

1495



UNIVERSITY OF
ABERDEEN

ISSN 2058-8348



THE
**ELPHINSTONE
REVIEW**

Volume IX, May 2023

THE ELPHINSTONE REVIEW | Volume IX, May 2023

ISSN 2058-8348

The Elphinstone Review is the University of Aberdeen's student-led academic journal. Our aim is to publish the very best work produced by undergraduate students at the University, meanwhile providing students with invaluable experience of editing and writing for an academic journal.

Founded in 2015, The Elphinstone Review started as an Arts and Social Sciences journal. Since then, however, we have expanded our scope and are interested in receiving submissions from all subject areas. As a result, the editorial board each year ideally consists of students from all schools and all levels of study.

We hope you will enjoy this year's volume of The Elphinstone Review. Our hope is that you will find yourself inspired by its content and appreciate the outstanding work produced at The University of Aberdeen.

The Elphinstone Review

Volume 9

May 2023

ISSN 2058-8348



Intentional left blank

The Elphinstone Review | Volume 9: May 2023

Head Editors

Johanna Alt
Paisley Regester
Santa Walker

Editors

Aldric Sessions
Angel Douglas
Henna Cundill
John Golden Taylor
Tony McIlwraith

Administrative Support

Wendy Arthur

Front Cover

© Josiah Bircham
Alison Hay

Text

© The Contributors

Financial Support from

Development Trust Student Experience Fund 2022/2023

Production design and Print by

UNIPRINT

Published by

The University of Aberdeen in conjunction with Uniprint
King's College, Old Aberdeen, Aberdeen AB24 3FX

Contents

Editorial

Johanna Alt, Paisley Regester, and Santa Walker6
The Elphinstone Review Head Editors

The Allure of Conspiracy Theories: History, Crisis, and Power

Lazar Lazarov8
edited by Angel Douglas

Becoming “Real” Men – An Analysis of Max Nordau’s *Muscly Jew* and its Correlation to the Ideas of Gender and Race of *Fin de Siècle* Europe

Kamile Lakutijevskyte25
edited by Tony McIlwraith

Finding Fact in Russian Fiction: Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, and the Use of Realist Literature as a Historical Source

Annie Maclean37
edited by Henna Cundill

Man and Machine Improvising as Equals: George Lewis’s *Voyager*

Gregor McIntosh49
edited by Aldric Sessions

‘A Lamb Among Wolves’? An Assessment of the Character of John Balliol

Eilidh Shrimpton59
edited by John Golden Taylor

Matrix Model Predicts Implications of Enzootic Avian Influenza on Svalbard Barnacle Geese (*Branta leucopsis*) on the Solway Firth

Cameron Wood.....69
edited by Santa Walker

A Conflict in Curation and Architecture: The Politics of Memory and Rhetorical Sovereignty of the Jewish Museum Berlin

Sarah Benson.....83
edited by Angel Douglas

What do Differences in Homicide Procedure Between the Grágás Laws and the Laws of Scania Inform About the Societies these Laws Governed?

Peter Catterall.....96
edited by Aldric Sessions

The Vegetalisation of Women's Bodies in Han Kang's *The Vegetarian* (채식주의자) and Shin Kyung-sook's *Violets* (바이올렛)

Elisa Taillefesse.....107
edited by Johanna Alt

Aaron Cohen's Argument Concerning Differences Between First World War Narratives Published in Soviet Russia and by Russian Émigrés

Marie Søberg Grib.....122
edited by Tony McIlwraith

Altruism and Prosociality in Behavioural Economic Research. A Psychological and Philosophical Analysis of Prosocial Interactions

Veronika Wendler.....135
edited by John Golden Taylor

Multi-Criteria Tranquillity Mapping the Trossachs: Proposed New Hiking Routes from Aberfoyle to Callander

Croy Langlands.....151
edited by Henna Cundill

Editorial

Johanna Alt, Paisley Regester, and Santa Walker

We are delighted to present to you the ninth volume of *The Elphinstone Review*, an embodiment of the talent and academic enthusiasm of the University of Aberdeen’s undergraduate students. With this volume, our aim was – once again – to showcase the originality, inquisitiveness, and analytic rigour exhibited by students across all disciplines. Each of the twelve papers contributes a unique perspective and our only regret is that we were not able to publish more of the excellent submissions we received.

Whilst we think of it as a luxury to have compiled this volume from a big pool of accomplished articles, such a process does not come without hard work. Still coping with the repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic, we worked with an unusually small team of editors this year. All the more, we are grateful for the effort put into the reviewing and editing process by our team of editors and authors. Publishing this volume has not been without its challenges, but it is thanks to the dedication of our editorial board that we are now able to present each student’s work at its best. We would like to extend our gratitude to Wendy Arthur, without whose administrative support this publication would not have been possible. Moreover, the availability of Dr Timothy Baker and Dr Luca Moretti as academic advisors was highly appreciated. Finally, it is to the continuous financial support of the Development Trust Student Experience we owe the embellishments that make this journey even more rewarding. This includes the printing of this volume as well as the launch event.

To our readers, thank you for picking up this copy of *The Elphinstone Review*. We hope that you find yourself inspired by the intriguing themes of these high-quality undergraduate essays. Should you be an undergraduate student chancing upon this copy, don’t hesitate to become involved in next year’s edition – perhaps by submitting your own work.

The Elphinstone Review

The opinions expressed in the articles presented hereafter do not necessarily reflect the views of the institution, the editorial board, or the contributors. They should be viewed as exercises of academic criticism intended to spark intellectual debate.

The Allure of Conspiracy Theories: History, Crisis, and Power

Lazar Lazarov¹

The truth is out there, but it is inaccessible to ordinary people – the notion first appeared in the popular American series “The X-Files” and has become ubiquitous. Conspiracy theories that imbue this idea with meaning have been all around us for centuries. Moreover, the evolution of technologies and the Internet enabled conspiracy theories to proliferate at an unprecedented speed and mobilise diverse followers around the globe. Consequently, conspiracy theories’ effect on individuals and important societal institutions has become pervasive. However, what explains the allure of such theories? In an attempt to decipher conspiracy theories’ appeal, this paper employs an interdisciplinary approach to present conspiracy theories as an enduring historical trend with a widespread global impact. This paper aims to show that societal crises cause conspiracy beliefs by stimulating different psychological needs in people, which they try to satisfy by creating and adopting conspiracy theories. It is maintained that these theories develop into sense-making narratives of the past that spread through cultural transmission. What is more, these narratives have the ability to function as a power indicator in societies by shaping power relations among different societal actors.

¹ Lazar Lazarov is a fourth-year Bulgarian student in Politics and International Relations. He wrote his MA dissertation on populism and foreign policy with the case study of the Bulgarian right-wing populist party “Vazrazhdane”. Although he has various interests, he mainly focuses on Bulgarian politics, geopolitics, political ideologies, and international political economy, but he also loves reading history, sociology, and philosophy. Lazar plans to do a PhD and develop a career in higher education, social science, and academia.

Introduction

The truth is out there, but it is inaccessible to ordinary people – this notion firstly appeared in the popular American series “The X-Files” and has become ubiquitous. Conspiracy theories (CTs) that imbue this idea with meaning are hardly a novel historical phenomenon (Butter, 2014; Fenster, 2008; Marcus, 1999). Hofstadter even argued that ‘history is a conspiracy, set in motion by demonic forces of almost transcendent power’ (1965:29). CTs have been around for centuries and, with varying degrees of visibility and salience, have influenced the modern public sphere (Butter, 2014; Cassam, 2019). Moreover, the evolution of technologies and the Internet enabled CTs to proliferate at an unprecedented speed and mobilise diverse followers around the globe (Horvat, 2021). Consequently, CTs’ effect on individuals and important societal institutions has become pervasive (Douglas et al., 2019). Prominent CTs contend that the CIA was involved in JFK’s assassination or that the American government was responsible for the 9/11 attacks. CTs also gained a substantial global impetus around the COVID-19 pandemic (e.g. Bruder et al., 2022; Ripp and Röer 2022), claiming that COVID-19 is a bioweapon or that pharmaceutical companies and governments hide the vaccines’ side effects for their own benefit.

Scholarly interest in CTs has considerably increased over the past few decades. Although the discussions concern predominantly the West, they also encompass other world regions, such as the Post-Soviet region (e.g. Ortmann et al., 2012). Furthermore, the study of CTs has become multidisciplinary – scholars from a wide range of fields have come together to establish the causes and consequences of CTs. This vast body of research has yielded various political, psychological, and social reasons for belief in such theories (Douglas et al., 2019).

Correspondingly, I attempt to explain CTs’ appeal as an enduring historical trend with pervasive global impact. I argue that societal crises cause conspiracy belief by stimulating different psychological needs in people, which they try to satisfy by creating and adopting CTs that develop into historical narratives serving as particular representations of the past.

Additionally, CTs' allure can also be explained through their ability to shape power relations in societies by serving as counter-hegemonic narratives or being adopted by governments for political goals. Firstly, I define CTs and unravel their inexorable historical connection to societal crises. Then, I demonstrate that CTs are not unique to our time or to any geographical region. Next, I discuss the psychological appeal of CTs. Finally, I present CTs as sense-making historical narratives that spread through cultural transmission and have the ability to address the distribution of power in societies.

Conspiracy Theories and Historical Crises

Definitions of CTs abound. Some claim simplistically that a CT is nothing more than a conspiracy whose truthfulness has not been established (Aaronovitch, 2009), but the explanation of CTs' allure is much more complicated and challenging. There is much more to the intricacies of CTs than simply presenting their validity as questionable. Cassam (2019:10-11), defined them as 'political gambits whose real function is to promote a political agenda'. Although their truthfulness is objectively unlikely, these theories establish seductive narratives of key past events that can navigate public perceptions in different directions. CTs' special features – speculative, contrarian, esoteric, amateurish, premodern and self-sealing – distinguish them from other theories, and make them unlikely to be true, which justifies identifying them as a form of political propaganda (ibid, 2019:28). However, Hagen (2022) criticises Cassam by contending that CTs cannot be reasonably dismissed because these special features are rather ambiguous. Rather, such theories' likeliness or plausibility depends on their particular merits and shortcomings and should be case-by-case determined by seriously scrutinizing the available relevant data. Furthermore, CTs for political events may not be much weaker explanations than the official ones for those events (Räikkä, 2009). Therefore, Cassam's classification of CTs as political propagandas that are unlikely to be true makes his definition flawed as it fails to explain what exactly counts as a CT.

For the purpose of my argument, Cassam's definition is weak. Here I adopt the definition proposed by Van Prooijen et al. (2017) that links CTs to societal crisis to explain such theories. They define crisis as an 'impactful and rapid societal change that calls existing power structures, norms of conduct, or even the existence of specific people or groups into question' (ibid: 323). Inevitably, such phenomena aggrandise people's fundamental necessity to make sense of negative and unexpected events that happened (Bruckmüller et al., 2017). Consequently, this drives the formation of sense-making narratives that people embrace to build their representations of the past. Many of these explanations evolve into CTs which here are referred to as historical narratives that unfold the secret agreement of multiple actors meeting to accomplish unlawful and malevolent goals (Zonis et al., 1994) for private benefit and against the public good (Keeley, 1999) where the conspiracy is identified as the central causal factor of the social calamity (Coady, 2003:199; Keeley, 1999). I further utilise 'conspiracy' as a secret plot designed by two or more actors of power (Pidgen, 1995) to 'usurp political or economic power, violate established rights, hide vital secrets, or illicitly cause widespread harm' (Uscinski et al., 2016:58).

Historically, CTs have been almost invariably elicited by societal crises. There is evidence of conspiracy theorising tied to major historical crises dating back from the Roman era. In 64 AD, the Christian community in Rome was blamed by emperor Nero for the great fire that destroyed a great part of the city with many people either dead or left homeless. This calamity led to the spread of CTs claiming that the fire was deliberately ordered by emperor Nero who was absent from the city during the incident and caused the event to rebuild Rome (Van Prooijen et al., 2017:326). Consequently, the Christian community was used as a scapegoat for Nero's own nefarious goals. Historically, not only governmental institutions or major corporations but various social groups have been subjected to CTs caused by crises situations. For example, the Jews were blamed in the Medieval period for causing epidemics of plague (Brotherton, 2015). Another theory suggested is that they plot to establish world domination. This undergirds anti-semitism among people in different places such as Poland (de Zavala et al., 2012) and Malaysia (Swami, 2012).

More recent major crises such as war, poverty, climate change or pandemics inspired considerable conspiracy theorising. For example, the 9/11 terrorist attacks induced CTs claiming that the event was an inside job or that the American government intentionally did not prevent the catastrophe (Dunbar et al., 2011). Although some CTs, such as those about the moon landings, did not directly emerge from an objectively real crisis, they imply that ordinary people are deliberately deceived by powerful actors or that social groups subjectively portray themselves as experiencing a crisis. Thus, such conspirational explanations are almost undoubtedly engendered by the subjective perceptions and thoughts that people form when facing crises (Van Prooijen et al., 2017:326).

