risk intensified the state of waiting for a change. A Messiah of a new idea was sought, someone who would renew faith in that „happy the Polish language, because the orders of heaven in this language come”24. The desire for the transformation stemmed also from a wider context. Adam Sikora in the book Towiański i rozterki romantyzmu suggests that the state of mind, in which the Polish authors in exile found themselves was associated with the general mood of the era:

These were the times of unprecedented flourishing of the Napoleonic legend. [...] Run out the brilliant and violent lives, and only small and average careers were left when occasions for great deeds run out and Europe could only be explored just as a salesman [...] . Many when assessing their own era wrote about the discrepancy between thought and action, about atrophy and inability to act, of the great ideas that produce at most minor commotions, leaving the world unchanged. Hence the characteristic of the first decades of the 19th century phenomenon – the emergence on a mass–scale of the »philosophy of action« which sought to fill the gap painfully relived between the thought, the feeling and the action and to unite them in a uniform interpretation 25.

24 P. Smolikowski, Historia Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego, Cracow 1892-1896, p. 86.
It may seem that Słowacki, as a poet, possesses the ideal means of description of a meeting with the Absolute. Talent and, above all, experience in operating the word are a perfect ally in the process of writing the truth conveyed in the mystical experience. However, the poetic affluence generates restrictions. They stem from both the functioning in certain artistic patterns, imposed by the convention of the era, and from the need to reach out to a reader, unprepared to commune with this kind of art. In accordance with the theoretical provisions of Romanticism, the poet as a genius infiltrating history, nature and mankind did not have to adhere to the rules designated by Poetics. However, one cannot forget that the last period of Słowacki’s creativity occurred in the phase of Romanticism, during which the artist, negating the usefulness of genre clarity, fell into the trap of duplication of the Romantic conventions.

He had to use forms that have exhausted their potential. The described state could not, therefore, in any way, correspond to the poet, who wanted to capture the meaning of the mystery of the cosmos. These words addressed to Krasiński in a letter dated 12 January 1846 speak about the difficulties Słowacki faced during the selection of measures of artistic expression.

It happened that during the first frenzy of the spirit it awakened in me guts, lead by my nature to this, for I shall always personify the thought of mine, wanting to explain myself – not from the idea, because that would require tomes, and it is not possible to pronounce for centuries, but the ideal is the first fruit of the thought, I came upon one historical figure which could stand before me and covering my poor self, with my mouth blurt out everything I sense. I chose Father Marek, and I did not, but rather as if intoxicated I have written a drama, where only the external misery provides that I wrote it while drunk – like a lover, who in the evening writes wonders to his beloved, and in the morning he is surprised by his foolishness and cannot get over the fact that he has already sent the letter, but sees only the rough draft.²⁶

Słowacki considers Father Marek in terms of an embarrassing defeat. The drama about the fall of the Bar is “an explanation [...] of the first fruit of the idea”, which probably should be understood as an initial attempt by the poet to address the transfer of the essence of the mystical experience. It was only in retrospect that Słowacki

notes that his quest was not realized. The mentioned drama may not be called a message of a derivative idea. A pictorial metaphor of a drunken lover who “is surprised by his foolishness” suggests that the works created after Father Marek in a more complete way embody the ideas of the poet.

The outlined problem is not limited to the issue of genre and circumstances of a particular era. One must expand the scope of the consideration and reflect on the connections that are taking place between the poetry in general and the truth of revelation. The most important seems to be the search for answers to the question about the usefulness of literature as a means of communication of the knowledge given to man by God in the frame of the mystical experience. Many researchers indicate the conflict unfolding in the efforts of the mystical poet.

The poet – ex definitione – the more they are a poet, the more relentlessly they feel the need to share with others their experience, the more of a poet they are, the easier it comes to them and more pressing seems to be that magical processing of words, through which something from that experience goes from the depths of their soul into our own. Mystic on the other hand, the more of a mystic they are, the less they feel the need to pass to another their experience; and even if they felt a similar temptation, such message would appear to be less possible, that all the mystical grace [...] is, in essence, incommunicable.

Cited words describe one of the components of a number of logical contradictions named by Simone Weil a “lever of transcendence”. The mystic experiences the presence of the Absolute in the real dimension, and at the same time, it escapes a rational description. Thought seems to be an element subversive to transcendence. The mystical paradox stems from the helplessness of the mind. The condition of exploring a meaning of contradiction is a complete breaking up with the laws of logical thinking. Only then the antinomic pair of concepts: knowledge without knowing, knowledge resulting from ignorance, multiplicity in unity, death opening the perspective of life, or power understood as weakness will start appearing in a dimension of components of a coherent system.

29 J. Tomkowski, Mistyka i egzystencja, „Więź” 1988, no 3, p. 79.
Słowacki did not compose reflections on a subject of the relationship of poetry and mysticism in a clear lecture. However, on the basis of information distributed in the letters one can rebuild views of the artist on literary transmission of manifested truth. Of course one should not analyze this issue in isolation from the excellent philosophical range which the thinkers of the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries built. Of primary importance are considerations regarding the cognitive capabilities of the human being, and a reflection on the function of literature in the process of the description of reality.

Diagnosis of faults of rationalism has allowed the Romantics to open up to alternative sources of knowledge. Among them were purely subjective experiences, such as dreams, contemplation, revelation, or an idea. The main focus of the view of the world moved to phenomena that did not fit within the limits of an enlightenment garden cultivated by reason. The change of the way of thinking has brought significant consequences for understanding the essence of art. The principle of mimesis viewed as imitation of nature, shaping reality in imitation of real phenomena and objects, was no longer useful. The task of the poet–genius was now the creation of a completely new world, which shall provide for the power of the imagination. Immanuel Kant in the *Critique of Judgment* states:

> For the imagination (in its role I as a productive cognitive power) is very mighty when it creates as it were, another nature out of the material that actual nature gives it. […]

A poet ventures to a give sensible expression to rational ideas of invisible beings, the realm of the blessed, the realm of hell, eternity, creation, crossing the boundary of experience by means of imagination that emulates the example of reason in reaching for a maximum and illustrating it in such completeness for which no example can be found in nature.30

Kant stresses the role of the imagination in the process of a cognitive act. Only with the ability of mapping characters, extracting details from the whole, referencing to each other individual items it is possible to create a culture–system to facilitate understanding of reality. It should be noted that this process is continuous and it uses the knowledge and experience of previous eras. This statement opens the way to read the world anew. Return to the original state of ignorance would be the only condition of rebuilding the image of reality. Maurice Mochnacki stated that the methodology of such a process operates mainly using laws of imagination.

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By reasoning we are building the edifice of nature and all that appears in the edifice of phenomenon. A real naturalist that, what he sees in front of him, does not take it for what it is, does not believe as it is, but as happened; a real philosopher, researcher is an architect of nature.  

The process of “building the edifice of nature” should focus on the reading of “divine hieroglyphs” – creating a total vision of the cosmos, received so far in the dimension of distributed signals. Single characters require decryption, or knowledge hidden in the nature of the alphabet. As Georg Hegel notes: “a poetic image absorbs all the richness of real phenomena and knows how to combine it with the internal and important content of the thing itself, in a direct way, into the primordial whole”.

Epistemology understood in this way tells to understand the world as a type of text and think of it in a philological way. [...] Philology is the science of reading meanings and has not changed its methods when applied to the facts; but the facts have changed in the eyes of those who looked on them as on the letters of a language, or sentences of some text.

It can be assumed that a man raised to the rank of a reader of the book of the world was enveloped in a sense of uniqueness. An entity registered into the cosmic plan recognized that it is the only recipient of the message transmitted by the reality. In the case of cognition initiated directly by the contact with the Absolute, one can talk about an additional favor.

Mystical knowledge is backed in the Romantic concept of genius, in the Romantic concept of the knowledge of the world on the path of self–discovery and in the Romantic belief in the possibility of reaching it during a creative inspiration with unknowable to the intellect [...] things in themselves.

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31 M. Mochnacki, O literaturze polskiej w wieku XIX, ed. Z. Skibiński, Łódź 1985, p. 79.
34 M. Piwińska, op. cit., p. 118.
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Features of “the angelic language” (the way of expression of overcoming a culture crisis) can be recognized in *Genesis from the Spirit* – a lecture of “seeing faith”, a new book of revelation, manifestation of the independence of Słowacki’s spirit\(^{36}\). The first poetic vision suggests that the poet reached for the primordial language resource – appearing similarly to the Word that created the world. It turns out that on the path of development the humanity lost its sensitivity to the native Logos and the dialect of creation was forgotten. Słowacki builds the impression of a return to the mystery of the birth of the universe in three ways. First, he references to the book of *Genesis*, writing: “my spirit before the beginning of creation was in the Word, and the Word was in you – and I was in the Word”\(^{37}\). This phrase has a significant consequence for the concept of the language, with which was written a new first book of *Genesis* – sacralizes the poetry and the poet. The purpose of the word of the artist is not only for telling the story of unity, from which all began, but it is a unity, is identical with the wholeness of creation. The gesture of the poet can therefore be considered as literarily creative – equal to a demiurgic gesture of God. Secondly, a vision of the return of the thought to the first burst of things has been developed in a specific, highly significant space. Its nature is reflected by the pictorial frames in which a privileged position is occupied by the elements: “on the Ocean rocks,” “behind my back are burning golden and silver rocks studded with mica”, “the Sun dipped my arms with flames”, “in the hum of the sea can be heard a continuous voice”. It seems that the space in which the excellent speech was found has to pass for the primordial Earth, devoid of higher forms of development, pending on the settlement. Thirdly, the primacy of the experience is revealed by the construction of the subject. Without a doubt, this is the a frail man, silent, passively waiting for the reveal of the mystery of being, overwhelmed with the violence of creation. Indicate that the following phrases: “you raised me”, “behind my back are burning”, “the Sun dipped with flames”. Mystical addiction to the Absolute and a meditative torpor are highlighted more distinctively in the request: “Let me, oh God, that as the child I shall stutter out the former working of life”\(^{38}\). The verb “stutter out” suggests imperfection of skills, the lack of tools to describe the vast universe, helplessness against a biblical myth.

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\(^{38}\) Ibidem, p. 8.
The state of uncontrolled passivity – when the forces of the present life remain at rest–allows us to see signs of past existence. The sources of the knowledge of long lost Logos are in fact the revelations of intuition, spontaneity and richness of experience. About this special area, independent from the power of reason and the senses, in which are born visions of “things in themselves”, wrote Novalis as of a mysterious way to an inner world:

Eternity with its worlds, the past and the future are in us or are not anywhere. The outside world is a world of shadows and casts a shadow in the kingdom of light.

Fleeting moments of poetic elevation, which cannot be programmed, start an inner meaning that does not reflect the reality, but it becomes a sign of genius. Real understanding stemming from internal sensations would not be concrete, however, without imagination – a fundamental ability of generating images analogous to the real world and (more importantly) constructing a reality, against which the language in its discursive, structuring dimension is helpless. The senses and passions speak only with images, and the poet, who reached the deepest areas of their soul uses the language which represents the idea of universal symbolism.

Symbiosis of symbol and reality – the effect of the activity of the soul that operates images – is easy to recognize on the example of the concept of sacrifice in the philosophy of Genesis. The core meaning of Genesis from the Spirit is the evolution of nature towards more and more perfect shapes by a continuous sacrifice of already acquired privileges. The condition of progress is the thought – an image of a perfect state. The process of primary materialization of the abstract concept leads to conception of entities increasingly complicated in terms of anatomy. The gift of the metaphysical ascension towards the next, improved models of the physical substance intensifies the process of achieving a union with the Absolute. It is worth noting that the proposed by Słowacki vision of the progress is not in accordance with the harmonious evolutionary rhythm. The recapitulation of the history of the cosmos presented in Genesis from the Spirit clearly indicates that the matter expresses the desire of stagnation and tends to persist in the existing state. Inhibiting progress generates a relationship in which the Spirit becomes the eternal revolutionary – through the destruction and violence constantly reminds the matter about the overriding purpose. In this way the

40 A. Kowalczykowa, Wstęp..., p. 35.
Genesian theory of sacrifice is shaped. It assumes the absolute rejection of current form that is blocking further development. “The Spirit’s falling asleep in one, and awakening in the second, more perfect, form”\textsuperscript{41} requires dedication and consent to death, which in essence is the next stage of initiation in the metaphysical upwards movement. For the gravest sin is considered the laziness in the service of God – abandonment of work and commitment to the current dimension of being. Performance of the above recapitulation would not have been possible without a reference to the many poetic images addressing the same subject optionally, from different points of view. One should mind that the Genesian Logos does not create the system – it is rather an expression of the longing for consistency, the desire to delineate the meanings in still returning images. In the poetic visions of cancellation of already achieved degrees of phylogeny Słowacki willingly uses symbolic significance of mollusks: clams, polyps (octopi), zoophytes (animals that visually resemble plants), oysters. Significant for this outlook is the representation of the snail that as the first one made a bloody transition in imitation of the Passion of the Christ. The rhythm and orientation of Słowacki’s philosophical thought designate the symbolic importance of the anatomy of the mollusk. Shell, antennae and “clinging to the rocks”\textsuperscript{42} are the equivalent of “laziness in the service of God” – omission of work, attachment to the current dimension of being, fear of sacrifice. Pearl (or pearly shell) means giving up the status quo, solidarity and fraternity of the Spirits in the pursuit of the common objective:

the snail [...] careful and certain under its stony shield of a long life, finally has made a sacrifice from a pearly white house of its , turned it (by the spirit of lust) into the corneous turtle shell – and then something else from its safety gave away to You, Lord, and the wings themselves insidiously under the corneous shield created, so as a beetle (in the image of that Egyptian deity) flew into butterfly lands of the spirit…\textsuperscript{43}

Anatomical primitiveness of the snail leads Słowacki towards universalistic reflections – every phenomenon of nature reflects and reconstructs life as a whole. Snail becomes an announcement of the just launched cycle of death and resurrections. Graphical variants of the sacrifice concreate the work of shaky, often unclear philosophical sense. It seems that the diversity of the vision mutations is the result of one of the most important features of Słowacki’s Genesian language – associative-

\textsuperscript{41} J. Słowacki, Genezis..., p. 17.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibidem, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibidem, p. 25.
ness. *Genesis from the Spirit* is a record of a non-systemic, non-continuous thought driven by unforeseen associations and not the rules of logic. Poetic images built on the basis of the principles of association, similarity and contrast must be regarded as an expression of inwardness. Instead of allowing the intellect to faithfully record the world through senses, the dreams, fantasies and imagination take on a centre role and organize and enhance the meanings. The description of the vegetation period of peas, which intuitively resembles to Słowacki developmental stages of a butterfly, serves as an example here. Analogies serve the poet as an introduction for the considerations about: the palingenetic fate of the world, the being’s longing for the Jerusalem Sun and the dream about the second union with the Absolute.

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Mystical work of Słowacki as seen through the prism of reaction to exhaustion of culture and death of language is seen primarily as a work of the artist endowed with unlimited, free, demiurgic imagination. It seems that the poet’s response to the rigidity of forms and the loss of the basic functions of the *Logos* was a redirection of his attention from the visible parts of the act of creation unto the creation itself. *Genesis from the Spirit* is, after all, a great story of a poet who aligns his powers (by language) with the creational power of God, history of a man experiencing the world under construction – just as the Absolute at the threshold of existence of all things. However, a consequence of the belief that manufacturing matters more than the product is the lack of the rational consistency of the text. Disregard of the requirement of the outside advisability is revealed in the symptoms of the dissolution of forms of a literary work, prompting to view mystical texts from the perspective of eclecticism, palimpsest and fragmentary nature. Probably the organization and submission of the work to aesthetic correctness would drown the abundance of the internal appropriateness. After the mystical phase art of Słowacki ostentatiously ceases to mimic nature to just become nature – it does not remind nature but is a part of it. This synthesis was possible only through flickering and diverse glances enticing subject matter as a whole. The multiplication of points of view connects with the belief that each of the elements of the universe contains a record of the evolutionary development, whose destiny is the Jerusalem Sun. The discovery of the latent theological meaning requires the blurring of the borders of objectivity and subjectivity. Only the treatment of the world as a monolithic creation of matter pervaded with the
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The presence of the Spirit allows us to read the hermetic signs of the nature. It can be assumed that for this reason Słowacki used in *Genesis from the Spirit* the imaging type in which experiences are accumulated. The author permanently creates some semblance of a universal analogy – even of outlier phenomena and things – to emphasize the unified nature of the reality. Only conceptualization at the macro level allows one to see that Słowacki discards one form of consistency to affirm the uniformity of the imagination, merging the strength of the poetic image. There are indications that the mystical works of Słowacki show features of relevance, or in other words are relevant with contemporary literary trends just because of that manifestation of creative freedom, which is challenging artistic benefits flowing from the mimetic concepts, rejection of form's restrictions for the benefit of an artistic expression – even for the cost of apparent isolation of the meanings.

**Summary**

The topic of the paper is the poetical reaction of Juliusz Słowacki to crisis of the culture in the early forties of the nineteenth century. Epiphanic awareness of the theological dimension of the space has been confronted with conviction about the disintegration of language, which has lost the ability to give the appearance of reality. Słowacki expressed confidence that source of his mystical vision of the universe is ideal perception. Therefore, description of the mystical worldview requires the new concept art, the project of original model of the poetic language with the symbolic imagination in the foreground. Interpretation of the genesic philosophy cannot rely on human experience – cannot be expressed in adequate and direct performances. In discussed issue discursive language is not suitable, because of the loosening of categories traditionally used to describe reality. Thus, Słowacki was forced to appeal to the ambiguous signs, which would allow understanding sense of revelation.

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Pawel Matejek – graduate student of polish literature, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, scientific research interests: symbol, mysticism, romantic imagination.
The Culture Identity of the Younger Russian Emigrants in Paris (1920-1945) in the context of Vladimir Varshavsky theory

In presented article the immigrant’s identity derived from the younger generation of Russian refugees of the first wave is a subject of deliberations. Representatives of that younger generation are people, who were born in the Russian Empire, survived the October revolution, as well as civil war and were forced to leave the country. Due to the thematic extensiveness, our attention was focused on Paris, which is described by researchers as a cultural capital city of the emigration Diaspora. Indeed, Paris in 1919-1939 enjoyed great popularity among Russian emigration intelligentsia, which found its second home in it (it was also called a capital of the Russian emigration of the first wave). Hence, it was often the last stop in the emigration wandering, which

Vladimir Varshavsky

1 V. Varshavsky, Nezamiečennoe pokolene, New York 1956, p. 7. “I won’t push at open doors; everyone will admit that nothing supports spreading of religious and political ideas as the example of martyrs, who sacrificed their lives to those ideas” – trans. aut. – J.B. If there is no differently all translations into English are made by me – J.B.

2 A sizable wave of ethnic Russians emigrated in the wake of the October Revolution of 1917 and Civil War of 1917–1922. They became known collectively as the White émigrés. This emigration is also referred to as the first wave. A smaller group of Russians, often referred to by Russians as the second wave of Russian emigration, left during World War II. They were refugees, eastern workers or surviving veterans of the Russian Liberation Army and other anti-communist armed units who had served under the German command. In 1966s the third wave of Russian emigration started. Those refugees were mostly Jews and dissidents.
led through Warsaw, Berlin or Prague to the French capital city. Paris was also a city, in which Vladimir Varshavsky, an author of the book *Unnoticed generation* (*Незамеченное поколение*) and also a representative of the younger generation, spent his majority of life.

There are some distinctive features of that refugees group, which enable to refer to it, as to the collective representative for culture and emigration phenomenon, as the whole. This group unites several factors:

- common historical experience (revolution, war);
- leaving Russia after Bolsheviks win and settling in Paris in the interwar period;
- belonging to the Russian intelligence;
- deliberate distinguishing from the mass and expression of oneself with a new generation.

According to some researchers of the Russian emigration history of the first wave, it isn’t impossible to understand the Russian refugee without knowledge of recalled Varshavsky *Unnoticed generation* (*Незамеченное поколение*)\(^3\). This publication has become a voice of the entire generation of emigrants, who found themselves on the margins of history. Who were the representatives of that group? How did their cultural identity develop? Varshavsky presents them as follows:

Most of them were born in the first decade of this century. They managed to gain only basic education in Russia and were in exile as poorly educated young men. The older underwent horrible experience in the civil war in ranks of the Voluntary Army. However, most of them left the country being still children. They don’t remember Russia and on foreign country they feel as exiles. This is the difference from the last generations of emigration. They don’t also have so many memories about Russia to mention them. This is the difference from the older generation of emigration representatives. Nevertheless, their fate recalls the fate of all “unnecessary people” of past Russian and all lost generations of Europe and America\(^4\).

The above description created by Varshavsky, and concerning the younger generation of Russian emigration of the first wave, is a brief summary of who were the representatives of that generation, and from where they came. Therefore, it was assumed, next to Varshavsky, to appoint representatives of that group based on when

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\(^4\) V. Varshavsky, *Nezamiečennoe…*, p. 16-17.
they were born (after 1900), what their experience (October revolution, civil war), where they emigrated.

Many representatives of generation, described by Varshavsky, died before the Second World War or during the war turmoil. Varshavsky as one of this generation representatives, decided to write and to dedicate the work to peers not only out of a sense of moral debt, but also because of the belief that it was one of the last generations with “Russian idea”\textsuperscript{5}. This term was taken from the concept of Nikolai Berdyaev, in which the thinker convinces that the Russian culture has an eschatological dimension and apocalyptic character. As the philosopher says: “The Russian soul remained none-mancipated; wasn’t aware of any borders and spread without limitation. It demands everything or nothing, its mood is either apocalyptic or nihilist, and therefore isn’t able to build the partial kingdom of culture”\textsuperscript{6}.

According to these words the Russian culture and philosophy are directed toward eternity and transcendence, with simultaneous sense of disaster. Berdyaev tried to determine the national character of countrymen, noting that: “we, Russians are apocalyptics or nihilists”\textsuperscript{7}, at the same time he underlined, what as seems was important for Varshavsky, the heroism and dedication to Russian society in the name of universal values.

The author of Unnoticed generation was born at the beginning the 20th century – 12 (24) October 1906 in Moscow\textsuperscript{8}. He was a son of the diplomat, lawyer and journalist Sergey Varshavsky and the theatre actress Olga Norova. He had siblings, but the most was attached to his elder brother Jura. Right after the writer began his education in the junior secondary school, the October revolution unleashed. At that time the family went to Crimea, and then to Czechoslovakia. Here Varshavsky graduated the secondary school and began law studies at the University of Prague. Without graduation in 1926 the writer went to Paris to study literature at the Sorbonne. Footsteps sound François Villon (Шум шагов Франсуа Вильона) was his debut, published in the newspaper “Volja Rossii”. The publication was an award for honorable mention in the writer’s contest organized by this magazine in 1928. In the text, Varshavsky gave his erudition in the literary work of philosophical content and reflections about the modern world. As in subsequent works, Varshavsky in this work addresses the issue of

\textsuperscript{5} Ibidem, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{8} All information are from the of Varshavsky’s autobiography: Предисловие, [in:] V. Varshavsky, Nezamiečennoe pokolene, New York 1956, p. 15-16.
young emigrant, who experience loneliness and fear of the future. The writer uses Villon character as the eulogist of upcoming loss of humanity and perfect critique of his time. Let us remind that Villon, one of the most famous French poets of the first half the 15th century, is determined as the critic of medieval mentality and philosophy of life, as well as the thinker aware of the end of human existence9. Varshavsky described him as a member of the unnoticed group, unnecessary people of the contemporary century. A similar tone of pessimism and sense of loneliness of the man in the world will die away also in the Unnoticed generation, which was published in 1956, i.e. at a time when French philosophy dominates the thought (or mood) of existentialism10. Putting human existence in the centre of philosophy was nothing exceptional, but its highlighting also resulted from historical tragic events of the first half the 20th century.

In 1939 Varshavsky volunteered to the French army and fought until was taken to the German captivity. He was imprisoned in the Nazi camp, Czarne town in Poland (then called German Hammerstein). In February 1945 Soviet armies retook the camp. Varshavsky came back to France. After the war he lived in poverty, he worked as a night watchman. He received also modest fees from the New York Literary Fund. In 1950 the writer moved to the United States.

Varshavsky in his artistic works wrote about past events, but also about relations between „fathers” and „children” in exile. This issue raises many of representatives of the younger generation emigrants: Nina Berberowa, Wasilij Janowski or Roman Gul; however Varshavsky as first decided to represent those generations and to describe his fates. Repeatedly admitted that “fathers” in exile certainly hadn’t lived lightly, which resulted from the fact that in the Tsarist Russia, from which they were forced to escape, have often led a prosperous life, they were lawyers, doctors, bankers, journalists. In exile they had to undertake other professions of which they have often been ashamed: taxi driver, factory worker, guard. Nevertheless, Varshavsky points out that they had their biography, their history, memory of the past, their preface11. Younger generation didn’t have all that, and as the writer noted: “We lived without any responsibility, as next to the world and history. The wind of non-existence already blew into our faces. Even for our fathers we became strangers. Generation of abandoned”12.

10 It should also be noted that about existentialism has been written in Socrates, Saint Augustine or Pascal works.
11 In particular, we refer to the problem of mnemotope which allows to examine the relations between landscape, literary trails and collective memory.
12 V. Varshavsky, Nezamiečennoe..., p. 9.
Thereby, Varshavsky refers to the well-known in Russian culture a theme of unnecessary man. That 19th century noble literary hero type was characterized by a sense of alienation from the world, from Russia, from its social environment. This hero was created by Ivan Turgenev in the novel Diary of Superfluous Man (Дневника лишнего человека) and had mainly such features as: sense of moral and intellectual superiority, passivity in action, spiritual apathy and skepticism. He appeared also in such works as: Eugeniusz Oniegin (Евгений Онегин) by Alexander Pushkin, A Hero of Our Time (Герой нашего времени) by Mikhail Lermontov, Rudin (Рудин) and Home of the Gentry (Дворянское гнездо) by Ivan Turgenev, as well as in Oblomov (Обломов) by Alexander Gonczarov. Andrzej de Lazari notices that the romantic figure of the unnecessary man is one of next negative characters in the Russian history of literature. The lack of a positive assessment in the opinion of Russian readers resulted from a sense of detachment from the reality of those characters, who “emigrated inwardly” by not accepting of life around world. At the same time, they were seen to be without desire for action, changes of this reality, as accurately Nikolai Dobrolubov noticed in the article What is the idleness? (Что такое обломовщина?). Then the unnecessary man just became a symbol of impossibility of action, lazybones, wasting time lying on the couch. In a different tone on the subject says Krystyna Gallon-Kurkowa, who notices that a sense of hopelessness and a lack of desire to action of the intelligent in important social issues matters results from his sentimental and romantic attitude to loved woman. This feeling for her does not allow him to act, overpowers him and proves his unfit in terms of shaping social life. It is worthwhile also to point to the figure of Decembrist, who probably even more than the unnecessary man within the meaning of Turgenev would answer to Varshavsky with reference to representatives of unnoticed generation. Decembrists were not only a group of revolutionaries, the intelligence with their socio-political and artistic concepts, but also they create a vision of new Russian, who with his behavior differed from a typical representative of Russian culture. Varshavsky also paid attention to a similar process; he noticed that young Russian emigrants were far from the left-wing and right-wing thoughts, which their fathers represented. They didn’t support old

15 Ibidem.
conservatives, neither liberals, nor socialists. They proposed own, developed already in exile, both political and cultural standards. A similar analogy it is possible to notice in developing figure of recalled Decembrist, who not only stood out with his untypical behavior (a special type of speaking, answering questions specific to a member of the secret society), but above all the fact that was a man of action. He valued the courage, energy, activity and discussions, not to say verbal tussles with friends. Not going deep into rich issues of Decembrists, it is necessary to note that similarly as this innovative in its being a group of young Russians emigrants of the unnoticed generation were revolutionaries of their times. They tried to cut off from the past and former social standards, but simultaneously similarly to Decembrists in spite of their efforts still represented the gentry, as Varshavsky peers were identified with the declassed Russian intelligence, the sons of ancient rich aristocracy. Both these groups sought new attitudes and values, becoming part of image of the unnecessary man, but in a sense of hero type, who stays out, rejected by the society because of incomprehension or not fitting into the widely accepted scheme. Since Decembrists and representatives of “unnoticed generation” were active and energetic young persons, for whom one of the most important values has been the welfare of Russia and self-development. Both generations: those from the beginning of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century in exile formed war tragic events, which as it seems made young people mature, informed people.

It should be noted that in the book Seven Years Varshavsky pointed to hope and compensation, which gave a possibility of participation in the World War II to young Russian emigrants. The fact that they fought on the French side had less importance than the fact that they fought against the evil, i.e. German Nazism. Years of life in a sense of “superfluous”, on the margin of history were rewarded with finding a meaning in the form of fight against the aggressor, which wanted to destroy current order and value. Such a posture accompanied all young representatives of the Russian emigration, who as volunteers joined the fight. However, only few representatives of the young generation of emigration participated in the warfare of civil war (1917-1923), most of them were still children. The majority participated, as well as died in fights of the World War II and they among others influenced on their identity.

In search for new political ideas

The writer leads the genesis of forming out generations, in which name “unnoticed” from moods that prevailed in the early years of life in exile among the Russian refugees. As already mentioned earlier, in exile representatives of all social groups were in Paris, in addition it is necessary to remember that they were declassed group of Russian aristocracy\textsuperscript{19}. As Varshavsky claims, the representatives of older generation, those former lawyers, doctors, generals were hated by the emigration environment, and especially younger refugees\textsuperscript{20}. This was because they were identified with the intelligence that caused an outbreak of the revolution, which consequence was a tragedy of bringing Bolsheviks to power and the need for emigration of many groups opposing the new Communist order. Many also claimed that Fyodor Dostoyevsky had already predicted such a course of events, and that those represented by the intelligence as a revolutionary Pyotr Verkhovensky from \textit{Biesy (Becw)} will cause the dark days in Russia. On the other hand, there has been noted that this part of liberal and more ingenuous intelligence as Stepan Trofimovich had become a victim of Bolsheviks. Thus, the entire intelligence wasn’t accused, but its part, which proposed revolutionary, left-wing and nihilist ideas. Amongst emigrants there were even ideas of anti-Semitism, in which they claimed that not only the Russian intelligence caused an outbreak of revolution, but a greater Judo-Masonic conspiracy, which was planned for ages. An extreme sign of described moods was attempted attack on Pavel Milukov, who Vladimir Nabokov covered with his breast, the father of Vladimir Nabokov–Sirin. As a result of radicalization in attitudes of young emigrants, there were formed numerous groups of fascist character (directed by Alexander Kazembek) or neo-Bolshevik character\textsuperscript{21}. The criticism of revolutionary wing of the intelligence was connected also with resurgence of religiousness amongst emigrants. The spiritual revival was already at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century in Russia, but revived especially in exile\textsuperscript{22}. It is possible to suppose that the cause of this phenomenon was a desire to oppose the Bolshevism in every way, even metaphysical. Russian revival of religious-philosophical was personified in such forms as Nikolai Berdyaevor Lev Shestov, but also in the clergymen, who built the Church in exile. According to Varshavsky view that young representatives of the

\textsuperscript{19} More about a beginning of history of Russian exile see: W.I. Kosik, \textit{Iz istorii načala rossijskoj emigracii}, “Slavjanovedene” 1992, nr 4, p. 3-6.

\textsuperscript{20} V. Varshavsky, \textit{Nezamiečenno…}, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibidem, p. 123.

emigration carried “Russian idea”, it is possible also to notice that in addition desire to create a world of values different than Bolshevik, the intention was also to find the system of values\textsuperscript{23}. It was supposed to be a cure for emptiness, which controlled in souls of young people, who suddenly were torn out of their current life. Because they became spiritually homeless, lost the former meaning of life, they needed to support in something more than death. Then they were just pointed in the direction of Orthodox faith as the symbol of eternity, which gets out of hands of the earthly power. In this way, the youth rejected ideas of radical intelligence, which promoted the materialistic ideas.

**To remind God – the return of „sons” to religious universals**

Researchers of Russian emigration of the first wave (Bronislav Kodzis, Marc Raeff) almost unanimously emphasize how important it was for Russian refugees, the presence of Orthodox Church in exile. It is hard to find a group which more needed spiritual values than young representatives of the emigration. It resulted from a few reasons:

- Ideological cut off from representatives of the older generation that represents either the views of positivist, conservative (Milukov) or Marxist (Bolsheviks);
- Conviction that all tragic events, which took place in their homeland, were caused by forgetting about the God;
- Longing for the homeland and sharpening of nationalist feelings;
- Escape from difficult financial situation in which young emigrants had to live were the doors of Orthodox church, in which they felt as at home;
- The Orthodox Church was associated with home, which was transferred to the foreign land. Going to the Orthodox Church was identified with meeting with the Russia\textsuperscript{24}.

We believe that all of these features lead to conclusions that the young generation of Russian emigration was looking for authority and relieves, which they found in Orthodox church, but also in other faith and religious currents (Buddhism, anthroposophy). It was also another factor that bonded this young generation of refugees. At the same time, the above features provided by Varshavsky allow for observation that they become common in description of the entire generation.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibidem, p. 285.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibidem, p. 121.
Varshavsky indicated in the *Unnoticed generation* the tendency of return of the national values. He associated them with ideas, which he began to propagate in the text *Fall of idols (Крушение кумиров)* Siemion Frank. This thinker pointed out to the possibility of choosing a new road by both “fathers” and “children”, which experienced similar historical events (revolution, civil war). This new road was supposed to lead through living faith founded on the remains of all previous idols, in which the intelligence believed the 19th century. Therefore, they were idols of revolution, politics, culture, idea and moral idealism. The Bolshevik revolution and new order buried down old idols25. Frank paid attention to the change, which occurred in the mentality of people who wanted development, but saw it wrong, because they identified it with false ideas of having financial things. The man became a slave of objects forgetting what really is important – about the faith and creative action25. Varshavsky emphasized that Frank’s views had made a great impression on students listening to it and had an echo among emigrants. The writer also noticed that Frank’s views had encountered susceptible land of eschatological moods, which prevailed amongst Russian refugees. He compared them also with the atmosphere of late Middle Ages, when in times of spiritual crisis the society was divided into two groups. The first was overcome with distorted view of reality showing that the man doesn’t have to act. He should undergo the course of history, to cut off from the residual evil. The second group, closer to Varshavsky, comprised of active people, believers of progress and action of the man. Frank saw a way to progress in fidelity to God – with such a thesis disagreed Varshavsky, regarding it as too big simplification26.

Different opinions were given on the activity of Sergius from Radonez Orthodox Institute in Paris, on the philosophy of Berdyaev or ideas of the theologian Anton Kartachev. Nevertheless, Varshavsky noticed that in spite of the threat of obscurantism, excessive falling into the propagation of theocracy or socialism, it is necessary to listen to all voices of „fathers”, even if they disagreed with them. They created a tradition of Russian culture, which could be forgotten as a result of undeniable fact of extinction a generation of „fathers”. According to the writer, the lack of tradition continuation could lead to collapse of exile life level in every aspect. The author clearly underlined that:

Everyone who feels a need to undertake heroic efforts in order to prevent final fall of the emigration, should absorb the thought of diverging already “fathers”. Among

26  Ibidem.
sons of emigration sentenced in most on intellectual unemployment and dilettantism, brought up by the Paris Institute of young theologians, with the ability to use academy work, are the most appropriate for continuation of the emigration mission. Whether they understand it as the father A. Szmeman, or this thought will inspire them to act? Since this depends on leaving them space in the history of Russian culture.

Therefore, not everything what fathers proposed was rejected by sons of emigration. It is worthwhile to note that their rebellion against the older generation was based mainly on the rejection of writing methods proposed by them. However, the care for tradition, maintaining and development of Russian culture in exile, as well as faithfulness to the Russian idea were supposed to be guarantors of performing the Russian mission of emigration in which also younger refugees wanted to participate.

Thereby, Varshavsky notes that the task and mission of the young generation was to engage in a heroic fight in defense of Russian traditional values. However, the writer stated that the most predisposed to this task were “sons” of emigration, who devoted time to learn theology and trainee in the Orthodox faiths. They were able to understand and to continue the traditional learning handed over by the older generation. Varshavsky paid attention to divisions amongst the young generation of emigration. He pointed to young people with their view of political-social ideals and to those who turned towards the God and Orthodox tradition. However, the diversity was greater, because Varshavsky didn’t rank himself to any of these groups. The writer saw himself in a group of young Russian emigrants, searching for their cultural identity in streets of the Paris artistic Montparnasse district.

Montparnasse – artistic implementation of the Russian emigration mission

Varshavsky knew a lot about the life of young generation writer in exile in Paris. For most young emigration writers, dealing with literature never was involved with a life in abundance. They lived and created in the Montparnasse district of Paris, in which as Varshavsky wrote, it was possible to meet artists, models, prostitutes, Bohemians and tourists, who want to take a look at the life of artistic district of the French capital city.

27 Ibidem, p. 162.
28 Ibidem, p. 163.
For many reasons, young emigration writers didn’t live easily in exile. The first reason was not noticing and underestimation especially by older fellow writers. The author of Unnoticed generation recalls the examples of statements of such emigration authors as Mark Slonim, Vladislav Khodasevich or Zinaida Gippius, who casually noted in their lyrics, the presence of younger writers in Paris. Slonim in his extensive, over 500 page book Modern Russian Literature, devoted two pages to young writers. It was claimed that since writing literature in emigration conditions is hampered, thus the same is work of young writers. Of course, writing was possible, but only continuators; however those who wanted to write and learned profession in exile were doomed to fail. What’s more, young people didn’t manage to permeate with values, traditions and Russian culture, therefore their work was not recognized as native. Varshavsky deep disagreed with such opinions; he claimed that the young generation gave for instance Borys Poplavski, who deserves to be in the Pantheon of Russian classics of literature. However, the writer agreed with Khodasevich, who noted that:

Our young people cannot only live from the literary work (it is also a problem of the older generation), but also simply has no literary earnings. They are forced to write in fragments, in their leisure time, after hard work in the office, in the factory, behind the wheel, after destroying work.

Khodasevich also claimed that not only the lack of time hadn’t allowed young to write, but also poverty, which caused that they were hungry, they could not buy a book or go to the theater. They didn’t earn on publications, since they weren’t want print, and if they were only in small proportion and for very low wages. Varshavsky also shared the belief of Nekropol author concerning denial of the thesis that life in crisis supports artistic work. Nothing further from the truth – said Varshavsky with Khodasevich words. The even biggest literary genius, hungry, sleepy and tired out will never create such a work, which could be created if his financial situation was better.

Zinaida Gippius never participated in the life of young artists on Montparnasse, but every Sunday they went to her home on literary meetings. She also, but in a concise way, noted the tragic living conditions of young generation. She claimed that in

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30 V. Varshavsky, Nezamiečennoe..., p. 165.
31 Ibidem, p. 166.
32 Ibidem, p. 274.
the Russian culture, because of poverty, the entire generations of writers had never
died\textsuperscript{33}. Varshavsky emphasized that young authors had died due to illnesses arising
from tragic living conditions (Bulich, Gershelman), but also during the World War
II, shot by the German army or from exhaustion in the concentration camp (Wilde,
Bloch, Mandelstam, Felzen). Some as Boldyriew committed suicide\textsuperscript{34}.