Conspiracy Theories Across Time and Space

Conspiracy thinking has been identified as a historical pillar of American political mentality (Hofstadter, 1965). In the 19th and 20th centuries, Americans have periodically formed narratives about hidden evil-minded groups that designed political plots and caused social calamities to fulfil their own nefarious goals (Davis, 1971). Nowadays, belief in CTs is not only common in the US but the majority of Americans believe in one CT or another (Miller et al., 2015; Oliver et al., 2014). Meanwhile, it was found that conspiracy beliefs are widespread in the West since they are encountered among a great proportion of people in Western societies (Sustain et al., 2009; Pipes, 1997). Nevertheless, the allure of CTs has reached all corners of the world. Conspiracy belief encompasses Europe (de Zavala et al., 2012; Sapountzis et al., 2013), the post-Soviet space (Ortmann et al., 2012), Turkey (Saglam, 2020; Nefes, 2015), the Muslim world (Gentzkow et al., 2004; Zonis et al., 1994), South Africa (Grebe et al., 2012) and Malaysia (Swami, 2012). All of these studies conducted on societies and cultures from various world regions different from the West affirm that CTs are not Western-specific. Belief in such theories is not limited to particular geographical or socio-cultural landscapes. Rather, all societies are conducive to the creation and adoption of CTs as narratives of past events, provided that these societies

have faced crises. Therefore, conspiracy belief now represents a pervasive global phenomenon.

It was further found that those who already believe in one CT are more likely to believe in others (Goertzel, 2014). Consequently, some scholars revealed an underlying tendency toward the formation of a general conspiracy mindset (e.g. Brotherton et al., 2013; Imhoff et al., 2014; Uscinski et al., 2014; Wood et al., 2012). This corresponds to the notion that belief in some CTs even increased as the event became more distant (Goertzel, 1994). For example, belief in the JFK assassination CT rose over time (Goertzel, 1994: 731), with over half of the Americans consistently endorsing the theory (Jensen, 2013; Enders et al., 2018), despite the accumulation of evidence supporting the official explanation of the event (Moore, 1990). It seems that conspiracy belief has the potential to grow over time even if CTs have successfully been refuted by explanations of events based on actual facts. These theories appear as immune to the temporal constraints of history. Thus, conspiracy belief represents an enduring historical trend.

Nowadays, the evolution of technologies and the Internet enabled individuals to share and spread CTs through traditional and social media (Douglas et al. 2019). People are constantly subjected to information about CTs which can now be distributed with great ease (Coady, 2006). CTs on a wide range of topics circulate on the Internet and are sustained by vast proportions of people (Oliver et al., 2014; Sustein et al., 2009). Consequently, ordinary citizens, journalists, and scholars have come to support the idea that we now find ourselves in the ‘age of conspiracism’ (Van Prooijen et al., 2017:324).

Although the Internet may enhance CTs’ expansion, it does not necessarily drive their development (Clarke, 2007). Besides, Uscinski et al. (2018) found that CTs’ intensified proliferation by the Internet does not suggest that more people adopt such narratives. Furthermore, Uscinski et al. (2014) indicate that there were two spikes of historical conspiracy theorising in the US. The first one occurred just before 1900, during the second industrial revolution’s peak – a period marked by the rise of huge

corporations, fast technical advancement, and rapidly shifting power structures. Essentially, such significant cultural changes can induce feelings of uncertainty and anxiety, particularly in people who feel powerless or voiceless (Hofstadter, 1965). The second spike occurred in the late 1940s and early 1950s, coinciding with the start of the Cold War when CTs related to communism prevailed. In sum, CTs are not unique to our time, and despite playing an important role in their massive spread, the Internet as a factor was limited to merely replacing previous forms of communication (Uscinski et al., 2014).

Overall, CTs are not unique to any historical period or geographical and socio-cultural landscape. Their allure induced by societal crises has been a prevalent historical tendency and now represents a global phenomenon that has transcended the boundaries of time and space. Moreover, it appears that, under the effect of historical crises, people have been historically susceptible to believing in CTs. What explains the CTs' appeal, therefore, is that every generation experiences a range of societal crises such as wars, economic recessions and natural disasters, which induce the creation and adoption of conspirational narratives. Furthermore, cultural disparities may explain variations in the extent to which societies would experience the implications of crises such as uncertainty and fear implying also a variation of CT's allure in different cultures.

The Psychology of Conspiracy Theories

Findings suggest that people adopt CTs to satisfy key psychological motives broadly separated into three groups: epistemic (accuracy and the desire to understand), existential (the desire for security and control) and social the desire to belong to a group or maintain a positive image of the self) (Douglas et al., 2017; Douglas et al., 2019). However, the allure of CTs as historical sense-making narratives resulting from societal crises is primarily connected to existential and epistemic motives.

Firstly, since crises' psychological effect on individuals is likely to posit threat to their lives and well-being by inducing feelings of uncertainty, anxiety, powerlessness, and lack of control over the environment, CTs are most likely to address one's existential motives. Correspondingly, when people experience anxiety (Grzesiak-Feldman, 2013), powerlessness (Abalakina-Paap et al., 1999; Imhoff et al., 2014) or distress resulting from uncertainty (Van Prooijen et al., 2013), they are more likely to embrace conspirational explanations. Conspiracy belief also correlates with a lack of sociopolitical control or psychological empowerment (Bruder et al., 2013). Moreover, belief in CTs is higher when people feel incapable of controlling outcomes, and it drops when one's sense of control increases (Van Prooijen et al., 2015). Therefore, belief in CTs increases people's sense of control and reduces feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and powerlessness resulting from major societal crises because CTs explain the causes of such crises. They enable people to anticipate, prevent and avoid the threats from those events and thus more effectively navigate their lives.

Aversive feelings such as substantial subjective uncertainty, anxiety, fear for life, which societal crises inevitably cause, make people engage in sense-making activities in order to imbue such significant events with meaning. Consequently, a central motive precipitating conspiracy belief is to make sense of the world (Van Prooijen et al., 2017:327). For Hofstadter (1965), by explaining complex occurrences with the machinations of powerful and malevolent adversary groups, CTs assist individuals to understand those events that are difficult to comprehend otherwise. When one feels out of control in a situation of subjective uncertainty, their necessity to make sense of their environment grows (Van den Bos, 2009). Consequently, if believing in CTs is a way of making sense of a phenomenon, then such beliefs are likely to grow in the face of uncertainty, lack of control and other feelings emerging from crises. Furthermore, given that developing a stable, accurate, and internally consistent view of the world requires finding causal explanations for impactful situations (Heider, 1958), CTs offer comprehensive and internally coherent narratives that allow individuals to preserve their views despite uncertainty and contradiction (Douglas et al., 2017; Douglas et al., 2019) to which societal crises lead.

Consequently, impactful events such as societal crises make people form and adopt conspirational narratives through which they can comprehend such events and make sense of the environment.

Overall, CT's allure is inherently linked to the negative subjective emotions that uncontrollable forces that societal crises invoke in people. Ergo, individuals embrace CTs to deal with the existential and epistemic psychological motives resulting from these emotions. Essentially, CTs flourish to imbue the world with meaning by reducing the threat of crises or the subjective feelings they elicit and by satisfying people's desire to better understand and make sense of the world.

Conspiracy Theories as Historical Narratives

Despite originating from psychological processes induced by societal crises, CTs may evolve into coherent historical narratives that shape people's representations of the past (Van Prooijen et al., 2017). CTs' quality to uncover and summarise complex interactions between powerful actors that deliberately design and perform an evil plan into 'simplifying stories – impositions of linearity and causality on a complex social world' (Ortmann et al., 2012:553) – enables them to simplify the complex reality and give people a sense of order in the bewildering environment. This makes such theories appropriate for cultural transmission because they are easily comprehended and internalised by ordinary people. As the second section shows, long after the initial sentiments of uncertainty and anxiety caused by an event have faded, conspiracy belief about that event remains stable (Goertzel, 1994). Thus, CTs may become embedded within people's mental reconstructions of significant historical events. Furthermore, art and media enable conspirational narratives' cultural transmission since exposure to CTs through movies (e.g. Jameson, 1992) and television (Arnold, 2008; Letort, 2017) increases receptivity to CTs (e.g. Butler et al., 1995; Mulligan et al., 2013). Consequently, CTs' glamour consists of their ability to become historically coherent narratives that are transmitted to subsequent

generations as if they were facts, even if the actual facts do not yield strong support for a CT.

Additionally, Fenster (2008) contends that CTs emerged as an indirect reaction to genuine concerns about societal power inequalities. Moreover, Keeley (1999:116-117) argued that CTs run counter to received or obvious explanations. Similarly, Coady (2003:199) presents CTs as explanations of a historical event that conflicts with the 'official' version of the same event. From this perspective, CTs might be identified as counter-hegemonic narratives – explanations of events that oppose the received, official version (Buenting et al., 2010:569) or a 'counter-discourse [...] seeking to challenge the orthodox or dominant explanation' (Gray, 2010:29) for a phenomenon. Correspondingly, people adopt CTs because they enable them to dispute the dominant ideological views on societal hierarchy and political legitimacy (Sapountzis et al., 2013) by serving as 'strategies available to social actors to counter prevailing explanations of problematic social or political events' (Sapountzis et al., 2013:733). Consequently, CTs emerging from either objective or subjectively perceived sociopolitical crises can be employed by those who, as a result of the crisis, felt powerless and embraced such theories to dispute the dominant historical representation of the event, provided that the latter was constructed by the powerful. Therefore, CTs shape power relations by enabling social actors to challenge the social order and political legitimacy of the powerful.

CTs can also have a reverse effect on power relations in societies. Saglam (2020) revealed how the adoption and communication of CTs among societal members engendered sociopolitical subjectivities in Turkey, whose conspirational discourses sustained the government's representations of past crises. Such narratives accused sinister foreign governments or organizations of conspiring to undermine Turkey's ascendancy and thus presenting a constant threat to the state (Saglam, 2020:19). The discursive circulation of these theories reflected a mode of social practices through which the social world was constructed and perceived by societal members. However, instead of adopting CTs as counter-hegemonic narratives, those who sustained such conspirational discourses perceived themselves as the embodiment of the

Turkish state through their everyday engagement with CTs. Consequently, conspiracy belief engendered a masculine sociopolitical subjectivity that endorsed the official explanations of the political and economic crises which Turkey had experienced. In that case, CTs reproduce and reinforce the extant social order and power relations instead of challenging them.

Correspondingly, Saglam (2020) indicated how CTs are equally employed by the powerful and the powerless to shape social order in their favour. Powerful actors may develop conspirational representations of the past for their own benefit. For example, Erdogan's government legitimised its political actions by adopting CTs that identified foreign evil interests as imposing a threat to the Turkish state. Likewise, the Colour Revolutions, which were essentially societal crises in the post-Soviet states, served as the basis of CTs developed by post-Soviet power elites. Such theories portrayed those events as driven by the evil machinations of the West, whose 'hidden hands' acted in secrecy and against Russian interests (Ortmann et al., 2012:560-561). Consequently, post-Soviet powerful actors such as Kremlin, which felt under threat by foreign and domestic forces, constructed conspirational historical narratives of past crises to affirm and legitimise the existing social and political order. Hence, CTs' attractiveness consists in such theories' capacity to both legitimise or delegitimise the distribution of power in societies.

Conclusion

In sum, I explained the allure of CTs as a historical and globally spread phenomenon, to argue that societal crises elicit certain psychological needs, which make people adopt CTs to satisfy those needs. Subsequently, such theories develop into historical narratives that serve as representations of the past, are culturally transmitted and can affect the distribution of power in societies.

After discussing the historical relationship between CTs and crises, people's historical susceptibility to such theories, CTs' psychological appeal

and role in moulding power relations, I conclude that CTs are not unique to our time or any place. People from different cultures have always believed in CTs provided that they face societal crises. Moreover, societal crises instigate aversive feelings which drive conspiracy belief by making people make sense of the complex environment. Subsequently, CTs develop into coherent sense-making narratives that simplify the complex reality, become part of people's representations of past crises and are culturally transmitted throughout generations. These theories may serve both as counter-hegemonic historical narratives or as legitimising historical tools of the powerful. Thus, they are adopted by ordinary people, social groups and powerful actors to shape power relations in societies. Taken together, all of these explain the allure of CTs.

References

- Aaronovitch, D. (2009) *Voodoo Histories: The Role of the Conspiracy Theory in Shaping Modern History*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Abalakina-Paap, M., Stephan, W., Craig, T. and Gregory, W. L. (1999) 'Beliefs in conspiracies', *Political Psychology*, 20(3): 637– 647.
- Arnold, G. B. (2008) *Conspiracy theory in film, television, and politics*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Brotherton, R. (2015) *Suspicious Minds: Why We Believe Conspiracy Theories*. New York: Bloomsbury Sigma.
- Brotherton, R., French, C. C., & Pickering, A. D. (2013) 'Measuring belief in conspiracy theories: The generic conspiracist beliefs scale. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 4(279): 1–15.
- Bruckmüller, S., Hegarty P, Teigen K. H., Hegarty, P., Luminet, T. (2017) 'When do past events require explanation? Insights from social psychology', *Memory Studies*, 10(3): 261–273.

- Bruder, M. and Kunert, L. (2022) ‘The conspiracy hoax? Testing key hypotheses about the correlates of generic beliefs in conspiracy theories during the COVID-19 pandemic’, *International Journal of Psychology*, 57(1): 43–48.
- Bruder, M., Haffke, P., Neave, N., Nouripanah, N., & Imhoff, R. (2013) ‘Measuring individual differences in generic beliefs in conspiracy theories across cultures’: Conspiracy Mentality Questionnaire’, *Frontiers in Psychology*, 4(225): 1–14.
- Buenting, J., & Taylor, J. (2010) ‘Conspiracy theories and fortuitous data’, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 40(4): 567–578.
- Butler, L. D., Koopman, C., & Zimbardo, P. G. (1995) ‘The psychological impact of viewing the film JFK: Emotions, beliefs, and political behavioral intentions’, *Political Psychology*, 16(2): 237–257.
- Butter, M. (2014) *Plots, Designs, and Schemes: American Conspiracy Theories from the Puritans to the Present*. Boston: DeGruyter.
- Cassam, Q. (2019) *Conspiracy Theories*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Clarke, S. (2007) ‘Conspiracy theories and the Internet: Controlled demolition and arrested development’, *Episteme*, 4(2): 167–180.
- Coady, D. (2003) ‘Conspiracy theories and official stories’, *International Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 17(2): 197–209.
- Coady, D. (2006) *Conspiracy theories: The philosophical debate*. Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Davis, D. (1971) *The Fear of Conspiracy: Images of American Subversion from the Revolution to the Present*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Douglas, K. M., Sutton, R. M., & Cichocka, A. (2017) ‘The psychology of conspiracy theories’ *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 26(6): 538–542.

- Douglas, K. M., Uscinski, J. E., Sutton, R. M., Cichocka, A., Nefes, T., Ang, C. S., Deravi, F. (2019) ‘Understanding Conspiracy Theories’, *Advances in Political Psychology*, 40(1): 3–35.
- Dunbar, D. and Reagan, B. (2011) *Debunking 9/11 Myths: Why Conspiracy Theories Can’t Stand Up to the Facts*. New York: Hearst Books.
- Enders, A. M., & Smallpage, S. M. (2018) ‘Polls, plots, and party politics: Conspiracy theories in contemporary America’. In Uscinski, J. E. (Ed.) *Conspiracy theories and the people who believe them*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 298–318.
- Fenster, M. (2008) *Conspiracy Theories: Secrecy and Power in American Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gentzkow, M. A. and Shapiro, J. M. (2004) ‘Media, education and anti-Americanism in the Muslim world’, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18(3): 117–133.
- Goertzel, T. (1994) ‘Belief in Conspiracy Theories’, *Political Psychology*, 15(4): 731–742.
- Gray, M. (2010) ‘Revisiting Saddam Hussein’s political language: The sources and roles of conspiracy theories’, *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 32(1): 28–46.
- Grebe, E. and Natrass, N. (2012) ‘AIDS conspiracy beliefs and unsafe sex in Cape Town’, *AIDS Behavior*, 16(3): 761–773.
- Hagen, K. (2022) ‘Are ‘Conspiracy Theories’ So Unlikely to Be True? A Critique of Quassim Cassam’s Concept of ‘Conspiracy Theories’’, *Social Epistemology*, 1–15.
- Heider, F. (1958) *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York, NY: John Wiley.
- Hofstadter, R. (1965) *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*. New York: Knopf.

- Horvat, K. V. (2021) ‘Conspiracy Theories and the Crisis of the Public Sphere: COVID-19 in Slovenia’, *Javnost – The Public*, 28(2): 219–235.
- Imhoff, R., & Bruder, M. (2014) ‘Speaking (un-) truth to power: Conspiracy mentality as a generalised political attitude’, *European Journal of Personality*, 28(1): 25–43.
- Jensen, T. (2013) ‘Democrats and Republicans differ on conspiracy theory beliefs’, *Public Policy Polling* <https://www.publicpolicypolling.com/polls/democrats-and-republicans-differ-on-conspiracy-theory-beliefs/> [Accessed: 02/04/2013].
- Keeley, B. L. (1999) ‘Of conspiracy theories’, *Journal of Philosophy*, 96(3): 109–126.
- Letort, D. (2017) ‘Conspiracy culture in Homeland (2011–2015)’, *Media, War & Conflict*, 10(2): 152–167.
- Miller, J. M., Saunders, K. L., and Farhart, E.C. (2015) ‘Conspiracy Endorsement as Motivated Reasoning: The Moderating Roles of Political Knowledge and Trust’, *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(4): 824–844.
- Moore, J. (1990) *Conspiracy of one*. Fort Worth: Summit.
- Mulligan, K., & Habel, P. (2013) ‘The implications of fictional media for political beliefs’, *American Politics Research*, 41(1): 122–146.
- Nefes, T.S. (2015) ‘Scrutinizing impacts of conspiracy theories on readers’ political views: a rational choice perspective on anti-semitic rhetoric in Turkey’, *British Journal of Sociology*, 66(3): 557–575.
- Oliver, J. E. and Wood, T. J. (2014) ‘Conspiracy Theories and the Paranoid Style(s) of Mass Opinion’, *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(4): 952–966.

- Ortmann, S. and Heathershaw J. (2012) ‘Conspiracy Theories in the Post-Soviet Space’ *The Russian Review*, 71(4): 551–564.
- Pigden, C. (1995) ‘Popper revisited, or what is wrong with conspiracy theories?’, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 25(1): 3–34.
- Räikkä, J. (2009) ‘On Political Conspiracy Theories’, *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 17(2): 185–201
- Ripp, T., & Röer, J.P. (2022) ‘Systematic review on the association of COVID-19-related conspiracy belief with infection-preventive behavior and vaccination willingness’, *BMC Psychology*, 10(66).
- Saglam, E. (2020) ‘What to do with conspiracy theories?: Insights from contemporary Turkey’, *Anthropology Today*, 36(5): 19–21.
- Sapountzis, A. and Condor, S. (2013) ‘Conspiracy Accounts as Intergroup Theories: Challenging Dominant Understandings of Social Power and Political Legitimacy’, *Political Psychology*, 34(5): 731 – 751.
- Sunstein, C. R. and Vermeule, A. (2009) ‘Symposium on Conspiracy Theories Conspiracy Theories: Causes and Cures’, *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 17(2): 202–227.
- Swami, V. (2012) ‘Social psychological origins of conspiracy theories: the case of the Jewish conspiracy theory in Malaysia’, *Frontiers in Psychology*, 3(280): 1–9.
- Uscinski, J. E., DeWitt, D. and Atkinson, M. (2018) ‘Conspiracy theories and the internet’ In Dyrendal, A., Robinson, D. and Asprem, E. (eds.) *The Brill handbook of conspiracy theory and contemporary religion*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 106–132.
- Uscinski, J. E., Klofstad, C. and Matthew D., Atkinson, M. D. (2016) ‘What Drives Conspiratorial Beliefs? The Role of Informational Cues and Predispositions’, *Political Research Quarterly*, 69(1): 57–71.
- Uscinski, J. E., & Parent, J. M. (2014) *American conspiracy theories*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Van den Bos, K. (2009) 'Making sense of life: the existential self-trying to deal with personal uncertainty', *Psychological Inquiry*, 20(4): 197–217.
- Van Prooijen, J. & Acker, M. (2015) 'The influence of control on belief in conspiracy theories: Conceptual and applied extensions.', *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 29(5): 753–761.
- Van Prooijen, J. & Douglas, K. M. (2017) 'Conspiracy theories as part of history: The role of societal crisis situations', *Memory Studies*, 10(3): 323–333.
- Van Prooijen, J. & Jostmann, N. B. (2013) 'Belief in conspiracy theories: The influence of uncertainty and perceived morality', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 43(1): 109–115.
- Wood, M. J., Douglas, K. M. & Sutton, R. M. (2012) 'Dead and alive: Beliefs in contradictory conspiracy theories', *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 3(6): 767–773.
- de Zavala, A. G., & Cichocka, A. (2012) 'Collective narcissism and anti-Semitism in Poland', *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 15(2): 213–229.
- Zonis, M. and Joseph, C. M. (1994) 'Conspiracy thinking in the Middle East', *Political Psychology*, 15(3): 443–459.

Becoming “Real” Men – An Analysis of Max Nordau’s *Muscly Jew* and its Correlation to the Ideas of Gender and Race of *Fin de Siècle Europe*

Kamilė Lakutijevskytė¹

Proposed by Max Nordau and promoted by other Western European Zionists, the concept of the Muscly Jew was an antithesis to the contemporary antisemitic Jewish stereotypes and was supposed to aid in the transformation of the Jewish nation. This paper explores how, instead of focusing on European Jewish tradition, the Muscly Jew strongly correlates with ideas of gender and race prevalent in fin de siècle Europe. First, it will be highlighted how the Muscly Jew was a product of primarily Western European Zionism and concerned mainly those of Ashkenazi tradition. Then, in the context of Social Darwinism and contemporary ideas of masculinity, the Turner Movement and its role in German nation building will be explored and connected to the Muscly Jew and its role in Zionist ideas. This is followed by the analysis of the concept of degeneracy, using examples of Otto Weininger and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and how the Muscly Jew challenges their ideas. Finally, this paper acknowledges the androcentric nature of historiography regarding Zionism. It also explores how women, according to Nordau and Herzl, could embody the concept of the Muscly Jew, which is by discarding the ‘masculine’ stereotype of the Jewish woman

¹ Kamilė Lakutijevskytė is a final-year MA History and International Relations student at the University of Aberdeen. Her academic interests include Lithuanian History, Nationalism and the intersection of these topics. This is reflected in her undergraduate dissertation *The Forgotten History of Lithuania: The Representation of the Lithuanian Jewish Community in Lithuanian History Textbooks* which explores the role of memory in the creation of national identity.

of valour, and 'feminising' it in accordance to contemporary ideas of femininity based on British and German imperialist notions of motherhood.

During his opening speech at the second Zionist Congress in Basel on August 28, 1898, Max Nordau introduced one of the most prominent concepts of early Political Zionism – the *Muscle Jew*. He, who is physically strong, sexually potent and morally fit is a prerequisite to fulfil the national goals of Zionism. The idea deeply resonated with Political Zionists of Western Europe, which was reminiscent of mythical Jewish tradition in the middle of the whirlpool that was *fin de siècle* Europe, riddled with countless conflicting intellectual movements, ranging from decadence to social Darwinism (Presner, 2003). This essay is going to place the concept of the *Muscly Jew* in the middle of these movements, discussing its similarities to the Turner movement and Nationalism in Germany, theories of gendered racial hierarchy of the British Empire, and the engendered nature of anti-semitism. I will also discuss the concept's correlation with ideas of degeneracy and writings of contemporary writers such as Otto Weininger, in the end focusing on how Jewish women could become *Muscly*.

The *Muscly Jew*, introduced by the physician and writer Max Nordau during his aforementioned speech and coined in his article *Muskeljudentum* in 1903, is an antithesis to the *Ghetto Jew*, who, as opposed to the latter who is scrawny and weak, was supposed to aid in the transformation of the Jewish life in the Diaspora (Mayer, 1999). After years of being confined in the ghetto, where, in the words of Nordau “in the narrow Jewish street our poor limbs soon forgot their gay movements; in the dimness of sunless houses our eyes began to blink shyly; the fear of constant persecution turned our powerful voices into frightened whispers”, it was time for the Jewish communities to “become deep chested, sturdy, sharp-eyed men” (Nordau, 1903: 617). Mayer describes the *New Jew* as an *Übermensch*, a super-human, whose body and mind would be able to stand up to antisemites (Mayer, 1999). And in order to achieve such body, Nordau emphasised the importance of gymnastics, claiming that they will “fulfil a more educational

purpose” and will “strengthen us in body and in character [...] give us self-confidence” (Nordau, 1903: 617). Besides Nordau and other German National Zionists, the *Muscly Jew* can also be seen in the works of Ephraim Moses Lilien, who often used the iconography of Hellenic athletes, who also inspired Nordau (Presner, 2003).

The discussion regarding the *Muscly Jew* must start with placing it in the middle of the fragmented Jewish community in Europe. It is important to note that the discourse regarding the *New Jew* did not concern the Jewish communities outside of Europe, such as the SWANA region, and only focused on European Ashkenazi Jews. Even a couple of decades later Iraqi Zionists would complain of the different attitudes regarding the Sephardim and Ashkenazim Jews in the Zionist Congress, calling it blatant discrimination (The Mesopotamian Zionist Committee, 1925: 485). What is prevalent however, is the divide between the experiences of Western European and Eastern European Jews. Political Zionists such as Theodor Herzl and Max Nordau who were primarily influenced by the issues concerning the Western and Central Europe – namely anti-semitism and assimilation – believed that the primary Zionist goal should be the creation of a new Jewish nation to restore them as independent and equal people. On the other hand, the living conditions of Jewish communities in Eastern Europe (such as poverty, overcrowded living) gave rise to the cultural Zionist ideas propagated by such actors like Martin Buber and Berthold Feiwel, who claimed that the restoration of Jewish culture should precede (or accompany) the establishment of a Jewish state (Rose, 2003). Although priorities of different Jewish communities might have been different, Zionists were still trying to cultivate a single national identity and become its voice. Herzl, admitting to the diversity of the community, tried to reframe what it means to be Jewish: he described assimilated Jews who did not support the Zionist cause as “anti-semite of Jewish origin.” In addition, he noted that what tied all Jewish communities together was not shared religion or race, but their identification as such by non-Jews: “we are one people – our enemies have made us one without our consent” (Finlay, 2005; Herzl, 1896). Therefore, although Herzl and Nordau attempted to make the *Muscly Jew* a universal goal for European Jews and a tool to fight anti-semitism, it was difficult to

realise due to the disparity in experiences of Jewish communities on the continent.