Undetected artistic works of the young generation resulted also due to reluctance
of „fathers” of the new literature. It doesn’t mean that they opposed to new literary
forms or writing techniques. They didn’t want to read anything that was not associ-
ated with their past. It is necessary to ask a question: for whom the younger emigrants
wrote? Not for French people, who did not know the Russian language in which the
young, at least initially, created their works. They wrote for emigrants of this older
generation, but they weren’t interested in this type of work. The older generation that
lived also in difficult conditions, unable to return to their homeland, with a loss of
hope for a better tomorrow, forced to abandon its previous social position, wanted
the literature heartwarming in order to reach back to memory in the past to pre-
revolutionary Russia. Young emigrants could not create such a literature, because they
didn’t know this past, didn’t remember it. Thereby, Varshavsky directed emigrants’
attention to turning young refugees away from the collective memory. As a group,
emigrants weren’t uniform, didn’t appeal to the same forewords, which as it turned
out, also affected creation of the culture in exile and its receipt. Varshavsky about
the young artistic works noted:

Young could not write such books – they didn’t know the Old Russian life. Only
from the older they could hear stories about former eternal, depicted, and de-
stroyed by the revolution, native Troy, which death they saw as children. This
includes the difference between their and their fathers emigration experience. They
weren’t the trustees of collective hallowed emigration memories\textsuperscript{35}.

The youth didn’t remember the past, and they didn’t know the former Russia.
They could only hear stories, which often become the myth and legend. Russia for
some of them become a mythical land, a lost paradise, but for other a black spot in
the memory. However, they knew Europe and western world, and this cultural area
inspired them in the first place.

\textsuperscript{33}  Ibidem, p. 169.
\textsuperscript{34}  B. Akunin, Pisatel’ i samoubijstvo, https://www.litmir.co/br/?b=50376&p=105, (16.03.2016).
\textsuperscript{35}  V. Varshavsky, Nezamiečennoe…,, p. 173.
The young generation of Russian emigration didn’t want to agree that it wasn’t possible to write about nothing else than about the past, that the Russian culture already has its good time behind, and now can only return with memory for the past period. It turned out that for the older generation of emigration, the only space about which it is possible to write and in which it is possible to create was Russia (Moscow, Petersburg), however for young this point of reference was France (Paris) or more widely Western Europe.

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When considering the issue of cultural identity of the young generation of Russian emigration, it is still necessary to ask a question: who they were? How young Russian refugees determined themselves? According to Varshavsky memories it is possible to divide this group into those who determined themselves through the political affiliation, those who fulfilled themselves by coming near to God, but also those who devoted themselves to the literary or artistic life. Of course, this division wasn’t truly uniform, because writers could and had their political views, and clergymen or believers wrote literary works. Varshavsky claimed that it wasn’t possible to say about this young generation as a uniform whole, because of the year of birth. There wasn’t also that all “youth” were residents or visitors of the Montparnasse district. In writer’s opinion, the younger generation should rather be divided into those who started their career still in Russia and those who have already emigrated36. According to the writer, it was a determining factor, since provided about the young people identity, as well as educational and environmental shape. Thus, among those who made their debut still in Russia, Varshavsky lists: Nina Berberova, Roman Gul, Georgy Adamovich, Yuriy Annenkov, Mikhail Bakhtin, Georgy Ivanov, Nikolai Ocup, Irina Odoyevtseva and Mark Slonim. Their position was better, because writers were already known either from their artistic works, or in the environment, and thanks to that they were endowed with greater respect than insignificant debutants in exile. Nevertheless, Varshavsky claimed that it was the only group of people that with the interest referred to Varshavsky generation. Ocup created a newspaper “Čisla”, which as one of few invited young authors for publication. Georgy Adamovich became a mentor of younger emigration poets, and he is treated as the progenitor of so-called Paris style in the poetry. It was a trend, which appeared as a result of numerous discussions and polemics on emigration. There never was formed an association or club consisting of those authors. Neither program nor manifesto was written, in which they could write aesthetic proposals. It was rather

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36 Ibidem, p. 177.
a certain kind of world view or philosophy of the poetry, an atmosphere which was created around poets. To a group of poets who follow Adamowicz it is necessary include: Knuta, Terepiano, Ocup, Madelstam, Ivanov. Varshavsky also stated that Adamowicz merit was in a way leaving from creation of poetry that resulted only from suffering, and approach to the point of lifting above the materiality of life.

Support of certain political views, return to religious universals or dipping into the literary works was a consequence of particular perception of the world and its evaluation. At bases of developing identities of “the emigration sons” was a sense of rejection, loneliness, alienation, not-noticing – Varshavsky says. Their attitude and mood were affected by existential anxiety, which was not a fear of the materiality. It was a fear of something unspecified, before the threat of life pointlessness or non-existence. For the artist being unnoticed is something terrible, because after all the art, and here especially the literature, are created also for the recipient, they require a reader, listener, and critic. Much greater fear was felt not against poverty that resulted from the lack of remuneration for publications, but against ignorance on the part of outside world, for which the lyrics were created. Varshavsky text is overfilled with mood of existential fear, which also Poplavski described in his memories:

And again, being thirty two years old, the life literally stopped. I’m sitting without movement on the couch, my sadness is so deep that again I must lie down, for hours to fight for life amongst astral dreams. Deep fundamental protest of every being: Where did you take me? Better to die.

Young emigrants lived in a sense of vagueness of the outside world, which caused that they alone didn’t understand their life and its meaning. Therefore, they formed different associations seeking soothing for their souls in a lonely life. Russian emigration lived in such conditions. If to add a poverty to it, incomprehension by inhabitants of the country, difficulties with employment, ignorance of language and culture, impossibility of carrying own material and immaterial needs, so it is not surprising that the older generation returned in their dreams to the paradise of ancient Russia. However, the younger generation dealt with organizing in associations, joining the movements, even if they were fascist or sympathetic to governments of Bolsheviks. Religious movements weren’t so popular, but a need of return to God was also in the

37 Ibidem, p. 186.
hearts of Montparnasse artists and writers. However, they didn’t want to take part in
the liturgy or meetings of Christian movements, but they were dreaming, as Popl awski
wrote, about “encounter with God”39. They didn’t need a mediation of the Orthodox
Church, and through own work they could see a possibility of feeling transcendence.

A sense of alienation and loneliness expressed in prose artistic works such writers
as already mentioned Poplavski, especially in the work Apollon Biezobrazow (Аполлон
Безобразов), Sergey Sharshunin Dol golikow (Долголиков) or Wladimir Nabokov in
Invitation to a Beheading (Приглашение на казнь).

Varshavsky wrote that the “youth” were behind the bars of own life, from which
they looked at what happened around and these impressions they transferred on
sheets of their works. Such an attitude led them to the mysticism, which manifested
itself in an escapist attitude. Varshavsky wrote that rejection of the outside world and
through the outside world resulted in the fact that young writers and artists of Russian
emigration had immersed themselves into a space of their inner world. They followed
the road of intuition and meditation. In this way, they discovered the uniqueness of
the man as a person with his luggage of life experience. What’s more, they observed
the outside world, in which totalitarian moods striking into the individual’s freedom
grew, and criticized all expressions of these values destruction. Poplavski wrote to
this subject: „[…] If Russia despite everything will pass the person and freedom
(i.e. next to Christianity with God or without God), we will never return to Rus-
sia, and the eternal love then will be based on the eternal dispute with Russia
[…]40”. In this way, it turned out that the young Russian emigration, far from
the great policy, focused on experiences of the man had been forced to defense
these values, which in Western Europe and in Russia were destroyed. They were
in the centre of fight for the man and its right to freedom in the face of total war
and threat, which was the collectivization of life. As Varshavsky wrote: „This way,
discovery of the reality of inner life led Montparnasse to discover the evangelical
convinced about the absolute value of human person and forming on this belief
a democratic ideal of freedom, equality and fraternity”41. According to the writer,
the younger generation remained faithful to “Russian idea”, values of the man as
a person, as well as its freedoms. Thereby, “unnoticed generation” of Russian emi-
gration in the centre of their world presented an idea of humanity, which stood at
the basis of their cultural identity.

39  Ibidem.
40  V. Varshavsky, Nezamiččeno…, p. 214.
41  Ibidem, p. 227.
Summary

The article presents the problem of cultural identity in the context of Vladimir Varshavsky theory. In his book *The Unnoticed Generation* Varshavsky wrote about the younger generation of the First Wave, which consisted of people who had not managed to make a name for themselves in Russia. Varshavsky and others young emigrants who had lived in Paris science early 20s, tried to create their own identity in contrast to older refugees. The analysis of the identity of those emigrants contributes into the more general problems that constitute key aspects in formation of any cultural identity.

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Because of the multiplicity and overall importance of issues raised during its course, the trial of Adolf Eichmann, held in Jerusalem, from April 11 up to December 15, 1961, had been widely reported in the international press. The evidence material collected by the prosecution serves as an invaluable source of information for historians and other academics tackling the issues of Nazism and Nazi crimes, with particular emphasis on the Holocaust. The figure of Eichmann, motivations behind

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2 Holocaust is one of the many terms relating to the extermination of the European Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators, next to the Hebrew phase Shoah or Yiddish Khurbn. Furthermore it was also regularly described as destruction (as in Raul Hilberg’s influential study) or catastrophe (in Soviet Russia historiography and literature). They will be interchangeably used throughout this paper. It must be reminded though that, despite they refer to the same historical event (or, more precisely, series of events) – persecution and extermination of the European Jewish community in years 1933-1945 – they meaning is far from being equivocal. On controversies surrounding the terminology, see, for example: G. Agamben, Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive, New York 1999, pp. 28-31; J. Fleet, History and Meaning of the Word ‘Holocaust’: Are We Still Comfortable With This Term?, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/01/27/the-word-holocaust-history-and-meaning_n_1229043.html, (30.09.2016); D.H. Magilow, L. Silverman, Holocaust Representations in History: An Introduction, London-New York 2015, pp. 3-5; The Holocaust: Definition and Preliminary Discussion, http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/resource_center/the_holocaust.asp, (30.09.2016).
his actions, his personal worldview *et cetera* have became the subject of multitudinous studies in different fields of interest: be it history, psychology, philosophy or law. Some of the concepts, associated with the trial and/or Eichmann himself, to mention, among many, “the banality of evil” or “murderer behind the desk”, are commonly in use. Correspondingly, the trial as a whole, certain material artifacts – such as bulletproof-glass booth by which the accused was separated from audience and juridical staff gathered inside Jerusalem’s *Beit Ha’am* (“The People’s House”), newly-constructed cultural center with a capacity of 750 seats where the proceedings took place – or events and gestures – like the opening speech of Gideon Hausner, incumbent Israeli State Attorney and chief-prosecutor during the trial in one person, or testimonies of witnesses of the prosecution, who in their vast majority were Holocaust survivors – match the widely-defined concept of *lieu de mémoire* (*sites/objects of memory*) formed by Pierre Nora. It was filled with symbolic momentums – to recall e.g. chaotic though emotionally powerful testimony given by Yehiel Dinur aka Katzetnik, Auschwitz survivor and author of popular fiction stories concerning the Holocaust, who fainted after saying just few barely-understandable sentences about Auschwitz,

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3 Among the overall number of 108 witnesses of the prosecution who appeared in the courtroom *in personam*, in order to testify, only two of them were non-Jewish: Heinrich Grüber, German pastor, Reformed theologian, opponent of Nazism involved in supporting the Berlin Jewish community, and Michael A. Musmano, American-Italian jurist, politician and naval officer, who served as presiding judge during the Nuremberg Einzengruppen Trial (1947-1948) and lead the 1948’ investigation concerning the circumstances of Adolf Hitler’s death which findings were presented in his book *Ten Days to Die* (1950), in a sensational manner, “typical for the fifties”, see: R.B. Birm, *Fifty Years After: A Critical at the Eichmann Trial*, Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law, Spring-Fall, 2011, Vol. 44, No. 1-2, p. 460. The participation of these people, along with a considerable number of Jews from American and European Diaspora, confirmed the inter- or transnational, not just domestic/local, character of the event.

4 That is: “[…] any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community”, see: P. Nora, Foreword [in:] P. Nora (ed.), S.L. Kritzman (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Conflicts and Divisions*, New York 1996, Vol. I, p. XVII. Peter Novick further excavates Nora’s term. In his opinion, “[…] «sites of memory» […] are not memories but mnemonics: practices or artifacts designed to assist or promote memory”, see: P. Novick, *The Holocaust is Not – and Is Not Likely to Become – Global Memory* [in:] *Marking Evil: Holocaust Memory in the Global Age*, ed. A. Goldberg, H. Hazan, New York-Oxford 2015, p. 47.
to which he referred memorably as “planet of the ashes”\(^5\), or equally stirring recollection of Dr. Martin Foeldi, born in borderline city of Uzhhorod (then in Hungary, now Ukraine), about being separated from his wife and little daughter after they had approached Auschwitz ramps\(^6\).

With the benefit of hindsight, it can be said that Eichmann’s trial played a significant role on how Holocaust is being commemorated and worked through nowadays. It constitutes a turning point in modern history of the “renewed” Israeli state, besides the 1948’ Declaration of Independence and subsequent military conflicts that ended up with Israel’s victory but took a radically different course, namely the so-called Six-day War (1967) and Yom Kippur War (1973)\(^7\). The trial played two essential functions in this particular context: 1) traditional one, assigned to each legal proceeding, i.e. to address individual (civic or criminal) case and pursue a fair judgment based on evidence material obtained by the prosecution, 2) additional, didactic/commemorative

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6 Daughter’s glaringly red jacket distinguished her in the crowd floating towards gas chambers; the vanishing red point was Foeldi’s last memory of her (“My little girl was wearing some kind of a red coat. The red spot was a sign that my wife was near there. The red spot was getting smaller and smaller. I walked to the right and never saw them again”). Happily, he managed to rescue his then twelve years old son, increasing his age up to fifteen when asked by a German guard, a quantity which allowed him to work inside the camp, see: Session No. 53, http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/e/eichmann-adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-053-04.html, (30.9.2016).

7 See: H. Yablonka, *Preparing the Eichmann Trial: Who Really Did The Job?*, Theoretical Inquiries in Law, July, 2000, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 370. Idith Zertal underlines the twofold, both domestic and external, significance of the Eichmann Trial: “The Judgment of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem by an Israeli court was an extraordinary event by any measure. The trial, the full sessions of which were broadcast live on national radio, changed the face of Israel, psychologically binding the pastles Israelis with their recent history and revolutionizing their self-perception. «Not one of us will leave here as he was before,» wrote the poet Haim Guri, who covered the trial for a Tel Aviv paper. It was a major step in the shaping of Western post-Holocaust culture and the effort to grapple with the history and memory of the Holocaust – she continues – Susan Sontag expressed the fundamentally paradoxical essence of this event in a 1964 text that the trial was «the most interesting and moving work of art in the past ten years» and that it was «primarily a great act of commitment through the memory and the renewal of grief, [which] clothed itself in the forms of legality and historical objectivity», I. Zertal, *Israel’s Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*, Cambridge 2005, p. 92.
one, namely to “teach history and shape collective memory”8. The former limited itself solely to Eichmann, the latter went far beyond him, intending to grasp the Holocaust in its entirety. Unsurprisingly, the final result of such an attitude did not provide any “objective” picture of these tragic events – the very concept of “objectivity”/“historical truth” has been called into question by postmodern thinkers9 – but rather a specific narrative, more or less personal (when it comes to single individuals) or politically useful (for organized, self-assembled communities known as states or local governments of any sizes). In this case, the narrative framework throughout which the Holocaust could be viewed was brought by Zionism. It is important then to tackle, at least fragmentarily, several issues closely related with what was mentioned above: the general attitude of Zionist-oriented state authorities and society towards Holocaust; its overall importance for shaping the collective identity/national self-awareness of present-day Israelis and, most likely, successive generations; its impact on Israel’s international recognition and its ability to last.

Nonetheless, it must be reminded that political repercussions of the Eichmann’s trial did affect other countries as well. Their magnitude differed considerably depending on country’s own localization within the Hilbergian triad perpetrators/victims/

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9 Hayden White writes as follows: “We may seek to give our lives a meaning of some specific kind by telling now one and now another kind of story about them. But this is a work of construction rather than of discovery – and so it is with groups, nations, and whole classes of people who wish to regard themselves as parts of organic entities capable of living story-like lives. Neither the reality nor the meaning of history is «out there» in the form of story awaiting only a historian to discern its outline and identify the plot that comprises its meaning. This is «not» to say that certain events never occurred or that we have no reasons for believing in their occurrence. But a specifically «historical» inquiry is born less of the necessity to establish «that» certain events occurred than of the desire to determine what certain events might «mean» for a given group, society, or culture’s conception of its present tasks or future prospects […],” H. White, Historical Pluralism and Pantextualism [in:] H. White, The Fiction of Narrative: Essays on History, Literature, and Theory, 1957-2007, ed. R. Doran, Baltimore-London 2010, p. 230. See also: P. Novick, That Noble Question: The ‘Objectivity Question’ and the American Historical Profession, Cambridge 1988; K. Cmiel, After Objectivity: What Comes Next in History?, American Literary History, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring, 1990), pp. 170-181.
bystanders\textsuperscript{10} or concentric “circles of Holocaust memory” proposed by Peter Novick\textsuperscript{11}. Following this logic, Israel (“a country whose population – or much of it – has a special relationship to the victims of the crime”\textsuperscript{12}) and Germany (“the country of the criminals and their descendants”\textsuperscript{13}) both occupy the exact epicenter. Actually, Germany’s case in 1961 was much more complicated, marked by Cold War divisions\textsuperscript{14}. Amidst further circles there are Nazi-occupied European countries (“the scene of the deportation to death [or actual murder] of their Jewish citizens”\textsuperscript{15}), keeping up the somewhat ambiguous, intentionally vague status of “bystanders”\textsuperscript{16}, along with United States, Canada and Australia, countries having no “organic connections”\textsuperscript{17} towards Holocaust but with large Jewish populations instead, many of whom were survivors or were lucky enough to left Europe shortly before the outbreak of WWII – despite restrictive immigration rules that, up to a certain point, may situate these countries

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} See: P. Novick, \textit{The Holocaust is Not – and Is Not Likely to Become – Global Memory...}, pp. 47-55.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Ibidem, p. 48.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Ibidem, p. 48.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Whereas the Western Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), treating itself to be a natural continuator of a thousand-year long tradition of German statehood, finally decided, after initial reluctance following the end of war, to confront with the troublesome burden of Nazi Third Reich (social phenomenon known under German term \textit{Vergangenheitsbewältigung}, i.e. overcoming/coming to terms [with the negativities of the] past”); German Democratic Republic (GDR), in turn, member of victorious Communist Bloc, managed to integrate the society around a positive yet erroneous myth of widespread resistance of German working class against fascism – such understood antifascism, primary source of state’s legitimization, convincingly “universalized” the period of 1939-1945 as another stage of long-term rivalry between capital and proletariat, hence “blurring” the historical continuity between GDR and Nazi Germany and sustaining the illusion of lack of guilt for the Holocaust, which actual specificity remained unrecognized, see, for example: J. Herf, \textit{Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanies}, Cambridge, MA-London 1997; J. Herf, \textit{The Emergence and Legacies of Divided Memory: Germany and the Holocaust after 1945} [in:] \textit{Memory & Power in Post-war Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past}, ed. J-W. Müller, Cambridge 2004, pp. 184-205; S. Kattago, \textit{Ambigious Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity}, Westport, CT, 2001; M. Zehfuss, \textit{Wounds of Memory: The Politics of War in Germany}, Cambridge 2007.
\item \textsuperscript{15} P. Novick, \textit{The Holocaust is Not – and Is Not Likely to Become – Global Memory...}, p. 48.
\item \textsuperscript{16} It contains in itself the whole range of possible behaviors in a radical boundary situation (a reference to Karl Jaspers’s \textit{Grenzsituation}), which, in its essence, was to live in close proximity (and visibility) to then-ongoing massacre: helping/rescuing, passive observation (perhaps the most common attitude), reaping material/social benefits, accomplice in crimes, see, for example: \textit{What is Left of the Hilberg’s Triad ‘Perpetrators-Victims-Bystanders’}, http://www.jhi.pl/en/blog/2013-04-25-what-is-left-of-the-hilberg-s-triad-perpetrators-victims-bystanders, (30.09.2016).
\item \textsuperscript{17} P. Novick, \textit{The Holocaust is Not – and Is Not Likely to Become – Global Memory...}, pp. 48-49.
\end{itemize}
amongst passive “bystanders”\(^ {18} \). In such a context, quite paradoxically, “American Jews […] have more organic ties to the victims of Holocaust than Mizrahim\(^ {19} \) in Israel, whose ties with Europe, if any, were severed centuries ago”\(^ {20} \) – writes Novick. As will be shown, the political impact of the Eichmann Trial did not end up solely on the so far highly divisive Israeli society – lesson emerging from it was intended to fill up the gaps between its varying parts\(^ {21} \) – simultaneously, it did affect the relationship between \textit{Eretz Yisrael} (“the Land of Israel”\(^ {22} \)) and the Jewish Diaspora, in America and elsewhere. Thus, the trial was closely watched outside Israel, especially in both mentioned countries. Its international reception is the major subject of this paper. Particular emphasis will be put on two closely related yet separate questions: Israeli statehood and Jewish identity, which came to the fore.

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The very decision to place the trial in Jerusalem, Israel, and nowhere else, was an act of symbolic significance. It constituted a clear-cut communiqué as well. The newly-formed Israeli state has finally got what European Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe were


\(^ {19} \) This term has two meanings: 1) In a broader sense, it refers to all Jewish communities living in Middle East, North Africa, Central Asia and Caucasus, since biblical times up to present-day; \textit{Mizrah}, in literal translation from Hebrew, means “Oriental”/“Eastern”, \textit{Mizrahim} – “Orientals”/“Easterners”; 2) Orthodox Zionist movement established in Vilnius in 1902, deriving its name from the words \textit{merkaz ruhanim} (meaning “spiritual center”), its ideological motto “The Land of Israel for the People of Israel according to the Torah of Israel” (\textit{Erec Israel le-am Israel al-pi Torat Israel}) was formed by Meir Bar-Ilan (1880-1949), orthodox rabbi and political activist, who contributed significantly to the rebirth of traditional Judaism in Europe, USA and Palestine, see: \textit{Mizrahi}, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Mizrahi, (30.09.2016); \textit{Mizrachi}, http://www.jhi.pl/psj/Mizrachi, (30.09.2016).

\(^ {20} \) P. Novick, \textit{The Holocaust is Not – and Is Not Likely to Become – Global Memory…}, pp. 49-50.

\(^ {21} \) Such as the above-mentioned Mizrahi/ Sephardic Jews and Ashkenazi ones; the so-called Sabras, “young Israeli generation born in the sun and under the open skies”, the realization of a new type of Israeli men, modeled on biblical heroes, combative and fearless, and Holocaust survivors, perceived as their radical opposite, often (unjustly) compared to lambs being led to the slaughterhouse; urban middle class and old rural elite gathered around the \textit{kibbutzim} movement; high- or age-positioned groups and the disfranchised proletariat, European-educated, “more sentimental, complicated, introspective but creative” population and “matter-of-fact”, practically-minded, well-prepared for hard psychical labor on the field, and so on, see: A. Wieviorka, \textit{The Era of the Witness}, Ithaca, NY-London 2006, p. 58.

deprived of: military forces inevitable in winning back national independence; intelligence services anticipating forthcoming threats\(^{23}\); political-administrative apparatus capable to bring former perpetrators/executioners of Jewish people before justice. The Nazis and Nazi Collaborators Punishment Act, adopted unanimously by the Israeli parliament on August 1, 1950 – legal act on which basis Eichmann was tried\(^{24}\) – hitherto has been used in case of defendants forming the latter segment of its official name (Nazi Collaborators), to mention, among others, former Kapos (prison functionaries in Nazi concentration camps, oftentimes abusing their power and privileges associated with that function) in 1951\(^{25}\). Allegations of possible collaboration were uttered in 1952 by Holocaust survivor from Hungary, half-amateurish publicist Malkiel Gruenwald against Rudolf Israel “Rezsö” Kasztner (also spelled as Kastner) – Jewish-Hungarian journalist, lawyer and activist, vice-president of the Budapest Aid and Rescue Committee, offering help to the local Jewish community, especially needed during

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\(^{23}\) Interestingly though, the role of Mossad in tracing down, capturing and transporting Eichmann from Argentina to Israel has been concealed for a relatively long time, in order not to provoke diplomatic perturbations between Tel Aviv and Buenos Aires, which broke out anyway. It was not until the publication of memoirs of Isser Harel, the former head of this institution, entitled *The House on Garibaldi Street* in 1975, that it became officially recognized. In 1961 and forthcoming years the main splendor for this action was assigned to Simon Wiesenthal who, in fact, was very much involved in chasing Eichmann in the early postwar years but was later forced to close the case because of lack of evidence and insufficient financial funds. Furthermore, one cannot forget about the significant contribution on behalf of Hessian State Attorney, German Jew, Fritz Bauer. Bauer came into contact with Lothar Hermann, who managed to escape with his Jewish family from Nazi Germany to Argentina and whose daughter was dating with Eichmann’s son Klaus for a short period of time, in late 1950s, see, for example: T. Cole, *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler, How the History is Bought, Packed, and Sold*, New York 2000, pp. 49-56; N. Bascomb, *Hunting Eichmann: How a Band of Survivors and a Young Spy Agency Chased Down the World’s Most Notorious Nazi*, Boston-New York 2009; I. Harel, *The House on Garibaldi Street*, Routledge, New York 2013; Z. Aharoni, *Operation Eichmann: The Truth About the Pursuit, Capture and Trial*, New York 1997; S. Wiesenthal, *Ich Jagte Eichmann: Tatsachenbericht*, Altenmünster 1961.


the German invasion and occupation of Hungary from March 1944 to April 1945. There is a popular assumption that the Eichmann Trial was “designed” by Ben-Gurion and the Mapai Party to erase the bad impression left by Kasztner and the way in which his case was handled. As a matter of fact, Eichmann was the first Nazi functionary brought before the Jewish court. The second one was Ivan (John) Demjanjuk in 1987, however, according to L. Douglas, it “disastrously recapitulated the Eichmann trial.”

By achieving so much in so little time, then-incumbent Israeli Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, along with representatives of ruling left-wing Zionist Mapai

26 He has gained wide recognition by organizing the so-called “Kasztner train” – evacuation of 1,684 Hungarian Jews on 35 cattle trucks from Budapest to Switzerland on June 30, 1944, in exchange for a ransom of approximately 1,000 dollars per individual, handed over directly to SS-Standartenführer (colonel) Kurt Becher, one of Eichmann’s most trusted men, then head of the SS Economic Department in Hungary, which actual function was plunder of Jewish property. Kasztner’s subsequent fault, equally incriminating as the previous one, was that he allowed Becher to avoid responsibility for his wrongdoings in Nuremberg, addressing an affidavit, in which he asserted that “Becher belongs to the very few SS leaders having the courage to oppose the program of annihilation of the Jews, and trying to rescue human lives […].” For more on Kasztner, his wartime activity and postwar controversies see, for example: A. Porter, Kasztner’s Train: The True Story of an Unknown Hero of the Holocaust, London 2012; L. Löb, Dealing with Satan: Rezső Kasztner’s Daring Rescue Mission, London 2008 [the first title is a historical novel with dialogue lines written by Canadian publisher and novelist born in Budapest in 1943, the second one, “a hybrid of history and memoir”, presents the point of view of a Holocaust teenager survivor rescued by Kasztner, together with his father; both of them portray Kasztner rather positively], P. Bagdanor, Kasztner’s Crime, New Brunswick, NJ 2016; Y. Wietz, Israel Kasztner’s Changing Image in Israel, Cathedra: For the History of Eretz Israel and Its Yishuv, September 1999, Issue 69, pp. 134-151, J. A. Chanes, Kasztner: Hero or Devil?, http://forward.com/culture/116718/kasztner-hero-or-devil/, (30.09.2016).

27 Gruenwald’s claims gained extraordinary political significance, whilst Kasztner was serving back then as a spokesman of the Minister of Trade and Industry, Dov Yosef, and was an active Mapai member. In order to avoid identifying the ruling party with acts of collaboration, as did its political opponents, incumbent Israeli Attorney General, Haim Cohn, issued a libel suit against Gruenwald, which transformed into prolonged legal proceedings, stretching over for nearly four years (it began at the Jerusalem District Court in January 1954 and ended with a verdict of judge Benjamin Halevi in June 1955, five judges of the Supreme Court deliberated over the appeal for twelve months, from January 1957 to January 1958; in comparison, Eichmann Trial was two times shorter) and reached dramatic climax before its end – Kasztner was shot on March 4, 1957, in front of his Tel Aviv house by members of right-wing militia (it was one of the first political assassinations in Israel, almost four decades prior to the death of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995 at the hands of Yigal Amir, fanatical opponent of the Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement). On mutual relations between mentioned trials, see, for example: Y. Wietz, The Holocaust on Trial: The Impact of the Kasztner and Eichmann Trials on Israeli Society, Israeli Studies, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1996, pp. 1-26; H. Yablonka, The Development of Holocaust Consciousness in Israel: The Nuremberg, Kapos, Kastner, and Eichmann Trials, Israel Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2003, pp. 1-24.


29 Ben-Gurion was fulfilling this role almost uninterruptedly from 1948 until then, with a short, less than two years-long break between 1954 and 1955 when his tasks were took over by Moshe Sharett. After Ben-Gurion’s resignation in 1963, Levi Eshkol became the new Prime Minister, later succeeded by Golda Meir.
Party\textsuperscript{30}, have signaled their wish to whip away the hegemony within international Jewish community (presumably, from the hands of their American compatriots), and to act out as its spokesman and possible defendant. Many commentators considered the localization of the trial in Israel as the most proper one (in both symbolic and juridical terms). As noted by Idith Zertal, “the most characteristic and focused Ben-Gurionicer statement about the trial was voiced, by no accident, obliquely\textsuperscript{31}, by a foreign authority, supposedly alien to local scene, and hence of particular validity”\textsuperscript{32}, i.e. well-known British historian, eminent expert on National Socialism, Hugh Trevor-Roper. In his article for “The Sunday Times”, published on April 9, 1961, two days before the inauguration, Trevor-Roper penned the following lines:

To Mr. Ben-Gurion, Eichmann is a symbol, and his trial is to be symbolic, too, symbolic not merely of slow-footed retribution, not merely of world Jewry’s martyrdom in Hitler’s Europe, but even of a longest struggle. It will commemorate at its highest crisis the struggle which lasted all Mr. Ben-Gurion’s own lifetime and out of which the present State of Israel was born. For the whole Eichmann policy is, in a particular way, personal to Mr. Ben-Gurion. He and he alone authorized and ordered the entire process […]. So personally, so privately did the Prime Minister act that all Israeli offi-

\textsuperscript{30} Misfelet Poalei Eretz Yisrael, i.e. “Workers’ Party of the Land of Israel”, dominating the parliament and forming successive governments up to its transformation into now-existing Israeli Labor Party, which remained in power till 1977, when the parliamentary elections were won, for the very first time since 1948, by right-wing Likud Party led by Menachem Begin. Afterwards, the dominance was switched over alternatively by either Labor or Likud. The political phenomenon of centrist-liberal Kadima Party, formed by moderate Labor and Likud members, which took most of the parliamentary seats in 2006 and 2009 elections, can be interpreted as a sign of discouragement with the bipartisan political system that has not changed, in its essence, since the state’s beginnings. Its leader, Ehud Olmert, was appointed Prime Minister in years 2006-2009, his successor Tzipi Livni, in spite of winning the 2009 election by a margin of votes over Likud, went to the opposition, after she did not manage to form a coalition – mission accomplished by the latter party. Its leader, Benjamin Netanyahu, has upheld the position of Prime Minister, after winning the 2013 and 2015 elections.

\textsuperscript{31} Zertal appears to be suggesting in this particular fragment that Trevor-Roper might be persuaded, in a way, by the Israelis to write favorably about Israeli political leaders and the forthcoming trial – unusual, lofty yet obsequious tone of article might confirm this thesis. If so, this was not the first example of attempts undertook by the Israeli government in order to influence the international public opinion. Moshe Pearlman, journalist and former spokesmen of Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), was appointed to write a English-language pamphlet about Eichmann and given full access to top-classified material from his pre-trial interrogations, see: M. Pearlman, The Capture and Trial of Adolf Eichmann, New York 1963; Y. N. Miller, Creating Unity through History: The Eichmann Trial as Transition, Journal of Modern Jewish Studies, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2002, pp. 136-139; H. Arendt, Eichmann in Jerusalem..., p. 297.

\textsuperscript{32} I. Zertal, Israel’s Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood..., p. 105.
cialdom was taken by surprise... such a coup perhaps has to be personal; for whoever ordered it, with all its calculable and incalculable consequences, too enormous risks [...] the personal policy of Mr. Ben-Gurion has led to a personal triumph. In spite of great risks at every stage, he has brought it to its logical climax. And in doing so, he has re-created, for a time at least, his own original image as the Joshua who finally established his people in their Promised Land. For that image, it must be admitted, he has recently lost some of its old radiance. There have been deep internal rifts in Israel [see: footnote no. 21 – SZ.P], many of them caused by the powerful personality of the Prime Minister himself – or at least by the problem of finding a successor to him in a new State whose institutions are not yet firm and whose enemies are many and so close. But now, on the eve of this great ceremonious trial, such rifts are closed, or at least temporarily papered over, by public agreement with the Prime Minister’s aims and admiration of his skill. Outwardly, all Israeli parties, from extreme Right to extreme Left, are one in this. Even the Prime Minister severest critics and opponents have congratulated him on the imagination and bold decision which have led, through such hazards, to such success33.

On the other side, however, such outlined policy drifted towards inescapable strife between the Israelis and high-ranked, politically influential authorities/intellectuals in the USA, accompanied by certain Israeli citizens who adopted more critical stance toward Zionism, and non-Jewish public figures as well. They managed to overcome interpersonal animosities and tackled issues of utmost importance34: “What is Judaism?”, “Who is a Jew?”, “To what extent is the State of Israel a Jewish state?”, “Is the life of a Jew in Israel more complete than the life of a Jew in any other country?”; Is there a lesson in the destruction of European Jewry – the triumph of anti-Semitism, the failure of assimilation – relevant to American Jews [and other Jews as well – SZ.P]?”. Many amongst them thought somewhat differently than Ben-Gurion and Trevor-Roper. German philosopher Karl Jaspers suggested, e.g., that a far better solution would be placing Eichmann before an international tribunal, similar to that in Nuremberg, in which Israeli judges would play considerable role (they were

33 Ibidem, pp. 105-106.

deprived of it in early postwar years, when the Israeli state was still in the making. As he pointed out in his interview with François Bondy published in “Der Monat” in May 1961, at the very beginning of the trial when heated discussions on this matter have not yet fade away:

> What is at stake in this mass murder of Jews is something that is more and different from mere murder in the sense of criminal codes. We have made it clear that we are dealing here with a crime so-far not defined, a new type of crime. The crime against the Jews is at the same time a crime against mankind (Verbrechen gegen Menschheit). Hence, judgment on this crime can be passed by a judicial body representing mankind.

Asked by Bondy about how he images such a court, he replies that the United Nations is the only existing political entity that is able to cope with this task. In his opinion, Israel should officially oblige the UN to create a special entity/subsection within

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35 Furthermore, the prosecutors and other officials representing the Allied powers during the Nuremberg trials failed to separate the Holocaust from the wider context of WWII. In fact, the prosecution and extermination of European Jews was raised several times, however, it vanished among dozens of other cases also discussed back then. Its essence was rather misunderstood and non-represented. The Allies failed to acknowledge the difference between concentration- and extermination camps: the former ones were designed as “reeducation” centers (throughout murderous physical labor), designed first and foremost for criminals, POWs and political prisoners; the sole purpose of the latter was wide-scale, industrial-like “liquidation” of Jewish population (and none other). Insufficient attention was given to Akton Reinhard camps (Belżec, Sobibór, Treblinka). The Jewish identity of victims, designating their lowest status inside the camps (tantamount to immediate or temporarily deferred death) remained basically unrecognized. What appears highly paradoxical is the fact that than ten years after the racial Nuremberg laws had been introduced, the court in the very same city defined them not as Jews but as citizens of Poland, Germany, France, and so on. This might result due to multiple factors: liberal/republican vision of law, adopted by most of the Western Allies, forbade them to specify any ethnic- or religious specificity of certain individuals or groups; current political affairs (the Britons did not intend to favor Jews because of tense situation in yet still British-controlled Palestine) or more or less concealed anti-Semitic stereotypes/resentments (e. g. widespread belief in Jewish repentance or hostility towards Catholicism/Catholics), see, for example: L. Douglas, The Memory of Judgment... pp. 11-94; D. Bloxham, Genocide on Trial..., pp. 57-228; N. Ehrenfreund, The Nuremberg Legacy: How The Nazi War Crimes Trial Changed The Course of History, Basingstoke 2007; M.R. Marrus, The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial, 1945-1946: A Documentary History, Boston-New York 1997; M.R. Marrus, A Jewish Lobby at Nuremberg: Jacob Robinson and the Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1945-1946, Cardozo Law Review, Feb., 2006, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 1651-1665; H. Yablonka, The Eichmann Trial: Was it the Jewish Nuremberg?, Loyola of Los Angeles International and Comparative Law Review, Spring, 2012, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 301-313.

its structures: “[...] the great embarrassment such request from Israel would cause to the United Nations and to all states seems to me quite appropriate and something which in the long run could yield fruit”37 – he fantasized. On the other hand however, Jaspers also admitted that “[...] some people seem particularly to relish bringing forward the legal difficulties undoubtedly inherent in this trial”38. The following remark most probably referred to his fellow countrymen in both East and West Germany, many of whom refused to accept the criminal, political, moral and metaphysical character of German guilt, outlined in his seminal work from 1946, Die Schuldfrage (The Question of German Guilt39), released at the outbreak of Nuremberg trials, and did whatever they could in order to avoid such a troublesome confrontation (this partly explains the enormous confusion on behalf of Adenauer’s government and most of society at the news that Eichmann was finally captured). In a private letter addressed to Hannah Arendt, his student and close friend, dating back to December 12, 1960 (prior to above-mentioned interview and after Eichmann’s capture), Jaspers expressed his mayor concerns and expectations towards the upcoming events: “The Eichmann trial is unsettling […] because I am afraid Israel may come away from it looking bad no matter how objective the conduct of the trial. […] Its significance is not being a legal trial but in its establishing of historical facts and serving as a reminder of those facts for humanity40”. Jaspers had no general objections regarding Israelis’ intentions: “The Jews would bring this about [the ideas of justice and humanity – SZ.P] – he stated – the people who derived from Adam’s beginnings the impulse to protect the stranger, neighborly love, and the solidarity of all human beings”41. Nevertheless, like the vast majority of liberal, non-Zionist public opinion outside Israel, he feared that the trial might result in the recurrence of anti-Semitic sentiments and ill-fated accusations of “Jewish vengefulness/revanchism”.

Jaspers was a Gentile, same as Trevor-Roper. In spite of this fact, his presence is not accidental. The sole fact of having a wife of Jewish origin, Gertrud Mayer – whom he did not leave during twelve-year long Nazi regime, despite numerous life-

37 Ibidem, p. 855.
38 Ibidem, p. 853.
41 Ibidem, p. 420.
threatening dangers\textsuperscript{42} – made him more sympathetic towards Jews and Israeli state. Sympathetic does not necessarily means uncritical, as shown in the discussed topic. What is more, several people whose ties with Jewishness were much deeper than Jaspers’s shared his opinion – to mention, among others, Martin Buber, renowned philosopher and declared Zionist who moved from Nazi Germany to Palestine in 1938, and the president of USA-based World Jewish Congress (WJC) in years 1948-1977, Nahum Goldmann. The former one declared: “I do not think that the victim should be judge as well”\textsuperscript{43}, while the latter proposed a supposedly Solomonic solution: he saw no contradictions against trying Eichmann on Israeli’s soil but he should stand before an international tribunal (as he clarified his position in private correspondence with Ben-Gurion: “[…] since Eichmann and the Nazis exterminated not only Jews, it would be worthwhile to invite those countries, many of whose citizens were also killed by him, to sent their own judges”\textsuperscript{44}) led by the Israeli judge (this would demonstrate the “precedence” of Jews among multiple victims). Ben-Gurion vehemently opposed it. In a private letter addressed to Goldman, he presented his own understanding of Holocaust and resulting obligations of the Israeli state:

\begin{quote}
The Holocaust that the Nazis wreaked on the Jewish people is not like other atrocities that the Nazis committed in the world […] but a unique episode that has no equal\textsuperscript{45}, an attempt to totally destroy the Jewish people, which Hitler and his helpers did not
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{42} Jaspers was declared an “enemy of the state”, expelled from higher ranks at his university, he maintained the possibility to teach and publish the results of his ongoing studies but could not leave Germany. For more on Jaspers and his friendship with Arendt, see: H. Arendt, Men in Dark Times, Boston 1975, pp. 71-94.

\textsuperscript{43} See: T. Segev, The Seventh Million..., p. 329.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibidem, p. 329.

\textsuperscript{45} Ben-Gurion partly refers here, up to a certain degree, to discussions concerning the uniqueness of Holocaust taking place in the following decades between the “absolutionists”, underlining the exceptional historical specificity of Holocaust, “trivialists”, who reject this assumption, and “contextualists”, i.e. “those reluctant to accept either the trivialists or absolutionists position”, claiming that the Holocaust should “always be examined in the context of history”, which “does not preclude its uniqueness”, see: A. Rosenberg, E. Silverman, The Issue of the Holocaust as Unique Event [in:] Genocide in Our Time: An Annotated Bibliography with Analytical Introductions, ed. M.N. Dobkowski, I. Wallimann, Ypsilanti, MI 1992, pp. 47-65.
dare try with any other nation.\textsuperscript{46} It is a particular duty of the State of Israel, the Jewish people’s only sovereign entity, to recount this episode in its full magnitude and horror, without ignoring the Nazi regime’s other crimes against humanity – but not as one of these crimes, rather as the only crime that has no parallel in human history.\[...\] Anti-Semitism is caused by the existence of the Jews in the Exile – he adjoined in another paragraph – When they are different from their neighbors they awaken fear or derision, and when they try to be like them, and as usual become more Catholic than the pope, they are repulsed.\textsuperscript{47}

One can say, without exaggeration, that their exchange reflected a deeper conflict between two distinctive perceptions of a Jewish “self” that came out at this particular moment: 1) Communitarian/isolationist attitude characterizing Zionism since

\textsuperscript{46} Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer insist that one vital element that distinguishes the “Jewish Holocaust” from other, previously known genocides or acts of mass extermination, was the murderous completeness and immensity of Nazis’ plan. They were determined to eliminate the Jewish population from all over the world – at Wannsee Conference on January 20, 1942, decisions were made concerning the fate of 11 millions of European Jews, including territories not yet occupied or controlled by Third Reich: Great Britain, Ireland or Sweden – out of purely ideological reasons, “simply by the virtue of fact that they were Jewish”, without considering any other, whether political or economical goals. Genocide, in turn, in a way understood by its creator, Raphael Lemkin, differs from Holocaust because the former refers to “the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups”, not necessarily identical with the act of killing, while the latter meant “complete physical annihilation of an entire group”. As he once wrote: To make this as simple as possible, I would suggest retaining the term «genocide» for «partial» murder and the term «Holocaust» for total destruction”. In Bauer’s opinion, one of the very few events that somewhat resembles Holocaust was the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923), however, while the Turks desired to “eliminate” the Armenian community within Turkey’s political borders and not Armenians worldwide (they did not have such capabilities), see: Ibidem, p. 55-56, Y. Bauer, \textit{Rethinking the Holocaust}, New Haven-London 2001, pp. 10-11.

its very beginnings in the late XIX century⁴⁸, which incessantly emphasized Jewish distinctness/separateness and uncertain condition of brethren living outside the Yishuv⁴⁹, oftentimes deliberately; 2) Less tribal or antagonistic, more individualist/liberal/cosmopolitan attitude adopted by American and European Diaspora, most tellingly expressed by Yosal Rogat, prominent law professor from Stanford University – according to Rogat, every single Jew “can determine for [oneself] the nature and he meaning of […] Jewishness and of [one’s] relation to Jewry. […] [to] acknowledge this necessity is to take on a dispiriting burden of freedom, for we can call on the assistance of only our own resources, and they are meager⁵⁰. Pnina Lahav further disclosed complex conceptual relationship between Israeli Prime Minister and American-Jewish jurist:

Rogat’s and Ben-Gurion’s understandings of the Zionist interpretation of Jewishness were like ships passing in the night. Rogat viewed Israel as a mere continuation of the tribal attributes of collectivity, one more link in the old Jewish chain. Ben-Gurion understood Zionism as revolution, defiance of the «old Jewish existence», a belief that the Jews can take destiny into their own hands and transform it. Ben-Gurion’s Zionist model diagnosed rootlessness and alienation as symptoms of the disease of Jewish existence in exile, an existence of soul without body. Zionist hailed rootedness, preferably in Zion, as a precondition to solving the Jewish problem, as essential to the normalization of the Jewish people. Rogat perceived rootedness as premodern and doomed to failure. Yet, almost malgre lui [paradoxically, against odds– SZ.P], Rogat shared with Ben-Gurion the belief that Jews are different. Ben-Gurion wished to overcome the difference, however, by making the Jewish people a normal nation, like

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⁴⁸ As Johannes Heuman aptly observes, Theodor Herzl’s has written Der Judenstaat (1896) in response to the Dreyfus Affair, lasting, with several breaks and setbacks, from 1894 till 1906, and increasing disillusionment with Franco-Judaism of the Third Republic, exemplified best in Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre’s famous speech at the National Assembly in December 1789: “The Jews must be refused everything as a Nation; they must be granted everything as individuals […]. One cannot accept a society of non-citizens within the nation or a nation within a nation”. Manifestations of one’s national ethnicity or religious denomination have been pushed out the public sphere and treated as a private matter of each individual. Jews and other national minorities were officially recognized as full-fledged citizens “equipped” with entire set of civil or political right. However, “the emancipatory features of the Revolution – freeing people from old traditions and feudal and religious oppression” was accompanied with more or less direct calls to abandon sectarianism, typical among these groups, see: J. Heuman, The Holocaust and French Historical Culture, 1945-1965, Basingstoke 2015, pp. 23-33.


others [England and France were pointed by him as model examples – SZ.P]. Rogat, on the other hand, wished to purge the difference by turning Jew into a cosmopolitan citizen. Viewing cosmopolitan rootlessness and alienated selfhood as the trends of the future, Rogat hoped that Jews would become pioneers in the cosmopolitanization of nations until perhaps the national boundaries separating them would wither away. In this sense – concludes Lahav – Rogat and Ben-Gurion shared yet another understanding of Jewishness: both believed that the «house of Israel» should be a light unto the nations – Ben-Gurion explicitly, in his utopian vision of the communitarian society; Rogat implicitly, in his individualist vision of the cosmopolitan society51.

If one looks more closely at newspapers’ leads or opinion polls published in the USA shortly before the inauguration of Eichmann’s trial, it seems that the vast majority of its citizens, including Jews and non-Jews, were much closer to Jaspers, Buber, Goldmann and Rogat that Ben-Gurion, when it comes to Israel’s legitimization to try Eichmann (however, they did not necessarily share Jaspers’s Judeophilia). As stressed by George Salomon in his 1962’ report prepared for both American Jewish Committee (AJC) and Jewish Publication Society (JPS), and P. Novick in his now-classical study Holocaust in American Life (1999), nationwide and local U.S. press, without few exceptions (“Newsweek”, “Cleveland Plain Dealer”, St. Louis Globe-Democrat”, Baltimore Evening Sun”52), took a rather critical stance when it comes to the question of Israel’s legitimacy (e.g.: “New York Times Magazine”, “U.S. News and World Report”, “Post-Gazzette and Sun-Telegraph”, “The Hartford Courant”, “Chicago American”, “Denver Post”, “Dallas News”53, “The New Republic”, “The Washington Post”, “The New York Post”, “The Wall Street Journal”, “National Review”54. The last one, New York-based, conservative semi-monthly periodical, dared to use anti-Semitic “humor” in one of its editorials. As related by Novick: “The magazine presented a vulgar Jewish couple: «Sylvia» spoke to «Myron» about Eichmann (and gold, and hairdressers) in their Central West Apartment while «doing her nails […] on an enormous, crescent-shaped,

51   Ibidem, pp. 567-568.
gold-on-gold, French provincial Castro convertible” than following current international affairs, even the ones concerning their own community. The same newspaper, in editorial released shortly after that, suggested that the country would soon get bored with this event and that at least three months, during which it was supposed to last, is definitely too long, compared with the fact that “the Christian Church focuses hard on the crucifixion of Jesus Christ for only one week out of the year”\(^\text{56}\). The editors, moreover, expressed their concern that the trial was intended to weaken (West) Germany’s reputation and thus will serve well for the Communist’ cause. They did not conceal their relief that the trial was being overshadowed by parallel, even more spectacular affairs – Yuri Gagarin’s first successful outer space journey (12 April, 1961) and the Bay of Pigs invasion (17-19 April, 1961). “The line taken by Buckley’s\(^\text{57}\) «National Review» was, to be sure, not typical of press commentary – Novick assures – but it represented just the sort of backlash Jewish organizations feared.”\(^\text{58}\).

Specific narrative paths were presented in both Jewish and Christian periodicals. In general, many contributors, representing varied political outlooks or positions towards Judaism, Zionism, and so on, who delivered their pieces to Jewish-oriented titles (“Dissent”, “Commentary”, “The Forward”, “Jewish Newsletter”), reveal their uneasiness on how this trial will be perceived within the entire Jewish world, with particular emphasis on American Diaspora and Israel, and beyond. In a similar vein, leaders of multiple Jewish organizations – to list, among others, JWC, AJC, JPS, Anti-Defamation League (ADL), The Jewish Agency, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations – were concerned about potential negative effects of certain misinterpretations


\(^{56}\) P. Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life...*, p. 130.

\(^{57}\) William F. Buckley Jr. was a renowned American conservative, journalist and novelist, close to Republican Party, who adjoined elements of traditional conservatism, devout Catholicism, free-market liberalism and anti-communism in his political thought.

\(^{58}\) Ibidem, pp. 130-131.
that could easily arose in the course of the trial\textsuperscript{59}. Stories presented by the so-called “church press” (using Salomon’s label) mostly revolved around two particular topics: 1) Israel’s presumed vindictiveness or compassion, already mentioned by Jaspers in the earlier part; 2) Help provided to Jews in hiding by the Righteous among Nations, most of whom were Gentiles/European Christians. When it comes to the former one, numerous Protestant or Catholic-oriented publications depicted Israelis (and, perhaps subconsciously, all Jews in general) in a rather unfavorable light, while Christianity was often associated with deep-rooted sense of forgiveness that Judaism apparently lacks (“Lutheran”, “Christianity and Crisis”, “Mennonite Review”, “St. Louis Review”, “Boston Pilot”, “Our Sunday Visitor”, “Unitarian Register”, “Christian Science Monitor”, “The Tablet”\textsuperscript{60}. For example, “The Tablet” manifested its deep reservation in a following manner:

\begin{quote}
All this Eichmann business that has been filled the papers lately sadly reminds us that there are still some influential people around who – like Shylock of old – demand their pound of flesh […]. They are a powerful group largely responsible for this country’s unconditional surrender demands which prolonged the Second World War and for the disgraceful Morgenthau Plan aimed at reducing our conquered foe to abject slavery [mentioned plan, named after U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, anti-German hardliner who opted for the country’s complete disarmament and radical de-industrialization – SZ.P]. This identical thinking was back of the notorious Nuremberg trials. And the same believers in «eye for an eye» continue today unregenerate and unashamed. Forgiveness is not in their makeup, not even the forgiveness of the completely vanquished. For these warped minds there is not such word as pardon\textsuperscript{61}.
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{61} See: Ibidem, pp. 129-130. Novick points out, nonetheless, that this periodical, distributed by Brooklyn’s Roman Catholic Diocese, “was notoriously thuggish and not representative of mainstream Catholic journalism”. Numerous mainstream titles also raised doubts whether it is necessary to “exhume, in all their sordid, criminal, and tragic detail, the experiences of world Jewry at the hand of the Nazis” and if it is not better to leave the troublesome past behind and turn towards future, see: Ibidem, p. 313.
Less frequent were different voices, such as belief in a possible scenario of sparing Eichmann’s life⁶² presented in “Christian Century”⁶³. With regard to the Righteous among Nations, in Salomon’s view this was “the only historical subject treated in concrete detail”⁶⁴ thus susceptible to far-reaching universalization, so willingly adopted by journalists from all over the world. Novick, in turn, observes that excessive focus on the rescuers on behalf of the non-Jewish commentators missed back then the essential purpose behind their commemoration by Yad Vashem, i.e. to: “damn the vast «unrighteous majority» […]], stress that «the acts of those few show the aid and rescue were possible… had there been more high-minded people», […] show[…] the delinquency of European Christians «against the background of the righteous», […] [help – SZ.P] understanding that the rescue of Jews was a rare phenomenon [confirmed in statistics - SZ.P]⁶⁵.

Returning to the primary question of Israel’s legitimacy, at least restrained attitude among significant part of American public opinion found its reflection in the poll results⁶⁶. Whereas predominant fifty percent of responders felt that it was a proper place to try Eichmann, thirty-six percent preferred to bring him before an international court, seven percent would handed him over to Germany, one percent would have let him go free, and six percent had no opinion; more detailed analysis of respondent’s educational backgrounds further complicates this situation: there was mutual

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⁶² After he was sentenced to death on December 15, 1961 and was sustained by the Israeli Supreme Court on 29 May 1962, prominent individuals of both Jewish and non-Jewish origins (M. Buber, Gershom Scholem, Hugo Berman, Jacob Robinson, Ernst Simon, Nehemiah Liebowitz, Natan Rotenstreich on one hand; Arthur Koestler, Victor Gollancz, Richard Crossman, Arnold Toynbee, lord Russel of Liverpool, aka Alfred Frederick Langley Russell, Pearl Buck and the others), many of whom were devout supporters of the trial long before its start, urged then-incumbent President of Israel, Yitzhak Ben-Zwi, to commute Eichmann’s death penalty to life imprisonment. However, Ben-Zwi remained intransigent and Eichmann was finally hanged on Friday, May 31, 1962, just minutes ahead of the Sabbath, see: D. Cesarani, *Eichmann: His Life, Crimes and Legacy*, London 2004, pp. 319-320.

⁶³ What is interesting here is the fact that the exact same paper did not raised any reservations towards the Nuremberg trials with all its consequences, including imposing death penalty on German defendants, see: G. Salomon, *The Eichmann Trial: America’s Response…*, pp. 98-99.


⁶⁵ P. Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life…*, p. 180. Novick quotes, in the very same passage, words of ADL director in years 1987-2015, Abraham Foxman: “[…] the rescue of Jews was a rare phenomenon. [The fact is] that 700 million people lived in Nazi-occupied Europe; to date [Foxman’s statement comes from 1994 – SZ.P] 11,000 have been honored by Yad Vashem for rescuing Jews”. Benjamin Meer, Holocaust survivor himself and notable American Jewish activist, further clarifies this matter: “For every righteous person, there were thousands upon thousands who collaborated […] or who, at best, stood idly by and did nothing”, see: Ibidem, pp. 180-181.

consent between the well- and less-educated groups who spoke positively about one of the trial’s mayor functions – “reminding the world of Nazi horrors”\textsuperscript{67} – however, the former ones were more inclined to express doubts whether Israel could handle such task, and the latter – “perhaps out of pragmatic acceptance of «things as they are»”\textsuperscript{68}, as noted by Salomon – backed the Israelis, somewhat uncritically.

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The question of whether or not the trial was to be open for public recording, for the purpose of international broadcasts and cinema showings, has been raised a month before its inauguration. Eichmann’s defense counsel, Dr. Robert Servatius, opted against this solution, arguing that:

(a) The knowledge that the proceedings are being recorded for television and cinema may induce the witnesses not to give their evidence truthfully, both because they may be afraid of persons outside the courtroom who may be watching their televised evidence and because of a desire to play-act before a world-wide audience; (b) The television broadcasts are apt to lead to a distorted presentation of the proceedings, e.g., by omitting the arguments of the Defence [sic]\textsuperscript{69}.

The court, however, responded positively to the request, originally submitted by G. Hausner. It assumed that one of the necessary conditions required from each legal case, in both civil and criminal matters, to be just is its exposure to “the critical eye of the public as a measure by itself calculated to exclude any possibility of a biased or prejudiced proceeding”\textsuperscript{70}.

Day-to-day extensive footages, provided by U.S. independent TV company Capital Cities Broadcasting Corporation, with which the state of Israel has signed an exclusive contract\textsuperscript{71}, were emitted in thirty-eight countries, including biggest

\textsuperscript{67} Ibidem, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibidem, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{71} The fact that Milton Fruchtman, its employee actively involved in pretrial negotiations, was the husband of Israeli Minister of Justice Pinchas Rosen’s niece caused suspicions of possible nepotism, see: A. Pinchevski, T. Liebes, O. Herman, \textit{Eichmann on the Air: Radio and the Making of an Historic Trial}, Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television, Vol. 27, No. 1, March 2007, p. 8.
American public stations newscasters. “These broadcasts constitute a major landmark in the chronicle of American Holocaust television – asserts Jeffrey Shandler – It was the first time that the Holocaust received extended television coverage, in the form of news reports, public affairs programs, documentaries, and dramas aired over a period of months.”\textsuperscript{72} In Israel, where publically accessible television was not launched until 1968, the leading medium, next to cinema newsreels or TV screens situated outside Beit Ha’am for those for whom there was not enough space in the courtroom, was radio. Amongst collective experiences associated with the trial, most frequently invoked by its direct observers, was listening to radio transmissions at home or public spaces. As noted by Amit Pinchevski, Tabar Liebes and Ora Herman, such a strong presence in Israeli memory of this specific way of receiving information about the trial is largely motivated not by the ubiquity of these transmissions but, quite paradoxically, by their relative scarceness, insufficient to overall demand. Due to limited resources – in the early 1960s Kol Yisrael (Israeli public radio) has only two channels: Tochnit Alepg (Program A) and Ha’gal Ha’kal (Easy Listening) – there were only few direct broadcasts from the court’s session, near the inauguration and the final sentence. The most significant witnesses’ testimonies were rather collected in dairy summaries emitted afterwards. Thus, every live entry from the court was treated as extraordinary event and very much anticipated\textsuperscript{73}.

Due to intensive coverage of American (and European) media, which overall scale exceeded by far that in Israel, one may come to conclusion that the trial’s contribution in working out ways in which television, radio, press and other communication/broadcasting sources provide information about similar events (thus setting the path in which subsequent “popular trials”\textsuperscript{74}, such as O.J. Simpson’s murder case held before the Los Angeles County Superior Court in 1995, were being reported) equals to what it has dome for the dissemination of Holocaust memory in Israel and beyond. There were different narrative methods, other means of talking about the Holocaust

\textsuperscript{72} J. Shandler, While America Watches: Televising the Holocaust..., p. 83.


in the USA than in Israel (universalization instead of specification\textsuperscript{75}). Correspondingly, other issues flew up to the fore, often suppressed (more or less intentionally) or not enough acknowledged in second country. American-Jewish public intellectuals, forming a significant part of domestic opinion market, were engrossed \textit{en masse} in fervent discussions on H. Arendt’s “dense”\textsuperscript{76} publication from 1963, \textit{Eichmann in Jerusalem}, equipped with subtitle \textit{A Report on the Banality of Evil}, “not very felicitously”\textsuperscript{77} summing up its context. The book – partly based on series of articles sent for “The New Yorker”\textsuperscript{78} magazine from Jerusalem, where she stayed for a relatively terse period of time (from April 9, 1961, to June 23\textsuperscript{79}); in part on reflections written thereafter – combines in itself multiple genres: courtroom story, philosophical treatise with references to Kant, historical analysis on the Holocaust and Jewish condition, study on

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item The specificity of Jewish experience was particularly emphasized in Israel. In USA and European countries there were numerous references to current political situation: tense Cold War relations between USA and USSR, high risk for the outbreak a nuclear conflict, hard-line anti-communism expressed by many Western intellectuals who perceived Soviet Union as evil equivalent of Third Reich, the deepening of West Germany’s position within Western world. Equally discernible was the strong need to “utilize” the trial for strictly pedagogical purposes: e.g. to see it as general warning against another worldwide conflict, moralizing lesion demonstrating disastrous effects of anti-Semitism/racial hatred, argument for forgiveness/reconciliation and orientation towards future, see: G. Salomon, \textit{The Eichmann Trial: America’s Response...}, pp. 91-92, 94-95, P. Novick, \textit{The Holocaust in American Life...}, pp. 127-128.
\item P. Novick, \textit{The Holocaust in American Life...}, p. 135.
\item It must be reminded here that the proposition to write for “The New Yorker” came from the author herself. The opportunity to personally attend the Eichmann trial and to write about it, was a \textit{cura posterior} for Arendt – a “subsequent cure”/“late albeit indispensible «catharsis»”. As she admitted in a letter to Jaspers on December 2, 1960: “I would never be able to forgive myself if I didn’t go and look at this walking disaster face to face in all his bizarre vacuousness, without the mediation of the printed word [most probably Arendt refers personally to Eichmann in this fragment – SZ.P]. Don’t forget how early I left Germany and how little of all this I really experienced directly”. In an application sent to the Rockefeller Foundation on December 20, 1960 she justifies her bid for financial support in a following manner: “I missed the Nuremberg Trials [...] I never saw these people in the flesh, and this is probably my only chance”. As it turned out, William Shawn, chief-editor of „The New Yorker”, responded enthusiastically to Arendt’s request, hoping that her upcoming essays will follow the success of John Hersey’s pieces from Hiroshima, and covered the cost of her trip and stay in Jerusalem, see: \textit{Hannah Arendt/Karl Jaspers Correspondence, 1926-1969...}, pp. 409-410; E. Young-Bruehl, \textit{Hannah Arendt: For Love to the World}, New Haven-London 1982, p 329; J. Wolcott, \textit{Critical Mass: Four Decades of Essays}, Reviews, Hand Grenades, and Hurrahs, New York 2013, pp. 555-572.
\item Arendt’s adversaries (accordingly) point out that this was not long enough to get a fairly comprehensive view on discussed matters; all the more so because she missed a certain part of prosecution witnesses’ testimonies (they came to an end three days after she left the city) and Eichmann’s cross-examination that lasted for over a month, from June 20 to July 24.
\end{enumerate}
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human behavior, jurisprudential exposition. Perhaps, its multifaceted/cross-border composure was the mayor cause behind numerous misgivings or misunderstandings that arose around it. P. Novick aptly observes that the disagreement, to a lesser extent, resulted from book’s subject rather than the “tactless”\textsuperscript{80}, “unjustifiably sweeping, hyperbolic, provocatively expressed […]”\textsuperscript{81} tone in which Arendt formulated some of her statements. For example, in a passage devoted to alleged passivity of wartime Jewish leadership\textsuperscript{82} – not the whole population, as some of her opponents falsely claimed – complicit, to a certain degree, in crimes committed against their own people, she described Rabbi Leo Baeck\textsuperscript{83}, prominent German Jew, as “the Jewish Führer” (this phrase was later removed in subsequent editions).

According to Novick, in a sense, Arendt fell victim of an earlier attack against two other authors of Jewish origin who spoke, in even more intransigent manner, on alleged passivity of European Jews. In an article entitled \textit{The Ignored Lesson of Anne Frank}, published in “Harper’s Magazine” in November 1960\textsuperscript{84}, Bruno Bettelheim – renowned psychoanalyst, survivor from Dachau and Buchenwald camps – “chastised the Frank family for huddling defenseless in the secret annex”\textsuperscript{85} in result of deeply ingrained “ghetto thinking” or Freudian-like “death drive”. Raul Hilberg’s monumental, three-volume long \textit{The Destruction of the European Jewry}, released in the very midst of the Eichmann trial (and extensively used by Arendt while writing \textit{Eichmann in Jerusalem}), “was filled with disparaging remarks about the Jewish failure to resist”\textsuperscript{86}. As Hilberg announced

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\item \textsuperscript{80} See: S. Swift, \textit{Hannah Arendt’s Tactlessness: Reading ‘Eichmann in Jerusalem’}, New Formations, Spring, 2011, Issue 71, pp. 79-94.
\item \textsuperscript{81} P. Novick, \textit{The Holocaust in American Life...}, p. 140.
\item \textsuperscript{82} As she wrote in one of the most controversial and fervidly discussed fragments: “Wherever Jews lived, there were recognized Jewish leaders, and this leadership, almost without exception, cooperated in one way or another, with the Nazis. The whole truth was that if the Jewish people had really been unorganized and leaderless, there would have been chaos and plenty of misery but the total number of victims would hardly have been between four and a half and six million people”, see: H. Arendt, \textit{Eichmann in Jerusalem...}, pp. 167-168.
\item \textsuperscript{83} Rabbi Baeck (1873-1956) was one of the leaders of Liberal Judaism in his home-state Germany and beyond, elected as president of Reich Representation of German Jews (puppet-organization established in 1933) and “honorary head” of the \textit{Judenrat} (Jewish Council of Elders) in Theresienstadt, “model” ghetto/concentration camp in Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia, which greatly increase his chances for survival, founder of New York-based research institute named after him, see: \textit{About LBI}, https://www.lbi.org/about/about-lbi/ [30.09.2016].
\item \textsuperscript{85} P. Novick, \textit{The Holocaust in American Life...}, p. 139.
\item \textsuperscript{86} Ibidem, p. 139.
\end{itemize}
in the introduction of his monograph: “Lest one be misled by the word «Jews» in the title [the somewhat objectifying, negatively-marked phrase Jewry, used in the first 1961’ edition was replaced by Jews in subsequent, revised editions – SZ.P], let it be pointed out that this is not a book about Jews. This is a book about people who destroyed the Jews. Not much will be read here about the victims. The focus is placed on the perpetrators”87. Emphasis put on perpetrators; wide-scale use of German documents with almost complete omission of the Jewish ones, lack of empathy towards victims; no references to Jewish resistance movement was the major reasons behind Yad Vashem's refusal to publish the 1,5000 pages long manuscript of is work in the late 1950s88. Arendt, in turn, harshly criticized the policy of dividing Jews into two separate categories – the “privileged” and the “ordinary” ones – frequently (and for most of the times deliberately) applied by the Judenräten. The former ones could expect help and protection, the latter ones filled up the cattle cars towards Auschwitz and other camps. As she stated:

[…] the acceptance of privileged categories – German Jews as against Polish Jews, war veterans and decorated Jews against ordinary Jews, families whose ancestors were German-born as against recently naturalized citizens, etc. – had been the beginning of the moral collapse of respectable Jewish society. […] Needles to say, the Nazis themselves never took these distinctions seriously, for them a Jew was a Jew, but the categories played a certain role up to the very end […]89.

_Eichmann in Jerusalem_ was not translated into Hebrew until year 2000, in a small-scale, leftist publishing house from Tel Aviv named Bavel (what translates as “grief/mourning”)90. Apart from few short excerptions that appeared in the domestic press, with overly critical commentary, Israeli audience has been deprived of the possibility

89 H. Arendt, _Eichmann in Jerusalem..._, p. 176.
90 Early attempts made to release the book, in Israel were blocked by Ben-Gurion. It was one amongst many examples of successive preventive censorship acts. Correspondingly, R. Hilberg’s _Destruction of the European Jews_ was not published in Hebrew until 2012, almost half a century since its premiere edition. In the meantime, Hilberg softened his position on Jewish resistance/victimhood, released in 1979 (along with Stanislaw Staroń and Józef Kermisz) _The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: A Prelude to Doom_, focused on varied strategies of human behavior instead of institutions in Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders, see: B-A. Bar Or, _The Subject of Violence: Arendtean Exercises in Understanding_, Lanham, MD 2002, pp. 112-114; S. Green, _Why Was Raul Hilberg’s Book Not Published in Hebrew Before Now?,_ http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/why-was-raul-hilberg-s-book-not-published-in-hebrew-before-now.premium-1.483038, (30.09.2016).
to get acquainted with Arendt’s “inflammatory” book (especially when it comes to the troublesome issue of Jewish Councils) at the time of its release in mid-1960s and for more than thirty-five years later. Unsurprisingly, the daily newspaper “Davar” published in Gershom Scholem’s open letter to “dear Hannah” (as he addresses her, somehow patronizingly) from 1964, where he complains that Arendt, along with “so many intellectuals from the German Left”, has “a little trace” of Ahabath Israel (i.e. “Love of the Jewish people”) inside her, and, simultaneously, did not submit Arendt’s own, “profound and emphatic” reply, in which she declares her inability to love an abstract conception – any particular “nation” or “working class”, over actual human beings:

You are quite right – as she assured Scholem – I am not moved by any «love» of this sort, and for two reasons: I have never in my life «loved» any people or collective – neither the German people, nor the French, nor the American, nor the working class, or anything of the sort. I indeed only love my friends and the only kind of love I know of and believe in is the love of persons. Secondly, this «love of the Jews» would appear to me, since I am myself Jewish, as something rather suspect. I cannot love myself or anything which I know is part and parcel of my own person.

Reasons behind such massive, well-orchestrated criticism for Arendt’s book in Israel and prolonged, almost four decades-long delay in its translation were, most likely, motivated by her rather unfavorable portrait of Israel, the trial, state authorities’ narrative surrounding it, the defendant himself. She did not hesitate to name things that were

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93 I. Zertal, Israel’s Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood..., p. 129.

going on in Beit Ha’am as a “show trial”\textsuperscript{95}, closely coordinated from the backseat by Ben-Gurion, whose close emissary, present at the Jerusalem courtroom, was Hausner, unrestrained in his “love of showmanship”\textsuperscript{96}, in blatant opposition to the three judges (Moshe Landau, Benjamin Halevi, Yizhak Raveh), whose conduct has nothing to do with pejoratively perceived “theatricality”. Adapting the terminology characteristic for theater and performative arts, Michael Bachmann compares the juxtaposition between judges and the prosecutor, made by Arendt, to contrasting concepts of “drama” and “theatre”\textsuperscript{97}. While the former one has usually positive meaning, “emphasising the cultural historical importance of the event”\textsuperscript{98}, latter implies “something artificial and staged”\textsuperscript{99}. In fact, as Bachmann insists, “[...] \textit{Eichmann in Jerusalem} employs opposing concepts of theatricality: the «good» one being linked to the to [...] drama, the «bad» one relating to artificiality or constructedness, as well as a desire for spectacle”\textsuperscript{100}. In a similar narrative, Yasco Horsman writes about ironical/satirical overtones used by her while covering the trial, “disarming” its presupposed seriousness. As he elicits, Arendt’s laughter:

[...] echoes reverberate throughout the pages of \textit{Eichmann in Jerusalem}. One hear its resonances when she calls Eichmann a «a clown» (54), characterizes certain aspects of the trial as «outright funny» (48) and refers to the proceedings as «sheer comedy» (3), a «a horrible comedy» (198), and «a comedy» whose «macabre humor easily suppresses that of any Surrealist invention» (50). More generally – he continues – a tone of laughter [...] can clearly be discerned in the irony with which she depicts not just the figure of Eichmann but also his Israeli prosecutors and even the dramatic gestures of some of the holocaust [sic] survivors who took the witness stand during the trial\textsuperscript{101}.

\textsuperscript{95} According to Arendt: „Whoever planned this auditorium in the newly built Beth Ha’am [sic], the House of the People (now surrounded by high fences, guarded from roof to cellar by heavily armed police, and with a row of wooden barracks in the front of courtyard in which all corners are expertly frisked), had a theater in mind, complete with orchestra and gallery, with proscenium and stage, and with side doors for the actors’ entrance. Clearly, this courtroom is not a bad place for the show trial David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel, had in mind when he decided to have Eichmann kidnapped in Argentina and brought to the District Court of Jerusalem to stand trial for his role in the «final solution of the Jewish question»”, H. Arendt, \textit{Eichmann in Jerusalem...}, p. 27.

\textsuperscript{96} Ibidem, p. 27.


\textsuperscript{98} Ibidem, p. 97.

\textsuperscript{99} Ibidem, p. 97.

\textsuperscript{100} Ibidem, p. 97.

She did not spare Katznelnik, who she described as “author of several books on Auschwitz that dealt with brothels, homosexuals, and other «human interest stories».” His famous remark “planet Auschwitz” was read by her, somewhat demeaningly, as a “little excursion into astrology.” She noted “that even Mr. Hausner felt that something had to be done about this «testimony» and, very timidly, very politely interrupted [him – SZ.P].”

In a letter addressed to Jaspers, dated April 13, 1961, soon after Hausner’s inaugural speech, she described the Israeli State Attorney and prosecutor-in-chief in a highly unfavorable light: “a typical Galician Jew, very unsympathetic, boring, is constantly making mistakes. Probably one of those people who don’t know any language [...] Au contraire, Landau, Halevi and Raveh – who, same as Arendt, came from well-educated, prosperous German-Jewish upper middle-class – were presented with utmost respect:

At no time is there any theatrical in the conduct of the judges – she wrote on the very first pages of the book – Their walk is unstudied, their sober and intense attention, visibly stiffening under the impact of grief as they listen to the tales of suffering is natural; their impatience with the prosecutor’s to drag out these hearings forever is

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103 Ibidem, p. 284. Barely concealed homophobic hint of this statement may seem puzzling for today’s recipients.
104 Ibidem, p. 284.
105 G. Hausner was born in a Polish-Jewish family of civil servants in Lemberg (currently Lviv), then capital city of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, Eastern province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He left Europe and immigrated to Mandatory Palestine as a teen, when his father was appointed Economic Advisor to the Polish Government in Haifa and later in Tel-Aviv (a significant part of former Galicia, together with Lviv, has been incorporated to newly independent Polish state), where he obtained philosophical and legal education at Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Jerusalem Law School.
107 M. Landau was born in Danzig (currently Gdańsk), had graduated from The University of London School of Law before moving to Palestine and continuing his career as Supreme Court Judge. B. Halevi, who came from Weissenfels near Halle, studied at German universities in Freiburg, Göttingen and Berlin, as well as at Hebrew University of Jerusalem; he served as a District Judge and the President of Jerusalem District Court what entitled him to participate in two ground-breaking, historically important cases within its jurisdiction: Kasztner v. Gruenwald and the Attorney General v. A. Eichmann (the trial’s official title). Finally, I. Raveh’s birthplace was the German town of Aurich in Lower Saxony, he attended the Universities in Berlin and Halle; his promising career was abruptly interrupted in result of a Nazi regulation removing from the bench all functionaries of German judiciary system with Jewish origins; in Israel he held the position of judge in the Tel Aviv-Yafo District Court, until his retirement in 1976.
spontaneous and refreshing, their attitude to the defense perhaps a shade over-polite. They are so obviously three good and honest men [...] 108.

Many commentators interpret these two contrasting portraits as manifestation of Arendt’s own disregard towards Ostjuden109, reflecting the complex, centuries-old inner-Jewish resentments110. Even Arendt’s most fervent proponents do admit that her critique of Hausner was far-fetched, to say the least. According to Stephen E. Aschheim: “This great critic of assimilationist, bourgeois German Jewry shared many of its basic historical prejudices [...]”111. In poor, “frequently incomprehensible” quality of simultaneous radio transmission in German, contrary to “excellent” French and „bearable” English ones112, Arendt saw discrimination against

110 The more traditionally-oriented, religiously orthodox, Yiddish-speaking Jews from East European shtetlekh were treated with contempt and hardly concealed sense of superiority by their progressive/cosmopolitan, well-assimilated and better educated German kinsmen. Those who emigrated from the East, distinguishing themselves because of their different appearance and lack of sophistication, have been commonly accused by the latter of contributing to the resurgence of anti-Semitic sentiments amongst Germans. On the other side, however, the reluctance was no less evident. Deported Jews from Germany, not accustomed to the living conditions in the ghettos, were financially exploited by local population, see, for example: S. Aschheim, The East European Jews in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800-1923, Madison, WI-London 1982; J. Wertheimer, Unwelcomed Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany, Oxford 1987; N. W. Isenberg, Between Redemption and Doom: The Strains of German-Jewish Modernism, Lincoln, NE-London 1999; D. Bechtel, Cultural Transfers between ‘Ostjuden’ and ‘Westjuden’ German-Jewish Intellectuals and Yiddish Culture, 1897-1930, The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook, 1997, Vol. 42, No. 1, pp. 67-83.
112 H. Arendt, Eichmann in Jerusalem..., p. 27.
yekkes\textsuperscript{113}. In her opinion, the judges’ authenticity was confirmed, e.g., by the fact that they succeeded in resisting “the greatest temptation to playact in this setting – that of pretending that that they, all three born and educated in Germany, must wait for Hebrew translation”\textsuperscript{114}. The general image of Israel emerging from the opening chapter \textit{The House of Justice}\textsuperscript{115} (included in extensive passage published in February 16, 1963 issue of “The New Yorker”\textsuperscript{116}) and on the following pages, is far from positive. Arendt writes here about, “[…] still very powerful «Vitamin P», as the Israelis call protection in government circles and the bureaucracy\textsuperscript{117}”. She claims that “Justice […] perhaps [is - SZ.P] an «abstraction» for those of Mr. Ben-Gurion’s turn of mind”\textsuperscript{118}. Speaking in the context of a new category of crimes, i.e. “crimes against the Jewish people”, brought to life in result of the Nazis and Nazi Collaborators Punishment Act (1950),

\begin{footnotes}
\item[113] Refugees from Nazi Germany – often referred as yekkes (“an nickname for a German-born Jew, often derogatory, hinting at an inability to adjust to Israeli norms”, according to Dan Bar-On; it may derive from the smoking jackelt, so-called Jackie, wearing by German Jews; the German word \textit{Gock}, meaning “fop” or “clown”; Hebrew initials of “block-headed Jew”, as stated by Tom Segev) – were not enthusiastically welcomed by native, Palestinian Jews. In fact, Palestine was not a common destination for outstanding individuals. “With the exception of the philosopher Martin Buber, the poet Else Lasker-Schüler, and the architect Erich Mendelsohn, none of the German Jewish community’s best-known or wealthiest figures went to Palestine – recounts T. Segev – Author Leon Feuchtwanger, composer Kurt Weil, philosopher Hannah Arendt […] physicist Albert Einstein and other leading scientists, artists, and intellectuals all took advantage of other opportunities”, see, for example: D. Bar-Or, \textit{Tell Your Life Story: Creating Dialogue among Jews and Germans, Israelis and Palestinians}, Budapest-New York 2006, p. 5; T. Segev, \textit{The Seventh Million…}, pp. 35-64.
\item[114] Ibidem, p. 27. The primacy of Hebrew language was temporarily reversed during Eichmann’s cross-examination, when judges and the accused used their mother tongues. Disclosing the ways in which the trial was depicted by the U.S. media, J. Shandler sees a discrepancy between its phonic and visual components: “Whereas journalists attending the trial were able to hear Eichmann speak when he testifies (albeit via a microphone), American television audiences heard relatively little of Eichmann’s voice, but listened instead to his testimony in translation. During these sequences, viewers watched Eichmann sit – perhaps listening, perhaps merely waiting – as an interpreter delivered translations of his testimony. The spectacle of Eichmann as rare specimen, enclosed in glass and subjected to extensive scrutiny by television cameras, clashed with his displaced audial presence – he points out – On American television, Eichmann was most often heard in a voice other than his own, often that of a female translator, speaking in a language that he did not known, and doing so when he himself was not talking but was silent. Rather than enhancing Eichmann’s visual presence on television, the broadcasts disrupted their purported immediacy by undoing the synchronized image and sound that is fundamental to television’s simulation of continuous present”, see: J. Shandler, \textit{While America Watches: Televising the Holocaust…}, pp. 113-114.
\item[117] H. Arendt, \textit{Eichmann in Jerusalem…}, p. 27.
\item[118] Ibidem, p. 28.
\end{footnotes}
she views as hypocritical Hausner’s assertion that “[...] we [the Israeli government – SZ.P] make no racial distinctions”\textsuperscript{119} where, in fact, unusually strict rabbinical law regulates almost every aspects of social life, including marriage, citizenship, inheritance of things/civil statuses or burial\textsuperscript{120}. She came to even more radical conclusions in private correspondence. Jerusalem left her unimpressed. As she confessed to Jaspers, it was inhabited by “the oriental mob, as if one were in Istanbul or some other half- Asiatic country. In addition, and very visible in Jerusalem, the peies and caftan Jews, who make life impossible for all the reasonable people here”\textsuperscript{121}. For this very reason, she moved from a hotel situated in the city’s center to the suburbs. “The hotel, where I was accommodated was horrible, and as you may have said, I stay away from the city, noisy and unpleasant, full of oriental mob that could be found somewhere in the Middle East, European accents are removed, the entire city has been completely Balkanized”\textsuperscript{122} – she complained to her second husband, Heinrich Blücher. She was concerned by the unusually high degree of country’s militarization. As she related to Jaspers in the same latter: “Everything is organized by the Israeli police force, which gives me creeps. It speaks only Hebrew and looks Arabic. Some downright brutal types here. They will «obey any order»”\textsuperscript{123}. Every manifestation of Israeli nationalism/militarism deeply irritates her. “There was a big «tankparade» here today, such I have never seen – she wrote to Blücher on April 20, 1961 – […] Yesterday I could observe the Israeli youth, sitting around campfires, singing sentimental songs, just as we knew it and hated it when we were young. […] The parallels are fatal, especially in details”\textsuperscript{124}.