The long nineteenth century in Europe was riddled with discourses concerning the physical body, giving rise to concepts such as Social Darwinism and the survival of the fittest (Wong, 2021). In addition, the way in which the human body bears signs of race, gender, sexuality, in combination with national historical knowledge, was used as a tool of differentiation within a society. This was especially prevalent in the context of colonialism, as the “natural” gender and ethno-racial differences were used to legitimise the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised (Geller, 2011). The Victorian society was obsessed with sexuality – the rise of new definitions for masculinity such as nobleness, bravery, adventurous spirit, became defining features of male citizens, who had colonies as their playgrounds to exhibit this identity (Linsley, 2013). Gender roles were often used as an indication of mental capability in civilized societies – for example, Bengali males by the British colonists were described as feeble and lacking courage, independence and veracity, in their eyes essential masculine traits, viewing them as lower in the racial hierarchy (Linsley, 2013).

The way in which Germany conducted its nation building – namely by connecting gymnastics, masculinity and national ideology, is quite similar to the ideas behind the *Muscly Jew* (Mayer, 1999). Throughout the nineteenth century, the Turner Movement (in German *turnen*, to do gymnastics) became one of the most recognisable aspects of German nation building. Practiced in schools, clubs and the army, the Turners promoted discipline and order, which helped to develop a connection between a healthy male body and being German (Mayer, 1999). Mosse described the movement as “national stereotype in the making” (Mosse, 1985: 50) and Krüger argued that *Turnen* became a “symbol of order and discipline, an expression of controlling body and mind as well as demonstrating obedience and loyalty to the ‘Reich’” (Krüger, 1996: 409). Political Zionists such as Nordau and Herzl were deeply impressed by the new aspects of German culture and its achievements of nation-building. Herzl was inspired by the achievements of Bismarck and the new German nation, which echoed in his ideas of the reformed Jewry and its

connection with manliness, and Nordau in his speech in 1898 encouraged the establishment and participation in gymnastics clubs (Mayer, 1999). Die *Jüdische Turnzeitung* (Jewish Gymnastics Newspaper), which was founded in Berlin in 1900, branded as the main organ of Jewish gymnastics association, over the course of 20 years published countless materials ranging from battle songs, fitness programs, medical discussions about the benefits of the sun and movement for potent sexuality, to historical discussion of great ancient Jewish icons and photographs of exemplary muscle Jews (Presner, 2003). Jewish athletes (almost exclusively men), also inspired by nationalist sentiments, mimicked the German Turner gymnastics model, using Hebrew in their exercises and singing Hebrew songs (Mayer, 1999).

In addition, the end of the century was marked with another obsession: by using medical, biological and psychological methods scholars attempted to define “normality”, thus the discourse started to focus on degeneracy. A standard was created of the heterosexual Christian male, while femininity and Jewishness were on the opposite end of the spectrum and often used as justification for inequalities: the deviant was female, homosexual and Jewish (Schüler-Springorum, 2018). This heavily influenced the anti-semitic zeitgeist of the time, therefore Herzl and his contemporaries viewed Zionism and the *Muscly Jew* as a redemption for the community suffering from the stereotype of the feminine Jewish male (Rose, 2003). Mayer argues that it is indeed ironic that the early German Political Zionist’ perception of the Jewish passivity and femininity were an internalised version of the prevailing anti-semitic views of the time (Mayer, 1999: 286). Schüler-Springorum also highlights that anti-semitism in *fin de siècle Europe* was not necessarily about belonging to a Jewish nation, but rather whether Jews could be considered as “proper” men and women, and were able to adhere to this core structure of humanity (Schüler-Springorum, 2018: 1221). Thus, the *Muscly Jew* could be described as a product of a time when the accusation of men as “feminine” could be used as one of the most powerful tools to debase an entire group of people.

In 1903, the same year Nordau wrote *Muskeljudentum* and engendered anti-semitism reached its apogee, Viennese scholar Otto Weininger published his *Sex and Character*. It is a fundamental work in which, combining constructions of gender and race of the nineteenth century discourse, the modern world is explained in terms of opposing relations between male and female principles, and the Aryan and Jewish mind (Achinger, 2013). Similar to how Weininger discusses women, Weininger describes “Judaism” as a “psychic constitution, which is a possibility for all human beings” (Weininger, 1903: 274); but then, as Achinger notices, slips into writing exclusively about historical Jewry, which can also be attributed to the fact that in German the word “Judentum” can also refer to Judaism, Jewishness or Jewry (Achinger, 2013). He describes the turn of the twentieth century as “not only the most Jewish, but also the most effeminate of all ages”, while at the same time describing both as having no personality or intelligible self (Weininger, 1903: 299, 278). These traits also allow, according to Weininger, for “the Jew” to adapt to “different circumstances and requirements, to any environment and any race, like a parasite that changes and assumes a completely different appearance with any given host, so that it is constantly taken for a new animal, even though it always remains the same” (Weininger, 1903: 289). These sentiments consolidated the “the spirit” of the *fin de siècle* Europe and, combined with Weininger’s suicide shortly after the publishing of his book, became extremely popular (Brunotte, 2015).

Weininger’s ideas are quite similar to those of British-German philosopher Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose writings later on heavily influenced the Nazi racial policy. In his *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, published a year after Nordau’s speech at the Second Zionist Congress and 4 years earlier than *Sex and Character*, Chamberlain looks at the history of Jewish people. In the chapter *On the Entrance of the Jews into Western History* he explains how, unlike Germans who are a representation of the pinnacle of world history, Jews have never and will never be able to found a great nation due to their “racial” qualities – being unwarlike, unreliable soldiers, slothful, unfit for the agriculture and materialistic (Chamberlain, 1899: 486).

Nordau's ideas were pretty much opposite of those of Weininger and Chamberlain. For Nordau, this adaptability, which Weininger compared to that of a parasite, is an asset to the Jewish person, as it allows them to evolve and eventually become the *New Jew* (Presner, 2003). Nordau never considered Jewish people as "degenerate". For him, "degenerates" are criminals, prostitutes, anarchists, and some specific authors or artists. Although Jews and "degenerates" may share some tendencies such as physical frailty and nervousness they can overcome it through gymnastics (Burgers, 2011). In addition, Nordau presents examples to deny Chamberlain's observations about the negative, transhistorical "racial" qualities of the Jewish, giving an example of Bar Kokhba as a hero, and "the last embodiment in world history of a bellicose, militant Jewry", and it should be the goal to come back to this greatness (Nordau, 1903: 616, 617). Presner suggests that Nordau invented a new type of discourse of regeneracy through the *Muscly Jew*, who rises to challenges of modernity and does not degenerate, but rather re-embodies his race (Presner, 2003).

This essay has discussed the engendered nature of anti-semitism and how the concept the *Muscly Jew* related to contemporary narratives regarding race and gender. However, although the creation of the *New Jew* was one of the most important goals of early political Zionism, how did it relate to women? What is a *female Muscly Jew*?

Unfortunately, there have been very few attempts to analyse how the stereotype of the feminised male Jew impacted Jewish women, as for years the historiography has suffered from androcentrism (Brunotte 2015), and there is therefore even less to say about their participation in the creation of the *New Jew* (Hyman, 2002). Nordau's ideas of what a new Jewish woman should be were ambiguous, yet he stressed her passivity; Herzl agreed with this observation, yet also lacked a clear and consistent plan for the role of women in the new Jewish state. He praised the hardworking and self-sacrificing woman who devoted herself to Zionism, yet at the same time highlighted her role in the family and that politics should be left in the hands of men (Rose, 2003). A clearer image of what a *New female Jew* could look like can only be seen in the works of cultural Zionists such as Lilien, who in

his paintings depicted an image of a *Beautiful Jewess* – a beautiful, proud, and often identified by the symbols of Judaism woman – who represents the hopes of Zionism (Frübis, 2014).

While Jewish men were perceived as weak and feminine throughout Western and Eastern Europe, the difference was especially prevalent in the world of Eastern European shtetl. In the Pale of Settlement, where most Jewish communities suffered from poverty and terrible living conditions, women embodied the Eshet Hayil, (in Hebrew אִשֶּׁת הַיִּל; "a woman of valor") – the hardworking and dynamic woman, who helped to earn the livelihood for her family (Rose, 2003). However, this caused Jewish women across the Eastern Europe to be often perceived as stronger, more rational, courageous and dominant over their husbands, a narrative often utilised in anti-semitic discourses (Schüler-Springorum, 2018).

The role of the standard European woman in the late nineteenth century on the other hand, can be defined using two factors. Firstly, the separation of the social and domestic spheres limited women's activities in accordance with their attributes: the public sphere concerned politics, work, rationality, therefore was inherently masculine; while, on the other hand, the domestic sphere was concerned with a home, where a caring, nurturing, and sensitive woman resides (Achinger, 2013). And secondly, in an era riddled by eugenics and racial prejudice, imperialism and exploitation, the role of the mother in the creation of the empire was considered crucial. Motherhood in the British and German empires was seen in a new light: framed as women's destiny and duty to become "mothers of the race," provide healthy, "pure" children of the superior "imperial race" (Davin, 1997).

In turn, Rose argues that to assert their masculinity, Viennese Zionists decided to assign Jewish women to a more passive and depoliticised role in accordance with the contemporary trends of gender roles, the ideal Jewish woman became a housewife, entirely dependent on her husband (Rose, 2003). Activists like Herzl and Nordau distanced themselves from the stereotype of the masculine Jewish woman and at the same time criticised the bourgeois Jewish woman of the West for not working for the Zionist

cause and neglecting their Jewish religious and cultural needs of the family – thus idealising the domestic duties of the traditional Jewish woman (Rose, 2003). “A woman who is a good Zionist will also be a very alert and far-sighted mother” explained Herzl during one of his lectures at the Women’s Zionist association in Vienna in 1901; going on to add that it is their duty to nurture the “citizens of the future” (Herzl, 1901: 611). Nordau even said that women were specifically needed to mitigate the harshness of life by serving as mothers and homemakers (Rose, 2003). Therefore, what used to be masculine Eastern European Jewish woman now became “feminised” according to the standard of Western Europe.

To conclude, the concept of the *Muscly Jew* borrowed many of its qualities from the contemporary intellectual whirlpool that was the *fin de siècle* Europe. Although it opposed the anti-semitic narrative of the time, featuring works of such scholars like Otto Weininger, or Houston S. Chamberlain, ironically, the *Muscly Jew*, the new ideal of masculinity, and the main tool which would help to realise Political Zionist goals had barely any roots in Jewish culture. Rather, it mostly borrowed from contemporary European ideals of the time. The same could be said about Jewish women: although there was no concrete plan for the *Muscly female Jew*, they were expected to distance themselves from the stereotype of the masculine and strong Eastern European Jewish woman, and become housewives, educating the citizens of the future.

References

Primary Sources

- Chamberlain, Houston Stewart (1899), *The Foundations of The Nineteenth Century*, trans. Lees, John, (London: John Lane, The Bodley Road, 1911)
- Herzl, Theodor (1896), *The Jewish State*, trans. D’Avigdor, Sylvie, (American Zionist Emergency Council, 1946),

<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/quot-the-jewish-state-quot-theodor-herzl> [Accessed 12/01/2022].