One may assume that this deep criticism stemmed from Arendt’s rather ambiguous attitude towards Israel, Zionism and her own Jewishness. Under the influence of Kurt Blumenfeld, president of the Zionist Federation of Germany in

\textsuperscript{119} Ibidem, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibidem, pp. 29-30
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Hannah Arendt/Karl Jaspers Correspondence}, 1926-1969..., p. 435.
\textsuperscript{122} L. Adler, \textit{Śladami Hannah Arendt}, Warszawa 2008, s. 350 [own translation from Polish].
\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Hannah Arendt/Karl Jaspers Correspondence}, 1926-1969..., p. 435.
\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Within Four Walls: The Correspondence Between Hannah Arendt and Heinrich Blücher}, 1936-1968, ed. L. Kohler, San Diego 2000, p. 357.
years 1924-1933, she became actively involved in the Zionist movement\textsuperscript{125} since the mid-1930s, even went for three months to Palestine in 1935, but did not leave too many comments about this journey\textsuperscript{126} – apparently, she must have realized then that her place of destination is not necessarily within the \textit{Yishuv}. Ultimately – after being detained for several weeks between May and June 1940 in Gurs internment camp near the French-Spanish border\textsuperscript{127}, and leaving the continent through Lisbon in the spring of 1941, after she had managed to escape from the camp in the very midst of domestic political turmoil in result of France’s lost to Germany (not long before the first cattle cars will begin to depart from Gurs, Drancy, Pithiviers, Rivesaltes, Royallieu-Compiègne and similar places towards Eastern ghettos, labor- or concentration camps) – she found refugee in the United States, on December 11, 1951 she officially became U.S. citizen. Arendt was fascinated by the ideas of the Father Founders. According to her view, American Revolution laid ground for a truly liberal/republican state and transnational society (however, not free of interracial tribulations), wherein political freedom was guaranteed to even greater extent than in post-revolutionary France, which in a relatively quick period of time transferred into some kind of quasi-

\textsuperscript{125} Arendt supported some Zionist organizations, such as Agruculture et Artisanat (Agro-culture and Crafts) or the French subsection of Youth Aliyah. During the war she backed the activity of the New York-based Committee for a Jewish Army aimed at creating a special military unit under the auspices of the Allies but when she had noticed that they were leaning towards revisionism Zionism she withdrew her support and formed her own organization – the Jewish Youth Group. “The Zionist organization gave me the chance – she recollected – I was close friends with some of the leading people, above all with the then president, Kurt Blumenheld. But I was not a Zionist. Nor did the Zionists tried to convert me. Yet in a certain sense I was influenced by them: especially by the criticism, the self-criticism that the Zionists spread among the Jewish people. I was influenced and impressed by it, but politically I had nothing to do with Zionism […]”, see: H. Arendt, G. Gaus, ‘What Remains? The Language Remains’: A Conversation with Günter Gaus [in:] The Portable Hannah Arendt, ed. R. Baehr, New York-London 2000, p. 6.


dictatorship that in its essence was Bonapartism/Napoleonism\textsuperscript{128}. Thus she was deeply affected by what she described as the “crises of the Republic”\textsuperscript{129}, i.e. series of events/affairs, sociopolitical antagonisms at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s – John’s and Robert’s Kennedy’s assassinations, escalation of Vietnam War (along with the discovery of some inconvenient facts interconnected with it, after the leak of the so-called “Pentagon Papers”), students’ protests (which Arendt had the opportunity to observe directly as lecturer at the New School of Social Research in New York\textsuperscript{130}), the Watergate scandal (1972-1974) and resulting impeachment of president Nixon – which, as she feared, could undermine the traditional American democracy. What is telling, her observations on this matter remain an important point of reference; especially nowadays, when next generations eagerly turn to Arendt in hope for a better understanding of the mechanism of populist politics in the era of Trump\textsuperscript{131}.

In spite of Arendt’s close affinity with her new place on Earth – discovered somehow out of coercion, in her mid-thirties – and all the opportunities it has offered that she knew how to use (e.g. Arendt “became the first woman to lecture to Princeton’s undergraduates as a visiting professor in 1958–59”\textsuperscript{132}), her “cultural habitat” was situated somewhere else – within more imaginary than physical realm of German culture and \textit{die Muttersprache} (the “mother tongue”). In a much discussed, remarkable fragment of a TV interview from October 28, 1964, with Günter Gaus, asked by the German journalist – “[…] what […] remains and what is irretrievably lost [from

\textsuperscript{128} It must be reminded though that, unlike in metropolitan France, huge swathes of unspoilt, virgin land, almost uninhabited by anyone significantly facilitated the spread of such understood political freedom. This did not prevent the mass extermination of indigenous population. Furthermore, the Afro-Americans were not treated as citizens, the Father Founders situated them outside the political community, see: H. Arendt, \textit{On Revolution}, New York-London 1990.


Europe of the pre-Hitler period – SZ.P\textsuperscript{133} – she responded almost incessantly – “[...] What remains? The language remains"\textsuperscript{134}. “I have always consciously refused to lose my mother tongue [...]” – she continues her thought – It wasn’t the German language that went crazy [a person outside the German cultural circle, interested in culture and language of his oppressors, Primo Levi, has a somehow different opinion\textsuperscript{135} - SZ.P]. And, second, there is no substitution for the mother tongue\textsuperscript{136}. This partly explains Arendt’s admiration for the judges and lack thereof when it comes to Hausner – who only knew Hebrew (Israel’s official language, favored over Europe-based Yiddish), which, as she once put it bluntly “[...] is no language but a national misfortune [...]”\textsuperscript{137}. In above-mentioned interview, Arendt makes a clear distinction between her deep sense of loyalty to German literature, philosophy, judicial theory [and other components of an abstract, borderless concept of Kulturnation] and German nationhood [Staatnation] – the former neither overlaps nor results from the latter\textsuperscript{138}. As she admitted to Gaus: “I myself, for example, don’t believe that I have ever considered myself a German – in the sense of to the people as opposed to being a citizen”\textsuperscript{139}. As demonstrated in her response to Scholem, she did not feel any particular attachment towards Israel as well. Quite the opposite. As stated by I. Zertal, „she was [...] an exilic Jewess who was perceived as having intruded into a highly national, cathartic Israeli event; a sole elderly woman [Arendt was fifty-four years old when the trial begun – SZ.P] who positioned herself from the outset in defiance of the young nationalist-

\textsuperscript{134} Ibidem, p. 12
\textsuperscript{135} “[...] I realized that the German of the Lagers – skeletal, shouted, sprinkled with obscenities and courses – was only loosely related to the precise, austere language of my chemistry textbooks, or the melodious and refined German of the poetry of Heine, which a classmate, Clara, used to recite to me. What I did not realize then [during his incarceration in Auschwitz-Monowitz camp, the so-called Auschwitz III, from February 1944 to the camp’s liberation by the Soviet Army on January 26/27, 1945 – SZ.P] – and came to realize only many years later – was that the German of the Lagers was a separate language. In German it was called «Orts- und Zeitgebunden», place- and time-bound. It was a particularly variant of what the German Jewish philologist Victor Klemperer christened the Lingua Terti Imperii, the language of the Third Reich, going so far as to propose the acrostic LTI, in ironic analogy with the hundred others so dear to the Germany of those years (NSDAP, SS, SA, SD, KZ, RKPA, WVHA, RSHA, BDM)”, see: P. Levi, The Drowned and The Saved [in: The Complete Works of Primo Levi, ed. A. Goldstein, New York 2015, Vol. III, p. 2645; V. Klemperer, Language of the Third Reich: A Philologist’s Notebook, New York 2006.
\textsuperscript{137} S. E. Aschheim, Introduction..., p. 6.
\textsuperscript{138} For more on the separation between Kultur- and Staatnation, see, for example: S. Brockmann, German Literary Culture at the Zero Hour..., pp. 90-114.
collectivist state that was celebrating its statehood and sovereignty by the means of the trial. One should not be surprised by the fact that Arendt’s flexible/unorthodox understanding of a Jewish “self”, was much closer to that presented by Y. Rogat than Ben-Gurion’s. Therefore, if one considers how meticulously the Israeli government cared about its positive self-image (see: footnote nr 31) and successive implementation of various political goals associated with the trial, Arendt’s “denouncing” portrayal of Israel and Zionism was not positively welcomed, both in Israel and Israel-friendly members of American Diaspora.

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After nearly one and a half decade of relative, some say “organized”/”effective”, silence, Holocaust – in a specific Zionist interpretation – has entered the Israeli public sphere with multiplied magnitude, becoming some sort of a “civil religion” as stated, rather critically, by Rabbi Samuel L. Sherwin. Unsurprisingly, in a radio speech on April 12, 1961, the Israeli Independence Day and the day following the inauguration of the Eichmann Trial, Ben-Gurion listed the ongoing proceedings and the latter-day discovery of remains belonging to Bar Kochba Revolt fighters (132-135 AD) in Judean Desert as two most significant events of the year. It was one of many attempts took by representatives of Israeli government and then-ruling Mapai Party aimed at implementing the Holocaust into national myth-making process. Ben-Gurion, Hausner and others did their best to present it as another founding political myth, next to

143 See: F. S. Ouzan, The Eichmann Trial and American Jewry: A Reassessment...
already mentioned Bar Kochba Rebellion, Battle of Tel-Hai in March 1920 or destruction of the Second Temple (70 AD). Reading Arendt’s relation from Jerusalem, it may appear that Ben-Gurion failed to gain wider recognition from the outer audience. Having in mind the massive re-emergence of Holocaust memory amidst American Jewry – which most spectacular manifestation was Jimmy Carter’s decision in 1979 to build the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), located on one of main alleys in the capital city of Washington, officially inaugurated fourteen years later\(^\text{145}\) – and rampant fixation over Israel in subsequent years, her observation seems premature at best.

It is important to remind, that this turn of events was not so much a direct consequence of the Eichmann’s trial, but a whole series of events and social trends\(^\text{146}\). The most significant ones were: 1) Outgrowing despair in the eve of The Six Day War transferred into exhilaration following the much unexpected, decisive win by Israeli troops and exceptional territorial gains it brought that pretty soon became a burden; 2) Successive Yom Kippur War (1973) – also victorious, as it turned out – at the very beginning of which the country’s existence was at stake; 3) The radicalization of African-American civil rights movement in the late 1960s, when most militant sections of Black Panthers or Nation of Islam used Judeo-phobic, anti-Zionist rhetoric in order to mobilize their core supporters – this led to several accidents, mostly taking place in New York and other big cities with large Jewish populations, which seriousness was overly exaggerated by local elites; 4) The elevation of civil, professional or political status of American Jews in result of successive emancipation that, according to the same elites, “silently” endangered their own Jewishness – in a new situation where the Jews were “collectively […] being killed with kindness”\(^\text{147}\), the intermarriage rate


\(^{146}\) See: P. Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life...*, pp. 146-203.

\(^{147}\) Ibidem, p. 185.
reached 40/50 percent, more and more people were no longer following the basic precepts of Judaism or celebrate Jewish holidays, the Holocaust quickly converted into sole, most fundamental point of reference. The latter phenomenon was possible in the outcome of its ongoing mythologization, up to a point in which it “became the bearer of «eternal truths»; not bound by any historical circumstances”\textsuperscript{148}, as P. Novick points out. Nevertheless, it is legitimate to say that things in America were nothing other than delayed counterpart of processes launched by Ben-Gurion in connection with the Eichmann Trial.

Summary

The Jerusalem trial of Adolf Eichmann, former SS-\textit{Obersturmbannführer} (lieutenant colonel), one of the initiators and executioners of the so-called “Final Solution of the Jewish Question” is rightfully listed among the most important events in Israel’s recent history and regarded as a foundational moment in the dissemination of Holocaust remembrance practices. Whilst its overall importance in enforcing/expanding the memory of wartime Jewish suffering is beyond any question, the trial itself and the specific interpretation of Holocaust it offered, was instrumentally used by incumbent Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion and Zionist Mapai Party as a political tool in order to strengthen the legitimacy of yet still maturing Israeli statehood and the country’s insufficient recognition within worldwide Jewish community. Analysis of how this trial was perceived (with particular emphasis put on American Diaspora and non-Jewish audience, especially the Catholic press) – the essential purpose of this paper – lead to the conclusion that such policy turned out to be rather ineffective at the very beginning but successful in the longer run. Asked whether Israel has the right to try Eichmann, most influential observers, both Jews and non-Jews (Nahum Goldmann, Martin Buber, Yosaf Rogat; Karl Jaspers) responded negatively and opted for an international tribunal – however, Ben-Gurion managed to gain several allies, also among the Gentiles (Hugh Trevor-Roper). Simultaneously, in inevitable clash between two specifically understood Jewish identities – Zionist/Israeli and assimilationist/American, the second one remained dominant. One of most characteristic representatives of the latter “self”, introduced more closely on the following pages, was Hannah Arendt, who skillfully combined its German/Jewish/American components and criticized the trial as American Jewess bound to German culture and language.

\textsuperscript{148} Ibidem, p. 178.
Nevertheless, beginning with late 1960s and early 1970s, the memory of Holocaust, shaped in result of this trial, has quickly become a vital reference point for successive generation of Jews, in Israel and beyond.

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Collective works


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*Szymon Pietrzykowski, MA – graduate of the Historical Faculty at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (2012), PhD student since 2013 at the Department of Public History of the XIX and XX Century, laureate of Adam Mickiewicz University Foundation scholarship for PhD students in the 2016/2017 academic season. Area of interest: public history since 1945, Holocaust Studies, XX century authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, intellectuals and politics, history/politics of the Middle East, with particular emphasis on the Islamic Republic of Iran.*
Creating and developing the collective state identity in Israeli society

Introduction

“[…] An identity is not granted as a gift or as a result of the final verdict; it is something to being developed and what can be developed in many ways, something what will never exist unless it is developed in one of these ways. Thus the identity is the duty to be done without the possibility to abort it”¹.

The collective identity connects an individual with a social group, defines his position inside the group and simultaneously describes his approaches, emotions, values or opinions. The more the group and its culture is separated, isolated, exclusive and invulnerable to external influences the more its collective identity is solid, strong, clear, homogenous and monocentric. The collective identity is an intangible phenomenon that exist a priori, it is something what must be created, connected together or chosen from parts available in order to fight for it and protect it in future².

The collective identity of each state is a result and effect of individual systems of values, norms, customs, practices, interests, experiences and historical heritage of all individual members of the group. It is an attempt to provide an answer for a question “who are we?”.

According to Melluci collective identity in society appears as the result of social changes leading to weakening of individual identities³. At the same time to create

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the identity the borders must be established allowing to divide the society between “us” and “others” in each field of social life. The establishment of external borders (differentiating the group from the others) is more significant for creating and feeling the identity then internal features common for the social group members. The external borders composed of religious symbols, race constructs, kosher rules, customs, religious interdicts and orders are the elements exposed by the social group to mark its differentiation. The identity seen from a wide perspective is a result of the need to classify the social life, an order in symbolic life around us, it is a kind of the group image, an integrated system of elements representing its features and differentiating the groups from each other and establishing their mutual relations.

Simultaneously it must be underlined that state identity is not static but dynamic phenomenon, whose features usually polarize and tighten up against conflicts. The dynamism of the identity results from changing internal and external situation of the group. New circumstances, new partners, identity crises, changing conditions result in process of continuous identifying mutual relations and creating new elements of the identity. The process is frequently regarded as a central process of the social life, in particular creating the power relations. According to Erik Erikson the identity is a subjective feeling of the existence continuity and collective memory. Each individual possesses undeniably more than one identity emerging from membership in several ethnic, religious or national groups. The shape of the identity depends on spiritual sphere of culture together with major world views, ideological and religious currents, intellectual heritage, and on values systems basing upon religion, science, law and customs.

Collective identity and social bonds

The collective identity is connected with two substantial kinds of social bonds: primary bonds related with origin, relationship, friendship, neighborhood, intimacy, directness and naturalness of social relations and secondary bonds connected with

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choice, access, convention, social agreement, responsibility, anonymity and hierar-
chy. The identity built upon primary bonds is based on private relationship while
the identity built upon secondary bonds is based on organizations, institutional-
ization, depersonalization, functionality and competences. In the process of
creating the identity of new established society both kinds of bonds are of the same
significance. The identity built upon secondary bonds is kind of intellectual, rational,
acquired one that connects an individual with the world of positions, functions and
social roles. The first kind of social bond is deeper, as well as more important and
more natural basing on biological and cultural heritage, on solid features connected
with place of birth, origin of parents, race, ethnicity, religion and language. This is
type of identity set up in the culture, symbols, and communication codes.

The collective identity of the society of new state is related not only to biological
heritage, affinity, natural bond but also to symbols included in religion, language,
artistic activities, literature in spiritual and material culture of the group. It is con-
nected also with the state and territorial bonds based on citizens’ solidarity, iden-
tification with ideological native country. More important element of identification
than mythical relationship and subjective belief of common ethnogenesis is the issue
of language, religious values, and group symbols included in the group heritage.
The religions create level of institutional organization that inextricably interlink in
processes of creating nations with the feeling of nation’s individuality. The collective
equivalent of national identity is national ideology, the method of formulating collec-
tive interests and duties in categories of exclusiveness and precedence.

Processes of creating the collective identity

The process of creating the collective identity focuses on three main assumptions.
Firstly, the identity is not created in a society naturally from features and properties of
the group. It is created by the society and several procedures and collective rituals
confirming its existence are required. The properly chosen symbolic measures
shall create the feeling of „similarity” among members of the society. Secondly,
the society creates some boundaries that serves as demarcation lines for mutual social
interactions and relations. In practice the boundaries shows the difference between
the group and external world (between „us” and „others”). During the process some
features and properties are assigned to differentiated groups by creating symbolic

9 Ibidem, p. 44-46.
codes that are the most significant element of the collective identity creation process.

According to Z. Bokszański referring to studies of Eisenstadt and Giesen there are three types of the codes. First one is primordiality code – by the use of this code the process of the collective identity creation is focused on elements unchangeable and objective like blood, generation, and race. This code describes what is inside community and at the same time marks out what is „outside”. The boundaries established by primordiality code cannot be overcome and removed. „The others” will be always outside without any chances for assimilation, education or even understanding. The code requires to keep a necessary „safety distance” and unless it is possible contains a directive of „war preparation”.

The second code is refinement or civility code that focuses on idea of respecting default rules of activities, traditions and social routines. The core of identity is awareness of the rules, traditions and ways of behaviors. In this situation the border between „we” and the „others” is not hermetic one, always there is possibility for an individual from „outside” the community to learn the local practices and to master the set of rules. Coding of identity in a society is not homogeneous. Individuals from “outside” are treated as „others” without assigning negative or positive features. In relations with “the others” some distance and safety measures are recommended.

The last code is the transcendence or sacredness code. This code creates the identity based on specific relation between community and a sacrum. The sacrum can be God, Brain, Progress, Revolution or any other eternal and unchangeable area of sacrum or transcendence. Here the borders of the identity are based on unchangeable criteria but can be easily overcome for example by education or conversion. Moreover individuals from „outside” are encouraged to overcome the border and to join the community. Sometimes it can even take the missionary ground in relations with the others10.

Shaping the Israelis collective state identity

The collective identity is a product of interactions within the community, it connects an individual with the group, with system of community and social bonds inside the group. Contents of the identity is an outcome of two processes: identity shaping and transforming. A society of a new state does not have state

identity. It cannot to be also one-time imposed on. The state identity is a result of permanent process of mutual interactions between political actors and the society. The collective identity does not exist on one given platform of time – it is rather triple feedback of past, presence and anticipated future. What about a new established state with society without common past and tradition? How the process of shaping the collective identity of the “young” society is created? The process of shaping the collective identity of Israelis can be a very good example. Israelis defined as citizens of the state established as a result of United Nations’ Resolution number 181 accepted in the year 1947.

The establishment of Israel State in 1948 was an achievement of activities of Zionist movements created in Central and Eastern Europe in the end of the XIX Century and of Zionist concept of Theodor Herzl aiming at reconstruction of Jewish national seat on the territories of the ancient Israel. The ideology stated that Palestine is the only one place in the world where new, integrated and modern Jewish society can be formed. It was a political concept of Zionism. Spiritual concept focused on creating new collective state identity – Jews – citizens of Israel state, renaissance of Hebrew language and development of culture and literature in this language. From the beginning in the process of creating the collective identity of Israelis could be seen the lack of some elements of the social primary bonds.

The multiethnic and multicultural society had only one common feature: religion. The Zionism itself was the universal value not a collective attribute. The existing elements of social primary bonds were biological relation as a result of procreation and lineage and Judaism as dominant religion. The fathers of new Jewish state had to create a new national criteria combining centuries-old traditions and Zionist concept at the same time. The challenge was to find out some specific features to create the collective state identity for people coming from different cultures: African, Arabic, American, Polish or German speaking different languages. Ashkenazi Jews representing most of Israelis used Yiddish that was treated by Zionists as a countrified dialect. On the other hand Hebrew language was used only in liturgy.

The new state was established in the place, where on a small area a lot of heterogeneous, contradictory, contrast and even conflicted worlds were concentrated. New citizens – Israelis – did not have common language, history nor culture. There were not any dominant culture to start up acculturation process. Therefore the most

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significant to shape the collective identity of Israelis was to strengthen the social secondary bonds.

The beginning of process of creating the state identity of Israelis can be found in text of the Israeli Declaration of Independence that starts with words:

Eretz-Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped. Here they first attained to statehood, created cultural values of national and universal significance and gave to the world the eternal Book of Book\textsuperscript{13}.

It is clearly seen that Israel should be „Jewish state” where religious and political identity of Jews will be established. On the one hand the heritage of prophets is mentioned on the other hand the neutrality in religious issues is underlined.

Similarly to any other young society the process of creating the collective identity was not free of conflicts and tensions that were result of the fact that the society consisted of groups with different interpersonal relations and the only one common feature was the religion. Paradoxically, originally the state of Israel was to be a secular state. Zionism itself was a universal value and not a national feature. Zionists, in majority nonreligious or sometimes antireligious very often used Judaism to prepare some political morals, elections rhetoric or idealistic speeches directed to young citizens. But there was not any place for God as a Creator in Zionism. Religion was just source of strength and culture of the nation\textsuperscript{14}. On the one hand Theodor Herzl was aware that just Judaism can give fundamentals to build statehood and collective state identity of Israel, but at the same time he positioned religion as a totally private issue.

In opposition to Theodor Herzl acted religious party called Mizrachi (orthodox Zionist party) that did not accept isolating the state from religion\textsuperscript{15}. As it can be seen even the religion as the strongest social bond was a controversial issue in the process of creating the collective identity of Israelis. The challenge was to develop a compromise between idea to create secular and orthodox state. Political sovereignty of Israelis created problem of collective identity in new circumstances.

\textsuperscript{13} The Declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel, http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreign-policy/peace/guide/pages/declaration%20of%20establishment%20of%20Israel.aspx, (15.08.2016).

\textsuperscript{14} P. Johnson, Historia Żydów, translated by M. Godyn and others, Kraków 2004, p. 542.

\textsuperscript{15} A. Nawrocki, op. cit.
Creating and developing the collective state identity in Israeli society

Despite the assumptions of Zionists Israel defined itself in categories of religious identity. Legal system of Israel was to be based on Western models, was to be a secular democracy but specifics of the Jewish nation and a role of Judaism in creating the collective state identity forced to redefine political system of the state. Old, religious values were adapted to new created system of the state and to Zionism concept. It seems that Israelis were not able to create typical secular country – secular law had to be confirmed by religious law. Even the chosen state symbols like flag or Israeli emblem refer to religion: flag is patterned on tallith – prayer shawl with blue Star of David (symbol of Judaism) and an emblem is menorah – seven branched candlestick\textsuperscript{16}. Moreover from 1949 until today a constitution of Israel was not accepted- it is the result of expectations of Israeli religious political parties that together with introduction of constitutional law many religious rules could be cancelled. Social divisions and differences in the state, conflicts between religious orientations have led to situation that until today the most important legal acts in Israel are accepted by simply majority\textsuperscript{17}. Assuming a constitution is an element of collective identity of the state and its nation, the lack of it in Israel is a very good reflection of social diversification of the state.

„New identity is not created in emptiness. […] Israel is something new what has been created on the bases of something really old and… it is not only return to something what existed in the past but also efforts to liberate from what was disturbing the Jews during 2000 years of the Diaspora (Dispersion). Although this process is politically completed sociologically is still ongoing”\textsuperscript{18}.

The process of creation of the Israeli collective identity began with developing a cult for Zionist pioneers – Jewish settlers that arrived to Palestine at the turn of XIXth and XXth Century in order to work on their own land bought from Arabs. Farm working used to have very strong political background, was an element of the cult with the temples in kibbutz built in sever, unfriendly for agriculture, desert conditions. The cult of working man – a farmer was a substitute of religion and a kibbutz was a substitute of a family\textsuperscript{19}.

In the first period of existence of Israel state the basic rule was ideological nature of the state. Thereby the collective identity was formulated in ideological foundations. Theodor Herzl while describing basic features of Israeli pioneers mentioned:

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item [19] A. Nawrocki, op. cit.
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self-sacrifice, asceticism, focusing on building common future, cult of physical work, ability to self-defense and self-efficiency. This features clearly describe fundaments of primary collective identity of Israelis.

It must be underlined that renaissance of Hebrew as a modern language or reality of modus vivendi between different religious options were pushed into the background\(^{20}\). Self-sacrifice and asceticism, taking the form of divesting of material comfort and family life did not have individual meaning but aimed at focusing efforts of whole society at building new state for the benefit of future generations. Social life of the nation was directed toward future while the needs of the present time were abandoned. The pioneers did not take care of their material status, life standard or influence on political decisions – the priority was given to the future of the community. Promoting the cult of physical work and especially agriculture work was significant method of creating new identity of Israelis. This was a background for creation in next decades many of kibbutz supported by socialist movements. The important attribute of the pioneers, later implemented on Israeli identity was ability of self-defense and self-efficiency understood as not to be affected by external influences. The subject of renaissance of Hebrew language, introducing it into common use especially by development of cultural activities was only in the end of the priorities list. The original society of Israel consisted of different pioneers groups therefore the pioneer ideology had a very big impact on creating the Israeli collective identity.

Similarly to all ideological societies also in Israel the „pioneers” ideology was characterized by its omnipresence and homogeneity in all social groups and in all areas of life. At the same time the ideology aspired to unify individual identities with the collective one. After establishment of new state the new immigration policy was introduced resulting in influx of new citizens. In these new circumstances the previous developed, simply and future orientated concept of the collective identity was not sufficient. The diversified society consisted of several groups with several problems and aspirations. The transforming reality forced to reformulate the ideology. Together with development and fast structuring of the society began a process of selective institutionalization of previous accepted ideology. The process resulted in appearance of new problems and social tensions but also in reconstructing the collective identity. The selective institutionalization of ideology was active in various contexts: from predominating elites chosen to be popularizers of ideology, propagating pioneer sym-

bolts and encoding them with collective and political meaning, placing the ideology in the central point of education program, promotion of domestic tourism “back to the nature”, promotion of modest and simply style of cloths and finally egalitarianization of society by popularizing membership in several community organizations. Due to a lack of any other competitive offer of ideology values new migrants searching to find bonds and connections with their new country chose the pioneer ideology to create their own collective identity.

The process of creating the collective state identity in such circumstances was burdened by continues influx of immigrants, diversification of socio-economic structure and first of all by transforming pioneer elites into ruling elites. Nevertheless the collective identity was formulated. Inevitably it did not have specific frames and borders but its elements could be clearly seen. The fundament of Israeli identity was still local patriotism and as the second point fact of being a Jew. It must be underlined that local patriotism was not limited to be a Jew or an Israeli, these are two different aspects of the collective identity. It created the basic difference between Israelis and Jews living in the Diaspora. The basic rule of Zionism was to leave the Diaspora and to move to live in new state of Israel. Negating the Diaspora was not related only to territorial issues but also to lifestyle and the Diaspora heritage. Zionists condemned ways of leaving of in Diaspora that was in their opinion characterized by everlasting humiliation and subordination in relations with non-Jews.

Creation of the new state resulted in three significant parallel social processes: influx of new immigrants, diversification of social structure and intensification of transforming Zionist pioneers into social leaders. All the processes led to transformation of the Israelis collective identity. New citizens of Israel left behind their previous identities and accepted ideas and values promoted by elite Zionist pioneers. The pioneers highlighted their activities as focused on achieving common aim and tended to minimize possible differences between several social groups that emerged as a result of structuring the society21.

Another paradigm of creating the Israelis collective identity is memory about Shoah (Hebrew equivalent of Holocaust). In 1951 Knesset announced the date 12 April to be Holocaust Remembrance Day. In 1953 Yad Vashem – the World Holocaust Remembrance Centre was established, that granted posthumously the Israeli citizenship to six million Jews killed during Second World War. The officers of the Institute collect and publish Holocaust evidences, promote celebrating Remembrance Day all around

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21 Ibidem.
the world and try to incorporate lessons from Holocaust in the collective memory\textsuperscript{22}. Israel became a symbol of consolation, renewal and hope, where Jews can reborn after Holocaust experience and focus their efforts on creation of new society\textsuperscript{23}. It should be underlined that persons who deserved to be called national hero or martyr had to be a person who actively resist the Nazis. The special honor was given to participants of uprisings in ghettos and concentration camps. The Jews murdered in the camps or the Jews that managed to survive were called „sheep going to the slaughter”. This approach created in part of Israeli citizens the wordless self-blame that resulted in social exclusion of Holocaust survivors and their families. In this ways the silence about the subject was introduced\textsuperscript{24}.

There was significant problem of the lack of the language common for all citizens in the newly created State. In Israel a nation was primary element in relations to a language or a state. Community that was transferred to be one nation used many languages. Without common language the instrument of communication and symbol of identity might not be accessible. Multilingualism of Israelis took a form of parallel usage of several languages: native language (language of the place from the immigration took place) was used to communicate with another persons of the same origin, Yiddish was used to communicate with Israelis of different origin in unformal situations and Hebrew was used in literature, liturgy and art. In religious schools children were taught Hebrew and at homes Yiddish. Moreover Yiddish language was seen as local dialect and Hebrew as language of Israeli social elite. Furthermore according to T. Herzl the official language of the new State was to be German. In final the Zionist decided to aim at renaissance of Hebrew language. The first person that start to use Hebrew language in everyday life was Eliezer Ben Yehuda, who is thought to be the father of Modern Hebrew language. His opus magnum was existing in use until now The Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew Language. He was also one of the founders of the Committee of Hebrew Language supervising the works on the language. In 1948 from practical and ideological reasons the Modern Hebrew language was chosen as official language of Israel. Soon in result of wide range of language courses for immigrants the language started do be used in state institutions in schools and in private life\textsuperscript{25}.

\textsuperscript{22} A. Dudzińska, op. cit., p. 46.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibidem, p. 27.
Another problematic issue in the process of creating the Israelis collective identity was lack of common cultural heritage. Approximately, Israel was created by immigrants of 80 nationalities with different social, historical and cultural experiences. According to definitions of T. Paleczny we should call society of Israel as multicultural, as we can notice “[…] combining in one identity, according to individual and unique pattern influences of different cultural groups”\textsuperscript{26}. Society of Israel in the past and presence has been created from immigrants and in each immigrant there is coexistence of two identities: primary Israeli identity and identity of original cultural group.

The Israeli collective identity has had a nature of mosaic identity, of unique compound identity. Only in this state exists so complicated social diversity within one society. Among Israelis there are Jews of different religious factions coming from different sites of the world and Arabs minority. It is multiethnic and multicultural society. In this country with population of more than seven million inhabitants there are immigrants from more than eighty countries\textsuperscript{27}. Identity element integrating all these collective identities has been conflict with Arab countries. Sustaining permanent emergency state mitigates social differences and tensions and creates common opposition against the enemy\textsuperscript{28}. The concept of Melluci has been confirmed: due to conflicts the collective identity has been strengthened and stabilized. The conflicts are intensified by reciprocity of interactions. Opponents (enemies) quarrel about the same object refusing at the same time the right to another side to possess it. The conflict is not only a fight for a material or symbolical object it is also an occasion and opportunity to identify the identity. Social actors joining in one side of any conflict confirm in this way their collective identity\textsuperscript{29}. Exactly the same situation takes place in case of conflict between Israel and the Authority of Palestine.

Transformations of the Israeli collective identity

The first important crisis of the Israeli collective identity has started in 1973 after Yom Kippur War, when Israel was defeated. The result of the situation was depreciation of individual and collective patriotic values, weakening national memory and gradually disappearance of the myths connected with identity of citizens of the

\textsuperscript{26} T. Paleczny, op. cit., p. 33.
\textsuperscript{27} A. Dudzińska, op. cit. p. 15-16.
\textsuperscript{29} A. Melluci, op. cit., p. 48-49.
young state. It resulted also in general social crisis. Simultaneously the profile of Israel society was changed – the involvement of traditional and religious Jews increased and generation of socialists ruling the country in the last decades was marginalized. In the new situation the new priority of the state was to rebuild collective memory of Holocaust and to create new patriotism basing on identification with Holocaust. During Yom Kippur war Israelis faced many situations in which they found inability to fight actively with the enemy what has risen their imagination about situation of Jews during Holocaust. The war let them understand a need to protect their lives instead to fight and self-sacrifice. Yom Kippur war shook Israelis confidence and became their trauma. Secular, liberal collective identity started to weaken in favor of ethnic Jewish identity. The Holocaust got totally new meaning in the Israelis collective memory. Identification with Holocaust started to be new priority for social and political leaders aiming at creating new patriotism with Holocaust as a key element. One can say that the beginning of the new opening was Eichmann process in 1961 that was culmination point in Israeli collective patriotism experience. One of the points of revalorization of collective identity sources was introduction of program of youth delegations to Poland. These delegations are on one hand attempt to find anthropological bonds between memory and a place and on the other hand let the memory to exist in three-dimensional format of place, time and relations. This empiric project has aimed at strengthening relations between individuals and the society and between past and presence. At the same time one of the objective of the educational program has been to create historical continuity between Israel and the Diaspora. Lack of the continuity was a result of the Zionist narration of Israel, searching the root of modern State in ancient people of Israel while negating and isolating past of the nation in the Diaspora.

For last twenty years one can observe another significant changes of the Israeli collective identity. They are result of internal and universal factors. The internal factors are: unsolved conflict with The Palestinian National Authority, permanent influx of new immigrants causing national diversification of Israel and a problem of democracy in a wide meaning. Israel as a Jewish state declares to be democratic country at the same time. The biggest challenge for „Jewish democracy” is living in Israel non-Jewish community. Universal factors are globalization, consumerism and fashion for „secularity”. The emerging problem is also the issue of being a Jew in Israel. One can observe postmodern criticism of national state. Modern Israelis have problem

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to identify their ethnic, national and state identity. There are opinions that unless conflict with the Authority of Palestine exists the civil war in Israel between religious and secular Jews, between young and old generation could happen. The Israeli society with its multimode diversifications and differentiation lives under big pressure of being homogenous society. Anna Dudzińska in her book “Jewish Identity and Israel’s Immigration Policy” states that approximately 66 percent of young Israelis would prefer not to be Jews (unfortunately she is not giving a source of the survey)\textsuperscript{32}. Critics of Zionism state that Israeli identity deprive young individuals of Jewish identity\textsuperscript{33}. It is common to say that currently the most important element creating the Israeli collective identity is conflict with Arab war.

\textbf{Summary}

The basic elements creating the original, primary collective state memory of Israelis was Zionism concept, cult of Zionism pioneers and Judaism defining ethnic criteria of members of Israel society (its citizens). It was Judaism in a new version, adapted to political needs of the moment. Another significant criteria of the identity was memory of Shoah and cult of Ereç Israel as the only place on the earth where Jewish nation can reborn. Nevertheless the Israel State was established as secular state the main symbols of the country like flag and emblem contain elements of religion origin. Due to significant diversification of immigrants the issue of the Modern Hebrew language and its common use was treated as secondary problem. Together with development of the country, changes of social structure and emerging conflict with Arabic countries it was decided not to continue to propagate Zionism as a fundament of the collective identity but to shift the pressure on memory about Holocaust in relation to a need of self-defense in case of conflict and external emergency. Until today it was not managed to create cultural bases of the Israelis collective identity. Transcendental and metaphysical fundaments of the collective identity, like myths, religion or cult of ancestors are losing the importance in favor of social, cultural undertakings or protections of the borders.

One can predict that ethnic and religious elements will be gradually less significant for the collective identity of Israelis. The society will undergo globalization process and development of technologies will enable fast and easy method to use the Western

\textsuperscript{32} A. Dudzińska, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 126.

patterns. Moreover the globalization trends will strengthen multinational and multicultural trends and will create “multiidentity” of Israel. The process of creolization will appear – the society will stop notice the differences between local, national culture and the elements imposed by globalization process. The culture will be globalized, commercialized and flattened\(^\text{34}\).

Faced with these processes the Israeli collective identity will undergo further revalorization and political and social actors will have to undertake the challenge to rebuild it.

### Summary

The collective identity of each society derives from identities of its individuals. The young society in newly established state is not born with a given collective identity. It must be created and being sustained. The collective identity is a kind of tripartite feedback between past, presence and anticipated future created in processes based on three codes: primordiality, civility and sacredness. How to establish the identity for a young society in the country without common past, values, heritage nor even language? Fathers-establishers of the new Israel had to deal with very sophisticated challenge in order to find a base of the state collective identity derived from reach secular tradition of the Jewish nation on the one hand and the Zionist ideas on the other. To find out the identity for such differential society coming from all around the world, devastated directly or indirectly by Shoah experience has been an enormous effort for Israeli political leaders for many years.

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Monika Habdas – graduated from Faculty of Law and Administration at the University of Silesia in Katowice. Currently PhD student at the Faculty of Social Science of University of Silesia. Her main research interests are collective memory, social memory, collective identity and patriotic tourism.
Surnames and National Identity in Turkey and Iran

Names are compared to litmus paper, or fossils, bearing the traces of the affiliations of the people who either bestowed them, bore them, or denied them.

Introduction

The relation between name (particularly given name) and identity, as well as the connection between names and national identity, have been researched before from various social and psychological perspectives. Jacqueline Stevens writes:

A name signifies a certain kind of particularity, not a random identity. It is the specific imprint of individual identity that, when aggregated through a collection of ancestral lineages, seems to comprise a nation. Therefore a name is a semiotic cornerstone in the foundational effects of a nation.

Though Stevens refers to given names, her statement is just as true of family names. The author distinguishes between given names as being chosen by parents for their children, and surnames, which are typically inherited, however in the case of Turkish and Iranian nations, who invented their surnames less than a century ago over a period spanning several years, the distinction seems irrelevant.

2 J. Stevens, Reproducing the State, Princeton 1999, p. 150.
3 Ibidem, p. 149.
The following article will show on the example of Turkey and Iran how surnames can reflect various views of the society on their own identity, but also how governments can use legislation concerning family names to propagate certain attitudes and ideologies, for example nationalism.

The subject of replacing the traditional naming system with surnames in Turkey and Iran is usually mentioned marginally when discussing reforms and modernization that took place in the early 20th century, but has not yet been examined in detail. Turkish given names have drawn the attention of some scholars and are the subject of several articles: *The Social Context of Modern Turkish Names* by Robert F. Spencer (1961), *First Names and Political Change in Modern Turkey* by Richard W. Bulliet (1978) and *What is in a Name? The Rise of Turkic Personal Male Names in Turkey (1908–38)* by Doğan Gürpinar (2012). The article *Surname Narratives and State–Society Boundary* published in 2007 by Meltem Türköz is the only one concerning Turkish surnames specifically. In the case of Iran, introduction of surnames revolutionized the naming system to a lesser degree, which may account for the lack of interest in the topic among scholars. The most significant work on the subject titled *The Reform of Iranian Nomenclature and Titulature in the Fifth Majles* was published in 2012 by Houchang E. Chehabi.

Turkey and Iran are worth examining side by side not only because of their geographical and cultural proximity, but also because in both cases until the 20th century European-style surnames were a foreign concept and their implementation was relatively sudden. There were no established conventions for creating surnames, therefore both nations had to find their own methods and inspirations for inventing family names.

The following article analyses the etymology and meaning of the most popular Turkish and Iranian surnames. Altogether 100 Turkish and 100 Iranian surnames were gathered from the forebears.co.uk website.

**Islamic naming tradition**

Before surnames were implemented in the beginning of the 20th century the naming system used in both Turkey and Iran differed significantly from the European. The system was based on Islamic tradition, which has strong connections with tribal Arabic naming practices.

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4 [http://forebears.co.uk/iran#surnames; http://forebears.co.uk/turkey#surnames], (13.02.2015).
A person’s name could have consisted of up to five parts. In the case of the lower social classes usually only a given name was used (Ar. *ism*, Per. *esm*, Tur. *isim*, *göbek adı*), which due to limited mobility was entirely sufficient for the correct identification of a person\(^5\,^6\). In the case of elites, apart from *ism*, various combinations of the available elements were used, not just in order to precisely identify an individual, but also to emphasize social status and add prestige. These included: *kunya* (Per. *koniye*, Tur. *künye*), *nasab* (Per. *nasab*, Tur. *nesep*), *nisba* (Per. *nesbat*, Tur. *nispet*), and *laqab* (Per. *laqab*, Tur. *lâkap*). In the original Arabic tradition *kunya* always preceded *ism*, while *nasab*, *nisba* and *laqab* appeared after the name. However, due to the different structure of both Turkish and Persian this order was sometimes disrupted.

*Kunya*, which in Arabic took the form of *Abu* ‘father’ or *Umm* ‘mother’ succeeded by the name of a son or daughter, identified a person as a parent. During the early period of Islamic expansion this form was reserved for Muslims and Arabs, other ethnic and religious groups did not use it. Later *kunya* sometimes appeared alongside Turkish and Persian names, but in both countries this particular part of the Islamic naming system was abandoned\(^7\,^8\).

*Nasab* was used to show ancestry by adding father’s name or a more distant male ancestor’s name. In Arabic *nasab* took the form of *ibn* ‘son’ or *bint* ‘daughter’, placed before the name of the ancestor. In Persian *nasab* was introduced using either suffixes: *-zāde* ‘offspring, descendant’, *-pur* ‘son’ and rarely *-doxt* ‘daughter’, or the ezafe construction\(^9\). It is certainly noteworthy that patronymic forms represented by the suffix *-ān* were present in Persian even before the introduction of Islam and the Arabic naming system\(^10\). In Turkish *nasab* took the form of *oğlu* ‘son’ or *kızı* ‘daughter’ placed after the ancestor’s name, although *-zāde* (borrowed from Persian) was also in use until the 20th century.

*Nisba* was primarily used to identify the birthplace of an individual or their place of residence. However, it could also describe a person as belonging to a specific group


\(^{7}\) H.E. Chehabi, op. cit., p. 85.


\(^{9}\) Ibidem, p. 9.

or faction. In the case of non-Muslims *nisba* was based on their religion. In Persian the creation of *nisba* was achieved by adding accented suffix -*i*, and in Turkish -*li*. In Turkish *nisba* appeared before the given name

*Laqab* was the most prestigious part of a person’s name and it could take various forms, sometimes very elaborate – in the most extreme cases *laqab* was an entire sentence. While its primary function was identification, highlighting an individual’s elevated social status was equally important. It was based on profession, religious practices, physical characteristics, or *xetāb*, which was a special form of *laqab*. It was a title naming the social position and office held by an individual. *Xetāb* traditionally had the form of a noun combined with either *ad-daula* ‘state’ or *ad-din* ‘religion’. During the Qajar era *laqabs* formed a complex hierarchy, but their ever-increasing numbers lead to their devaluation

Significantly, in Turkey not just the naming system was foreign, but also most of the given names chosen for children were strongly influenced by Islam, and therefore of Arabic origin. There were exceptions, but not very common. In the beginning of the 20th century, even before Atatürk’s reforms, this trend started to change and became less and less prominent, especially after Young Turk Revolution of 1908. In that time intellectuals and nationalists started giving children etymologically Turkish names, but also changing their own names (not always officially). This trend spread relatively rapidly to other groups and social classes. It was characterized by great creativity and innovation: names of mythical Turkish heroes, but also common nouns became the inspiration for new names. Another strategy was to translate Arabic names into Turkish

### Reasons for introducing surnames

Introducing European-style surnames in both Turkey and Iran had complex ideological, political, and administrative reasons. The lack of surnames and precise

11 A. Schimmel, op. cit., p. 10-12.
12 Ibidem, p. 12, 60-62.
15 Ibidem, p. 692.
population register was one of the most significant aspects of both Middle Eastern countries, which caused them to be perceived in Europe as uncivilized\textsuperscript{16}. Therefore in the early 20th century, which was marked by modernization and westernization, the introduction of surnames became a priority. Obligatory surnames were designed to bring both countries closer to their European neighbours, and improve their status.

On the one hand, from an ideological and symbolic standpoint the introduction of surnames accompanied by the simultaneous abolition of the elaborate system of titles was meant to neutralize the immense social stratification, and unify various ethnic minorities into a single nation. Since the 1930s, everyone was equal, at least officially, in that everyone had a surname.

On the other hand, from an administrative point of view, this reform had a very pragmatic aspect. More precise identification of all individuals lead to a more accurate population register. This in turn allowed for more efficient tax collections and effective military drafting process, which was essential to building a strong and independent state\textsuperscript{17,18}.

There are numerous significant similarities between Turkey and Iran, for example: in the reasons for this reform and the way in which it happened. In both cases it was a lengthy process, which took place in the 1920s and 1930s.

**Introduction of surnames in Iran**

In the case of Iran the process of replacing the traditional system with surnames began even before any official action was taken. The excessively elaborate and complex system of titles used by the elites and their consequent devaluation were among the main reasons for the Iranian society (especially intellectuals) to look for a better solution. The Qajar era was characterized by intensified contacts with European countries, which meant an opportunity for Iranians to come in contact with the idea of surnames. At the beginning of the 20th century some Iranians perceived the traditional system of titles as archaic, redundant as well as impractical, and considered surnames to be a better solution. At that time some Iranians choose voluntarily to drop their titles and adopt surnames, an act which

\textsuperscript{16} H.E. Chehabi, op. cit., p. 107.
\textsuperscript{17} R.F. Spencer, op. cit., p. 207.
\textsuperscript{18} H.E. Chehabi, op. cit., p. 100.
they announced in newspapers\footnote{Ibidem, p. 89-90.}.

First official steps were taken in 1918, when an institution was created with the task of collecting citizens’ personal data (name and surname, date of birth, marriage etc.) and issuing identity cards\footnote{Ibidem, p. 89.}. But the real reform came about in 1925, when the Surname Law was introduced (and later amended in 1928). It required every adult male to assume a surname to be used by him, his wife and children (in the case of daughters only until they married). The purpose was for every family to have a unique surname. One of the very few restrictions concerning the form and meaning of family names was the prohibition of using titles as surnames.

Names chosen by the Iranian population were very diverse, but it is possible to enumerate several typical sources of inspiration for specific social groups. Among the upper classes the name of a well-known and respected ancestor was often adopted as a surname. Tribal aristocracy preferred to chose the name of their tribe or clan. Merchants and craftsmen based their surnames on the name of their trade or their products. Among the lowest social groups, surnames were commonly derived from toponyms, mainly names of towns and villages. Ethnic minorities sometimes adopted their ethnonym as surname\footnote{Ibidem, p. 101.}.

The same surname was sometimes used by several families, but the name \textit{Pahlavi} chosen by Reza Shah in 1925 was reserved only for him. His descendants were given the family name \textit{Pahlavinežād} and other relatives \textit{Pahlavān}. No one else was allowed to adopt these surnames\footnote{Ibidem, p. 93.}. The etymology and reasons behind adopting this particular surname are not entirely clear, though its relation to Iranian culture and history is obvious. It is related to the word \textit{pahlevān} ‘hero’ and is an alternative name for the Middle Persian language.

\textbf{Introduction of surnames in Turkey}

In Turkey the process of introducing surnames was very similar, although it took place a little later. The Turkish Civil Code of 1926 was the first document to describe the rules of adopting and changing surnames, though it was only in 1934, with the
introduction of the Surname Law, that having a surname became obligatory\textsuperscript{23}. Turkish elites and middle class were tired of the overly complex Ottoman titular system and therefore willingly accepted the new laws. Among the lower classes however the reform met some resistance, which caused the process of introducing surnames to take longer than expected. Nevertheless, by 1937 the majority of the population has already adopted an official surname.

Compared to the Iranian Surname Law its Turkish counterpart was very restrictive. As in Iran the name was to be chosen by every man for himself and his family. Widowed women were allowed to chose their own surnames. However, the period of reforms and modernization in Turkey was accompanied by intense purification of the language, its main goal being the eradication of all foreign (mainly Persian and Arabic) elements. This was also reflected in the Surname Law. All surnames had to be purely Turkish, with no foreign elements allowed, including names of ethnicities and tribes. It prohibited the use of such common surname endings as Armenian -yan (which is actually the Iranian patronymic suffix), Slavic -of, -ov, -ič, and -ič, Greek -is, -dis, -pulos, and -aki, Persian -zāde, and Arabic -mahdumu, -veled, and -bin. It was not only an attempt to purify the Turkish language, but also the society, by transitioning from a multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire to a single Turkish nation.

The use of titles, military ranks, and names of famous historical figures as surnames was prohibited, as well as words that could be considered offensive or comical. Names had to be unique within a given administrative area and the first person registering a given surname had the exclusive right to use it\textsuperscript{24,25}.

Names of professions and toponyms (names of villages and towns, but also districts, rivers, or mountains) were among the most common sources for creating surnames\textsuperscript{26}. Suffix -li was used to form a surname from a place name. Turkish culture and history were also a source of inspiration, hence surnames such as Selçük. A number of surnames were simple nouns adjectives or a combination of the two. They were most commonly chosen for purely aesthetic reasons, but their meaning was also taken into consideration. Names of animals were often chosen, due to their positive connotations (e.g. Aslan 'lion', which is associated with strength and courage). Sometimes

\textsuperscript{23} M. Türköz, op. cit., p. 896.


\textsuperscript{25} M. Türköz, op. cit., p. 895.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibidem, p. 901.
the reasons behind a surname were more pragmatic, as in the case of Özsüt ‘pure milk’, a surname assumed by a milkman.\footnote{R.F. Spencer, op. cit., p. 213-215.}

Shortly after the Surname Law was passed in Turkey, president Mustafa Kemal decided to lead by example, and turned to the national assembly to choose a surname for him. On 24th November 1934 he was given the surname Atatürk ‘father of Turks’. His children and relatives were given the surname Atadan ‘from the father’. No one else was permitted to use those surnames.\footnote{Kemal Öz Adlı Cumhurreisimize Verilen Soy Adı Hakkında Kanun, www.nvi.gov.tr/Files/File/Mevzuat/Nufus_Mevzuati/Kanun/pdf/kemal_oz_kanun.pdf, (20.04.2015).}

It is noteworthy that the leaders of both countries chose deeply meaningful surnames, showing beyond doubt, that introducing family names had more than a purely practical purpose.

**Analysis of Iranian surnames**

Among the 100 analyzed Iranian surnames only twelve have an Iranian etymology:

- Bābā’i (بابا-ب) - *nisba* derived from bābā ‘father’;
- Dehqān (دهقان) - originally a Middle Persian word, borrowed into Arabic, in the late Sasanian period used to designate a class of landed magnates, contemporary meaning ‘peasant, villager’;\footnote{P. Horn, *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, p. 131.}
- Dehqāni (دهقانی) - *nisba* derived from dehqān;
• Rād (دار) - adjective meaning ‘generous’;
• Ranğbar (ربجنر) - adjective meaning ‘suffering’, also noun meaning ‘proletarian, worker’;
• Rostami (روستامی) - nisba derived from the male given name Rostam, borne by a legendary Iranian hero;
• Šāhbāzi (شاہبازی) - nisba derived from šāhbāz ‘a kind of falcon’, a compound noun derived from šāh ‘king’ and bāz ‘falcon’;
• Xosravi (خسروی) - nisba derived from the male given name Xosrou (Av. Husrav-xvah ‘good fame’), borne by several Iranian kings, which led to the contemporary meaning ‘king, sovereign’;\(^{35,36}\)
• Yazdāni (یزدانی) - nisba derived from yazdān ‘gods, yazatas’.

It is clearly visible, that surnames which have a native etymology are deeply rooted in Iranian mythology, history, and culture (names of heroes and dynasties), as well as its pre-Islamic religion (e.g. Yazdāni).

Two further family names are derived form place names and both are nisbas created using the suffix -i: Farāhāni (فراءفانی) and Tehrāni (تنارهتی). The name Tehrān has several possible etymologies, while Farāhān’s etymology is unclear, nevertheless both are most probably Iranian.

The surname Mirzā’i (میرزایی) derived from the word mirzā, is partially Iranian. Mirzā was a title with literal meaning ‘ruler’s offspring’. It is based on the Arabic amir ‘ruler’ with the Iranian suffix -zā ‘descendant, offspring’. This surname is a remnant of the complex title system which was in use before the reforms.

A Persian element is also present in two surnames based on the Arabic male given name Ali: Alipur (روپیالی) and Alizāde (ازادی). The former contains the element -pur ‘son’, the latter the element -zāde ‘descendant, offspring’, giving both surnames the meaning ‘descendant of Ali’. While the individual motivations for adopting those specific surnames are not known, it seems plausible that the choice of Ali as the base might have been a declaration of faith. Iranians follow Shia Islam, and for centuries it has been a differentiating feature for them, since they are surrounded by Sunnis. Nonetheless, other, non-religious motivations are also probable. Choosing the name Ali might have been an attempt to commemorate a recently deceased family member or a famous ancestor.

Two of the surnames are of Turkish origin. These are: Afšār (رافشا) and Bayāt
names of two Oghuz clans which lived in Iran and for a time were of great political importance. The presence of these surnames proves the significant role played by those tribes. They can also be considered a remnant of the traditional social structure, where a person's identity was based on belonging to a certain tribe or clan.

The surname Eskandari (ابنکس) is a truly unique example of Greek influences. It is derived from the Persian form of the Greek name Alexander. While the name itself is not used very often, it became the base for a popular surname. It refers to Alexander the Great and his conquest of Iran, which was an event of such magnitude and importance, that it remained in the living memory of Iranians until modern times. The existence of this surname also shows very ambivalent and varied attitudes toward Alexander the Great.

The other eighty surnames have an Arabic etymology, most of them being based on adjectives and given names, less often nouns and verbal forms. The most common method of creating surnames was by adding the suffix -i to a given word. Among all the surnames of Arabic origin only five do not possess this ending. These are: Amin (امین), Falāh (فلاح), Moqaddam (مقدم), Šams (سمش) and Zāre’ (زار) (زیار), although it is noteworthy that among the analyzed surnames there are also versions of Amin and Zāre’ with the suffix: Amini (امینی), Zāre’i (زاری) (زاری).

Only three of the analyzed Iranian surnames were created based on occupation and all three have the same meaning, 'farmer': Fallāh (فلاح) (زار), Zāre’ (زار) (زار) and another three surnames are derived from titles and ranks. These are the already mentioned Mirzā’i (米尔زی), Šamsāni (سامسی) and Amiri (امیری).

Most of the Iranian surnames are derived from given names or words that can also be used as given names, predominantly male. Only twenty-two surnames were created based on other words, nine of which are etymologically Persian: Bābā’i (بیابی), Dehqān (دهقان), Dehqāni (دهقانی), Rād (راد), Ranğbar (رانگبر), Yazdāni (یزدی), Farahāni (فارحانی), Tehrāni (تهرانی), and Mirzā’i (米尔زی), all of which have been discussed above. The other thirteen are of Arabic origin:

1) Ansārī (انصار) - nisba derived from ansār 'supporter'; the term ansār is used to describe citizens of Medina, who helped and supported Prophet Muhammad after his escape from Mecca;
2) Asgari (اسماعیل) and Bāqeri (باقر) are examples of using imams' titles as surnames;

37 A. Schimmel, op. cit., p. 39.
38 Ibidem, p. 35.
3) Emāmi - *nisba* derived from *emām* 'imam';
4) Eslāmi - *nisba* derived from *eslām* 'Islam';
5) Mahdavi - *nisba* derived from *mahdi* 'messiah, savior';
6) Moqaddam - 'first, headmost';
7) Nağafi - *nisba* derived from a place name Nağaf, which is an important destination among Shia Muslims;
8) Soltāni - *nisba* derived from the title *soltān*;
9) Tālebi and Torābi are references to imam Ali ibn Abu Talib; Torābi derives from his title *Abu Torāb* 'father of soil' and Tālebi references Ali's father Abu Talib;  
10) Zāre' and Zāre'i - discussed above.

The other seventy surnames which are of Arabic origin are based on male given names, which in turn come from adjectives. Their meaning is always positive: Akbari 'great', Ėvādi 'generous', and some contain a clear religious reference: Abdollahi 'God's servant', Eslāmi 'belonging to Islam, Islamic'. They also include names of months, e.g. Rağabi, Ramezāni, and Ša'bāni.

**Analysis of Turkish surnames**

The great majority (exactly eighty-four) of analyzed Turkish surnames is etymologically purely Turkish. Ten surnames have Persian origins:

1) Ateş 'fire', from Per. *aṭās*;  
2) Bayram 'holiday, festival', from MPer. *paḏrām*;  
3) Can 'soul', from MPer. *nāḥ*;  
4) Gül 'rose', from Per. *laḡ*;  
5) Kahraman 'hero', from Per. *naḥrām*;  
6) Köse 'beardless', from Per. *kūs*.

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39 Ibidem, p. 34, 36.  
40 Nişanyan Sözlük: *ateş*, http://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=ateş&lnk=1, (04.05.2015).  
41 Nişanyan Sözlük: *bayram*, http://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=bayram&lnk=1, (04.05.2015).  
42 Nişanyan Sözlük: *can*, http://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=can&lnk=1, (04.05.2015).  
44 Nişanyan Sözlük: *kahraman*, http://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=kahraman&lnk=1, (04.05.2015).  
45 Nişanyan Sözlük: *köse*, http://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=köse&lnk=1, (04.05.2015).
7) Mert ‘courageous’, from MPer. درم
8) Polat ‘steel’, from Per. دالوپ
9) Şahin ‘falcon’, from Per. نیهاش
10) Turan, from Per. ناروت, term used in Iranian mythology to describe non-Iranian lands.

The surname Şen could also be included in the above list. Its etymology is uncertain, but most probably Middle Persian or Armenian.

The Persian influence is also visible in the surname Bayraktar ‘ensign, standard-bearer’. The word is a combination of the Turkish noun bayrak ‘flag’ and the suffix -dar, which derives from Persian راد. The surname Özcan is also half-Turkish, half-Persian, containing the Turkish lexeme öz ‘essence, core, pure’ and Persian can ‘soul’.

Two of the analyzed Turkish surnames are of Mongolian origin. These are: Ceylan, a noun meaning ‘gazelle, antelope’, and Cengiz, the Turkish version of the Mongolian name Genghis Khan, which is also used as a common male given name. This surname (and name) shows the Turkish mixed attitudes towards Genghis Khan and Mongols in general. On one hand, for centuries the Mongols were perceived as barbarians, who bring only destruction and death. On the other hand however, at the beginning of the 20th century the ideas of Pan-Turkism started spreading, postulating, among other things, the unity of Turks and Mongols on the basis of kinship and common traits such as heroism and bravery.

Only one of the analyzed Turkish surnames, Acar, has Arabic origins. It is an adjective borrowed from Arabic meaning ‘strong, brave’.

The surname Tuna, which is the Turkish name for the Danube river, is the only example of a toponymic surname. Its etymology is unclear, but it is certainly foreign.

These seventeen surnames with a foreign or partially foreign etymology do not necessarily contradict the rule stated in the Surname Law, that all surnames have to be etymologically Turkish. Most of the surnames discussed above are derived from words borrowed into Turkish centuries ago, which have become deeply embedded in the Turkish language and culture, and therefore were omitted by the puristic efforts.

The great majority of the analyzed Turkish surnames, exactly seventy-two, are

50 D. Gürpinar, op. cit., p. 696.
common nouns and adjectives used as proper names (e.g. Demir ‘iron’, Kara ‘black’). The second largest group are compounds consisting of two nouns, or a noun and an adjective (e.g. Öztürk ‘native Turk, purely Turkish’, Akkaya ‘white stone’).

The analyzed Turkish surnames also include forms based on verbs, or a combination of a verb and a nominal element. Altogether there are twelve such surnames. Some of them are participles (e.g. Korkmaz ‘fearless’, Güler ‘smiling’). Two are verb roots (which is equal to the form of the imperative in the second person singular): Yücel ‘to soar’ and Güngör, a compound verb meaning ‘to live a healthy and happy life’. The surname Dursun (also used as a given name) is also an imperative form, but in the third person singular of the verb durmak ‘to stand’. The name was often given to infants in times of greater infant mortality, as a blessing and a wish for the child to survive\textsuperscript{51}. One surname, Vural, is a compound of two verb roots: vurmak ‘to hit’ and almak ‘to take’. Another two surnames are compounds consisting of a noun and verb root: Ünal has the literal meaning of ‘be famous, gain fame’ and consists of the noun ün ‘fame’ and almak ‘to take’; Erol, which literally means ‘be brave, be manly’ derives from the noun er ‘man’ and the verb olmak ‘to be’. The surname Erol (which also serves as a male given name) is a unique example also because its origins might be partially foreign, though all its elements are etymologically Turkish. According to Doğan Gürpınar the name may have been deliberately created to resemble the English name Errol, very popular at the time because of the famous actor Errol Flynn\textsuperscript{52}.

Three of the analyzed surnames are occupation names: Avcı ‘hunter’, Demirci ‘smith’ and Yazıcı ‘scribe’.

At the same time as the adoption of surnames took place, a revolution in names given to children also occurred. Similar inspirations and methods were used when creating given names and surnames, therefore in many cases it is impossible to determine if a surname was a given name adopted to serve as a family name, or if they were created independently of each other.

**Conclusions**

Despite the relatively small number of the analyzed surnames, some conclusions can be drawn about their morphological structure, origins, and meaning. There are many differences between the Turkish and Iranian surnames, which stem mainly from linguis-
tic differences, but there are also several significant similarities, such as the close relation between surnames and given names (notably male names). Most of the analyzed Turkish surnames can also be used as first names, while most of Iranian surnames are derived from given names.

From a morphological point of view Turkish surnames are based on nouns, adjectives, and even verbs. Iranian family names represent various Arabic parts of speech, while those of native origins are based on nouns and proper names.

Iranian surnames bear traces of the previous, Arabic naming system. Many Iranian family names are *nisbas* referring to an ancestor, social group or place of origin. Remnants of *nasab* are present in surnames ending with *-pur* and *-zāde*. There are similarly formed surnames in Turkish too: names ending in *-oğlu* are equivalents of *nasab*, and *nisba* referring to a place of origin is created by the suffix *-li*. However, the lack of any such examples in the analyzed material shows that they are far less common.

One of the most important consequences of language purification and modernization of the country is the fact that Turkish surnames do not refer to religion and Arabic culture (at least not directly). There might be religious motivations behind seemingly neutral names, such as Aslan 'lion', because the animal is commonly associated with Ali ibn Abu Talib and names meaning 'lion' have been popular in all Muslim countries throughout the centuries\(^{53}\). But it is just as likely that the name was chosen for other cultural associations with the animal, or simply for aesthetic reasons. Meanwhile in Iran most surnames still have some religious connotations.

Since there were fewer restrictions concerning the creation of surnames in Iran (including linguistic restrictions), Iranian surnames reflect certain historical events and phenomena. For example surnames such as Afšār (*تائيب*), Bayāt (*تائيب*), Dehqān (*ناقهد*), and Dehqāni (*یناقهد*) show the important role of certain social groups in earlier periods. The only Turkish surname which has a connotation to a historical event is Cengiz.

The presence of the Turkish surname Cengiz and Iranian Eskandari (*یردنکسا*) is a significant (though largely coincidental) similarity between the two countries' surnames, because it proves that names and surnames can bear a trace of important historical events, even very distant ones. In both cases they refer to great historical figures, which are associated with destruction, but also power and strength.

In both cases surnames reflect important aspects of culture and national identity. Though some efforts were made in Iran to clear the language of the numerous

\(^{53\text{ A. Schimmel, op. cit., p. 34.}}\)
Arabic loanwords, the puristic attempts never reached the range or the effectiveness of those in Turkey. Therefore, the great majority of surnames are of Arabic origin and have strong Islamic connotations. Nevertheless, the existence of surnames such as Bahrāmi (بهرامی), Gamšidi (گامشیدی) or Rostami (روستامی) shows that Iranians value and cherish their long history and distinctive culture, despite the centuries of extensive Arabic and Islamic influences. This manifests itself clearly through the continuous use of names rooted in the Persian tradition 54.

Turkish family names are also an expression of the unique culture, which resists Arabization. In the case of Turkey though, the names and surnames were subject to more restrictions, which had a certain purpose. Widespread nationalistic and puristic efforts aimed at the elimination of Arabic and Persian influences from Turkish language and culture were also reflected in the Surname Law, which was used by the government as another tool to propagate the nationalistic ideology. The beginning of the 20th century marks the rise of the Turkish national identity, which was also expressed in and strengthened by the adopted names and surnames, many of which were inspired by history, mythology, and symbols such as names of various heroes and animals (wolf, falcon).

All in all, it is possible to say, that through the adoption of surnames Iranians rediscovered their cultural heritage, while Turks (re)invented their national identity. Iranians embraced the Arabic and Islamic influences (which is exemplified by using nisbas as inspiration for surnames), while still maintaining their own culture. Turks on the other hand tried to distance themselves from their own recent past, discontinuing any naming traditions, which had Arabic origins.

**Abbreviations**

Ar. - Arabic  
Av. - Avestan  
MPer. - Middle Persian  
Per. - Persian  
Tur. - Turkish

54  H. E. Chehabi, op. cit., p. 85.
Summary

One of the most basic elements of a person’s identity is one’s name. Choosing a name for a child or for oneself can also be an expression of cultural or national identity. In the beginning of the 20th century Turkey and Iran went through a process of modernization and reforms, among others the replacement of the traditional naming system with European-style surnames. The article analyses the etymology of the most common Turkish and Iranian surnames, and shows how the adoption of surnames was used to strengthen the national identity of both societies.

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**Online Dictionaries**


Anna Szombierska – PhD candidate at the Department of Iranian Studies (Jagiellonian University), MA in Hungarian Studies and BA in Iranian Studies. Interests include comparative linguistics, contact linguistics and etymology.
The Satanic Verses affair and its influence on the mutual relationship between Western and Islamic civilization

The specification of the time period of “Satanic Verses” affair

The objective of the article hereto is to present the influence of the Salman’s Rushdie novel the “Satanic Verses” affair on the contemporary perception of relationship and the nature of tension between Western States (including the United States and Europe) and Islamic culture. Such article has been prepared with comparative analysis of the statements of various representative of doctrine as well as approach of international organizations.

The narrative of the article hereto shall be embedded in the specific cultural and historic context, taking into consideration the situation of both Western civilization (simultaneously in the European and United States cases) and Islamic culture. While commencing the analysis from the historic point of view, it ought to be focused on the decade between 1980 and 1990 with the particular interest of the years of 1988-1989. Firstly, with reference to the John Trumpbour that the end of the Cold War led to the transformation in the way in which the conflict is channelled, funded and justified. Consequently, the proxy warfare between the superpowers exacerbated the conflicts, with incalculable human cost for those in the proxy battlefields and enormous financial profit to the arm industries in both blocs. The Cold War has also given the military and industrial establishments a secure place in organ-

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izing and managing such conflict. A party to the conflict could always call upon one bloc for provision of aid and as a result the opposing side could then count on the support of the opposing geopolitical block. Therefore the two superpowers were spared having blood on their shed on their own soil even as they were able to manage the conflicts to their own benefit and profit from their role as arms merchants.

In the opinion of the vast majority of doctrine, after the ultimate victory against Bolshevism, the Western States were forced to search for or even construct the vicarious enemy. Such phenomenon has occurred in both – the case of the United States and Europe. In the first instance “hardly before the moisture from the thawing Cold War could evaporate, U.S pundits and politicians during the 1980s and 1990s warned of a whole new assortment of threats to American Century: the resurgence of ruthless Japanese imperialism, the growth of narco-terrorism in the Americas, the expansion of Middle East terrorism and the search of third world immigration into the USA and European metropoles”. As vividly presented through this quotation the Islamic culture has been strongly equated with the most serious threat to American society, not only by the apparition of terrorism, but also migration and exacerbation of cultural differences. Through the prism of the aforesaid remarks the author shall initially elaborate the role of the enemy concept for the Western civilization with a particular notion of then historical and political context. In accordance with such statement, one should pose the question whether the U.S, political order sustained it through orchestrated hatreds and the constant creation of the enemies. As explained by the abovementioned author

The whole history of the country has been a history of melodramatic pursuits of horrendous monsters, some of them imaginary: the redcoats, the Bank, the Catholics, Simon Legree, the Slave Power, Jeff Davis Mormonism, Wall Street, the rum demon, John Bull, the hell hounds of plutocracy, the trusts, General Weyler, Pancho Villa, German spies, hyphenates, the Kaiser, Bolshevism. The list might be lengthened indefinitely: a complete chronicle of the Republic could be written in terms of it, and without omitting a single important episode.

Such statement emphasizes the role of the concept of enemy in the process of strengthening the sense of civilizational belongingness as well as underlining its

3 Ibidem.
supremacy over others. At the same time it must be indicated that during the final stage of the Cold War the analogous voices were heard inside the European societies. To strengthen the reluctance and hatred towards such enemies, they have been compared to the most severe atrocities commonly known from history of the certain civilization. The most vital example as according to Emran Qureshi is the moral mandating of the war against Islam as fight with evil regime of Saddam Hussein in the opinion of George W. Bush to some extent worse than the cruelty of Adolf Hitler. Such image has been also created by the American popular press which often presented images of Hussein with Hitler’s moustache. Following the opinion of Qureshi “the war fervour, along the brutal behaviour of Hussein, led to the largest outbreak of anti-Muslim prejudice in the United States since the Iraq hostage incident.” The aforementioned examples serve to purport the thesis that the Islam replaced the Bolshevism and to some degree also Nazism as the new category of enemy the fight against whom became the new objective of the Western civilization. However, it must be said that as Nazism and Communism constituted serious threat to Western countries, democracy and human rights, the potential threat associated with Islam is often exaggerated and what is the most dangerous, generalized in the all Muslims. At the same time it remains beyond the shadow of doubt, that similar voices were commonly raised in Europe. It is enough to recall the opinion of Margaret Thatcher who stipulated Islam to be a new Bolshevism. The similarity has emerged through the fact that Islamic extremism today, like Bolshevism in the past, is an armed doctrine. It is an aggressive ideology promoted by fanatical, well-armed devotees. And like communism, it requires an all-embracing long-term strategy to defeat it.

Nevertheless, while analysing the case of Europe, in comparison with United States, the reluctance towards Muslims is much more culturally deep-rooted. In accordance with the observations of Rene Guenon, Europe figures itself facing Islam as these two cultures are “intimately involved in a spectacular formations of mirror images”. Following the opinion of Fred Halliday it must be said that

the conflict between communism and the West lasted seventy years, or at most two hundred, from Babeuf to Gorbachev. That between Islamic movement and the West has been going on for nearly fourteen hundred years, and continues. The wall of Ber-

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lin fell after 28 years, that of Avila, built in the fourteenth century to defend the city against Arab forces, still stands7.

Upon the basis of the aforesaid opinion it became natural for Europe to refer to its past experience to construct a new category of the enemy. Oppositely, in the case of United States it must be emphasized that the initial rationale for the resentments towards Arab were harbored due to their contribution to petroleum shortages in the 1970s. Consequently, the hostility between the United States and Islamic culture has originated from the economic rivalry associated with the issues of oil. In the light of such distinction, one shall imply the question which factors has played decisive role in turning the character of the Western- Islamic conflict from purely economic (based on oil), into cultural. Undoubtedly the grounds for such turnout are not of homogenous character. Firstly, it must be stated that the current of the cultural reluctance towards Islamic civilization has commenced during the breakthrough of the decade 1960-1970 with the activity of the professors from the Ivy League, especially of Bernard Lewis8 and Samuel Huntington9 who contributed to the establishment of the “Clash of Civilization” theory. Without elaborating on further details regarding such theory, it is sufficient to recall a statement by B. Lewis which explains the very essence of his concept “the conflict between Islam and the West is not less but the clash of civilizations – probably irrational, but for sure historic reaction of the eternal enemy against our Judeo-Christian heritage, our secular presence and global expansion of both of the aforesaid values”10. Nevertheless such theory has been widely criticized one cannot underestimate its influence to produce the mutual prejudices of the Islamic and Western cultures towards its other. Secondly, once again the specific period of the Cold War end shall be recalled. As observed by the E. Qureshi, the religion has quickly become the factor to intensify the mutual reluctance between two of the analyzed civilizations. Following his statement:

the militant religious identity has served as a partial replacement for the Cold War as a conduit for conflict. Major violence has been carried out in the name of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism11.

10 B. Lewis, op. cit., p. 62.
It is undoubted that the Western ultimate victory with Bolshevism has significantly strengthen the sense of supremacy of Western culture with its values: democracy, human rights and to some extent also Christianity. As a consequence it gave raises to reject other religions and ideologies and develop the concept of otherness. In response other civilizations seek to recreate their cultural awareness and undertake the fight against the Western hegemony. In this context one shall recall the Iran example of the foundation of Hizbollah in the aftermath of the 1982 Israeli invasion. The Hizbollah became famous through its relentless guerilla war against Israeli occupation, thus lending credibility to Iran's much trumpeted. With suicide bombing against the United States and French troops in Beirut in 1983 as well as kidnapping of two dozens Western hostages in Lebanon during the following years. Moreover, Iran’s Lebenese clients also contributed to the “fight against Western influence in the region” promoted by Teheran. Thirdly, the main subject of the article hereto – the “Satanic Verses” affair has contributed to the change of the method of perceiving the intracivilizational conflict. Additionally, one of the most bizarre sides effects of the hostage crisis was the ill-fated attempt by the U.S. administration to exchange arms for hostages and money in secret dealings with Iran in 1985 and 1986 (the so called Iran-Contra affair). Thirdly, the main topic of the article hereto – the “Satanic Verses” affair. This strain will be elaborated on during the latter parts of this article. Here is sufficient to mention that the fatwa issued by the Khomeini directly after the publication of the “Satanic Verses” has been seized as last opportunity to defy the West with his favourite posturing as the “leader of all Muslims”. Consequently, this was the method in which Khomeini had used a provocation of the West for domestic purposes, namely to keep Iran on the track of “revolutionary fervor” eve after the cease-fire with Iraq. Beyond doubts, the “Satanic Verses” affair has led to redefinition of the mutual Western – Islamic relationships. In this context one shall rely upon the opinion of Akbar S. Ahmed who claims that the year 1989 has played a key role for both, external and internal evaluation of Islam. The affair regarding the realization of the novel Satanic Verses has transferred the balance point of the inter-civilizational conflict between Islam and the West from the issue of petroleum and terrorism on the matters referring to the faith itself, which caused that the believers of different religions as well as some Muslims have been left upset, with pain and lack of understanding.  

12 Ibidem.  
“The Satanic Verses” affair as the climax point for the mutual relation between civilizations

As indicated in the previous section of the article the “Satanic Verses” affair is often classified as the climax point for the contemporary relation between Islamic and Western civilizations. Moreover, as purported in the next section of the article it shall be also described as a milestone for both civilizations to establish their sense of identity as well as perception of each other. The plot of the book begins when the airplane flying from Mumbai to London is kidnapped by the hijackers and detonated over the La Manche Channel. During such disaster only two passengers managed to survive. Subsequently, in one of the first scenes both men are falling down from the sky and one of them is turning into an angel and the second one into devil. Within his novel, Salman Rushdie “combines various stories, spins them between presence and past, between the real and imaginary world, the West and the East, goodness and evil and consequently creates monumental and erudite eulogy in honor of multiculturalism, hybridity and free mixture of races and cultures”. Additionally, it shall be stated that the inspiration of origin of “Satanic Verses” was the genesis of the Islamic religion, especially through the prism of existing analogies between Mohammad and the fictitious Prophet. According to the vast majority of doctrine it was creation of the Mohammad as a human which raises the biggest controversies among the Muslim confessors. The direct consequence of the realization of the analyzed novel was a fatwa issued by the Ayatollah Khomeini, calling to kill Rushdie and his publishers, or to point him out to those who can kill him if they cannot themselves. The result of the imposed fatwa was the murder of the Japanese translator of the book – Hitoshi Igarashi, the assault with a knife of the Italian translator of the book Ettore Capriolo and planting of the bombs in the registered office of the few publishing houses.

Such remarks imply the necessity to pose the question regarding the grounds for such violent objection towards Rushdie’s book in the Islamic world. Those reasons are explained by the observations of Anshuman A. Mondal who perceives that “on one hand in his novel, Rushdie acknowledges the closeness between created facts and the historic events, but on the other hand he tries to separate his book from any factual occurrence”14. The second approach is visible in the fact that the fictional Prophet is not named Mohammad and he resides in the certain fictitious land. Therefore, in spite of some common features, the vast majority of authors claims that while analyzing the Satanic Verses it shall not be taken into consideration if the aforesaid Prophet

is really Mohammad, but what such incident can really reveal about the event comprised in the book. In compliance with the presented notion, while analyzing the content of the book, it must be stated that the problem lies much deeper than it is visible at the first sight. As the majority of the doctrine indicates, the intention of Rushdie was to awake doubts concerning the Divine origin of the truth contained in Quran. Such observation has been confirmed by the literal resonance of one of the verses which states that it is highly impossible to distinguish the genuine verses of Quran from the false whispers of Satan as such distinction does not exist15. Such notion can suggest that according to author the whole Quran shall be interpreted not as Divine, but Satanic remittance. Undoubtedly, from the Muslim perspective such statement is deemed to be harmful.