- The Mesopotamian Zionist Committee, Baghdad (1925), 'Iraqi Zionists Complain about their Lack of Representation in the Jewish Agency and of Ashkenazi Bias', in Mendes-Flohr, Paul; and Reinhartz, Jehuda (eds.), *The Jew in the Modern World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 485-486
- Herzl, Theodor (1901), 'Women and Zionism', in Mendes-Flohr, Paul; and Reinhartz, Jehuda (eds.), *The Jew in the Modern World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 610-612
- Nordau, Max (1903), 'Jewry of Muscle', in Mendes-Flohr, Paul; and Reinhartz, Jehuda (eds.), *The Jew in the Modern World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 616-617
- Weininger, Otto (1903), *Sex and Character*, Steuer, Daniel and Marcus, Laura (eds.), trans. Löb, Ladislaus, (Bloomington: Indiana Univeresity Press, 2005)

Secondary Sources

- Achinger, Christine (2013), 'Allegories of Destruction: "Woman" and "the Jew" in Otto Weininger's Sex and Character', *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory*, 88:2, pp. 121-149
- Brunotte, Ulrike; Ludewig, Anna-Dorothea; Stähler, Axel (eds.) (2014), *Orientalism, Gender, and the Jews: Literary and Artistic Transformations of European National Discourses*, (Berlin: De Gruyter)
- Burgers, Johannes Hendrikus (2011), 'Max Nordau, Madison Grant, and Racialized Theories of Ideology', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 72:1, pp. 119-140

- Davin, Anna (1997), 'Imperialism and Motherhood', in Cooper, Frederick and Stoler, Laura (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, (London: University of California Press), pp. 87-151
- Finlay, W. Mick L. (2005), 'Pathologizing dissent: Identity politics, Zionism and the 'self-hating Jew'', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44, pp. 201-222.
- Geller, Jay (2011), *The Other Jewish Question: Identifying the Jew and Making Sense of Modernity*, (New York: Fordham University Press)
- Hyman, Paula E. (2002), 'Gender and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identities', *Jewish Social Studies*, 8:2/3, pp. 153-161
- Krüger, Michael (1996), 'Body Culture and Nation Building: the History of Gymnastics in Germany in the Period of its foundation as a Nation-State', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 13:3, pp. 409-417
- Linsley, Brett (2013), 'Feeble to Effeminacy: Race and Gender in the British Imperial Consciousness 1837-1901', *Grand Valley Journal of History*, 2:2, Article 1
- Mayer, Tamar (1999), 'From zero to hero: Masculinity in Jewish nationalism', in Mayer, Tamar (eds.), *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, (London: Routledge), pp. 283-307
- Mosse, George L. (1985), *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press)
- Presner, Todd Samuel (2003), "'Clear Heads, Solid Stomachs, and Hard Muscles": Max Nordau and the Aesthetics of Jewish Regeneration', *Modernism*, 10:2, pp. 269-296
- Rose, Alison (2003), 'Imagining the "New Jewish Family": Gender and Nation in Early Zionism', in Haney, Lynne and Pollard, Lisa (eds.),

Families of a New World: Gender, Politics, and State Development in a Global Context, (New York: Routledge), pp. 64-84

Schüler-Springorum, Stefanie (2018), 'Gender and the Politics of Anti-Semitism', *The American Historical Review*, 123:4, pp. 1210-1222

Wong, Kit Yee (2021), 'Degenerate Bodies: Max Nordau's Degeneration and Émile Zola's *La Débâcle*', *Essays in French Literature and Culture*, 58:58, pp. 15-31

Finding Fact in Russian Fiction: Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, and the Use of Realist Literature as a Historical Source

Annie Maclean¹

This research paper investigates the use of literary fiction as a historical source. The paper will examine the work of scholars at the forefront of this discussion, including Allan H. Pasco, Hayden White and Julia Nitz, and will apply their arguments to two novels published during late Tsarist Russia; Crime and Punishment written by Fyodor Dostoyevsky, and Fathers and Sons written by Ivan Turgenev. The paper will discuss both the advantages and the problems that arise from using works of fiction as historical source with specific application to the use of realist Russian fiction. The discussion outlines the need to engage with multiple sources, to understand the social context in which the authors of the literature were both writing and living, the significance and value of the realist genre, and the relationship between historical and literary narratives.

Introduction

Literature has developed alongside human society and has, for centuries, been intertwined with history. There is a selection of historiography that seeks to examine the extent to which historians may use

¹ Annie Maclean is a fourth-year student at the University of Aberdeen, studying for a degree in History and Legal Studies. Her focus in studying Law has been International Law, with a particular interest in Human Rights, and in History her interests lie in Scotland. Maclean's dissertation research investigates the Highland Clearances and the Crofters' War in the Outer Hebrides.

literature as a historical source. From this corpus, 'Literature as Historical Archive' written by Allan H. Pasco in 2004 is valuable for its contemporary and comprehensive discussion of the factors at play. Pasco's piece is one of the more recent works on using literature as a historical source and is particularly interesting when compared and contrasted with the work of some of his fellow historians, including Hayden White and Julia Nitz. In the course of this discussion, two novels will be used to demonstrate the practical application of the arguments made by these scholars: *Crime and Punishment* (1866) by Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoyevsky, and *Fathers and Sons* (1862) by Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev.

To support Pasco's conclusion that literature can prove to be hugely useful for historical research, this paper will consider a number of his points concerning the methodology of utilising this type of source. We will consider his emphasis on the number and variety of sources that should be used for a historian to reach a justifiable conclusion. Second, the paper will discuss the importance of the researcher having a broad understanding of the social context, both in which both the novel is set and in which the author was living. Following this the genre of realism will be discussed, reflecting on how this aids the value of literature as a historical source. Finally, this paper will analyse the relationship between historical and literary narrative, and how this impacts the manner in which literature is analysed in comparison to other historiography. It emerges that, although literature is not without its limitations, Pasco's argument that literature 'is a response to reality, whether by reflection or reaction' and so 'the historian/critic can find it extraordinarily useful' (Pasco, 2004) is valid.

Corroboration of Multiple Sources

Prior to his discussion that compares his own ideas to the existing work of other historians, Pasco highlights what he deems to be one condition of using literature as a historical source that these other historians overlook – the importance of using more than one piece of literature. A single source only provides one interpretation of the subject that it is discussing, and Pasco

is firm in the idea that 'one or two works...may well give a skewed, inaccurate picture' (Pasco, 2004). He consequently criticises scholars for relying too heavily on one work, such as Febvre only featuring Rabelais when writing about 16th century France (Pasco, 2004). Not only was this a single source by a single author and therefore limited due to the narrow perspective, but the author was also a noble aristocrat and had very little to do with the general population that he was talking about (Pasco, 2004). Had Febvre chosen to use a wider range of sources, as well as collating work from authors with varying lifestyles, he would have had a greater amount of material to discuss and would have been able to come to a more comprehensive conclusion. In contrast to his criticism of Febvre, Pasco highlights the work of Mandour and Bolleme; in their use of literature they begin with a far greater number of sources. Pasco perceives this range of research as being able to verify their analyses, and therefore increases the validity and reliability of their conclusion (Pasco, 2004).

Following Pasco's point, it can be helpful for scholars using literature as a historical source to choose authors who write about a variety of different settings, therefore allowing for a more extensive understanding of the era. Dostoyevsky's range of novels are commonly divided into two categories, those taking place in and around the city of St Petersburg, e.g., *Crime and Punishment*, and those set in Russia's provincial districts, e.g. *The Brothers Karamazov*. Due to this range, someone looking to use Russian literature as a source surrounding life in Imperial Russia in the late 19th Century can have a far greater grasp of society at the time, including how it varied in cities as compared to provinces.

Using sources from more than one author also allows for the range of work that Pasco emphasises as necessary. Using Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* to add a broader perspective than solely the one presented in Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, for example, allows the historian to reach a more well-rounded understanding of the era in which they are both set, with the novels each containing evidence of the ideas and experiences of their respective authors. Turgenev's novel focuses on the differing ideals held by the revolutionaries of both the 1840s and the 1860s, with Dostoyevsky's

main character representing only the latter. *Fathers and Sons* establishes the context and ideologies that created the Russia in which *Crime and Punishment* begins. Corroborating ideas of society in Russia at the time demonstrates what we can learn from working with literary works in the same manner as other historiography. The use of one work to confirm and develop the ideas present in the other, combined with Pasco's conclusion that 'iteration increases the likelihood that numerous writers and, by extension, readers actually ...perceived the realities they describe' (Pasco, 2004), further demonstrates the benefit of utilising literature as a historical source. Provided that one individual work is not treated as comprehensive, the realities found and corroborated within fiction can be an invaluable source for historians.

Fictional and Real-World Social Context

As well as using more than one source, Pasco also stresses the importance of reading each source as a 'single, individual creation' which then 'needs to be viewed in its social context' (Pasco, 2004). This idea reinforces one found in the historiography of Auerbach who, summarised by Hayden White, developed a figurative model to study 'the relation between literature and its historical contexts' (White, 1998).

Though no specific date is given for the setting of *Crime and Punishment*, the story is set after the judicial reforms of 1864. Andrew Khan describes how novels set during the reforms 'sought to capture the chaos of Russia's social and agrarian revolution and the turmoil of its political economy' and bring this to life within the fictional context (Kahn et al, 2018). Noting this reflection of real life, Richard Freeborn states that Dostoyevsky's strength as a writer stems from 'his own deep concern for the problems of his own country and his own age' (Freeborn, 1976). The relatability of the characters and the influence of the writer's concern is instrumental in the work being relevant as a historical source because it allows him to create a novel that accurately reflects the society he lives in, reinforcing Pasco's statement that 'the heroes and the events might well be invented, but within the work's context, the attitudes, the background, the hopes and fears, and

considerable detail often give every indication of being the stuff of customary life' (Pasco, 2004).

Though Pasco's article focuses on the relationship between French history and literature, his discussion of how fiction was able to reflect the changes experienced by the French public during the revolution parallels the Russian reform era. Without contextual knowledge, Dostoyevsky's protagonist appears to be an ex-student driven to murder by poverty and desperation. However, upon analysing the story with knowledge of Alexander II's reform era, the reader has a greater understanding of the causes and resulting actions of this despair. Consequently, the character Razumikhin's declaration that 'crime is a protest against the craziness of the social system' (Dostoyevsky, 2003) goes beyond being a statement of his own ideology and instead is taken to be an accurate reflection of the circumstances the Russian public was enduring in the late 1800s.

Placing novels within their social context bolsters Pasco's assertion that they are a strong historical source. By combining an understanding of the experience of Russians living in both the fictional and real-world setting, as well as giving credit to Dostoyevsky's ability to '[transmit] the most subtle and elusive features of normal human life and its inward processes' (Brown, 1978), *Crime and Punishment* demonstrates how insight can be gained from literature when it is treated as a historical source. Literature can therefore be especially valuable in eras of considerable change such as reform or revolution, when other historiography often focuses on the large-scale changes in society, rather than the daily experiences of the individuals within them.

The Genre of Realism

Both Turgenev's and Dostoyevsky's books fall under the genre of realism, characterised by the way in which writers 'carefully select, organise and structure their representations of the world' based upon what they can effectively 'communicate about a reality beyond the writing' (Morris, 2003).

The way in which this genre allows the ideals of the real world to be represented in fiction further advocates for literature being studied as a historical source.

Steven Connor discusses the development of the realist novel in the 19th century, and how 'the principal function' of this new genre was to create 'mutual accommodation between atomised individuals and the larger groups and communities in which they participate' (Connor, 1996). As stated above, both Turgenev and Dostoyevsky's novels focus on the restructuring happening in Russia in the 19th century, and their characters offer different insights into the developing ideologies that happened as a result of this changing state. *Fathers and Sons*, set two years before the 1861 serf emancipation, focuses on the differing ideologies between two generations of Russians. Turgenev provides his readers with a reflection of the distance caused by these changing ideas. The disconnect between the two generations in Russia at this time is succinctly illustrated by Turgenev in a conversation between Arkady and Bazarov, two young nihilists, wherein Bazarov refers to Arkady's father as 'a man whose song has been sung' (Turgenev, 1996). This illustrates Connor's point – that literature's validity as a historical source stems from realism's aims to further the understanding of different communities, in this case, the conflicting generations. Kirsanov's simple statement that 'no longer do [my father] and I understand one another' (Turgenev, 1996) is a concise reflection of the view that the novel presents, and its depiction of this strained inter-generational relationship allows the reader an insight into the feelings of the Russian public 'with the authority of the eye-witness account' that Connor describes (Connor, 1996).

Using a conversation between a member of the older generation and 'one of the foremost young progressives', Dostoyevsky also develops the reader's understanding of the generation represented in Turgenev's novel, in relation to aspects such as their 'duty to spread education and propaganda' (Dostoyevsky, 2003). Pasco develops Connor's historiography by highlighting the benefits of realist literature as a historical source because of how 'people looked to novels to elucidate aspects of their world' (Pasco, 2004), reading both Dostoyevsky and Turgenev to find an illustration of the

wider changes in society as well as a reflection of the Russian people themselves.

However, John Bayley notes that 'Realism to a Russian is a method of getting at what should be as well as what is' (Stacy, 1974). This highlights a problem with using realist texts as historical sources; realism as a genre has no strict requirement to be entirely fact-based, and in Dostoyevsky's case there are arguments against whether his books were realism at all. R. H. Stacy has stated that Dostoyevsky's realism was 'almost the opposite of traditional literary realism', though he also writes how Dostoyevsky himself rejected this idea and argued what his critics regarded as idealism was 'more real than their realism' (Stacy, 1974). Despite the discussion surrounding the genre of *Crime and Punishment*, Pisarev, who was a Nihilist and Russian literary critic during the time of Dostoyevsky's career, is quoted by Brown as concluding that 'Dostoevsky, in spite of his ideological orientation, has provided valid images of the real world' (Brown, 1978). Support from his contemporaries further advocates that Dostoyevsky's work did accurately reflect the society and ideals that feature in his novels, and thus stands as further validation for the treatment of realist literature as a historical source.

Overall, although there are limitations to the extent to which we can treat realist novels as historical texts, critics such as the author/philosopher Chernyshevsky advocate that 'art, however imperfectly, does reflect life' (Brown, 1978). Providing that realist literature is not taken to be an entirely truthful or unexaggerated source, it certainly can provide the 'insight into common opinions and attitudes [and] everyday life' that Pasco describes in his writing (Pasco, 2004). The combination of Connor and Pasco's arguments with Brown's acknowledgement that those within Russia at the time believed these novels to encapsulate 'the truth of Russian life' (Brown, 1978) suggests the clear advantage of utilising literature as a historical source, because both novels are accepted as containing valid insight into the ideologies of the real people that the writers sought to represent.

Historical and Literary Narrative

One of the largest issues with using literature as a historical source is the claim that narrative cannot be objective. This problem, however, extends beyond literature and can be found when dealing with all types of historiography. In 'History, A Literary Artifact?' Julia Nitz explains how, although during the 18th century history separated from literature and began to be thought of as an objective science, by the end of the 19th century this idea had been challenged again, and historiography once more began to be 'regarded as the product of the individual historian' (Nitz, 2013). The idea that the narrative of history, like that of literature, cannot be objective and is based on the writer's ideas and interpretations led theorists such as Barthes, who is quoted by Nitz as concluding that the methods used to study them should be the same (Nitz, 2013), with the overlap of analytical techniques furthering the ability of literature to be treated as a historical source.

In 1978 White reasserted that narrative itself can be useful as a historical artefact, and he was actively against the traditional idea that it could be disregarded in order to leave only the 'objective' facts, because of how intrinsically the historian's own interpretation and experiences are linked with their writing (White, 1978). Though now dated historiography, modern scholars such as Slotkin, who states that we 'cannot displace, let alone replace, narrative' (Slotkin, 2005), have furthered White's idea that the composition of the writer's own understanding is a part of the history itself (White, 1978). In her writing Nitz refers to Stanzel, a literary critic who often wrote about narrative specifically, who also recognised the importance of understanding narrative when it came to analysing literary works – proposing that narrative found in literary writing should be treated the same way as historical narrative (Nitz, 2013). The overlap between the two types of narrative further develops Pasco's idea that literature *can* be used as a historical source – if subjective narrative within historical writing can be used as a source, then we cannot discount what is to be learnt from studying literary narrative.

However, literary narratives do not become infallible upon the recognition of their usefulness. *Crime and Punishment* focuses on Raskolnikov, a young man who has considerably different views from the author who created him. During a heated discussion with a police investigator, Raskolnikov states how the new revolutionaries are aiming for 'the destruction of the present reality in the name if one that is better' (Dostoyevsky, 2003) – his 'reality' being Russia under autocratic control. Dostoyevsky himself, as noted by Russian scholar Bushkovitch, had an 'increasingly negative view of modern society' and wanted to return to its traditional way of life, including 'orthodoxy and respect for the tsar' (Bushkovitch, 2012). The issue with Dostoyevsky's narrative is, therefore, the bias assumed to be present within his discussion of a belief system that he actively opposes. However, the author's own ideology contained in his narrative and creation of his characters can still be understood as a realistic demonstration of Russian society at the time – we are seeing the opinions and ambitions of new revolutionaries through the eyes of the old ones, creating a source containing similar reflections to those usually present in a diary or memoirs. Dostoyevsky's novel may not be objective, but the subjectivity is what allows it to be such an excellent representation of *his* generation's ideology and thus a significantly useful historical source.

In contrast to Dostoyevsky's personal experience with the ideas presented in his novel, it is widely accepted that Turgenev had never communicated with the young people he is seeking to represent within his writing. Thus, there is difficulty considering his work a historical source if the narrative is not derived from real-life experiences. However, as Brown states, even though Turgenev did not have that close association with young radicals, by simply being present within Russian society, authors like Turgenev were able to create a 'generalisation faithful to the realities of Russian life' (Brown, 1978).

Goff describes how 'narrative and language are the new compass points in historiography' (Goff, 1996), and overall, analysis of historiography greatly advances the acceptability of using literary works as historical sources. The concept that 'all history is ideological' (Goff, 1996),

demonstrates how disputing the validity of literature as a source based on its containment of author's opinions is exceptionally limiting considering the recognised presence of these beliefs in all historical writing. As Carr advises, 'Before you study the history, study the historian' (Carr, 1961).

Dostoyevsky himself notes how all work is 'reflected in [the writer's] idea after it has passed through his senses', (Dostoyevsky, 1954) a reflection that can, as demonstrated, be utilised to demonstrate literature's effectiveness as a historical source. The development of the idea that subjective narrative does not make a source unreliable promotes the use of literature as a historical source because, as Connor demonstrates, novels are 'one of the most important ways in which the world is made accessible and comprehensible by narrative' (Connor, 1996). In other words, narrative can help us understand the world in which it was written.

Conclusion

To summarise, the extent to which literature may be used as a historical source depends on four key conditions; the number of works used, knowledge of the social context, understanding of the realist genre, and critical analysis of the narrative and its writer. Providing that each of these points are understood and considered when studying literature, literature can prove to be an excellent source for understanding historical eras and the people that experienced them.

The subjectivity of history as a whole means that nothing is entirely factual, and therefore this subjectivity cannot be used as a basis to reject literature as historical data. As with all sources, limitations must be taken into account, but to disregard sources such as *Crime and Punishment* and *Fathers and Sons* would be to ignore a valuable way of understanding the feelings and ideas of those living in Imperial Russia. The strength and validity of literature as a historical source comes from writers such as Turgenev and Dostoyevsky demonstrating how their own experiences and personal understanding of their changing society influence their writing, and

how within this literature we find a reflection, both of collective society and of individuals, that we may not find anywhere else.

References

- Brown, E.J., 'Pisarev and the Transformation of Two Russian Novels', in *Literature and Society in Imperial Russia, 1800-1914*, ed. By William Mills Todd (California: Stanford University Press, 1978), pp.151-172
- Bushkovitch, P., *A Concise History of Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
- Carr, E.H., *What is History?* (London: Penguin Books Limited, 1961)
- Connor, S., *The English Novel in History, 1950-1995* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996)
- Cox, J.N., and Reynolds, L.J., eds, *New Historical Literary Study: Essays on Reproducing Texts, Representing History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)
- Dostoyevsky, F., *Crime and Punishment* (London: Penguin Books Limited, 2003)
- Dostoyevsky, F., *The Diary of a Writer* (New York: George Braziller Inc., 1954)
- Freeborn, R., 'Dostoevsky', in *Russian Literary Attitudes from Pushkin to Solzhenitsyn*, ed. By Richard Freeborn (London: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1976), p.39-59
- Goff, A., 'Historical Narrative, Literary Narrative-Expelling Poetics from the Republic of History', *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, 5 (1996), 49-102

- Gossman, L., 'Towards a Rational Historiography', *American Philosophical Society*, 79(1989), 1-68
- Kahn, A., et al, *A History of Russian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Morris, P., *Realism* (London: Routledge, 2003)
- Nitz, J., 'History, as Literary Artifact? The Traveling Concept of Narrative in/on Historiographic Discourse', *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies*, 15(2013), 69-85
- Pasco, A.H., 'Literature as Historical Archive', *New Literary History*, 35(2004), 373-394
- Slattery, M.F., 'What is Literary Realism?', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 31(1972), 55-62
- Slotkin, R., 'Fiction for the Purposes of History', *The Journal of Theory and Practice*, 6(2005), 221-236
- Stacy, R.H., *Russian Literary Criticism* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1974)
- Turgenev, I.S., *Fathers and Sons* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1996)
- White, H., *Figural Realism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998)
- White, H., 'The Historical Text as Literary Artifact', in *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, ed. by Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), pp. 81-100

Man and Machine Improvising as Equals: George Lewis's *Voyager*

Gregor McIntosh¹

George Lewis's 1987 work Voyager is simultaneously a computer programme, a composition, and a free form duet. The piece allows for up to two human instrumentalists and one computerised performer. The project was borne from Lewis's wish to realise an improvisational orchestra, with its inception building on the composer's previous decade of experimentation with computers. This essay explores Lewis's previous compositions for computer and human improvisers and track the development of the work since its creation in 1987. Though technically written and dense, this article covers a neglected part of modern musical developments, especially so given recent developments in artificial intelligence being able to successfully imitate, copy and create new music.

Voyager (1987) is the most performed work by composer and trombonist George Lewis, and perhaps the most well-known work produced by any musician of Chicago's AACM (Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians). (Steinbeck, 2022, p. 110). The work's title refers to both the free improvised duet between instrumentalist and machine, and the computer program of Lewis's design that makes such performances

¹ Gregor McIntosh is currently in his fourth year of study at Aberdeen University, attending the Bachelor of Music programme. His current academic interests include jazz performance studies, sound design, contemporary composition, and musicological research in the fields of musical modernism, jazz history, and ludomusicology, the study of music in video games.

possible.² Such improvisers as Roscoe Mitchell, J.D. Parran, Douglas Ewart, Evan Parker, Haruna Miyake, Vijay Iyer, Miya Masaoka, Jason Moran and Jon Rose, have all improvised alongside the voyager programme, although most often it is Lewis himself who joins the computer performer. (Lewis, 2000, p. 34). (Steinbeck 2022, p. 110). Not only notable for its experimental musical ideas, the work also represents a significant advancement in the field of computer science, specifically that of computer-human interaction. (Steinbeck 2022, p. 110). This essay will discuss Lewis's compositional output during his time in the AACM and at IRCAM, which provide important context in understanding how *Voyager* was created. Furthermore, the essay will outline the inner workings of the voyager computer programme, while examining the way in which the programme interacts with the human performers who improvise alongside it. Finally, reference will be made to the earliest and latest studio recordings of the piece, found on *Voyager* (1993) and *Voyage and Homecoming* (2019) respectively. These recordings are notable as they display the differences between the early iteration's MIDI sounds, and the later's ability to operate an acoustic, MIDI compatible grand piano. By examining how the work has evolved over the 35 years since its conception, it will be possible to showcase that the different iterations of the work are not only technically significant, but also each possess important and distinct aesthetic values.

Though he had been composing electroacoustic works for a number of years prior, Lewis's interest in pure computer music began in 1977, upon meeting David Behrman. (Steinbeck, 2022, p. 112). Behrman introduced Lewis to the improvisational ability of computer performers, inviting him to a rehearsal with Jim Horton, Rich Gold and John Bischoff, where the group had a number of Kim-1 microcomputers, each running a separate program of their own design. (Taylor, 2020). All three computers were capable of making music individually, but also possessed the capacity for communication on a local network, allowing the distinct programs to listen to each other and influence the others' music making. (Bischoff, et al, 1978,

²In this essay '*Voyager*' is used to denote the musical work, while 'voyager' is used to denote the programme.

p. 25). After this introduction to the world of computer music, Lewis purchased a microcomputer of his own, and swiftly set about learning how to code, then began designing software that would allow his computer to make music of its own. (Steinbeck, 2022, p. 112). By 1979, Lewis completed his first piece of computer music that focused on computer/human interaction. The work titled *The KIM and I* (1979), premiered at the Kitchen performance space in New York and featured Lewis on trombone, improvising along with a Moog synthesiser which was controlled by the programme written for Lewis's own Kim-1 machine. (Steinbeck, 2022, p. 112). *The KIM and I* established the convention of a computer programme-controlled device capable of musical output, interacting with a human musician, that would define Lewis's compositions going forward. All of Lewis's improvisatory pieces for computer and human performers utilise this format as a base for their music making, although they differ in their degrees of interactivity, inner workings, and methods of output. In these further iterations, the role of the human performer underwent rather minimal change, while the technological components advanced considerably, as the availability of more powerful computer hardware allowed Lewis to develop more sophisticated software. The refinement of the respective programmes improved the computer's ability to improvise and respond to the human performer, which in turn allowed both performers to communicate through their improvisations in a more natural fashion.

In 1982, three years after composing *The Kim and I*, Lewis journeyed to Paris and began working at IRCAM in order to further his ideas for computer/human music making. Having spent two years researching and composing at IRCAM, Lewis premiered his work for four computers and four improvisers, *Rainbow Family* (1984). The piece featured renowned free improvisers Douglas Ewart, Derek Bailey, Joëlle Leandre and Steve Lacy, performing alongside three Yamaha DX-7 synthesisers, each directed by an Apple II computer. (Steinbeck 2022, p. 113). A fourth computer, which Lewis equates to a 'central ear', acted as a relay between the other three computer players and analysed the sounds played by both the computer-controlled synthesisers and human instrumentalists. (Lewis, n.d.). The fourth computerised 'central ear' tracked aspects such as 'the speed of emission,

the rhythmic complexity, the dynamics of sounds and musical phrases, the overall and individual sound/silence ratio, the frequency of silences, the melodic direction, [and] the recognition of patterns melodic and rhythmic'. (Lewis, n.d.). Each of the first three computers would use the information the fourth gathered about such variables to determine the content of their improvisations, but the way in which each computer transformed this information into musical content would differ per machine, giving each a great degree of agency from the 'central ear'.

The ideas presented in *Voyager* directly descend from those in *Rainbow Family*, and as such, both works share many similarities. Additionally, Lewis has stated that the change in approach to *Voyager* when compared with *Rainbow Family* was more 'architectural' than 'conceptual', with his goal of creating an improvising virtual orchestra remaining the same. (Parker & Lewis, 2005, p. 84). Such 'architectural' changes are apparent in *Voyager's* return to the smaller scale seen on *The Kim and I*, with the voyager programme performing alongside either one or two human improvisers rather than *Rainbow Family's* larger ensemble. Although voyager possesses the ability to perform with two human performers, recordings of the work have been made up of almost entirely duets between the programme and a single human instrumentalist. Upon the piece's initial premiere in 1987, the computer's sound was output through a Yamaha synthesiser just as in *Rainbow Family*, but by the early 1990s, Lewis had updated the programme to utilise MIDI data and output MIDI sounds. (Steinbeck, 2022, pp. 113-114). This gave the human performers the option of playing MIDI keyboards, as well as their acoustic instruments outfitted with pitch following devices, which were capable of translating analog sound into MIDI data. (Lewis, 2000, pp. 34-35). Another architectural change can be seen by *Voyager's* utilisation of a single computerised performer, minimal when compared to *Rainbow Family's* three computer-controlled synthesisers, although the MIDI incarnation of the voyager programme is capable of controlling 64 independent MIDI players. The programme divides the players into groupings, each with different modes of operation, which are continually recombined in intervals of five to seven seconds. A multitude of such groupings may exist at any given time, and the separate groupings will

phase in and out of time with one another and may exist in different metres. Upon each new ensemble being created, the programme makes decisions as to the ensembles' choice of tempo, timbre, dynamic range, interval range, pitch set, and which of the 15 melody algorithms to use. (Lewis, 2000, pp. 35). These parameters may be determined by analysing the improvised music of either human player or by the voyager programme's own internal processes, devoid of player input. Even upon analysing the human players behaviour, voyager will only analyse what is played in the moment, as the programme possesses no internal memory, and as such is incapable of building an overarching model of the instrumentalist's improvisational output. (Miller, 2020, p. 15). This lack of long-term analysis, when combined with the rapid regrouping of MIDI players, leads to voyager rapidly shifting from one sound world to another, or overlapping such musical landscapes, possessing the frenetic and spontaneous movement that so often characterises free improvisation.