Although it must be determined that it is notation which shall be characterized as the most insulting from the Muslim point of view. As indicated by A.A. Mondal the whole cynicism of Rushdie reveals in the statement that

Believers are living in lawlessness but in these period Mahound or as other say Archangel Gabriel or Al-Lah got obsessed regarding the obedience for law. Among the palms growing in oasis, Gabriel has met the Prophet and saw him formulating the rules. Until the believers will reluctantly meet the perspective of the subsequent revelations, Salman said that the principles shall refer to every smallest aspect. If the person for instance farts, let him turn the face towards wind. There is also a rule concerning which hand one should wipe one’s bottom. The existence of any aspect of human life which would not be regulated by the rules is highly impossible16.

An aforesaid fragment has been read as the essence of the criticism towards fundamental assumptions of Islamic religion. It relies on the usage of the exaggerated comicality and deliberate, highly provocative violations of the history with intention to signalize the infringements committed by Islam. Following the opinion of the vast majority of authors, it shall be stated that through the numerous amount of prohibitions, the Islam deserves to be classified as totalitarian system. It must be added that most of the forbearances contained in the book are purely absurd and have nothing to do with the real Islamic doctrine. Recalling the opinion of the Nico Israel “the Rushdie’s predilection to parabasis has caused that many of his characters through the fiction had preached thesis which were words taken from author’s mouth17.

15 Ibidem, p. 35.
16 Ibidem., p. 37.
17 N. Israel, Outlandish: Writing between exile and diaspora, Stanford 2000, p. 135.
It is undoubted that the “Satanic Verses” novel touches very delicate moral dilemma. Nevertheless of the fact that beyond the shadow of doubt analyzed book has contributed to the harm for Muslims’ religious feelings, the fatwa imposed by Khomeini shall be classified as too drastic and disproportional measure comparing to the seriousness of that. Some of the doctrine representatives, for instance Daniel Easterman, have undertaken the Rushdie’s defence. Following the opinion of the aforesaid author “the fundamental error committed by t Rushdie’s Muslim opponents is a stipulation that religion shall be considered as a sacred value and therefore excluded from becoming the object of satire”\textsuperscript{18}. An adequate illustration of the traditional Islamic approach is contained in the opinion of John Le Carre according to whom “nobody possesses conferred by God right to insult the magnificence of religion and with impunity widespread expressions of blasphemy character”\textsuperscript{19}. In accordance with view of D. Easterman the statement that “religious faith are included into the specific category of outlooks which shall be strictly separated from the detrimental external impact”\textsuperscript{20}. Simultaneously, it shall be stated that such perception has been also rejected by most of the representatives of contemporary Islamic doctrine, including the latter position of Ayatollah Khomeini. As a consequence D. Easterman emphasizes the fact that Western civilizations has granted the Islamic radicals right to free dissemination, proclamation and widespread of their outlooks. Often they are deprived of such rights within their domestic legal systems. Subsequently, Islam is often claimed to be the most absolute religion which provision encompass every aspect of the individuals life. Muslim reach for omnipotence as well regulations close to totalitarian constitute ground for which Islam may be subjected to criticism or even ridiculed. It is a price which Islam has to pay for attempt to control all of the spheres of human life and reaction of individuals for notorious violation of their rights\textsuperscript{21}.

Obviously such statement glazes with its radicalism and presents the view of only one side to the conflict. However, it accurately illustrates the precipices between two civilizations which was deepened by the “Satanic Verses” affair. The consequences for both civilizations as well as their mutual relationship will be presented in the next sections of the article hereto.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibidem, p. 122.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibidem, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibidem, p. 145.
The outlook of the “Satanic Verses” in Islamic and the Western culture

Initially it ought to be stated that in accordance with the opinion of Daniel Pipes prior to the release of the “Satanic Verses” Rushdie “must have been totally aware of the deep and violent feelings his book would stir up among devout Muslims. In other words he knew exactly what he was doing and he cannot plead otherwise”\(^\text{22}\). Despite the awareness of the author of “Satanic Verses” the author could not foresee the scale of the furor caused by publication of his novel as in one of his BBC interviews he claimed that “he should write a more critical book”\(^\text{23}\). To purport such thesis, it is enough to recall that the attack on Rushdie and his publishers squares with a host of other actions taken by Khomeini. The most vivid illustration of such statement is the book titled “The Exposure of Secrets” the author of which had become the victim of the same steps undertaken by the Khomeini. Through his statement Khomeini declared that: “The commandments of Islam do not provide a cure for your diseases, which are the worship of lust, faithfulness, lying compulsively and charlatanism. The law of Islam declares that your blood can be shed with impunity, and that your thieving hand can be cut off”. A second incident, which had occurred just two weeks prior to imposition of the Khomeini fatwa, referred to the program issued in radio Tehran titled “Model for the Muslim Woman”. During the aforesaid broadcast one of the respondents expressed the opinion that Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad is not a suitable model for her and instead she preferred a Japanese heroine of soap opera. Outraged Khomeini has claimed an audition to be “un-Islamic” and wrote the director of Iranian broadcasting telling him that if the insult was deliberate, the offending parties would undoubtedly be condemned to death. The final incident took place a few weeks after the Rushdie’s fatwa, when Tehran intruded into a Turkish controversy concerning pious female university students who wished to wear a modesty headscarf over their hair. After a prolonged debate, in the judgment of 7 March the Court prohibited this form of dress which commenced the vehement disapproval from Khomeini’s government. As a result approximately one hundred and fifty Iranian parliamentarians signed a letter officially condemning Ankara policy and called for reconsideration of relations with Turkey “in accordance with that country’s attitude to Islam and Muslims”. The Iranians also threatened to reduce trade with Turkey from 1 billion to 400 million dollars. That threat induced the

\(^{23}\) Ibidem.
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Turks to withdraw their ambassador from Tehran and the Iranians responded in like fashion. As stated by D. Pipes such gesture cannot be interpreted as an act calculated for political gain, either domestic or foreign. It reflected instead the fact that Islamic issues did not often receive first priority in the Tehran of 1989. Such observations shall not be restricted only to Iran. Recalling opinion of an aforesaid author the “Satanic Verses” appeared to confirm a deep disengagement from politics by Arab Muslims. Additionally, the religion became the factor which conditioned the approach of Muslim authorities, in particular in their foreign policy24.

The nature of the “Satanic Verses” furor has been contentious and it is not evaluated homogenously by various representatives of the doctrine. In accordance with some authors, the conflict around “Satanic Verses” is often described as the conflict between cultures (usually “Islam” and “the West”) as Rushdie has been accused of having been responsible for a tremendous step backwards in process of the fusion of cultures or at least the improvement of cross-cultural understanding. Oppositely, following the opinion of Peter O’Stummer the most important dimensions of the Rushdie conflict seem to be of political and not cultural or religious nature25. Such concept has been developed by Bassam Tibi which has described it as “the crisis of modern Islam” which has given rise to the fundamentalist challenge26. In such context it is worth recalling an argument that

Starting with its title, The Satanic Verses unearths and copies some of the nastiest claims that a few Orientalists have fabricated about the history and culture of Islam. By coping this reductively edited version of Islamic history, Rushdie, who should have known otherwise, has made his motives seem suspect to Muslims. By doing so, Rushdie the leftist polemicist, may have qualified himself for what the Marxist-feminist critic Gayarti Spivak calls the privileged native informant. In other words, Rushdie’s narrative, if the hypothesis is valid, becomes in the final analysis alien to the Third World’s view of itself. Regrettably, he has to apply Said’s comment on Naipaul, allowed himself quite consciously to be turned into a witness for a Western prosecution and has thus rendered himself imperative within the Third World literary disclosure27.

24 D. Pipes, op. cit, p. 145.
In this context one shall apply the question regarding Said’s concept of Orientalism as a critical response to Rushdie affair. Additionally as emphasized by the Peter O’Stummer the Saidian Orientalism shall be deemed as ambivalent concept. In accordance with the opinion of an abovementioned author “Said himself seems to have been quite aware of the ambivalent implications of his stance, since he ended Orientalism on the warning that Orientalism is not Occidentalism”28. Simultaneously the maverick Saidian concept of Orientalism has been implemented as a tool of “deconstructive machinery” to be used for warding off unpleasant criticism of Third War affairs. As a result arguments classified as “Western” or “Orientalist” could be taken apart as discursive formations referring to nothing but their own ideological universe, while arguments regarded as “progressive” or “Third-World” were granted free passage around the deconstructive gristmill. This has been a direct result of the “rhetoric and politics of blame” deplored by Said. Such concept has been developed by G. Spivak,

both sides to the conflict are really differently constructed discourses whose truth-claims are equally false. Therefore, Khomeini’s anti-democratic, anti-Enlightenment, behavior was not only not direct and unmediated evidence of the immutable essence of Islam, but it was a deliberate cultural – political self – representation and unmediated testifier for the immutable essence of Islam29.

At the same time on the other side Rushdie affair has been coded as Freedom of Speech versus Terrorism and even as a triumph of the written world and moreover has been domesticated into a possible Western martyrship for literature or rather for a book trade”30.

Regarding to the abovementioned observations with an application of “Orientalist” or “Third World” arguments each culture, either Western or Islamic establishes their own truth and claim itself to be an exclusive victim of the “Satanic Verses” affair, while another civilization acts in the character of the offender. Such approach causes the automatic omission of the rights conferred to the second party to the dispute. In such sense the “Satanic Verses” affair has led to the intensification of such differences referred to by the notion of martyrship. Moreover, Khomeini’s fatwa reflected the recognition that jihad’s proper targets don’t just include the Western vessels and

28 P. O’Stummer, op. cit., p. 201.
30 P. O’Satummen, op. cit., p. 203.
buildings. They also, and more fundamentally, include Western freedoms, and above all, the foundation freedom: freedom of speech”. For an aforesaid author the imposed fatwa as well as other indications of opposition to Rushdie’s writings are comparable to physical attacks against ideas held sacred in the West.

Simultaneously one ought to be aware that the blind following of the Saidian Orientalism as in accordance with F. Halliday it shall be mentioned that the notion of Said’s “orientalism” lacks the ideas of the Middle East itself. For F. Halliday it remains clear that Said’s outlook for intercultural relationship between Western and the Middle Eastern countries is equivalent with uncritical reproduction of myths in the name of anti-imperialism, solidarity and understanding. The famous motto of Saidians: “They cannot represent themselves. They are represented”31 in Halliday’s view is a clear evidence of the avoidance of Muslim’s response for Western domination in the “orientalist” perspective32. While transferring such conclusions to the “Satanic Verses” affair, it is worth presenting the reaction of the Muslim communities for the furor concerning Rushdie’s novel. Initially, according to Kenan Malik, the critics of Rushdie have stipulated that the blasphemies in his novel caused mortal offence to all Muslims as the life of the Prophet Muhammad is the source of Muslim identity33. Such condition has been caused by the fact that Prophet and his personality define Islam and therefore every Muslim relates to him directly and personally. As a result, as K. Malik observed Muslim believers tend to feel that every word, every jibe and every obscenity in the “Satanic Verses” is directed against them personally”34. Upon the basis of such notion the objective of Islamic word towards publication of Rushdie’s novel is justified by the statement that “just as people threatened with physical genocide react to defend themselves, Muslims en masse would protect against the annihilation of their cultural identity”. Nevertheless such statement may be classified as exaggerated it adequately illustrates not only the mentality of the Islamic confessors but first of all differences in constructing the concept of civilizational identity in comparing to Western standards.

Without making an attempt to underestimate Malik’s observations, the author of the article hereto warns against generalization as the one of the most vital consequences of the “Satanic Verses” affair has not only been intensification of the ten-

34 Ibidem, p. 154-155.
sion between Islam and the West but also internal disjuncture within the Islamic representatives. Such notions has been confirmed by the view of previously recalled F. Halliday. In the compliance with the opinion of presented author “the greatest consequence of the Iranian revolution has been to divide Muslim world more grievously than ever before, and the same may well turn out to be the case with the response to the “Satanic Verses”35. The best indicator of such circumstance is the reaction of some Tunisian Islamists to the Iranian condemnation of Rushdie. Their approach has been motivated by the notion that »people should stop worrying about “the British Rushdie” and instead concentrate their energy on the “Rushdies” among their own people, by which they mean the secularizers and those proclaiming the equality of men and women«36. As a consequence of the abovementioned opinion the Islamic concept of enemy has been closely associated with faithfulness of different principles and life model. For proper understanding of such approach as well as Muslim reaction towards “Satanic Verses” publication it is essential to underline the evolutionary development of Muslim immigrants with a usage of example of Great Britain. As it is often emphasized the first development within the British Muslim community was a distinct political identity shift from ethnicity to religiosity. Subsequently, the second crucial development within the British Muslim community is the generational distillation from diverse theological expressions of distinction and difference into a wider definition and acceptance of what represents Islamic orthodoxy, or Muslimness37. It must be indicated that the first-generation identity politics tended to divide Muslims by both ethnicity and theological expression, a practical engagement and pragmatic experience of Muslim pluralism, set within the new geo-social context of liberal democracy, diversity and plurality, allowed for a greater synergy and tolerance between conflicting Islamic theological expressions. In addition, where legal protection was implemented by a British government legislation ensuring the protection against racism and discrimination for some minority groups, including the Jews and Sikhs, Muslims not only remained unprotected but had also become a target of Islamophobia38. It is clear that the most important developmental shifts of Muslim identity politics were directly shaped by particular significant events, such as The “Satanic Verses” affair. Consequently, in spite of the fact that Rushdie novel furor in the shorter term has contributed to internal scission within the Islamic

36 Ibidem, p. 127.
37 Ibidem, p. 127.
world, in the long run many of Islamic representatives presented a tendency to unify against the common enemy – Western States. The “Satanic Verses” affair has also contributed to amalgamate ethnic, regional, national and sectarian Muslim identities under an overreaching Muslim identity. In accordance with the view of I. Malik it shall be evaluated as only positive outcome of Rushdie’s ferocious diatribe. Such opinion has been shared by the second generation of Muslim immigration for whom geographical, national or localist identities did not make any sense. It is significant to suggest that Muslim identity is simultaneously cultural and ethnic, but beyond the shadow of doubt since the affair of Rushdie novel the religious aspect of the identity has overshadowed its ethnical dimension

Nevertheless that prior to Rushdie’s affair and Khomeini’s fatwa, many Muslims had a tendency to evince the disengagement towards politics, it must be indicated that religious principles has often replaced political rationale. As purported in the next section of the article, it has been often abused by the Islamic radicals.

Additionally, one shall also be aware that the development of the concept of otherness through the “Satanic Verses” affair has occurred also due to hybrid identity of Rushdie himself and precisely speaking, the choice which was undertaken by the publication of the analyzed novel. This last argument has been developed by Malak who stipulated that “Regrettably Rushdie is no longer the voice of Third World agonies and the activist for persecuted minorities. Now he is a celebrity lavishing in elite lifestyle”. Independently from the truth contained in this statement, it remains undoubted that the “Satanic Verses” affair has reshaped the relationship between Islam and the West through intensification of already existing differences.

The consequences of the “Satanic Verses” affair for the mutual relationship between Islam and the West

As illustrated through the previous remarks in the article, the “Satanic Verses” affair has influenced to deepen already existing conflict between Islam and the West establishing them as two opposed civilizations. What is more, the dispute of mainly political character has been conducted within the frame of religious rhetoric. However

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39 Ibidem, p. 58.
as characteristic feature of both civilizations the arguments of political or social nature are often deliberately obscured by religious consideration as religious truth cannot be challenged. In accordance with the vast majority of doctrine, it shall be emphasized that the burning point in the mutual tension between analyzed civilization is the freedom of speech, in particular the artistic expression. The explanation of an aforesaid notion has been provided by the statement of R. Eaglestone who has observed that “in the evaluation of Muslim doctrine the Western concept of freedom of speech has led to implementation of the human rights idea as tool of common cultural enemy – Islam”\textsuperscript{41}. Such statement shall be supplemented by the notion that Western doctrine of the freedom of expression recognizes so-called “right to offend” as its essential component. Such notion has been confirmed by the observations of Lisa Appignanesi. In accordance with opinion of the aforesaid author “without the right to offend anybody’s feelings the freedom of expression practically ceases to exist”\textsuperscript{42}. The relatively wide scope of the legitimated freedom of expression has been justified through the prism of marketplace of ideas theory which has been based upon the conviction that the ultimate goodness is better achieved through the free trade on the market of ideas and the most accurate test for the truth is the power of thought to accept such truth in the process of concurrence in the conditions of free trade. The primary consequence of such understood approach is the conclusion that also offensive and repelling speeches shall be encompassed with protection. Secondly, it is deemed that the remedy for misusing the freedom of speech shall be more speech\textsuperscript{43}.

The marketplace of ideas theory has played a significant role in the “Satanic Verses” affair. To purport such thesis, it shall be underlined that in response to the publication of \textit{Satanic Verses} and fatwa issued by Khomeini, the director general of the UNESCO – Federico Mayer has conveyed to the enactment of the declaration which called to the protection of the freedom of speech, at the same time omitting the matter of the freedom of religion. The representatives of the Swiss national commission of UNESCO have shared the opinion that “international demand for the \textit{Satanic Verses} is the most effective answer for the conducted by Khomeini attack for the fundamental rights and freedoms”.

It shall be indicated that the marketplace of ideas concept has been associated with the largest controversy within the Muslim community. In this context it is suf-

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ficient to recall the opinion of Monica Ali according to whom the Western tendency for absolutization of the freedom of speech resembles the marketplace of outrage. The same author claims that “if one decides to create a marketplace of outrage, he can expect everyone to enter it. In contemporary circumstances everyone would like to say that his feelings are more harmed than others.”\(^4^4\) Such conclusion has been supplemented by A. A. Mondal who stipulated that “in Islamic reality betrayal of the religion is classified as the biggest shock for the social majority while in the Western States the threat of shocking the society even with the most controversial expression does not exist. Consequently the crime of blasphemy has become only the dead letter.”\(^4^5\) Such differences shall be explained as the derivative of the various role of religion within two of presented civilizations: while within the Western framework it is one of the individuals’ freedom, for Islamic culture it constitutes the axiological basis of the whole legal system.

At the same time it is hard to refrain from the feeling nevertheless the Khomeini’s fatwa undoubtedly shall be classified as the violation of the fundamental human rights, the approach of the United Nations Organization also does not deserve for laudation as it did not serve to establish a common dialogue between Islam and the West. Such opinion has been purported by the Sami A. Aldeeb Abu – Sahlieh who determined that

> the mysterious powers constantly aim at discredit of the Islamic and Arabic civilization due to obvious reasons. This novel has served this purpose. Independent from intention which stood behind the publication of the book, it shall be predicted that it will evoke stormy reaction. Even in case of impossibility of prediction the limitation in the nature of fatwa, its subsequent introduction shall be sufficient reason to withdraw the novel.\(^4^6\)

The author of the article hereto represents the opinion that in order to search a mutual consensus within the area of the relations between freedom of speech (including the right to offend) and freedom of religion and conscience is to reconsider their legitimate restrictions. In such context it is important to recall the statement of Professor Ali A. Mazrui who underlined the fact that the Islamic representatives compared the Rushdie’s novel to graphic pornography. From the point of view of many Muslims,

\(^4^4\) Vide K. Malik, op. cit, p. 158.
\(^4^5\) Vide A. A. Mondal, op. cit., p. 302.
the anger about The “Satanic Verses” emanates from what they believed to be an assault on their cherished value of respect\textsuperscript{47}. It must be emphasized that within the legal system of most of the Western States the pornographic speech is usually excluded from the general protection or at least provides grounds for restriction of such protection. Obviously excessive restrictions to the freedom of speech would deprive it of democratic character, however the marketplace of ideas theory cannot be treated as an excuse to cease to protect the feelings of different cultures.

Such remarks imply the question of the long term consequences for Islamic–Western relationship. Such analysis shall be remarked with the observation of Armand Clesse that a

\textit{20\textsuperscript{th} century may be deemed as an annex to 19\textsuperscript{th} century and a theater for the working out of 19\textsuperscript{th} century, not 20\textsuperscript{th} century ideas, including the political ideas of Karl Marx. In this perspective the 21\textsuperscript{st} century may be evaluated as working out of the ideas older than 20\textsuperscript{th} century, including the contest between the values of Islam and Christianity\textsuperscript{48}.}

Such statement is especially justified due to occurrence the revival of religion after the termination of the Cold War which has exploded through the Rushdie affair. At the same time the profound disagreement between Muslims and Westerners over Rushdie’s right to publish and disseminate the “Satanic Verses” epistomizes a much larger conflict of visions that extends to almost every area of existence. The numerous contentious issues stem from the West’s and Islam’s commitment to incompatible and mutually exclusive worldviews – one God-centered and other materialistic and irreligious. From this perspective the Satanic Verses affair remind that not all the differences between Islam and the West can be explained through political or economic factors and some differences are results of spiritual dimension. Such differences are particularly visible in the Islamic contradiction towards democracy which has been illustrated by Erich Kolig. It is justified by the fact that democracy is inseparately associated with liberalism and secularity and therefore by the virtue of the definition itself incompatible with the assumptions of Islam\textsuperscript{49}. Moreover as underlined by Daniel Easterman “Islam makes a distinction between the rights of Muslims and people who

\textsuperscript{47} D.T. Gubo, \textit{Blasphemy and Defamation of Religions In a Polarized World: How Religious Fundamentalism is Challenging Fundamental Human Right}, London 2015, p. 47.


are not Islam confessors and therefore any government which proclaims equality towards the law cannot be recognized as Islamic\textsuperscript{50}. The reluctance towards democracy shall be classified as derivative of the Islamic hostility towards the freedom of speech which is based upon the convince that in Western civilization all of the human rights and freedoms constitute the inseparate packet. At the same time it shall be stated that in accordance with the provision of the article 22 A of the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam, everyone has the right to free expression of his opinion in the manner which does not contradict the principles of Quran. Nevertheless such regulation grants certain scope of protection to freedom of expression it contradicts the Western notion of such concept\textsuperscript{51}.

It shall be also stated that for some authors, the Rushdie affair set things on the trajectory that led in slightly more than a decade to the events of 9/11. As stated by Geoffrey Nash

\begin{quote}
from having flexed its muscles over Rushdie, an emergent Muslim identity found itself confronted by a state-prosecuted militancy. Only partially satiated by the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, this reaction was characterized for the most part by an active demand, if not for vengeance, then at the very least for putting Islamism in its place. Inevitably, this impacted on the writing of Muslim identity to an unprecedented degree and in the process scaled up the Kulturkampf against Islam exponentially\textsuperscript{52}.
\end{quote}

To continue such current it is worth recalling the statement of Peter Kosminsky who is a film-maker and author of the books: “The Government Inspector” and “Britz”. Both of the aforesaid books in powerful way resonate with the post-9/11 context. In his interview with Derek Paget, Kosminsky emphasizes that while he was talking to Muslims they indicated the “Satanic Verses” as the key factor in establishment the current shape of conflict with Western States as they were feeling beleaguered. In this sense he applies the metaphor of being made into a pariah group within the British society\textsuperscript{53}.

\textsuperscript{50} D. Easterman, op. cit., p. 35.


\textsuperscript{52} G. Nash, Writing Muslim identity, New York 2012, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{53} S. Lacey, D. Paget, The War on Terror: post- 9/11television drama, docudrama and documentary, London 2015, p. 34.
Through such prism it is essential to recall the observations of Alaistar Bonnett regarding that for antiracist the irony of the Rushdie’s affair was that it expressed both militant Black resistance and a challenge to the antiracist mode of representation\textsuperscript{54}. In this context, Tariq Modood argues that the orthodox antiracist have seemed unable to recognize that it is ethnic communities, no less than color and class, that lie at the heart of race and race relations today. The root of this inability lies in creating race exclusively from the point of view of the dominant whites and failing to recognize that those who white people treat as no more than the raw material of racist categorization have indeed a more of being of their own which defies reduction to racist categorization\textsuperscript{55}.

Conclusions

As stated in the previous section of the article hereto such notion is closely related with the notion of Saidian Orientalism, subsequently criticized by F. Halliday. Although that in accordance with the view of Jolecyne Cesari the Rushdie affair has contributed to the evolution of the concept of cultural integration and dominant society as before the “Satanic Verses” affair integration has been seen as the adjustment of minorities to dominant society. Directly after the Rushdie’s novel furor it was redefined as a mutual process which would also transform the majority population\textsuperscript{56}. Therefore, the host society must enter into negotiations in order to reach a consensus that will respect the fundamental aspects of the minority’s way of life. However, such conclusion is relatively optimistic due to the fact that after the end of the Cold War the previous racial prejudices has been additionally strengthen by the cultural and economic differences which hardly complicates the possibility of constituting mutual compromise.

To conclude the article hereto it must be stated that the “Satanic Verses” affair has deepened previously existing differences (mainly of political and economic nature) and reallocated them into cultural discourse. The central arena of mutual tension touches the recognition and acceptable scope of the freedom of expression which according to vast majority of doctrine constitutes the main reason for rejection.


\textsuperscript{55} T. Modood, \textit{Multiculturalism}, Cambridge 2007, p. 89.

the concept of the democracy by Islamic world. Nevertheless many authors claim that
this is the phenomenon only of temporary character conditioned by historic evolu-
tion of Islam. In spite of this optimistic voice the issue of establishment of certain
consensus or at least entering into negotiations remains particularly complex as
it does not refer only to strong and often imaginary prejudices which are
the products of classical Western approach (by Saidians described as Orientalist).
As purported during the article hereto, also European antiracists do not contrib-
ute much to settlement of the conflict as they describe Islamic culture as “being
represented”. This causes lack of awareness that “Satanic Verses” affair has led
to development of Muslim identity which often characterizes itself with strong
objection or even hostility towards Western values. The perception of Muslims as
only “being represented” does not differ much from the “Western” form of racism
which also bases on traditional argumentation. Consequently, the discourse which
has been implanted in the “traditional Orientalist” argumentation does not serve
the purpose of termination of the conflict between two different worlds. Moreover
with current approach of the United Nations Organizations the chances for com-
promise are significantly imbedded.

Summary

After the termination of the Cold War in the public discourse one may also
hear the argument of the cultural conflict between the Islamic and Western
civilizations. Such assumptions has been especially emphasized by the “Clash of
Civilizations” theory. Without exploring details of such theory the purpose of the
article is to analyze the nature of such conflict in the period after the Cold War.
The milestone for such analysis is constituted by the publication of Rushdie’s book
– the “Satanic Verses”. Such article not only aims at explanation the position of
both sides to the dispute, but at indication of consequences of Rushdie affair for
the shape of mutual relations between both cultures.
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M.A. Hanna Wiczanowska is the 1st year PhD candidate in the Department of Constitutional Law of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Her field of interests encompasses international protection of human rights, constitutional law and international relations. As a student awarded with the Scholarship of Ministry of Science for the outstanding academic achievements.
Outsiders in the light of Goffman’s Dramaturgical Model (on the Example of Margaret Atwood’s Novel The Year of the Flood)

Introduction

In the book entitled Outsider the British writer and philosopher Colin Wilson notes that “at first sight, the Outsider is a social problem. He is the hole-in-corner man”¹. Starting with an analysis of literary images of the outsider, the author refers to a fragment of the novel Hell by Henri Barbusse, which, he says, brings into perspective the quintessential characteristic of the outsider. The main character embarks on analysis of his situation: “An immense confusion bewilders me. It is as if I could not see things as they were. I see too deep and too much”². The protagonist goes to Paris, wanders through the streets, anonymous, nameless, a man from the outside, who remains there, somewhere beyond the life around him. Overwhelmed by a sense of his own futility, he is eternally restless and constantly manifests disgust at the world from which he is excluded. In the subsequent chapters of his book Colin Wilson reflects upon this particular type of relationship of the individual with society.

In the essay, the author would like to take this outsider perspective, turn it inside out and look not at how an individual perceives the society, but at the relationship between the society and the individual. In doing so the author proposes to investigate the tools used and the specific measures applied by a community to define who

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is a member of a group and who is an outsider⁴. Thus, more specifically, the focus here is not on how the individuals perceive the world around them, but rather, how the world defines who belongs, to it or not, as well as the constructs of formal and informal systems of stigmatization, or other labeling of the outsider. I would like to apply this in analysis of the world presented by Margaret Atwood in The Year of the Flood.

**Goffman’s dramaturgical framework**

Atwood’s novel is an intriguing example of dystopian fiction which tries, often in a drastic, exaggerated form, to draw attention to the negative directions the Western civilization has taken. The dystopian novel is a literary, but also intellectual attempt to diagnose the state of the world today⁴. Diagnosis in this form refers back to classical dystopian novels, such as Orwell’s 1984 and Huxley’s *Brave New World*, but also to recent works, such as David Mitchell’s *Cloud Atlas*. Atwood, when commenting on the scenario depicted in *Oryx and Crake*, the first book in the *MaddAddam* trilogy, rightly acknowledges that “every novel begins with a what if and then sets forth its axioms… What if we continue on the road we’re already on? How slippery is the slope?”⁵. Dwindling natural resources, endangered species, corporate power, genetic manipulation, and not least erosion of compassion and respect for mankind, are all elements that build up a picture of the nightmarish world of modern times. As Berger points out, “we have had the opportunity… to see in a strange prospective retrospect what the end would actually look like: it would look like a Nazi death camp, or an atomic explosion, or an ecological or urban wasteland”⁶. It is thus the role of the dystopian fiction “to send out danger signals to its readers”. Keith M. Booker corroborates this opinion by saying that the primary function of a dystopia is to “provide

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3 There are two crucial concepts in the sociological tradition, the outsider (see Howard S. Becker *Outsiders* and the stranger (see G. Simmel *The Stranger*). In this article the author does not take these terms interchangeably but refers to the first mentioned concept.


6 J. Berger, After the End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse, Minneapolis 1999, p. xii, xix.

fresh perspectives on problematic social practices that might otherwise be taken for
granted or considered natural and inevitable”8. It should be remembered that the clas-
sical dystopian novels like Huxley’s Brave New World and Orwell’s 1984 gained their
longevity not only by exploring still-relevant themes such as oppressive governments
ith omnipresent surveillance, public manipulation and the loss of individuality, but
also, which appears to be crucial for sociological analysis, by projecting their fictional
societies into the future. In doing so, these novels have been functioning as laborato-
ries where imaginary processes taking place within societies disclosed their drastic
tendencies. For Atwood herself “literature can be a mirror, and people can recognize
themselves in it and this may lead to a change”9. Seen in this light, a major role of
post-apocalyptic discourse is to reflect the real world and magnify flaws in a society,
which may reveal the need for a change and facilitate revolution10, or it may be a way
“imaginatively to rehearse the end”11 that is feared. Atwood frequently refers to her
apocalyptic narration calling it “ustopia”. She writes:

Utopia is a word I made up by combining utopia and dystopia – the imagined perfect
society and its opposite – because, in my view, each contains a latent version of the
other… within each utopia, a concealed dystopia; within each dystopia, a hidden
utopia, if only in the form of the world as it existed before the bad guys took over.12

The starting point of the model which will be used for analysis is the theatrical,
or dramaturgical perspective described by the American sociologist Erving Goffman.
Piotr Sztompka, characterizing the assumptions of Goffman’s dramaturgical theory, states:

To, co do dziś fascynuje i zyskuje mu wielu zwolenników i kontynuatorów, to niezwykła
zdolność spostrzegania i nazywania najbardziej subtelnych przejawów życia codzien-
nego, na ogół nieświadamianych przez samych działających w społeczeństwie ludzi,
Goffman considers simplest social situations in everyday life as the key to grasping and explaining the more complex phenomena of any given society. He writes: “Badacz może potraktować sytuacje społeczne bardzo serio, jako naturalny dogodny punkt obserwacyjny, z którego patrzy na całe życie społeczne” [the researcher may treat social situations very seriously, as a natural observational point from which he or she looks at the life of society (translation into English – the author)]. In his observations, which are far from the accepted canons of scientific research, Goffman interprets situations taken from everyday experience. He comments on anecdotes, press releases, literary texts and advertisements, as according to the professed creed “[…] luźna spekulacja na temat fundamentalnej dziedziny ludzkiej aktywności jest lepsza niż rygorystyczna wobec niej ślepota” [loose speculation about fundamental areas of human activity is better than systematically remaining blind to it (translation into English the author)].

Analyzing the order of social interaction, that is, everything that happens in a society when people come into direct face to face contacts, Goffman distinguishes the following elements in the model of social life, among others: performance, front, stage and backstage. He claims that daily life takes place in the immediate presence of others, and that whatever we do, all of our actions are socially situated. Therefore, he goes on to say, we perform on stage, presenting ourselves and our activity to others, modeling our behavior in such a way as to control or guide the impression that others might have of us by changing or fixing our setting, appearance, and manner. The first notion in this list, “setting,” involves “furniture,

décor, physical layout and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it” 17. Different settings will have different audiences and will thus require the actor to alter their performances for each setting. “Appearance” functions to portray the performer’s social statuses to the audience and also provides information about the individual’s temporary social state or role, for example whether he or she is engaging in work (by wearing a uniform), informal recreation, or in a formal social activity. Here, dress and props serve to communicate gender, status, occupation, age, and personal commitments. Finally, “manner” defines the way in which the individual plays the role. At the same time, the person with whom the individual is interacting is trying to form an impression of the individual and obtain information about the actor. As participants in the social life, which goes on around us, we adopt social roles which are “[…] enactments of rights and duties attached to a given status” 18.

The term “performance” refers to all the activity of an individual in front of a particular set of observers, or audience. Through this performance, the individual, or the actor, gives meaning to others, and information is exchanged in order to confirm identity. The actor’s belief in the part they are playing is an important element with respect to the performance. The observers “[…] are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess, that the task he performs will have the consequences that are implicitly claimed for it, and that, in general, matters are what they appear to be” 19.

The actor’s “front”, as labeled by Goffman, is the part of the individual’s performance which functions to define the situation for the observers, or audience. It is the image, or impression, they give to the audience. A “social front” can also be thought of as a script. Certain situations have social scripts that suggest how the actor should behave or interact in that very particular situation. If individuals take on a task or role that is new to them, they may find that there are already several well-established “fronts” among which they have to choose. The “front stage” is where the actor formally performs and adheres to conventions that have meaning to the audience. The actor knows they are being watched and acts accordingly. When in the “backstage”, the actor may behave differently than when in front of the group of observers on the “front stage”. This is where the individual gets to be their true self and abandons the roles that they play when in front of other people.

18 Ibidem, p. 27.
19 Ibidem, p.28.
Let us now see how these particular elements of Goffman's dramaturgical perspective can be applied in analysis of the image of an outsider as presented by Margaret Atwood.

The novel *The Year of the Flood* begins when the world ends. There has been a “Waterless Flood”\textsuperscript{20}. It has been something like a disease, a final plague, not sent by God, as in the Old Testament Book of Genesis, but caused by human activity. A deadly viral infection spreads with the wind, and is a side effect of genetic manipulation financed by the Corporations. In the world depicted by Atwood, people divide into two main groups: those who live in Pleebs, disgusting slums controlled by gangs who fight for influence and power, and those who stay in Compounds, luxury neighborhoods managed by big corporations. Compound residents are the employees of corporations: businessmen, scientists at the service of big business, all those “[…] who were destroying old Species, and making new ones and ruining the world”\textsuperscript{21}. Compounds are like fortresses, but at the same time prisons. Each phone has to be registered, so that people do not have any opportunity to give away confidential information and social life is monitored by CorpSeCorps to ensure strict compliance with the rules – This was once the security firm which provided services for big Corporations, now the organization acts as a department of the local police, the shadowy, corrupt policing force of the ruling powers.

The waterless flood has destroyed almost everything that existed. Only a handful of people have survived. They are the Gardeners, an Organic sect, a kind of social organization, proclaiming the need for renewal of the World, who live according to the laws of nature, rebelling against the killing of species and against the policies of the Corporation which are degrading the earth’s natural resources.

Let us now return to the basic question of this study: the concept of the outsider in Atwood’s book. The image of the world in the novel *The Year of the Flood* is presented through the lives of the central female protagonists – Ren, Toby and Amanda. What is important for the present analysis is the fact that these characters spend part of their lives being members of the Gardeners, but are also citizens of Compounds, which are significantly dissimilar places. It should also be noted that Pleebs and Compounds form part of the Exfernal World, which is in clear opposition to the Gardeners and their way of life. Consequently we may consider whether these main characters ever experience a sense of alienation living in these extremely different communities and if so what form this takes?

\textsuperscript{20} M. Atwood, *The Year of the Flood*, London 2009, p. 20. (Polish translation of *The Year of the Flood* was published in 2010).

\textsuperscript{21} Ibidem, p. 146.
To investigate possible sources of alienation I shall look at the lives of the main characters, and apply Goffman’s dramaturgical model.

**Ren**

The first of the three protagonists, Ren, is brought to the Gardeners as a little girl by her mother, who is bored with a monotonous life in corporate governance. Ren’s mother, Lucerne, is a typical “[…] pampered Compound wife”22 who is looking for adventure, new emotions and experiences. Her husband, enwrapped in a promising business career, pays little attention to his wife and daughter. Ren quickly adapts to the lifestyle of the Gardeners, although in the beginning it is not easy. Reflecting on that time, she says:

> When Lucerne and Zeb first took me away from the Exfernal World to live among the Gardeners, I didn’t like it at all. They smiled a lot, but they scared me; they were so interested in doom, and enemies and God. And they talked so much about Death […] And when they’d start talking about the Waterless Flood that was going to kill everybody on Earth, except maybe them – that gave me nightmares23.

However, as time passes, Ren slowly becomes a true member of the Gardeners, forgetting who she was and where she lived before joining the organization. We see that typical symbolic elements of Goffman’s front or decoration, such as furniture, and appliances help her not to feel like an outsider among other members of the community. Ren and her mother stay in one large room from which some smaller open space cubicles are separated off by curtains woven of plastic-bag strips. The Gardeners are ascetic in terms of acquisition and accumulation of worldly goods and therefore the table in Ren’s room is made of a door, the pots and pans come from salvage, the bed mattress is stuffed with straw and husks and is covered with a quilt sewn out of blue jeans and used bathmats. When we examine personal front elements such as costume, posture, appearance, manner of speech, facial expressions and gestures it should be underlined that Ren, just like any other Gardener woman, has long hair and wears dark sack-like garments. When talking with others (and so conducting perfor-
mannances, to use Goffman’s categories) she always smiles pleasantly, uses polite words to address other members of the community, does not curse, makes her bed obediently every day and zealously says her prayers. This way of behaving is characteristic when she is presenting on stage during her performances, that is, at the times when she is constantly observed by others. However, we can also see times when Ren steps out of role. These are the moments when Ren comes down from the stage on which she performs as a Gardener and enters Goffman’s backstage area. Here, behind the scenes Ren is herself, the authentic self in contrast to the performed self which she presents during the show. In such moments she does not like the clothes worn by the Gardeners, as they are “[…] so flat, so plain, so scrubbed, so dark”24. Even the street kids – pleebrats – “were hardly rich, but they were glittery”25. She envies their shiny, shimmering things “[…] like the TV camera phones, pink and purple and silver, that flashed in and out of their hands like magician’s cards”26. Ren concludes, “I wanted their gaudy freedom”27. She wants to return to her real place, to her bedroom with pink curtains and to “[…] the closet full of different clothes in it”28. This is the time when Ren also violates the rules that govern social life within the Gardeners’ community. For instance she becomes acquainted with some street kids, pleebrats, spies on their fun games and envies them their care-free behavior. She recalls that once she watched as “[…] they were playing the same tune on their Sea/H/Ear Candies and they were dancing to it, swiveling their bums, sticking out their chests. They looked as if they already owned everything from every single store and were bored with it. I envied that look so much. I just stood there, envying”29. Watching a group of kids, Ren makes sure that “[…] no one was looking”30 and then she enters backstage and starts a conversation with them. In this way she breaks the rule which prohibits all contacts with pleebrats, but she is behind the scene, backstage, where she can be sure that uninvited Gardeners will not impose. Backstage she feels that she is a temporary member of their community, that she is there for the time being, not forever, that she is not one of them, but just a guest. When in her role as a Gardener, and applying all the possible elements of Goffman’s symbolic equipment, Ren does not feel alienated. She is not an outsider, she is one of them, the Gardeners.