Voyager's adoption of this particular sound should be no surprise however, as in creating *Voyager*, Lewis drew on the playing of his contemporaries in the AACM, in particular the Art Ensemble of Chicago. The influence of the Art Ensemble is most apparent in the programme's use of many voices, and rapidly changing groups of voices, reminiscent of the group's use of 'little instruments'. (Steinbeck, 2022, p. 114). In regard to the specific content of the programme's improvisations, Lewis instead wished for the computer to possess its own voice, instead of imitating the style of a particular period, group, or individual improviser. (Lewis, 2000, p. 37). However, as the programme's creator, as well as an experienced free improviser himself, Lewis's influence on the programme's output proved impossible to avoid in entirety, with Lewis acknowledging the bias of his musical fingerprint, and conceptualising of *Voyager* as primarily a composition, as well as a computer programme, and free form duet. (Miller, 2020, pp. 15-16).

More than any of Lewis's other compositions, *Voyager* cements the computer as a player in its own right. The voyager programme has three overarching approaches it can take in response to the human performers'

improvisation. (Taylor, 2020). It can imitate either player, mimicking the melodic curve, register, and dynamic level of their improvisation. It can also counter what the performers are playing, inverting and opposing the way in which they are improvising to create contrasting musical material. Lastly, as previously mentioned, voyager can ignore the other performers altogether, improvising based on its own internal processes. The programme's ability to ignore the performers is what Lewis asserts as the most powerful of its responses, where its independence creates 'the psychological notion of difference', indicating to the human performers that they are not burdened with the responsibility of provoking the programme into action, nor are they required to direct the programme to improvise in a certain way, and thus it is clear to the human performer that neither human or computer players are leading the performance. (Taylor, 2020). In addition, voyager's ability to perform entirely unaided, without requiring an improvisational prompt from the human improvisers, allows a true dialogue to form between the computer and human subjects. In this way, the programme's own freedom also grants freedom to the performers. On first interacting with the programme, or first listening to a performance of the work, it is tempting to assume the instrumentalist can 'play' the voyager programme as if it was akin to an instrument, playing certain musical ideas, to provoke an associated musical response. With the voyager programme this is not the case, as Lewis wanted the process of interacting with the programme to mimic the process of interacting with a human improviser as closely as possible. It would be unusual to approach playing with a human improviser in this way, playing a loud note then a soft note to see how each provokes a different response, and therefore voyager does not reward this type of interaction. (Taylor, 2020). This human-like improvisatory approach leads to an equality between computer and human, where each takes an active role in guiding the piece's direction. Such ideas of equality between human and machine performers permeate Lewis's compositions, and although it can be seen most overtly in *Voyager*, as well as *The Kim and I* and *Rainbow Family*, it is also a point of focus on *Chamber Music for Humans and Non-Humans* (1980), *Virtual Concerto* (2004), *Virtual Duo* (2007), and *Virtual Trio* (2007), with such

titles emphasising the non-human computerised performers as a synthetic equal to the human musicians.

The first studio recordings of *Voyager* appear on Lewis's 1993 album of the same name. The recording features eight performances of *Voyager*, with the programme dueting with Lewis on trombone on duo one to four, and saxophonist Roscoe Mitchell on duo five to eight. At this point in the piece's development the programme still ran on Lewis's McIntosh PowerBook computer and utilised the MIDI sound library for the computer's output. (East, 1995, p. 109). Although some have excused the MIDI component of the piece as an unpleasant, if necessary inclusion, simply as a vehicle to display Lewis's proof of concept of computer/human music making and the idea of a virtual improvising orchestra, these early MIDI sounds are emblematic of computerised sound of the late 1980s and 1990s, and are now possessed of a certain nostalgic aesthetic quality. The rapid reorganisation of instrumental groups leads to *voyager* performing almost exclusively in sporadic explosions of musical material, which in his 1995 review of the album, East describes as a 'kaleidoscopic barrage of pointillistic sound bursts.' (East, 1995, p. 109). Producing a wide variety of these textures is the greatest strength of *voyager*, with MIDI allowing access to the timbre of the entire orchestra as well as instruments from Africa, Asia, and the Americas. (Steinbeck, 2022, p. 114). While such timbral diversity is capable of providing a great variation in sound colour, the programme rarely deviates from the 'pointillistic sound bursts', and the program's aptitude for extended musical lines is contained to only single sustained notes. This is perhaps the biggest limitation of *voyager*, as for all the interactivity the programme provides, it leaves the inclusion of alternate textures and emergence of melody lines solely to the playing of the human performers. Performances of the piece are not repetitive however, as can be seen by the great variation present in Lewis and Mitchell's eight duos. The opening of duo three features *voyager* playing small fragments of material, repeated with minor variation, while a new instrument is foregrounded as each MIDI player enters in turn. This texture is sustained for over two minutes before Lewis enters with a swift glissando, at which point *voyager* drops to a near silence, slowly building back up to the original texture as Lewis continues to

play. Contrast this with Roscoe Mitchell and voyager's performance on duo seven. The performance opens with Mitchell playing a series of sustained notes, each submerging the listener in the sound of a single pitch. At the same time, voyager bursts into action, fluttering a great variety of instruments around Mitchell's chosen note before both performers coalesce into a unison, after which Mitchell plays a new note and voyager again explodes into a feverish cluster of tones and timbres. Both pieces are of course entirely improvised, as it is impossible to communicate an idea to the voyager programme beforehand, yet both performances possess a loose structure and a thematic idea, and the interaction between human and machine feels entirely natural, even 29 years after its release.

As the piece moved into the twenty-first century, hardware and software had evolved to a point that allowed the original MIDI orchestra to be dropped in favour of an acoustic piano rendering. This was made possible in 2004, with the voyager programme being ported to the Max/MSP software with the help of Lewis's student Damon Holzborn, and while the computer still employed the MIDI data, this data was output through the MIDI compatible Yamaha Disklavier. The transition to a fully acoustic rendition of the piece has allowed for the work to be developed in new directions, such as a performance of the piece employing a prepared piano. (Haus der Kulturen der Welt, 2020). The great variation in which the work can be altered to fit new musical contexts is testament to Lewis's continued development of the piece and the piece's initial design, that allows such a variety of instrumentation and timbral diversity. Roscoe Mitchell's 2019 rendition of the piece on *Voyage and Homecoming* showcases the new functionality of the programme running through Max/MSP software. The most striking difference between the MIDI and Max/MSP version of the work is that when ported to the grand piano, voyager's 64 MIDI voices are now presented as a single instrument using the piano's entire range, even if the voyager programme delineates groupings similarly between both MIDI and Max versions. In practice, this makes the appearance of a more legato style of playing possible, as what previously appeared as a group of five MIDI instruments, is now presented as a single unit playing within one octave. This expanded capacity for continuous musical lines has come at the

cost of abandoning the MIDI versions' wide variety of timbres, as well as the removal of the microtonal functionality of the 64 MIDI voices, although the sound quality of the piano is certainly much greater than its MIDI orchestra counterpart. The programme remains just as convincing in its replication of a human-like performance, with a moment of particular note occurring at 7:45 in the piece's run time. At this point Mitchell plays a sequence of five staccato notes, moving through four different pitches, over which voyager plays a repeating fragment of a minor blues scale, outlining the pitches Mitchell has just played, with Mitchell altering the further notes in his sequence to fit voyager's chosen scale. There are of course many such examples of emergent music making across the piece's duration, but this single interaction between the two performers is emblematic of the work's greatest strengths, and displays perfectly the programme's effectiveness.

George Lewis's *Voyager* is a work that is defined by its consistent innovation. Innovative in the ever changing musical content presented in its improvisations, innovative in the field of computer/human improvisation, and innovative in its own development, moving its output from synthesiser, to MIDI, to grand piano, and moving from FOURTH software to Max/MSP. The multitude of updates the programme has undergone, as both hardware and software have evolved, has allowed a further expansion in the sound world the work can occupy with each iteration. Even with these many developments in the piece over its 35 year lifespan, the work's basis has remained the same, as Lewis has retained the core principles he set out in *Voyager's* initial design. The piece's genesis can be clearly seen even as far back as Lewis's first work for his Kim-1 microcomputer, and a consistent through-line can be traced through each of the composer's computer based compositions. The influence of Lewis's contemporaries in the AACM on *Voyager's* aesthetics cannot be overlooked, nor can Lewis's own improvisational and compositional style, despite the composer's wishes for voyager to find its own voice. The piece is possessed of not only a technical brilliance in its communicative ability and human approach to improvisation, but contains a particular aesthetic quality throughout each of its iterations that marks it as distinctly *Voyager*.

References

- Bischoff, J., Gold, R. & Horton, J. (1978). Music for an interactive network of microcomputers. *The Computer Music Journal*. 2(3). pp. 24-29.
- East, Z. (1995). Review: [untitled]. *Computer Music Journal*. 19(1). pp. 109-110.
- HKW-Haus der Kulturen der Welt. (2020, December 7th). *George Lewis: Voyager*. Youtube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o9UsLbsdA6s>.
- Lewis, G. E. (2000). Too many notes: computers, complexity and culture in "Voyager". *Leonardo Music Journal*, 10(1). pp. 33-39.
- Lewis, G. (n.d.). *Rainbow Family*. Resources.IRCAM.
<https://brahms.ircam.fr/en/works/work/10042/>
- Miller, B. A. (2020). "All of the rules of jazz": stylistic models and algorithmic creativity in human-computer improvisation. *Music Theory Online*. 26(3). pp. 1-26.
- Parker, J.& Lewis, G. (2005). George Lewis. *Bomb*. 93(1). pp. 82-88.
- Steinbeck, P. (2022). *Sound experiments: the music of the AACM*, University of Chicago Press.
- Taylor, G. (2020). *An interview with George Lewis and Damon Holzborn part 1*. Cycling 74. <https://cycling74.com/articles/an-interview-with-george-lewis-and-damon-holzborn-part-1>.
- Taylor, G. (2020). *An interview with George Lewis and Damon Holzborn part 2*. Cycling 74. <https://cycling74.com/articles/an-interview-with-george-lewis-and-damon-holzborn-part-2>.

‘A Lamb Among Wolves’? An Assessment of the Character of John Balliol

Eilidh Shrimpton¹

John Balliol has long been considered a puppet king, serving Edward I of England instead of his own people. Although historians have since acknowledged his real claim to the Scottish throne, and have begun to re-evaluate his character, they have continued to consider him a weak and ineffectual leader. This is due to his ultimate failure, the testimony of English chroniclers, and Balliol’s own propaganda efforts. However, Balliol’s circumstances were impossible: no king, no matter how strong his character, could have succeeded under those circumstances. Misunderstandings were furthered by reliance on English chroniclers who misunderstood Scottish politics, being somewhat distanced from it and perceiving Balliol primarily as an English lord, through which lens they interpreted his actions. Finally, Balliol’s own testimony is propaganda aimed at regaining the favour of King Edward of England. The idea of Balliol as a weak man controlled by his nobles and enemies is inaccurate: John Balliol was no ‘lamb among wolves’.

Introduction

In 1292 John Balliol, cross-border magnate and scion of one of the most important families in England, was made king of Scots (Beam, 2021, Chapter 2; *John | King of Scotland [1250-1313] | Britannica*, n.d.). In Scotland, propaganda developed for Robert the Bruce would posit that

¹ Eilidh Shrimpton is a fourth-year MA History student at the University of Aberdeen. Her primary academic interest is in Scottish church history. When she isn’t busy studying, she can be found curled up with a good book, or camping in the Scottish glens.

Balliol received the title in spite of general acknowledgement in Scotland that Bruce had a better claim to the throne. The popular story was that King Edward I of England, who was judging the case, knew that Bruce was too strong of character to be manipulated, and so Balliol was duly installed by force (Stones, 1970a, pp. 281, 285; Wyntoun, 1872, pp. 299–306). However, modern historians are mostly in agreement that the decision was a fair one (Prestwich, 1997, p. 367). Nonetheless, Bruce propaganda has continued to inform historical perceptions of Balliol's reign: while acknowledging that Balliol was not an English puppet, historians have continued to regard him as a Scottish one (Watson, 2002, pp. 30–33). William Rishanger described Balliol as 'a lamb among wolves' in his chronicle. After due consideration has been given to the context of the chronicle, particularly the circumstances of 1295 referred to in Rishanger's text, and the ensuing treaty with France, this essay will consider a number of other instances which illuminate the character of John Balliol. In the absence of any thematic cohesion, these will be considered in chronological order.