24 Ibidem, p. 66.
26 Ibidem.
27 Ibidem.
28 Ibidem.
29 Ibidem, p. 72.
30 Ibidem.
After some time Ren returns with her mother to the Compounds, to the HelthWyzzer corporation, where she had lived with her parents before fleeing. On coming back to her previous life, and once again taking up the role of resident of the Compounds “[…] nothing felt right”\(^{31}\). When she looks around her at the “front” elements, the decorations, such as the faux marble, the reproduction antique furniture, and the carpets on the floors, “none of it seemed real”\(^{32}\). Everything smells strange. The bed in her room and the curtains look strange. Ren says that things “looked too young for me […] There were the plush animals I’d once loved so much, but their glass eyes looked dead”\(^{33}\). On stage, in her new role Ren feels like an outsider:

[…] the first night, Lucerne ran a bath for me with fake-flower bath essence in it. The big white tub and the white fluffy towels made me feel dirty, and also stinky. I stank like earth … Also my skin was blue: it was the dye from the Gardener clothes. I’d never really noticed it because the showers at the Gardeners were so brief, and there weren’t any mirrors … I rubbed and rubbed at the blue: it wouldn’t come off\(^{34}\).

On returning to the Compounds Ren changes how she dresses: “On the first day I put on one of the new outfits that Lucerne had picked out for me. It was pink and lemon yellow”\(^{35}\). This new outfit represents a new personal front that is difficult for Ren to accept. Recalling that time, she says, “My new clothes felt like a disguise. I couldn’t get used to how tight they were compared to my old loose dresses, and how my bare legs came out of the bottom of the knee-length, pleated skirt”\(^{36}\). But the new dress is a necessity as according to Ren’s mother, Lucerne “this was what the girls at HelthWyzzer High all wore”\(^{37}\). Lucerne also alters elements of her personal front as she once again becomes a resident of Compounds, to make her feel like one of the beautiful-looking inhabitants of the Corporate district: “She was wearing crisp linen suits, she’d had her hair styled and streaked. She’d already had her own toes done – she’d wasted no time”\(^{38}\).

\(^{31}\) Ibidem, p. 209.  
\(^{32}\) Ibidem.  
\(^{33}\) Ibidem.  
\(^{34}\) Ibidem.  
\(^{35}\) Ibidem, p. 214.  
\(^{36}\) Ibidem, p. 215.  
\(^{37}\) Ibidem.  
Another element of stage props that makes the scenery for Ren’s performance is the setting of the school building in the Compounds, in which Ren has her first classes. Interestingly, it is significantly different from the setting of the Gardeners’ school. In HelthWyzer corporation “the high-school building was sparkling clean in perfect condition: no graffiti, no pieces falling off, no smashed windows”\textsuperscript{39}. Her first day in a new place is very strange. She has a feeling that the lessons are given in another language. All the subjects are completely new, and all the words. Describing the Gardeners’ school building, Ren points out that “it was called the Wellness Clinic because that’s what used to be in there […] The benches at the Wellness Clinic were hard; we sat in rows. We wrote on slates, and they had to be wiped off at the end of each day […] paper was sinful because it was made from the flesh of trees”\textsuperscript{40}. The elements of the symbolic model, the “stage props,” reflect the Gardeners’ strong belief in the need to restore authenticity to the activities of daily life, and the need to learn survival skills in difficult conditions. They are deeply convinced that when mass destruction caused by overcrowding and human cruelty comes, the only survivors will be those who will be able to rely on their own skills.

**Toby**

Let us now turn to another character, Toby, and see in what specific way she experiences the feeling of belonging to a group, or of being excluded. With the help of the Gardeners, Toby escapes from her hated place of work in a fast-food chain restaurant and finds refuge in the Edencliff Garden, the place where the Gardeners grow vegetables and fruit. For Toby, the setting of this place is striking from the very first moment: “[…] it was so beautiful, with plants and flowers of many kinds she’d never seen before. There were vivid butterflies; from nearby came the vibration of bees. Each petal and leaf was fully alive, shining with awareness of her. Even the air of the garden was different”\textsuperscript{41}. Toby believes that the lavish hospitality she is offered should be repaid by working very hard. In her first “performances” she tries to carry out the duties defined for her role by the group in the best possible way, even though it causes her great difficulty, “she tried to fit in, to help, when needed, but at the routine tasks she was inept. She couldn’t sew tiny stitches, the way Eve Nine – Nuala – wanted,

\textsuperscript{39} Ibidem, p. 215.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibidem, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibidem, p. 43.
and after she’d bled into a few salads, Rebecca told her to lay off the vegetable chopping. With the passing of time, she more and more often goes “back stage”, where she is herself. This is the time when “[…] Toby couldn’t see herself sticking it out among these fugitives from reality for long.” In these moments she does not consider herself to be a true Gardener. She does not like “this kind of smiling, bossy sanctimoniousness so characteristic for all members of the community.” At these times she feels that she is just a faker. Next, we can observe Toby acting, not as one of the Gardeners, but as Tobiatha at the AnooYooSpa. Toby’s “personal front” elements have been thoroughly modified. She has undergone treatment changing the color of her skin and eyes. Her voice has become lower. Toby, now Tobiatha, “[…] listened carefully to both staff and customers… mediated disputes when necessary, …cultivated efficiency and tact.” Carrying out the duties assigned to the new role of office spa manager “[…] the Gardeners and their theories seemed more and more remote, more fanciful, more creative – in a word, loonier and thus, the Gardeners have become strangers. Interestingly enough, after leaving the Gardeners, Toby does not definitively abandon the obligations that related to her role as a Gardener. A poignant example of this is the situation in which Toby, although not being observed by others (and so not performing on “stage”) works on the cultivation of vegetables in the garden. She “picks some spinach, flicks off the iridescent green beetles on it, steps on them. Then, feeling remorseful, she makes a thumb-print grave for them and says the words for the freeing of the soul and the asking of pardon.” Although in the passage cited Toby is in the “back stage” area, where, as a performer, she can relax, forget about her “front” as a Gardener, and get out of her role, she does not. Why? The reason might be that Toby is a master at “dramatic realization” of her activities among the Gardeners. Jean Paul Sartre noted that “the attentive pupil who wishes to be attentive, his eyes riveted on the teacher, his ears open wide, so exhausts himself in playing the attentive role that he ends up by no longer hearing anything.” Toby, while staying with the Gardeners, seeking their acceptance, and wishing to be perceived as one of them, as a friend not an outsider, tries, as Goffman says, to equip her “[…] activities

42 Ibidem, p. 45.
43 Ibidem, p. 47.
44 Ibidem, p. 46.
46 Ibidem, p. 265.
47 Ibidem, p. 16.
with signs which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts enabling her to dramatically illuminate the facts good for her.49 Even in her new “role” as a the resident of the Exfernal World she eagerly fulfills the duties assigned to her role as a Gardener, although it is now a crucially different performance, as well as a crucially different setting with unique props.

Amanda

The last figure who I am going to discuss from Goffman’s dramaturgical perspective is Amanda. She is a resident of the Pleeb who spends most of her life in the Exfernal World, but one day meets Ren, who invites her to the Gardeners. Amanda quickly adapts her “personal front” to the new role she has been given: “She had Gardeners’ clothing now, so she looked like the rest of us; and pretty soon she smelled like the rest of us too.”50 Amanda is well aware of what her duties as a Gardener are and although she is not very fond of sewing she pretends that she likes it. She dramatizes her performances, so as to be praised by other members of the community. Ren observes that even those members of the community who, at the beginning, treat Amanda with hostility and distrust (as being other), in a short time change their attitude towards their new companion, as she knows how to make people like her, for instance, showing unexpected interest in all the daily duties of the community assigned to all individual members of the Gardeners. However, when back stage Amanda steps out of character as an exemplary Gardener: “She showed us how to ram a guy in the crotch or trip him up and then kick him under the chin and break his neck.”51 Such a performance required a new definition of the situation to be imposed on other members of the interaction. The participants of this social interaction then know who the individual is and how they should react to this new situation. This is Amanda, not as a Gardener, but Amanda as a resident of the Pleeb.

From the examples given we have seen that elements of front, setting and back-stage constitute a formal system of marking an outsider. By contrast the reactions, attitudes, and verbal and non-verbal signs used by members of the social group in reaction to the appearance of a stranger can be classified as an informal scheme of defining the outsider. The American sociologist and social scientist, Howard Becker,

50 M. Atwood, The Year ..., p. 83.
51 M. Atwood, The Year ..., p. 86.
in his theory of labeling, draws attention to how third parties can classify behaviors that violate accepted norms. He notes that: “Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others”\textsuperscript{52}. The outsider in this case is the individual whose behavior is read by the group as violating existing rules and regulations. To illustrate this we take the situation when Ren, after going back to school in the Compound district, experiences a feeling of insecurity and alienation. The peer group, who surround her during a lunch break, treat her with distrust and suspicion, although according to her personal front she is dressed like one of them. Her early life among the weird, and crazy Gardeners cult, arouses their anxiety. Her having stayed in places beyond the borders set by corporations, and thereby violated the rules, is reviled by her peers from the school in the Compound, and serves as an act for which she must be stigmatized.

A similar experience of alienation is shared by Toby. There is a rule among the Gardeners which states that asking personal questions, and making inquiries is not allowed. Questioning the fundamental rules that govern the functioning of the group is likewise forbidden. Toby recalls that when she inquired too often about various details connected with the life of individual members of the community, “[…] she would be granted a smile and a change of subject, and a hint that she might try avoiding the original sin of desiring too much knowledge, or possibly too much power”\textsuperscript{53}. Curiosity is considered to be inquisitiveness, and is thought improper, with the result that the individual who violates this regulation is given a dismissive response by other members of the community.

**Conclusions**

In conclusion, it may be stated that in Margaret Atwood’s novel both formal and informal systems of labeling who is an outsider and who belongs in a group are clearly outlined. Goffman’s dramaturgical perspective, as employed in this analysis, shows the way in which each participant of the social interaction determines who is treated as belonging and who is defined as the outsider. Deep feelings of alienation are experienced by individuals if they cannot adjust their behavior to the roles or modes

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\textsuperscript{53} M. Atwood, *The Year .....*, p. 102.
assigned to them by society. This is also that special moment which sociologist Ralph Dahrendorf refers to as the birth of *homo sociologicus* – the concept of man as a social being. The individual is faced with a dilemma:

If he yields to society’s demands, he abandons his virgin individuality but gains society’s approval. If he resists society’s demands, he may preserve an abstract and bootless independence, but only at the expense of incurring society’s wrath and painful sanctions … With this decision begins that »appearance as« on the stage of life which Cicero tries to catch in the concept of *persona*, Marx in the concept of *character mask*, and Shakespeare, along with most modern sociologists, in the concept of *part* or *role*.

Jerzy Szacki points out that: ”[…] nie ma więc dla jednostki ucieczki spod władzy społeczeństwa: uwolniona w jakimś stopniu od wpływu systemu społecznego, oddana zostaje w niewolę mikrosocjalnych praw sceny, na której ciągle musi się poruszać. W teatrze życia codziennego pozostaje nadal kukiełką, chociaż poruszana przez inne sznurki”[^55] [There is no escape for an individual from the power of society. Even if to some extent liberated from the influence of the social system they are put under the influence of micro social rules governing the stage. In the theatre of everyday life the individual is still a puppet, though moved by other strings (translation into English – the author)]

It may clearly be stated that Atwood’s protagonists, Ren, Toby and Amanda, presented in this analysis are constantly faced with the dilemma of Dahrendorf’s birth of *homo sociologicus* as they search for their unique place in wider social constellations, while at the same time trying not to abandon their own individuality at the expense of gaining the approval of society.

**Summary**

This paper investigates various tools and methods employed by a social group to define who is an outsider and who belongs to the group. This issue of group identity is examined on the basis of the novel *The Year of the Flood* by Margaret Atwood. The chief aim of this paper is to examine both formal and informal schemes of labelling.
ling an outsider in the light of Goffman’s dramaturgical model and with reference to Becker’s theory of stigmatization. The author argues that obtaining labels of stigma is caused by the way some tendencies or behaviors are perceived. Thus, deviance is not inherent to an act, but comes from the strong tendency of majorities to label minorities, or those seen as deviant from commonly accepted cultural norms, negatively. What is of particular interest to the author is the relation of society towards individuals and, consequently, the micro social rules, which govern the theatre of everyday life, as presented in Margaret Atwood’s novel.

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*Maria Banaś* – academic lecturer at the University College of Social Sciences and Philologies (Silesian University of Technology). In her scientific exploration she tries to combine philological knowledge with her passion for sociology, focusing on the field of sociology of literature. She analyzes social world patterns in the literary works of modern utopia. The author of the following articles: "Corpocaracy as a form of symbolic violence in modern utopia (on the example of D. Mitchel’s novel “Cloud Atlas”), “Homo hierarchicus in modern utopia (on the example of M. Atwood’s novel “The Year of the Flood” and D. Mitchell’s novel “Cloud Atlas”).
Natalia Rytelewska

The identity of the post-industrial cities on the example of Gdansk, Lodz and Katowice

Introduction

Identity of postindustrial cities is nowadays created by both past and future. Main factors which affect city identity are history, functions of the city and citizens. Although identity is rooted in the past, it plays an important role for creating the future city’s function and image. The subject of this article is the analysis of three postindustrial cities: Gdansk, Lodz and Katowice. Identity of Gdansk is mostly related to the Polish-German history. Although Gdansk with its long history is more seen as a historical place, the city tries to save its industrial heritage of shipbuilding industry and shipyard. The identity of Gdansk was also created after the Second World War, when the government decided about the way of revitalization of destroyed Old Town. The second city is Lodz, which rise through the development of textile industry. In the second half of XX century, city needed to change its economy and strategy because of increasing unemployment, falls of factories and destructions after the Second World War. At the end of XX century, Lodz started to looking for the new identity through the process of revitalization. Nowadays, the symbol of the city is Manufaktura and its big project of revitalization postindustrial buildings and factories. The last city is Katowice located in the center of Upper Silesian Industrial Region. Katowice is now big reclamation area, which tries to connect the Silesian heritage and tradition with the development of modern technics. Former mining city was also a candidate for being the new European Capital of Culture. Its watchword was ‘Katowice – city of gardens’. Now, city which was perceived in the past as a dirty and ugly became a green area with new opportunities.
City identity

According to Ewa Rewers: “identity is based on the conviction that here, in this physical place we are at home, rooted in a way so obvious that no one cannot remove us”\(^1\). City identity is used by planner and architectures, who try to create cities more friendly and esthetic for citizens. Urban planning and architecture also use the subject which is the sources of the tradition, such as historical buildings, streets and complex of factories\(^2\). In these way, they try to create new image of the city.

The identity of the city is associated with concepts such as collective identity, cultural identity and regional identity. Analyze of city identity should also be considered in relation to the identity of location and space\(^3\). According to Anna Śliz and Marek S. Szczepański, collective identity, also known as social identity, is “[...] multiplied individual identity based on common or similar norms, customs, traditions, language, economy or specific territory”\(^4\).

Crucial elements of city identity is the place identity and the space identity. Place identity is associated with a separate space portion, which is familiar and safe, and the elements which forming the structure were marked by people. On the other hand, space symbolizes freedom and flow. This division, between space and place, is inherent with the processes of metropolization, which divided society into “space associated” who are the metropolitan elite and “place associated” people from periphery\(^5\). With this contradistinction, city identity is the identity of the place, and metropolis identity is the identity of the space\(^6\).

Ewa Glińska defines the city identity as “[...] a collection of historically conditioned characteristics of the city, which are distinguished from others and express themselves in the actions which are taken in the city to create its specific personality

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2 Ibidem, p. 308.
5 Ibidem, p. 278.
and character”. City identity gives the city also uniqueness and symbolic meaning. It can also plays an important role for identification and citizens integration.

The identity of the city also demonstrates two strategies related to urban transformation: accumulation and modification. Accumulation of urban fabric is connected with transformation, which is inextricably linked with the history of historical cities. In such cities we can observe “layers”, because the next buildings were created on its premises. Accumulation is the main strategy, which can we study in Gdansk, because in city’s architecture is visible building with both styles German and Polish. Modification is more related to change of city’s function. In this case modification is connected with the reclamation, because the city and its objects need to define its new role and function. However, also during the modification the city’s identity is constant, because the old urban fabric is not destroyed but rebuilt. This strategy is more often when cities do not have long history, with historic Old Town, but play and specific function, for example industrial cities like Lodz or Katowice.

City identity is also used in strategies for cultural memory. According to E. Rewers “[...] space and place play a crucial role in strategies for cultural memory”. Therefore urban fabric is transformed into different way to influence citizens’s identity. It is made by rebuilding the visual space of the city including the contained objects, their spatial location and interaction with other objects or people. Due to that, urban fabric can be regarded as a form of text similar to the linguistic text that can be read.

City identity also depends on society structure and its cultural diversity. It was visible especially in Poland before the Second World War, where multiculturalism was present in mostly cities. According to Jarosław Załęcki:

The notion of multiculturalism may have two meanings. The first one is the fact of either peaceful or conflictual existence next to one another or an integrating coexistence of many cultures within one community. The second one refers to the idea of a society characterized by multiculturalism, it refers to some spiritual conception, to the model and ideological structure.

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7 E. Glińska, Socjologiczna i marketingowa koncepcja tożsamości miasta, [in:] Obywatelstwo i tożsamość w społeczeństwach zróżnicowanych kulturowo i na pogranicach, t. 1, ed. M. Bieńkowska-Ptasznik, K. Krzysztofek, A. Sadowski, Białystok 2006, p. 33.
8 Ibidem, p. 33.
9 E. Rewers, op. cit., p. 308.
10 Ibidem, p. 185.
12 J. Załęcki, Kontakt międzykulturowy a obraz Niemca w świadomości gdańszczan, Gdańsk 2008, p. 66.
On the other hand, in many cities crucial role plays ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, due to globalization most of the traditional cultures are preserved only by the oldest citizens and do not play a big role for youth. Strong example of keeping cultural heritage of minorities is Silesian nationality with its own dialect, events and festivals.

Gdansk

Gdansk is one of the Polish’s largest cities. Due to location on the Baltic coast, Gdansk is city with strategic importance for Polish economy and history. For centuries, Gdansk was passed from one country to another. In the Middle Ages, Gdansk belonged to the Hanseatic League which allowed its closer trade relations with the neighboring principalities. Then the city was part of the Teutonic Order, the Polish Kingdom, the Kingdom of Prussia, the German Empire and Polish Republic. For 26 years, Gdansk received also the status of the Free City of Danzig under the patronage of First French Empire and the League of Nations, when it was an autonomous city-state. So complex cultural relations with the dominant cultural Polish and German influences was basis for Gdansk’s identity. Today, Gdansk is also symbol of two events that took place in the twentieth century, such as the outbreak of the Second World War and the rise of the Solidarity movement.

Urban fabric

The identity of Gdansk is shaped mainly by its strategic location. This location of the city’s harbor caused, that Westerplatte became a symbol of the outbreak of Second World War. Also protests in the Gdansk Shipyards are connected with the rise of Solidarity and considered of being the beginning of the fall of communism in Poland and Europe. Many of the Gdansk’s identity marks are already visible in city plan, in which we have two centers. One of them is the Old Town with its town hall. However, Old Town does not resemble other markets such for example in Krakow or Wroclaw which are big squares. Old Town in Gdansk is a part of communication route, which led to the harbour. The second center is the harbour. These forms of urbanization differs significantly from inland cities, where streets are the part of network which concentric lead to the city center, where are important administrative
or religious institutions. Passageways of Gdansk enter into the space of the sea which leads to the mental opening of Gdansk’s citizens\textsuperscript{13}.

\section*{City transformation}

Important factor for building Gdansk’s identity was German heritage, especially the architecture of the former Old Town, which was destroyed during the Second World War. To highlight the historical connection with Poland, the communist authorities allowed the partial reconstruction of the old city, which allowed retain fragments of the German architectural heritage\textsuperscript{14}. Therefore, transformation of Gdansk based on accumulation, according to Rewers, because previews levels of urban fabric are visible among new architecture. Already in the 50s began to appear new projects to rebuilt the city. After 1956 they created three concepts of development of the city: preservation of ruins and the creation of the anti-war museum, the rise of the socialist city workers on-site the Old Town and the historic downtown building from scratch. It was decided to rebuild a variant of the old town but not based on nineteenth century, when most of the city was built in Prussian- German style. They decided to rebuild Gdansk from the times when it was belonging to Poland\textsuperscript{15}.

In that way the city’s identity became a subject of manipulation. Rebuilding of Gdansk did not recreated this city, which was before the disaster, because it was conflicting with the communistic government. It was provided by tendency to translate Gdansk’s urban fabric into Polish architecture. Today, Gdansk is somewhat new, both in terms of new residents and new Old Town. But the city was rebuilt, not built from scratch\textsuperscript{16}. This post-war city reconstruction would be a proof that Gdansk has always been a Polish city.

\section*{Institutions}

Building a strong city identity is also supported by many institutions. One of the most important institution in Gdansk which work and take care of the city’s identity

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} E. Rewers, op. cit., p. 311.
\item \textsuperscript{14} B. Kerski, \textit{Gdańskie tożsamości. Eseje o mieście}, Gdańsk 2014, p. 10.
\item \textsuperscript{15} S. Chwin, \textit{Mity i prawdy nowej gdańskiej pamięci}, [in:] \textit{Gdańskie tożsamości. Eseje o mieście...}, p. 229.
\end{itemize}
is European Solidarity Centre. The mission of the European Solidarity Centre is to preserve the memory of the achievements of Solidarity and promote ideals of libertarian movement Gdansk such as democracy and the culture of dialogue in the future. Museum is located at the shipyard and its architecture is inspired by the shape and color of the shipyards objects\(^\text{17}\).

Architects of the object were guided by the simplicity, such as that which characterized the goals and methods of operation of the Solidarity movement and the implementation of their postulates. Therefore they were used to build a simple building structure based on a simple system of parallel, regularly spaced walls without elaborate detail, finished with raw surface rusting metal\(^\text{18}\).

Visit in European Solidarity Centre is for many citizens an opportunity to meet with their own experiences during the development of Solidarnosc movement. For tourists, museum is the first sign of city’s modern history shaped by the shipyard industry. It shows, that Gdansk is not only a city with historical building but also the postindustrial city with its own industrial heritage.

**Multiculturalism**

The discussion of Gdansk’s identity was the subject of book: *Gdańskie tożsamości. Eseje o mieście* in which many experts and citizens from Gdansk wrote their own opinion about city identity. An important voice in this discussion are the words of Peter Oliver Loew, German historian dealing with the historical culture of Gdansk. According to Loew “claim that Gdansk in its history was the German city, is a myth. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the city perceives itself as a German-speaking town but its culture was part of a larger culture of supra-regional, rather than natively German”\(^\text{19}\). According to the historian it does not mean, however, that Gdansk is a city of many cultures. Loew denies that, Gdansk is multicultural city, because Gdansk had monoculture character, in which the dominant culture was urban culture with German as the primary language of communication.

Relationships between German and Polish was also part of study of Izabela Olszewska, who explored linguistic image of the world as an indicator of identity in

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Gdansk. According to the analyze of Polish press from the period of shaping of Danzig identity, Olszewska divided society in Gdansk into two significant groups: Polish and German and two periods. In the first years of existence of the Free City of Danzig the feeling of a “Danzig national consciousness” was not present. In that time German was mostly perceived as an enemy, liar, aggressor and agitator. Polish were described as Polaken (pejorative), a patriot, catholic and model of Polish Mother. However, it may be said that after the first period with two separate identities (Polish and German) occurred the second period, for shaping Danzig identity. And in that period Gdansk was a multicultural city.

Nowadays, citizens in Gdansk feel strong relation with its city. According to public opinion survey commissioned by Gdansk’s city council in August 2013, city identity plays an important role for 58% answerer. The issue of ethnicity was least often showed by citizens. Only 2% of Gdansk’s citizens feel theirself as a member of an ethnic minority – Kaszubi. The shaping of urban identities of Gdansk is also influenced by the engagement of its citizens. Engagement is defined as participation in important historical events and interest in the issues by the residents of the city. 56% of respondents participated in the cultural and historical events (14% definitely yes, 42% rather yes).

Lodz

Lodz gets town privileges and permission for local trade in fifteenth century. Over the next century, Lodz has developed becoming the sixteenth century with the center of trade and craft reaching the number of 700 residents. During this period, in Lodz were mills, workshops wheelwrights, coopers, shoemakers, carpenters and butchers. The dynamic development of Lodz as an industrial city started in 1820. Area of the new industrial center was located in few settlements: settlement Sukiennicza New Town with centrally localized market (now Liberty Square), and the settlement Lodz south from the New Town, which was a new street Piotrkowska. Within few

21 Ibidem, p. 143.
22 Ibidem, p. 146.
23 Badanie dotyczące postrzegania miasta oraz zmian rozwojowych zachodzących w mieście, p. 16.
24 Ibidem, p. 23.
years, they created great manufactories such as complex of Ludwig Geyer, which was the first Kingdom of Polish steam engine. Nowadays, Lodz defines its identity based on the industrial heritage and multiculturalism.

**Urban fabric**

In the second half of the nineteenth century Lodz become a place for great opportunities, something like “promised land”\textsuperscript{25}. Everything changed in the second half of the twentieth century, when after the Second World War the city was rebuilt. Lodz was trying to recover the position of textile, industrial city. In that times, factories and conglomerates were crucial for urban development in Lodz, causing its territorial expansion. City’s topography was developed until 60s of XIX century. Then Russian government started to neglect of city management\textsuperscript{26}. Postindustrial urban space was treated by citizens as a symbol of hated communism. The city center was degraded and suburbs were developed with the housing estates from panel buildings. Lodz also tries to compare itself with the other Polish cities with the long, historical tradition such as Cracow or Warsaw. This comparison just worsen its image, because Lodz should compare with the cities like Manchester or Glasgow, which have the same structure and history. Then Lodz could be proud of its heritage and do not feel loss because of the lack of historic Old Town or thousands of history.

Nowadays, Lodz is rebuilding again with new monuments, parks and museums. It is also part of the strategy in which city’s history will be transformed into positive, multicultural and attractive image\textsuperscript{27}. City’s government tries to use the history of city for building new identity or image of Lodz. This goal will be reached by creating a new symbolic spaces, which tell parts of Lodz’s history. The key for building a new identity is multiculturalism, which disappeared approximately 60 years ago. Moreover, during the communism it was totally forced put by the government\textsuperscript{28}.

According to new city project, in town will be designed Special Art Zone and Special Cultural Zone, where citizens will meet with art from different cultures. The

\textsuperscript{25} J. Wrana, „Nowa” tożsamość miejsca w poprzemysłowej Łodzi, „Budownictwo i Architektura”, no 6/2010, p. 137-144.


\textsuperscript{27} J. Gałuszka, Multikulturowa przeszłość – nadzieja na przyszłość? Przestrzenne reprezentacje historii Łodzi jako próba przeobrażenia wizerunku i tożsamości miasta, Lwów 2013, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibidem, p. 2.
second part is building a new city’s square which represents new public space, named after the avangarde artists of Lodz. The square will be surrounded by the streets of 4 cultures: Polish, Jewish, German and Russian.

In Lodz the uniqueness comes from concentration and high level of preservation of buildings, factories and villas which are located in the city center. However, this myth, that city needs to have a square with an Old Town causes that in city like Lodz is trying to create this space in unnatural way, instead of make a value from the longest shopping street in Europe.

**Transformation**

Lodz was under the influences of its great industrial development in the nineteenth century. After more than 100 years of the high city development, the city’s economy collapsed of the late twentieth century, due to Second World War and the decades of communism. In the period of systemic transformation after 1989, were making strong attempts to revitalize large objects and creating opportunities to revive the life of a post-industrial city. Architects and planners tried to keep contemporary context and, at the same time, respect the industrial heritage. In that way, they wanted to create a “new” place identity based on the history. Although the post-industrial heritage is still perceived as more burden than an opportunity for designers, the modern revit-alization and adaptation of industrial factories showed, that these transformation is possible and can bring a lot of new opportunities.

According to Rewers, city identity and transformation in Lodz based on modification. New urban fabric is redesigned due to creating a new function. Old layers are still visible but play completely different role than it was in a past. In this way, the city do not want to deny its heritage but rebuild it into new opportunities and more touristic image.

**Institutions**

Lodz wants to presents itself as modern space for alternative culture, design and performances. Therefore in last decades in Lodz took place few big investments, which will build the new strategy of city’s development and identity.

One of the biggest projects is Manufaktura, symbol of Lodz, which is former industrial complex founded by Izrael Poznanski. The aim of the Manufaktura project
was the revitalization of the historical substance to its new and different functions: office, retail, cultural functions, hotel and exhibition. Demolished buildings, which hided within a conservation area, preserving historic buildings surrounding a centrally located square. The main case of revitalization was taking attempts to promote dialogue between what is old and what is new, using the contrasts in the aesthetics, combining historic buildings with modern structures and providing a new destiny of the former factory. Square (now called the market) enriched with elements of small architecture and basement preserved buildings opened on the square space. The whole spaces is closing with the modern glass facade, which visually extends to the space market.

Second big investment in Lodz which preserving the local, industrial heritage is Museum of Art located in the former weaving plant. Weaving plant was founded in 1895 and designed by Hilary Majewski. The owner handed over the building of the former weaving to the nearby Museum of Art - the oldest and one of the best collections of modern art in Poland. With the money from government it could be adapted for exhibition space. The authors of modernization worked with respect for the existing historic substances, while providing a neutral background for the exhibition.

During the revitalization, designers unveiled a nineteenth-century walls and ceilings brick and they were combining these elements with modern communication spaces. Wood and glass arranged on a self-supporting steel structure formed dynamic composition and location of visual rest. It creates a rhythm of construction’s factory.

The newest big investment in Lodz is Planetarium EC1. The history of planetarium dates back to 1900, when the company Siemens & Halske received a license to build a power plant in Lodz. In 1906, the concession was transferred to the Society of Electrical Lighting, which began to rise the construction of the power plant in Lodz. After 16 months of starting work in 1907, the energy flowed to the first customers. The buildings, which then created are now complex EC1 East, which is Planetarium. Until 1960 the complex was called the Power of Lodz, and after the construction of Power Plant No. 2 at Wroblewski was renamed EC1. After 93 years of turbulent history and many transformations, the plant was extinguished in 2000. This complex was chosen as a one of the New Wonders of Poland and won with cliffs, historical castles and Bialowieza Forest. It shows that perception of industrial heritage is changing and can be the same value as natural landscape and old buildings with the long history.

Society

Lodz in XIXth century was inhabited by representative of different cultures and also mostly created by them. In factories worked migrants from different countries and faiths. While Jewish, Protestants, Catholics and Muslin fought each other in other Polish region, in Lodz the work together. Religion and heritage was not important for citizens. They were more focus on entrepreneurship, businesses and cooperation. It shows that city’s identity mainly based on relationship rather than descent. After the Second World War city lost its multicultural identity which mostly decided about the city’s image. During the 50 years after the Second World War complicated and multiethnic history was ignored in official discourse. It was changed in 80s and 90s.

Nowadays, citizens in Lodz do not feel strong relationship with their city. According to researches made between 2000 and 2001 among youth, one fourth said that the symbols of the City are Piotrkowska street and pubs. What is more worrying, 7% of youth said that in Lodz is lack of distinguishing features of city.

Despite the facts that the city has a unique own style of architecture and history, for citizens and tourists Lodz is still the city without an identity. Most of the people perceive Lodz as a symbol of mediocrity and greyness. The outflow of residents two times has caused the loss of tradition continuity and consolidation of society. In the last years also was visible a disintegration of residents’ awareness.

Katowice

Katowice became a strategic city for Polish energy and mining industry. Located in West Poland, the city has been influenced by both the Polish and German culture. Today Katowice refer to both Polish and Silesian tradition, also mainly based on mining folklore. The city also aspires to be one of the most modern and cultural cities in Poland. The European Capital of Culture contest showed, that Katowice’s image is...
today more than just mining city. Its watchword, during the ESC, was ‘Katowice – city of gardens’. The city also promoted itself as place for music and contemporary art.

**Urban Fabric**

In Katowice, in the same as other young or industrial cities, is lack of historical center, known as the historic old town or the market. The spatial city’s arrangement was designed by combining the following villages and small towns. A characteristic feature of industrial cities are estate workers, allowing to locate residential workers near the plant as well as forming a kind of enclave characterized by its own rules and traditions associated with industrial culture. The inhabitants of these settlements were not, however, native Silesians, but the workers of peasant origin from other cities and regions. Often lower-skilled workers were not the indigenous inhabitants of Silesia and they were treated as ‘foreign’. Characteristic settlements for the region were familoki – typical buildings of the early period of industrialization. Two or three storey buildings, located in the vicinity of smelters and mines were set squarely formed quarters, inside which a yard. It is organized around them to local social and cultural life, often organized in the workplace. In this way Silesian society functioned for decades.

For many years, urban space in Katowice was also inspired by the interwar functionalism, Bauhaus and projects of Le Corbusier. After the Second World War, communistic government began to impose the doctrine of socialist realism. The collapse of communism resulted in a shift towards postmodernism. In XXI century government started to put efforts to combine functionalism with the Silesian tradition.

**Transformation**

Katowice is one of the main centers of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region and symbol of the industrial city’s transformation. Before the nineteenth cen-

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tury Katowice were mainly agricultural. When, in the middle of XIX century, heavy industry started to influence Katowice and surrounding towns, identity and character of the city changed forever. The city was dominated by the steel industry and coal. In the same time among citizens developed the mining folklore and culture.

After a period of intensive industrialization many objects in the industrial districts does not fulfill its original function. Among these were power or industrial plants. Some of these are during the renovation process, the other are destructed or demolished. The only chance to preserve marks of the industrial past is to carry out thorough revitalization processes enabling the re-adaptation of areas related to the industry and give them a new utility. Unfortunately revitalization activities are burdened with high costs, which property owners often do not want to overlap. In other cases, the problem is the identification of the body responsible for carrying out the process of revitalization. The programs for the transformation of industrial areas allowed to look at the objects associated with the industry, not as a mark of harmful industrial past, but as resources that can be used and adapt for the future.

Revitalization also plays an important role in the strategies of spatial planning. Industrial areas were originally located on the outskirts of city centers. During the growth of the urban tissue came closer recreational areas and service betting, which, due to its industrial function often were from the city and the inhabitants separated by a fence. After the fall of industrial space was built excluded from circulation city where there was no access. Revitalization helps in opening the borders of industrial areas and the restoration of their inhabitants. According to Rewers, it is also an example of modification of city identity. The same like in Lodz, in Katowice Old building stared to play a new role in creating the image or perception of the city.

Institutions

An example of successful development of industrial sites is the National Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra in Katowice, where the project has been completed on the former territory belonging to the Coal Mine “Katowice”. Another example of land part of an industrial facility is the Silesian Museum, whose new building is located in the territory of the former coal mine Katowice. Project which was created
for a museum assumed maximum use of structures beneath the earth’s surface and minimal interference with the industrial landscape of the mining complex. In the underground floors are located the Gallery of Polish Art, Laboratory of theater spaces, Centre of Polish Stage and temporary exhibitions.

New big step for Katowice’s development started with the contest of European Capital of Culture. The motto of Katowice was ‘Katowice – city of gardens’ which was surprising for many people who perceived Silesian city as mining area with no parks and gardens. In this way, Katowice started to promote itself as modern, green city with many new opportunities. Today ‘Katowice – city of garden’ became an institution of culture which organize events such as Katowice JazzArt Festival, Festiwal Muzyki Świata ‘Ogrody Dźwięków’, Katowice Street Art Festival and Ars Independent Festival.

Society

The city is also shaped by the identity and culture of Silesia. “Silesian national identity” by some is perceived as a strong relationship with Silesia region, while for others it is the basis for the development of a new nation, which wants to be separately from Polish, German and Czech. One of the most obvious features distinguishing Silesian people from other ethnic groups is ethnolect Silesian, often mistakenly referred as the Silesian language. Customs and culture of Silesia is often combined mining tradition, because most of the Silesian workers are miners. They celebrate events such as Barborka, the day of St. Barbara, the patron of miners or parades of mining orchestra.

According to modern researches, Silesian identity started to be less important for young citizens in Katowice. Studies made by Radosław Sagan showed that a strong dependence of the perception of the Silesian identity is associated with level of education and age. The highest values were recorded among citizens with primary and secondary education and in older age groups. It seems, therefore, that the Silesian identity could dissappear among youth38.

Conclusions

City’s identity comes from the history, city’s function, urban fabric and its citizens. Three Polish cities, Gdansk, Lodz and Katowice, were analyzed according to these four aspects. In all of them, every factor played an important role in building city identity. Shape of urban fabric strongly affected both historical and industrial heritage. However, three cities showed different way of urban fabric transformation. In Gdansk, next levels of architecture was build according to accumulation, because Gdansk is mainly affected by its long and complex history. In Lodz and Katowice, modern urban fabric was shaped by modification and long process of revitalization and reclamation postindustrial areas and fabrics. Every city was also under the influence of external transformation. In Gdansk, it was visible especially at the example of Old Town, which was totally rebuilt due to German heritage, which was not acceptable by government heritage. That reconstruction was also perceived as manipulation, which neglected the real city identity. The huge process of revitalization in Lodz was a main goal to recover city image. Modern transformation into multicultural city is also attempt to bring back city roots before the Second World War. Katowice is also revitalized, in a way of protecting and showing industrial heritage. The city tries to change its image and be perceived as a modern city of art. In all three cities are institutions which promote city identity and present their heritages. Most of them are build in the former factories or postindustrial areas. All three cities before the Second World War were more or less multicultural and all of them try to promote their opening up to different cultures. Also most of the citizens feel the strong relationships with their city. Only Lodz is still perceived as a city without identity and opportunities.

Although three presented cities are different, they are comparable due to their efforts to keep and transform city’s identity. Citizens in were studying their roots in both Polish and German heritage and became one of the platform of Polish-German dialogue. Lodz was two times on the long path of transformation, firstly to the industrial city and then to postindustrial city. Today it became the symbol of good transformation and prevention the industrial heritage. Katowice is similar to both cities mentioned above, because nowadays they are also transforming its urban fabric and unite three nationalities: Polish, German and Silesian.

These three examples show, how important it to keep city’s identity even during the fast and sometimes destroyed transformation. They also show, that identity should not be just located in the museum as a sign of the past but also it is the basic for building city’s future, structure and urban development. Moreover city identity is also
a strong instrument in building cultural memory, sometimes used for manipulation of city’s heritage. It shows how important is to investigate city identity and preserving city’s roots in the world of unification and globalization.

Summary

The identities of cities is the subject of extensive research. Their origins are studied by architects, urban planner and sociologists. Important role in urban identity play social, political and economic factors. It is especially important in postindustrial cities, which were transformed at the end of the last century. Moreover, postindustrial identity is often perceived as shameful marks of degraded landscape, abandoned factories and industrial plants. The aim of this paper is presentation of urban’s identity in three Polish cities: Gdansk, Lodz and Katowice. This analyze based on comparison of four aspects: urban fabric, city transformation, role of city institutions and society.

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Natalia Rytelewska – Graduate of Inter Faculty Study Programme for Environmental Protection and Culture Studies in Middle-East Europe at the Warsaw University. Student of Theatre Studies with the specialization of Performance Studies at the The Aleksander Zelwerowicz National Academy of Dramatic Art in Warsaw. Particular interested in intercultural dialogue and social aspects of urban studies and identity.
The New Center of Katowice – towards the spatial identity of the city.

A few reflections from the research

1. Introduction

“Katowice is changing” – many articles and discussions about the conurbation capital start with this phrase. Sociologists, publicists, city activists as well as artists comment on the extremely intensive transformation of Katowice center.

Today Katowice is not only a new main square – it is also the Culture Zone and other events, creation of a completely new narration about the city. The conclusions can easily be supported by citations taken from a few, published in Silesia magazines and also the Internet forums. Tadeusz Sławek remarks that the fact the city took part in the contest for the European Culture Capital in 2016 played a vital role in the process of changes. Katowice became “an archipelago of cultural places” and “numerous initiatives connected with the project naturally found the location in new buildings”.

But at the same time, in the above-mentioned texts you read about doubts – in the form of questions concerning the direction of future changes and their cohesion. It results in the reflection and gives the impetus to study the opinions and attitudes of users of the present Katowice center and compare them with the results of a previous survey. It seems appropriate to study it now, as the works in the center itself are just to be finished. The latest published survey on the subject, its social functioning was carried out either during the renovation works – the book entitled Do we need a city? (New) life areas of young city dwellers (2015) by Marta Smagacz-Poziemska – or limited only to opinions about Mariacka Street in Katowice.

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1 Eg. „Fabryka Silesia” 2015, no. 2 (9); „Opcje” 2015, no. 3 (100).
and Katowice main square – *A report of the public opinion survey on Mariacka Street in Katowice and Katowice main square* drawn up by Andrzej Górny, Grzegorz Libor, Robert Pyka and Agata Zygmunt (2015). In the sense, the hereby undertaking departs not only from new “initial conditions” but also tries to look into the center not only in the perspective of the main square. A point of reference was mainly the results of the survey carried out in Katowice by Tomasz Nawrocki, and included in the article *City without the center? Central Katowice seen by its citizens* (2005) and *A nightmare. Post-industrial Katowice center seen by its citizens* (2008).

Only 10 years ago, the Katowice center, basically not existing in the perception of its users, was the abandoned area, viewed definitely negatively, described even as the “nightmare”, its virtually only function seemed to be a “transport junction”. It was the outcome of many processes, one of which undoubtedly was the development of industrial and post-industrial society. It was already mentioned by Richard Sennett, when he wrote about “public space as a derivative of traffic”. The researcher claims in *The Fall of Public Man* that the public space crisis is connected with democratization of access to automobiles – cars serve getting around not admiring the area and thus “the public space is the area you pass through but do not stay in”. This is what happened to the Katowice center – it was here where you used to get on the tram and go further on and at the same time the main square stopped creating any connection with the city. This article, based on our own research, refers to the way the city center functions, its role, and the way it is perceived by users today, but also if the current changes taking place make a difference for the city space identity.

2. Identity – around the key notions

2.1. About the place identity

Dealing with the term of space identity, the researcher comes across its numerous definitions, and it makes it peculiar. Also some spatial and architectural factors are elements of the identity. Traces of their meanings should be looked for in landmarks

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5 Ibidem.
described by Kevin Lynch as elements of the city image⁶. This pillar of the space identity is mainly created by architects and urban planners, in whose works the cultural and historical values of the given community are reflected:

The significance of architects in creating and preserving identity in the spatial form is often emphasised and architects are respected and anointed to appropriately and responsibly materialize public wishes and convictions, as part of the place traditional context; at the same time – the places should show the technological and cultural progress, being clear symbols, tourist attractions or remaining elements of identity and the cause of the community pride – the places should be clearly identified as landmarks by future generations⁷.

Non-spatial values are instilled – the space becomes their carrier and messenger⁸ – in the material space (among them in the spatial layout, the presence of given buildings, their look and attributed functions). We should mention that the social memory definitely leaves its stamp on the physical character of the place, the social memory that is common for a given community members portrayal of their own history, which determines values accepted by this community at the given time⁹. Bohdan Jałowiecki was inclined to acknowledge the space as the “permanent memory of a society”¹⁰. Aleksander Wallis¹¹ perceives monuments as classic examples of spatial carriers of social memory, but he also includes in this category elements connected with – also thoroughly described by that sociologist – information dress of a city¹². It is important to underline that the space does not only mean the events vital for the whole community but also individual stories of its members. The result is that a given place has its specific character and significance. “That is how the identity is created – my city is unique because, although it seems similar to many other cities, I was born and I grew up here and experienced the most important events”¹³.

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⁹ B. Szacka, Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit, Warszawa 2006, p. 44.
¹⁰ B. Jałowiecki, Przestrzeń jako pamięć. „Studia Socjologiczne” no. 2, 1985, p. 132.
¹³ M. Madurowicz, op. cit, p. 105.
Treating the city as a system of signs enables to look at it from the broadly conceived process of communication and treat it as the culture text, which can be “written” and “read”, and therefore it has the “sender” and a “recipient”\textsuperscript{14}. Here, more important is “writing”, which is the process of coding the meaning in its material tissue, taking a form of sedimentation – building-up, accumulating consecutive meanings, in the course of social life constantly going on, memorial places crystallise, the closest “life world” is ultimately defined. It brings to mind the concept of a palimpsest-city, though it can be used adequately enough to describe only its identity\textsuperscript{15}. Sławomir Kapralski who analyses the connection between memory, space and identity, describes two ways of creating spatial records of values.

On the one hand, the space includes built-up historical experience; overlapping layers of past events, significant enough to set their stamp on the space and sustain in its layout and arranged in it buildings [...] On the other hand the space can be knowingly designed by those, who currently are in power, so as to highlight past elements, which are significant for any reason\textsuperscript{16}.

The above-mentioned considerations enable to state that, as Florian Znaniecki notices, people have at their disposal spatial values, which \textit{de facto} are material spaces included in given value systems e.g. religious, aesthetic, economic etc., with which particular individuals and communities identify themselves\textsuperscript{17}. Proceeding the humanistic approach to space started by Znaniecki, it is worth noticing that in the sense the space becomes the “place” which “accumulates qualities encoded in it by people, perceiving them as the material equivalent (but not always) of emotions, values and ideas and as its “own contribution” to reality”\textsuperscript{18}. Hence the authors of this article accept the above-mentioned notion of spatial identity as the identity of place used by some researchers. They assume that it includes terms of city or region identity.

\textsuperscript{14} Particularly noticed in anthology of 1997 \textit{Pisanie miasta - czytanie miasta}, ed. Anna Zeidler-Janiszewska.
\textsuperscript{15} Ewa Rewers speaks about two ways of constructing the spatial identity – on the one hand about piling up of meanings and on the other hand about modification. See: E. Rewers, \textit{Post-polis. Wstęp do filozofii ponowoczesnego miasta}, Kraków 2005, p. 313-314.
\textsuperscript{17} F. Znaniecki, \textit{Socjologiczne podstawy ekologii ludzkiej}. „Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny, Socjologiczny” no. 1, 1938, p. 91-92.
\textsuperscript{18} M. Madurowicz, op. cit., p. 66.
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The concept of place refers to – as it was mentioned above – the space marked and perceived by a man, thereby it can be both a city and a region but also smaller areas, just like, researched by the authors, central Katowice. It enables to start the discussion with the concept of place identity proposed by Madgalena Żmudzińska-Nowak, who claims it is “the core integrating all characteristics and place values – spatial and humanistic. They accumulate in the process of existing, experiencing the place and building common memory”¹⁹.

2.2. About spatial identity

After introducing and defining the term of place, it is clear why its identity is connected with the spatial identity that is “mental representation and emotional-affective assessment of a given fragment of environment which the individual²⁰ treats as a part of their own concept”²¹. It is necessary to mention that the relation is always based on the mutual influence of spatial and place identities. Mikołaj Madurowicz seems to notice that “it is difficult to decide if it is the man who originally marked the space or maybe the space originally determined the man semantically and semiotically”²². The author introduces the notion of space of identity, and recognizes the object as a part of it – that is places, the basis of identity and also the subject – that is individuals and communities, who identify with a given place²³. In this subsection the authors concentrate on subjects, hence more appropriate seems – explained above – the notion of spatial identity.

It is obvious that the identity of place and space cannot be discussed without awareness of much broader local and regional context. It should be mentioned that Marek S. Szczepański situates these terms in continuum comprising individual, social (collective) as well as cultural identity²⁴. As this author points out, regional and local

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²⁰ This concept may also be referred to the entire community for which a specific space becomes “a component part of the sense of common membership, which is functional towards a group’s coherence and also constitutes an element of ideological representation of concept ‘We’” P. Weichhart, Raumbezogene Identität. Bausteine zu einer Theorie räumlich-sozialer Kognition und Identifikation, Stuttgart 1990, p. 21, found in: W. Łukowski, Społeczne tworzenie ojczyzny. Warszawa 2002, p. 83.
²¹ Ibidem, p. 82-83.
²² M. Madurowicz, op. cit., p. 121.
²³ Ibidem, p. 67.
identities are somehow analogical – “they are particular cases of social (collective) and cultural identity based simultaneously on regional (local) tradition regarding to distinctly defined and delimited territory, region (place), its particular social, cultural (symbolic) economic or even topographic qualities, distinguishing them amongst other regions (places)”25.

From the definition of the adopted notion of spatial identity you can derive its three dimensions, Peter Weichhart writes about – (1) social, spatial identity, (2) individual identification with the space, (3) spatial identity on the level of the social system26. The first one refers to the mental representation of space, it is a result of its perception and is of cognitive-emotional character, and from the hereby on-going research proves to be the most important. It is the dimension of spatial identity closest to Lynch concept of mental maps, which is an integral part of the research methodology. The second of the mentioned dimensions is, created by the individual, the space of the immanent element of their own identity, from this mental representation. It means that the individual looking for an answer – Who am I?, defines themselves also from the angle of belonging to the defined, perceived space27, without which the sense of identity becomes threatened28. The third of the mentioned dimensions refers to the group identification (among others local communities, nation) with a given space, that is why more precise for him are discussed by Szczepański, above-mentioned terms of regional and local identity29.

It seems helpful to distinguish three aspects of attitudes that may prove the spatial identity when bringing theoretical concept of spatial identity to empirical knowledge. The aspects are as follows: (1) space perception, (2) a sense of bonding with the space, (3) spatially conditioned predispositions for actions30. The first one refers to, characterized in the next chapter, perception and almost inseparably linked with it – valorisation. The second one refers to emotional experience brought about in man by a given space – starting from those basic, elementary ones connected with meeting the needs of e.g. comfort and relaxation, to those more profound needs – including the emotional ones, caused among others things by the memory of events

26 P. Weichhart, op. cit. found in: W. Łukowski, op. cit., p. 83.
27 W. Łukowski, op. cit., p. 83.
28 M. Madurowicz, op. cit., p. 122.
in which the space was an important element both for the individual and the whole community. Spatially conditioned predispositions for activity refer to intense activity for a given space, which – according to the authors – does not have to mean only institutionalized activities, but also spontaneous reactions, signifying the sense of responsibility for the space. Szczepański brings this to our attention by proposing a psychological approach for analysing regional and local identity. This concept emphasizes individual identification with a region, which is interpreted as willingness and disposition to altruistic actions for its sake and the inhabiting community. This approach also unveils the absence of such interest, manifesting in lack of knowledge of regional history, or searching for alternative identities.

And finally, it should be mentioned that presented in this chapter understanding of identity notion in the context of space and described in terms of place identity and space identity is connected with the phenomena of perception and valorisation of space, and Wallis’ concept of cultural area, described in the further part of the article.

### 3. Perception – around the key notions

#### 3.1. Perception and space valorisation

Every day, a man faces the space as reality that objectively exists, though with its distinct, subjectively or intersubjectively shared, mental representation. Space itself, also the urban one, presents particular value for users, but it does not have to be the objective value. According to Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann we should state that men act “outwards”, so when they appear in the space, they begin to influence it. Hence perception is a dynamic act and together with valorisation becomes the initial stage of adapting, forming and consequently creating the space.

Thomas Saarinen, the author of one of the classic definitions of perception, understands it as “a complex cognitive process taking place as a result of nature and culture.

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31 See: M. S. Szczepański, op. cit., p. 22.

32 This what for a certain person is an evident value of the urban space not necessarily has to be the same according to universal criteria.


stimuli, it is structuring physical and social environment in human’s consciousness”. Wanda Budohoska and Anna Grabowska’s definition of perception is similar: “Perception is a creative process, including active reception, analysis and interpretation of sensual data.” The result is a mental representation of the perceived image and to some extent extrapolating impressions into the whole area. Perception is a complex, psychosocial process which ties the exploring subject’s senses with the object’s or the perceived environment numerous features – through shapes, smells, touch, sometimes pain. According to Maria Ostrowska it is the sight that plays a key role here but Krzysztof Bierwiaczonk rightly adds that in the city you have a whole spectrum of sensations connected with the hubbub of the street or specific smell (e.g. exhaust fumes). The above-mentioned definition of perception is similar to a chosen definition of spatial identity described in the previous chapter and based on Weichhart’s notion. This concurrence proves the natural origin of identity as a place and as a result of appearing genius loci, the consequence of behaviour and attitudes of space users towards what is important for them. Reading this text we should remember that there is a “feedback” – community is formed by the society it lives in but the actors at the same time redefine it and “confirm the order”.

We should emphasize that the perception process is accumulative – new impressions, sensations overlap with the images already strengthened in the social memory. Hence the differences in perceiving the space result from, among other things, intensity of sensations and the length of their presence. What is also important is a kind of “sedimentation” that is building up consecutive sensations in particular time periods. When perceiving a given space successively now and again you can notice more, paying attention to details, which previously were overshadowed by more distinctive elements.

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37 M. Ostrowska, Człowiek a rzeczywistość przestrzenna, Szczecin 1991, p. 199.
38 K. Bierwiaczonk, Percepcja i waloryzacja przestrzeni miasta. Studium porównawcze z socjologii przestrzeni na przykładzie Będzina, Cieszyna, Mikolowa i Żywca, Mysłowice 2008, p. 73.
40 It is also noticed by Lynch, for whom the impression of the urban area coherence does not have to appear immediately but is “created” in the effect of overlapping of experiences from frequent presence in the space and modification of previous images. See: K. Lynch, op. cit., p. 8.
In the previous chapter we drew attention to the fact that in sociological literature while referring to town and space, it is popular to concern these two constructs especially as the culture text, which can be “written” and “read”. So, a man “writes” the city which then becomes the “reading matter”, and is “creating an individual image of the space or its fragment, interpreted then with the help of a particular language”\(^{41}\). The language depends on the readers’ characteristics – their social-demographic features and cultural competence, but also lifestyle and precise demands formed towards the space. On that basis, Andrzej Majer singles out common, inadequate and qualified, city reading\(^{42}\). Among features conditioning perception Wallis mentions individual aspirations, expectations, personal factors and the social status\(^{43}\). He also indicates particular values, decisive for the relation between the individual and the surroundings, that is instrumental (i.e. connected with functionality) situational (among other things, the sense of identity, security and anonymity) and existential (meeting the need of “higher level”: both social and psychological, of emotional and symbolic significance)\(^{44}\).

As far as the subject of perception is the space itself, valorisation, on the other hand, concerns only its mental image – reality “passed” through categories and conditioning of the mind\(^{45}\). Taking into consideration the fact that perception is not and cannot be just one-time act, because also the space is not a static construct but it is differently perceived in time. Also here you can notice the feedback because changes are assessed and reflected upon at the same time. Therefore, it is likewise a man-space relation, a kind of a “dialogue”, and the dynamics of human activity has the feedback effect on it, too. This kind of approach is becoming more and more popular in Polish, sociological literature\(^{46}\) and it comes from the theory of “becoming a society” referred by Piotr Sztompka\(^ {47}\) or structuring, described by Anthony Giddens\(^ {48}\).

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\(^{42}\) Ibidem, p. 89-91.

\(^{43}\) A. Wallis, Socjologia..., op. cit., p. 14-16.

\(^{44}\) Ibidem, p. 23.

\(^{45}\) B. Jałowiecki M. S. Szczepański, Miasto i przestrzeń w perspektywie socjologicznej, Warszawa 2010, p. 344.

\(^{46}\) It is particularly worth noting analysis of M. Smagacz-Poziemska, collected in the above-mentioned publication Czy miasto jest niepotrzebne? (Nowe) przestrzenie życiowe młodych mieszkańców miasta, Warszawa 2015.

\(^{47}\) P. Sztompka, Socjologia. Analiza społeczeństwa, Kraków 2002.

mentioned characteristics is in accordance with Lynch’s general point of view, who many a time underlines the need of certain “not closing” of the town tissue – as the town comes out in the continuous process of giving and negotiating the meanings.

3.2. City elements and their perception – about Kevin Lynch’s concept

Lynch’s main work *The Image of the City* became a special point of reference for the authors, when they were preparing considerations on space and also in the methodological aspect. In accordance with the assumptions presented in the work, and talking about further advantages of the city we should start with the visual aspect and the aesthetics, thereby the notion of “image”. The quality of the image, its form and elements determine the behaviour of the actor – it may be passive or active; the observer may feel safe or confused – if he or she may be willing to act not only “in” but also “towards” the city.

The image is, remembering the identity definition, “a mental representation” of a particular section of space. It has features, which are at the same time peculiar values: clarity, legibility – which defines how easily city elements can be recognized and linked into a coherent image; coherence – is observed after gradual image building over time by contacts of the observer with the object; structure, identity, significance – identity here means specific character, structure refers to the spatial dimension or any pattern, and significance is an element of practical or emotional relation of the observer with the space. To enable spatial imagination, the image should be sufficient, pragmatically true, so it should enable the individual somehow to function within the map; not specified, so that it may be adapted to changes and understandable for others. From the mentioned so far features of the image we can notice a general quality called by Lynch “imagining”. That means “the quality of a real object, which is highly likely to make a strong impression and create a clear image on any observer”. So the city aesthetics is not a secondary, minor value compared to apparently “more serious” values, e.g. functionality.

Lynch writes about five main elements of the city image. They are as follows: paths – canals, along which the actor habitually or optionally moves around; edges

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51 K. Lynch, op. cit., p. 3-8, 11.

52 Ibidem.
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– linear elements functioning as borders between two areas; districts – specific and distinct parts, described by e.g. architecture (the example is a town square – a “suggestive theme” region, in a positive sense); nodes – strategic areas of function and traffic density, they might be particular places such as a railway station, cross-roads or squares and even whole districts; landmarks – precisely defined buildings which are “commonly used identity trails”53 (e.g. church towers, peculiar buildings)54. It is necessary to say that the image cohesion is observed not only in the whole, general structure but also already at the junction of even two or more elements55.

Lynch also applied the awareness of active attitudes of city life actors to understanding the nature of the metropolis, which in his opinion may cause perception problems56. The considerations are important when we talk about Katowice – a city is the capital of the conurbation of a fundamental significance for the whole region but at the same time it undergoes intense changes – cultural, image, spatial and – as assumed in this work-identity.

4. City center

Regardless of a city, people usually associate the city center with a place of particular importance from the point of view of aesthetics and functionality. Basically we can distinguish three outlooks on a city center – as a city community, as a place of concentration connected with the economic aspect of social life or as a place of entertainment and attractions57. Wallis views are still up-to-date and cannot be overestimated. The researcher thus defines the center as a part of a city that, compared to the whole area, is relatively small, separate in respect of institutions, architecture and infrastructure with the optimal transport location. It has a key role for community functioning and is identified as the most important area from the point of view of the city public sphere58. The “feedback” which was mentioned in the context of a man-space relation is, in the case of the center, particularly strong. When

53 Ibidem, p. 56.
54 A full list of all elements: Ibidem, p. 56-96.
55 Ibidem, p. 97.
56 Ibidem, p. 131.
58 A. Wallis, Informacja..., op. cit., p. 19.
finally the meaning of the “center” is established, it begins to orientate human activities. Therefore, in general, a center has an advantage of “the center of the world”, it is a “city sign and space which structuralizes the urban area, giving it a sense and meaning”⁵⁹. It simply aggregates inside elements of Lynch’s city image. Further on we can look at the center as a “culture area” – it happens when there is a close connection of a particular trait of space with a man. Such space is a stage of intensive and stretched over time interactions between the values, of which the carrier it is, and a community. “In the most general meaning, culture is simply a way of speaking about collective identities” – writes Adam Kuper⁶⁰, therefore the features of cultural area are determined by a way of thinking of the community present in it.

5. Own research, Katowice nowadays?

The empirical material used in this paper comes from the research carried out in August, 2016 by means of two research methods – a structured interview and an unstructured one. The reasons for carrying out the research, as mentioned in the introduction, were changes in the material space of Katowice city center. The subject matters of the research were spatial identity of Katowice city center’s users and place identity of Katowice city center as well as the whole city. The aim of the research process was to answer if the changes taking place there do build or contribute to the creation of place identity of the city. The second goal was to see – in the context of spatial identity – how Katowice center is perceived by its users and if we can observe any symptoms of sense of bonding users might have with the space and their predispositions for actions in the interest of it. Humanistic approach analysis research was carried out on the city space perception using Lynch’s concept of mental maps.

The interview survey was conducted among city center users and its key element was to ask the respondents to make a drawing of the Katowice city center map. Moreover, the survey questions diagnosed the respondents’ opinion about the area and on-going changes as well as the level of identity with it. We need to mention that the research method of the city image drawings often causes certain difficulties, which influence the quality of the collected empirical material, and the same is the case in this research. Hence the results of the survey are not always complete or clear, since the

respondents were reluctant to draw sketches of mental maps and mark some places on them, which the pollsters asked them to do, according to the interview questionnaire.

The study involved 50 adults (18 years old and more) users of Katowice center, selected randomly, from people then present in the area of Katowice main square at the time when pollsters were conducting the interviews there. The characteristic of the study group is depicted in a pie chart (chart 1).

**Chart 1. Characteristics of the research sample**

Source: own research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sex</th>
<th>male 44%</th>
<th>female 56%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>26-39 34%</td>
<td>40-59 22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>secondary 38%</td>
<td>higher 44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place of residence</td>
<td>Katowice 68%</td>
<td>outside Katowice 32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within the method of the free-from interview we have made a list of some subjects from interviews with three experts about city functionality, including Katowice – the journalist and columnist, the architect and city activist as well as the architect and the scientist. The co-author of the work also used fragments of the interview carried out in May, 2016 with another city activist. The questions asked in the interviews had a form of request to describe the city center and its identity, elements essential for it
and possible changes that took place in recent years.

It should be emphasized that the collected research material enables much more profound analysis but due to the limited size of this article, the authors had to choose only key conclusions after the analysis.

6. Analysis of own research results

6.1. Place identity – interviews with experts

After the interviews with experts, we can conclude that Katowice identity is firmly connected with the culture sphere. Firstly, Katowice is clearly defined by music, festival events, both “classical” music, associated with NOSPR (Polish Radio National Symphonic Orchestra) but also popular-entertainment – especially OFF FESTIVAL and TAURON New Music. On the other hand, the city intensively uses its post-industrial heritage, which might be either the Industrial Monuments Route, or individual initiatives. We observe the role of private projects, undertaken by people who in traditional models noticed a chance for creating their own brands. The examples might be a coal jewellery shop – I Love Coal but also clothes shops with gadgets (Gryfnie, Geszeft) which refer in their product style to “Silesian design”61. In the sense, past heritage is not only the terrain of a former coal mine adapted by Silesian Museum – it is also tradition that is “re-worked” by and for the use of mainly new townsmen. “There are numerous grassroots initiatives – people care for the issue of identity and submit proposals” [Publicist].

We should look for traces of Katowice identity in the culture sphere and the post-industrial history of the city, but also in its specific morphology. Experts emphasize a special role of districts, also for building spatial identity of their inhabitants, which results from the fact that Katowice was built by regular consolidation of areas that later became the city districts. “Districts have very specific characters, sometimes being separate worlds. To such an extent that it is sometimes more important which Katowice district you come from than which city” [City Activist].

As for constructing the city identity by spatial layout, the matter appears more complex and it goes beyond the framework of this article. From the experts’ opinions we can conclude that the spatial changes going on in the city center concern at most its aesthetic side.

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61 For the review of „Silesian brands”, see: Z. Oslisło-Piekarska, Nowi Ślązacy. Miasto, dizajn, tożsamość, Katowice 2015.
The changes were assessed positively but with the remark that the square is still not the space to make you stop or encourage staying in Katowice – it does not have the content, instead a few mistaken – in the opinion of experts – solutions, e.g. the benches or deckchairs by the (artificial) Rawa.

The area after the reconstruction does not make me stop. I simply go through the center, but do not go »to« the center, there is nothing you can go for to the square [City Activist].

The center sends a message that you are supposed to be there only for a while. It does not encourage you to make yourself comfortable there. You are to take a photo and go on [Publicist].

Apparently the capital of “Silesia Metropolis”, but I cannot honestly say I am »drawn« to Katowice, or that I am eager to come here… [Architect].

We can say that the experts have doubts not about the changes themselves but the kind of changes taking place. They are mainly the image touch, aimed rather to “sell” the city than intentionally build a coherent narration. Inhabitants received only the substitute of what they could get: “artificial palm trees, by the artificial river and de facto, an artificial square. [...] The pedagogy is as follows: as the place previously was full of mud, now we are going to cover it with concrete and add some small lamps” [Publicist]. Experts apparently believe that there is no coherent development strategy for the city and thereby creating its identity. On one hand there is a center itself, which attracts promotional activities of the authorities, and on the other hand – everything else outside, which, in the opinions of interlocutors, is marooned, left “on its own”. What is more, on the one hand we observe reference to post-industrial heritage but on the other hand fleeing from these parallels.

On the basis of the above considerations we can say that the key to describing Katowice identity might be a word “change”, as one of the interlocutors suggested: “people associate Katowice with instability and changeability. I do not want to call it the innovation, and also the tradition somewhere still exists but... for a short time? Katowice means changes” [City Activist #2]. Moreover, it appears that experts interviewed both by newspapers and the authors of this article, agreed that Katowice is a city in statu nascendi – defined by the change, it searches the idea for the city. As for the issue, we again have in mind the opinion that we see disorder in planning what should happen in the city and how to do it and incapacity to chart just one course of changes.
With regard to the above, it is worth mentioning that experts make interesting predictions about the trend of changes going on in Katowice and about its identity. First of all they figure out mentioned already a role of so-called “third places”. “A chance may be specific, hang-out places, that means the offer of so called club-cafes – places, where you can meet, start initiatives, experience cultural events, discuss some important issues for the city and this trend is visible in Katowice” [Architect]. Experts agree that the course of changes should be charted both by and for inhabitants and the city users, so with the help of their capabilities and considering their needs.

6.2. Spatial identity of Katowice center users

On the basis of the research we conclude that respondents positively valorise the new look of the square, they definitely have a positive impression and association with the current center and that signifies a change in perception of this area over recent years. The association connected with the new Katowice center can be divided into five main groups: (1) those connected with buildings and objects located in the area of the “roundabout-square” – all together 84% of pointing out, and among them the most popular is the main square (52%) and Spodek (sports and events hall) (44%); (2) particular elements of the main square – mostly the (artificial) Rawa river and palm trees (total 14% of pointing out); (3) connected with the city transport – among other things trams (16%), crowd (16%), stops (4%) or traffic (4%); (4) connected with the center functions – culture and events (8%) also meetings and resting (4%); (5) connected with the traces of changes process – associated with “investments”, “development”, “changes” and “rebuilding” (total 14%). Generally 94% of respondents have positive associations, including 23% of cases when people used the word “joy” describing the center. Those polled talked a few times about nostalgia, reverie and memories. More moderate answers included “mixed feelings” and “aversion”. They were not objections though, which is a radical change compared to the research from 2005 – the opinions then were mainly critical and abusive. Ninety-eight percent of respondents agreed that Katowice has changed and for 98% of them the change is definitely positive or rather positive. Respondents answered that the center aesthetics and its image changed most (35% each). The fewest changes were noticed in its functionality (2%) and culture (4%), although according to 90% of respondents the center plays the cultural role.

In order to diagnose the respondents’ emotional attitude towards particular spaces, they were asked to choose places they would show to somebody who has never been to Katowice before. Most people (46%) would take the guests to the main square, probably because it has been “completely” transformed. Only 13% of respondents chose Spodek – despite the fact that it turned out to be the most characteristic element according to the research. Some other places and objects of post-industrial heritage were also chosen. Some of the places came up for the first time e.g. Nikiszowiec (18%), Giszowiec (4%), the Culture Sphere total (16%) and its particular elements – NOSPR (20%) and Silesian Museum (18%). More than in other surveys respondents pointed Mariacka Street (20%), which proves that in spite of different opinions about events organized there, its function is well established in users’ consciousness. Another noticeable choice is Silesia Park (27%), it is interesting because it is not located in Katowice but it continually is perceived as the city landmark63. Twenty-four percent of respondents did not pick up any specific spaces but claimed they would show the center to guests coming to Katowice. It proves that for the significant part of those polled, Katowice means the center, treated as an all-encompassing experience, and it is impossible to divide it into particular objects.

With the aim of diagnosing the spatial identity the respondents were asked to take a stance on questionnaire statements. Seventy percent of respondents agreed with the most succinct statement – “Katowice is my city”. Taking a stance on it enables initial and basic ascertain of a sense or a lack of a sense of identity with the city, we should remember though it is only on the level of declaration – especially that respondents were more critical when responding to more detailed statements. In so far as majority of those polled agreed with the statement that “they want to spend time in Katowice center” (88% of respondents), yet 46% of them admitted that it is difficult to say that it is a space in which everyone will find something for themselves. All of those polled at the age of 60 and more gave such an answer. It seems to flag inadequate adaptation of the city space to the elderly people needs, and one of the experts brings it out saying:

In my opinion, the metropolis ambitions [of Katowice – the author’s note] should be completed in the future with the elements of the fair city – that means, big investments do not use up the opportunities of spending money, there are other groups »recipients«, cities, apart from the target, which is young people or investors [Architect].

A vital matter is the issue of respondents’ sense of responsibility for the Katowice center, which might be, among other things, activities undertaken for its good, and it is at the same time a sign of spatial identity. Thus, 20% of respondents stated they feel responsible for the Katowice center and 42% gave the opposite reply. The numbers should not be binding though, as at the same time 82% of those polled admitted they had not taken part in any activities for changes going on in the center. It means that this passive attitude towards ongoing changes is characteristic not only to respondents who declared no sense of responsibility but also those who could not say and answer the question, and even some of those who feel responsible. This lack of responsibility for the common cause in Katowice was remarked by one of the experts: “I would not overestimate the responsibility of inhabitants for the city” [City Activist]. Moreover, some respondents think that co-deciding about the changes taking place in the Katowice center is not their role at all – a lack of involvement is not a result of objective reasons (e.g. lack of time), but the lack of the inner conviction about the co-responsibility for the space and changes taking place in it. And although, the declarations are undoubtedly a vital element of spatial identity, the key thing is putting them into effect. What is more, half of the respondents have no knowledge of any urban attractions or initiatives for changes ongoing in Katowice and its center.

6.3. Perception of the Katowice center space – analysis of mental maps drawings

In order to analyse mental maps we arbitrarily divided the drawings into two types: the first one being the area of: Freedom Square-Spodek/Culture Sphere-railway tracks, the other one the area outside the lines. For majority of respondents the center is the first category, which means that for them the center is mainly the main square and the area close to it. The center for them is a sort of a triangle Railway Station/Shopping Gallery-Silesian Theatre, Spodek (in some cases instead of the Theatre there is the square and instead of Spodek – the Roundabout Center, but basically it is the same area). For Lynch the railway tracks seem to be the edge, and it is also true for Katowice – inhabitants treat what is behind the tracks as a “further area of the city”. Most people over 60 years old and also those living in Katowice drew maps of the “broader” area. These features might indicate that those users know the city better and have a more overall look at it. In addition, the age of users might be decisive when we think about the way people use the city, which is also reflected in the maps. Younger users (aged 18-25) of the center depicted the area
more precisely and marked buildings of the University of Silesia, Academic Library or Mariacka Street. The oldest respondents (60 years old and more) drew the maps in a more schematic and general way. On their maps you can notice the picture house Rialto (one of the respondents would take there a person coming to Katowice for the first time), but there were no elements of recently created Culture Sphere. So we can say that Rialto is well grounded in minds of the elderly people as a place connected with culture.

“Images stored in the individual and collective memory are a record of meanings but also emotions and values; they reflect attributes of physical space, its structure and form. The image is a product of interim and past experiences [...]”64. So the respondents were asked to mark on the map elements which are the least and most attractive, and in addition those most characteristic for the center. We need to mention that some respondents did not mark the places; they merely signed certain elements on maps65. Sixty percent of those polled chose Spodek as the most characteristic building, hence it has remained the main landmark of Katowice center for years now just like in research in previous years66. According to respondents, the most attractive places are the main square and the Flower Square. These two areas, apart from Spodek, should be regarded as the most characteristic on the basis of map drawings. It means the other elements appeared less often, and the three mentioned above prevail in respondents’ consciousness. We noticed that they treat the main square and Flower Square as two separate parts of the center, although initially the latter one you could think is an integral part of the main square. However it is negatively perceived, in the opinion of experts “flooded with concrete” while the Flower Square is more often viewed as a genuine public space. As for the least attractive city elements, only nine respondents pointed such places, their suggestions were varied. The most common (two each, which is 16% of provided responses) are main square, Freedom Square, a part of Mickiewicza Street and being built on the main square a shopping-service center. The results entail two comments. First of all, so few suggestions of unattractive places in Katowice might prove the definite image improvement, it is confirmed by so many opinions about the aesthetic changes in Katowice. Secondly, focusing on so many different elements as for pointing all types of places brings to mind the association with

64 M. Nóżka, op. cit., p. 231.
65 Initially these maps were to be rejected but finally the decision to analyze them was taken; and the objects drawn on them were treated as the most characteristic ones.
a “walk in the center” as a form of showing around the city to somebody who has never been there before and it can also mean that it is worth treating the city as the global, overall experience – the city narration results from a city in its generality, rather than its particular elements.

Comparing the obtained research results to those carried out in previous years we notice the prevalence of archetypical image that Katowice center means the main square. Obvious but nonetheless important conclusion that comes from the comparisons is the incredible improvement of the center image in the opinion of its users. In the hereby study the respondents had problems with pointing unattractive elements and in the previous research negative opinions about the center were dominant (from 40% to even 60%)67. We can assume that the square reconstruction decided about the image improvement as it (including the Flower Square) was acknowledged the most attractive place whereas a few years ago before its reconstruction was finished, people appreciated Mariacka Street more68.

Remaining around the Lynch’s concept, the most remarkable elements on respondents’ maps – apart from landmarks – were paths but only by the small percentage of respondents judged in aesthetic terms. Apart from Mariacka Street (only once voted the most attractive place in Katowice center) there were also other places e.g. 3 Maja Street (only once voted the most attractive) and Korfantego Avenue. According to Lynch’s concept, the basic content of the city image are junctions, which on the respondents’ map drawings were mainly the Railway Station, crossroads of 3 Maja Street and Korfantego Avenue, they can be connected with respondents’ associations referring to Katowice center. Among other things the following terms appeared: “traffic”, “crowd”, “tracks”, the same as in previous research. The users still associate the center with the transport junction and the trade, crowds and a mob in a rush to work. What is new is that all highly pejorative terms disappeared, terms like for instance “jumble” – which appeared in the title of one of the articles about perceiving Katowice center and to which also the hereby article refers to – “nightmare”69.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the research results are the pretty “current” issue – there are many elements which have appeared on the city map only recently, to begin with such details as palm trees at the (artificial) Rawa, the dough-

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69 It refers to the mentioned article by T. Nawrocki, Koszmary sen. Centrum poprzemysłowych Katowic w oczach mieszkańców, from the year 2008.
nut shop Słowik next to Skarbek (shopping center) and places in the making, e.g. shopping-service center in the main square during the research to end up with big investments such as Culture Sphere. It seems that the presence of “new” elements veils for inhabitants memorial sites, sights referring to history or religious ones. For example, a church at Mariacka Street was marked only once, no one marked the evangelical church at Warszawska Street and the same is for the monument of September Scouts. Only the Monument of Silesian Insurgents was marked by a few respondents, which may though result from the fact that it is physical predisposed to be a classic landmark rather than respondents referred to collective memory.

7. Conclusion

A key conclusion from the conducted research is a statement that the changes going on in Katowice center over recent years were meaningful both for the way it is perceived by users and for the identity of the city itself. The reconstruction improved the situation around the railway station, and together with the square reconstruction caused the center changed most in the image and aesthetic aspects, and respondents’ dominant positive opinions on Katowice center may prove it. Spodek and the square are still the most characteristic places in Katowice, though many people picked up recently built Flower Square, the main square which underwent the overall makeover, in addition, it is the place most residents would like to show to visitors. It proves not only its uniqueness, mentioned above but also that people are proud of the place. Elements connected with the image and outside aesthetics of the center (it is here where most changes took place – according to respondents) are dominant in provided answers. It is justified to say that Katowice identity is defined by change nowadays. The change and its elements are first of all perceived by users, their positive emotions and associations are connected with them. If we look at spatial elements referring to history or those concerning culture, we can risk the statement that they somehow get “lost” in other meanings, by which respondents defined Katowice center.

On account of the above, we should bring back the conclusion about the lack of planned course of introduced changes and connected with it the worry about their character. That is to no avail, functional (or not) solutions for Flower Square, interesting and making you take photos of palm trees or even more or less clear references to history and heritage, if – we conclude on the basis of interviews with experts – there
is no consistent, uniform narration, elements attracting to this place for longer than a while, enrapturing with something more than only aesthetics “for sale”.

Defining identity only by architecture, even the most characteristic is not enough [...]. If we do not reflect upon for whom and how it [the town – the authors’ note] should serve then it might become »a means to an end« or a »product« in marketing policy 70.

When defining the city center and its functions we referred in the article to the notion of cultural sphere defined by Wallis. Provided we want to answer if Katowice center meets this condition we need to consider the conclusions, according to which people in the city do not feel responsible for “common good”. Even those who declared they would like to decide about the changes in the city center did not get involved in any relevant activities or initiatives. For that reason, it seems there is still a long way towards complete consciousness and identifying the city as one’s own. Generally positive approach to the center does not translate into thinking in categories of the whole city. It does not mean though, that discerning image and aesthetic makeover is of no value. The confidence that the center fulfils a communication, representative and cultural functions indicates certain social knowledge and numerous places you can show to visitors from outside Katowice and the urge to show the city taking somebody for an overall walk allows to conclude that respondents are aware of, in this way understood, “resources” Katowice owns.

So, if we would like to take the objective, ideal-type approach, then it is clear we lack an element of civic consciousness, however taking into consideration that inhabitants and users are aware of changes, it is no doubt that Katowice center is a vital and needed area.

Summary

The aim of the paper is of a double nature. Firstly, it deals with the newly restored public spaces in the center of Katowice in the perception of its users. Secondly, and most importantly, it will try to determine, if and to what extent, observed changes influence the issue of spatial identity among those who use the said spaces in their everyday routine, which brings the question of spatial identity of the city.

70 M. Dymnicka, Przestrzeń publiczna a przemiany miasta, Warszawa 2013, p. 149.
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Only 10 years ago the center of the city was described almost entirely in negatives, even as a “nightmare”, but today it has a potential to be a “remembering space”. The city also provides numerous means of cultural participation and engaging social actors, with a completely new narration being constructed in regard to the city.

Therefore, it felt right to investigate the character of our city’s newly formed public spaces. We also intended to define and observe, whether city’s landmarks contribute to the spatial identity of Katowice. We also interviewed “experts” who provided a wider perspective for our research. Their contribution allowed forming more profound conclusions.

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Pawel Pistelok, MA – PhD student at the Faculty of Social Studies at the University of Silesia, where he graduated from sociology with specialization in social communication (2013). His scientific interests are mainly religion sociology and urban sociology, at present he is preparing a dissertation on condition of public spaces in Katowice center.

Elżbieta Ziobro, MA – PhD student of Social Sciences at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Silesia and an assistant lecturer in the Institute of Sociology at the University of Silesia; In 2014 she graduated from master studies in sociology with specialization in urban studies and social work management and social economy. Her research interests include the sociology of the city and in particular an issue of creating successful spaces in towns and also urban processes – ghettoisation and gentrification.
IDENTITY

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Paweł Pistelok, Elżbieta Ziobro
*The new center of Katowice – towards the spatial identity of the city. A few reflections from the research*
Key words: center of Katowice, spatial identity, change, place, perception