Rishanger's Chronicle and the Council of Twelve

The contemporary English chronicler, William Rishanger, wrote that the Scots 'deprived him [Balliol] of the kingly office... Thus he lived among them for a whole year as a lamb among wolves.' (Rishanger, 2021) This phrase has become one of Balliol's iconic epithets, alongside 'Twme-Tabart' ('empty coat'), denoting his weakness and cowardice (Wyntoun, 1872, p. 337). Given the original biblical context of the phrase, it is probable that Rishanger meant to denote innocence and helplessness as one outnumbered and surrounded, not weakness in the sense of lacking strength of character (Luke 10:1-8). This is supported by the immediately preceding reference to his living among them. It is also consistent with the general view of the English chroniclers that Balliol was one of their own, an Englishman. He was therefore naturally opposed by the uncivilised Scots around him. Further, they were at a loss to understand how a loyal subject of the English crown could so basely betray the one who had put him on the throne unless he was being controlled by men more powerful than he (Beam, 2021, Chapter 5).

Thus it is no surprise that the English chroniclers are broadly agreed that in 1295 the Scots removed Balliol from power and effectively replaced him with a council of twelve. However, Fiona Watson has argued that this is unlikely to be accurate (Watson, 2002, pp. 32–33). A chronicler such as Rishanger, living in Hertfordshire, may not have known accurately what was happening in Scotland (Carley, n.d.). For an English chronicler, removing a monarch from power would be a reasonable explanation for the situation – the last time the English had done so was only forty years previously. The Scots, on the other hand, had never yet removed a capable monarch from active power (Watson, 2002, pp. 32–33). Given the successes and limitations of the previous Guardianship, any such attempt would presumably have retained King John as a figurehead, and the more in control he appeared, the more legitimate the realm would seem, again casting doubt on the assertions of the English chroniclers which imply a less than subtle deposition. Further, such councils as non-threatening advisory bodies had precedent stretching from the legendary King Arthur to Alexander III's negotiations for the marriage of his daughter to King Eric of Norway (Beam, 2021, Chapter 5).

Perhaps the most significant objection to the claim that Balliol was effectively de-throned is the complete absence of the event in Scottish chronicles. They insist that Balliol was a weak and incompetent ruler, in line with Bruce propaganda which also claimed that Balliol was foisted on the Scottish people against the will of the majority of the Scottish nobles. Despite this they make no mention of such an obvious proof of the Scottish nobility's disapproval of Balliol as his being de-throned – most likely because it never happened (Watson, 2002, pp. 29–30). Even Barbour, a poet who was strongly in favour of Bruce, and not averse to a little fiction, states that Edward I deposed King John for 'little or no reason'. Had Balliol's rule been so incompetent as to inspire the Scottish nobility to depose him, one might expect Barbour to have acknowledged this (Barbour, 1980, p. 7; Watson, 2002, pp. 34–35).

Whether to overthrow Balliol or to support him, a council was summoned which proceeded to negotiate a treaty with France. Whether this was done at Balliol's instigation, or in spite of him, is a matter of debate. The

council was unusually cautious in securing the support of a large number of Scots, across a broad range of backgrounds; this has been interpreted as the actions of a council seeking legitimacy in the absence of royal support, but could equally be a consequence of the significance of the action being taken, which was essentially a declaration of war on England. The clause in the treaty arranging the marriage of John's son, Edward Balliol, to the niece of the King of France shows that the council was determined to maintain and strengthen the Balliol line, whether or not they supported John himself. The treaty also granted to Balliol significant financial gains, which Amanda Beam suggests were intended as compensation for the inevitable loss of his lands in England when Edward found out about the treaty, which promised mutual aid against England (2021, Chapter 5). It is doubtful whether the council would have been so considerate to the concerns of a mere figurehead king, suggesting that Balliol was still active, and successfully taking care of his own interests. At the very least, it shows that the alleged 'wolves' were as yet supportive of the Balliol dynasty.

Balliol as King

Important as it is to understand how active Balliol was as King of Scots in 1295, his character does not rely wholly upon that year. A number of other recorded occasions offer insight into his character. The first of these is the 'process of Norham' when Edward demanded that each claimant to the throne acknowledge his right to overlordship of Scotland. While Bruce the Competitor encouraged, and the remaining claimants accepted, this move, Balliol proved the most difficult to persuade, declining to attend on the day on which the others submitted, and submitting only after he knew that the other competitors had given in. At which point his rebellion would achieve nothing more than the removal of his claim from consideration (Duncan, 2008). In this incident, Balliol appears to show more strength of character than his peers, although his strong claim to the throne must have supported him in his defiance, whilst the others (except perhaps Bruce) knew that their only hope of the reaching the throne was through gaining Edward's favour.

Once crowned, Balliol proceeded precisely as one would expect of a medieval king of Scotland. He sought to establish his authority in his territory, expand effective rule westward, and dispense justice. Watson describes Balliol's early reign as 'fairly indistinguishable' from his predecessors (Watson, 1998, p. 18). He created three new sheriffdoms to bring the western Highlands and Islands under royal control and appointed appropriate men as sheriffs. He held court and judged cases that required a monarch's ruling, and the record does not indicate weakness in that regard (Watson, 1998, pp. 18–19). As for royal authority, he had enough support from his nobles to be able to prevent civil war. He even succeeded in forcing his rival's grandson, the Earl of Carrick, to pay homage to him (Watson, 2002, p. 39). One incident does mar the apparent success of his domestic affairs – the appointment, through the influence of the Bruces, of Thomas of Dalton to the see of Whithorn, in spite of Balliol's objections (Barrow, 1962, p. 4). Overall we are presented with a king capable of managing the domestic aspects of his reign, in spite of factions and hostility in his kingdom, with very little indication of weakness or failure on his part.

Unfortunately for Balliol, domestic affairs were not all that he had to contend with (Barrow, 2005, pp. 72–73). Edward I was determined to assert his overlordship over Scotland, and promptly began hearing appeals on Scottish cases. He duly demanded that Balliol appear at an English court to answer for the judgements he had made. Balliol declined. Nonetheless, he did eventually compeer in the case of MacDuff. This is typical of Balliol's response to Edward. A strong assertion of his own rights as King of Scots is followed by eventual submission, presumably as he realises that Edward is not going to accept his defiance, and that Scotland does not have the resources to stand up to her larger and stronger neighbour.

The same response is seen in Balliol's performance during the MacDuff case. Edward had apparently anticipated that his demands would be intolerable, and was prepared to insist that the King of Scots compeer in person (Barrow, 2005, pp. 77–78). Balliol begins by saying that he 'dare not make answer at the suit of MacDuff, nor in anything touching his kingdom, without the advice of the people of his realm' (Stones, 1970b, p. 131). Of

course, any response he made would acknowledge Edward's right to judge Scottish cases. This would have far-reaching consequences with regard to his authority as king, and the independence of the realm of Scotland (Barrow, 2005, pp. 72–73). Balliol declined to ask for an adjournment while he consulted with his men, for precisely the same reasons of trying not to acknowledge Edward's right to adjudicate. However, he appears not to have counted on the absolute contempt in which the English parliament held his rights as king, and he was eventually forced to ask for an adjournment, and thus, however unwillingly, acknowledged Edward as supreme judge in Scottish matters (Barrow, 2005, p. 78; Stones, 1970b, pp. 65–66).

The summons to court as if a common vassal and also to war against the French king (whose vassal Balliol was for his French lands) were too much for the King of Scots, and he not only ignored the summons, but gathered an army against Edward. In order to provide legal justification for his subsequent actions, Balliol renounced his homage to Edward. Though he would later, when it was in his own interests, blame 'evil and false counsel' for his behaviour at this juncture, this was likely his own decision, and the defiance probably reflects Balliol's genuine opinion of Edward's behaviour (Balliol, 1970b, p. 147; Beam, 2021, Chapter 5). King John's statement of defiance is a carefully composed explanation of the wrongs which Edward has done. It begins by emphasising that Balliol is King of Scotland 'by the grace of God' and by extension not by Edward's grace (Balliol, 1970a, p. 141). Then comes a list of Edward's wrongs against Scotland, and a claim that homage was 'extorted by extreme coercion'. The point of the letter is explained succinctly: 'We cannot any longer endure these injuries, insults, and grievous wrongs, nor these hostile attacks'. Therefore he cannot any longer 'remain in your fealty and homage' (Balliol, 1970a). Although historians have interpreted this as the work of more forceful Scottish nobles forcing a weak Balliol against his will to defy Edward, this opinion is a result of the enduring myth of Balliol's intrinsic weakness, rather than any evidence of Balliol objecting. In fact, it is very much in character for him to offer such defiance, as he did at Norham and during the case of MacDuff.

Balliol's resistance never lasted long, and this defiance was no exception. Scotland's army was out of practice, the country used to peace. Defeat at Dunbar was followed by Balliol fleeing, refusing either to offer battle or surrender, according to the advice of his nobles, who were trying to protect their own interests. Here Balliol's decision not to offer battle was almost certainly influenced by the realisation that any further defiance would only make his life more difficult when he did inevitably surrender. Weak as his actions may appear to modern, nationalist, sensibilities, they were sensible as regarded his personal comfort. Although his deposition by Edward was humiliating, and he was stripped of his lands and liberty, his incarceration was lenient, and Edward I retained the possibility of putting Edward Balliol on the Scottish throne at a later date if he wished (Beam, 2021, Chapter 5; Watson, 1998, pp. 25–26). If John Balliol was not so much interested in retaining the Scottish throne as maintaining his own comfort, it may be that his flight was not weak but practical, though it was certainly also in accordance with the wishes of his nobles, who were trying to avoid outright surrender at that stage.

With Balliol's incarceration the lamb might be considered restored to his flock. Once again in England, his fortune reliant on Edward's favour, Balliol worked to ingratiate himself with the English monarch. Balliol is recorded as stating that when he was King of Scots, he found the men of that country to be full of 'malice, deceit, treason, and treachery' and complains of their 'malignity, wickedness, and stratagems', claiming even to have feared for his life amongst them (Caen, 1970, p. 159). Balliol is here clearly presenting himself as a lamb among wolves. However, whilst this may explain the perception of the English chroniclers that Balliol was helpless among the Scots, his testimony can hardly be considered reliable in this instance as he is evidently trying to restore himself to Edward's favour by blaming his past actions on the Scottish nobility, the statement even referring to his repeated attempts to have his innocence impressed upon 'the illustrious king of England' (Caen, 1970, p. 161). Clearly Balliol is willing to embrace a (likely false) reputation for weakness in order to avoid censure for his actions. His insistence that 'it is not his intention' to return to Scotland ever again, or otherwise have anything to do with it or its people certainly does

not hold up in light of his subsequent actions, as he did become involved in Scottish politics after his release to live on his ancestral lands in France (Caen, 1970, p. 159; Watson, 1998, pp. 122–144).

Although apparently not generally very involved in Scottish affairs during his time in France, Balliol is known to have made one significant change. According to Fordun, he appointed John de Soulis as guardian alongside John Comyn (Fordun, 1871, p. 324). The tendency of official records to mention Soulis alone has led some historians to the conclusion that Comyn resigned around 1301, although Reid argues that he remained in some capacity until 1304, when he submitted to Edward I (Reid, 1984, pp. 181–187). Whether he was sole guardian or otherwise, that Balliol still had the influence to appoint a guardian to rule in his name, despite having been deposed and exiled, belies the idea that he was either weak or helpless.

Conclusion

John Balliol's ultimate failure was, quite simply, inevitable. No man, no matter how strong, could have beaten the odds which faced him (Barrow, 2005, pp. 72–73). His character must accordingly be judged on his behaviour in the situations he was in, not on their ultimate outcome. The historian must also take care to read through the pro-Bruce propaganda which colours Scottish sources, and even Balliol's own attempts to deflect blame for his defiance of Edward from himself. Balliol's behaviour consistently demonstrates a strong initial defiance, followed by an inevitable caving. Although this could be interpreted as weakness, it is perhaps more reasonable to consider it a realistic response to not having the military or political strength to combat a determined English king. It was from Edward I that Balliol received the most opposition, not the nobility of Scotland, so he cannot be considered a victim surrounded by enemies. There is certainly little reason to suppose that Balliol was any weaker than the nobles around him who so frequently changed sides; in so far as the phrase implies weakness in the midst of strength, it is not applicable. Therefore, it is not accurate to describe John Balliol as a 'lamb among wolves'.

References

- Balliol, J. (1970a). Renunciation of allegiance by Balliol. In E. L. G. Stones (Ed.), *Anglo-Scottish relations 1174-1328 some selected documents* (pp. 140–145). Oxford University Press.
- Balliol, J. (1970b). Surrender of his realm by Balliol. In E. L. G. Stones (Ed.), *Anglo-Scottish relations 1174-1328 some selected documents* (pp. 146–149). Oxford University Press.
- Barbour, J. (1980). *Barbour's Bruce: Edited By Matthew P. Mcdiarmid: James A. C. Stevenson* (M. P. Mcdiarmid, Ed.).
<https://www.proquest.com/publication/2059399?accountid=8155>
- Barrow, G. W. S. (1962). The Scottish clergy in the war of independence. *The Scottish Historical Review*, 41(131), 1–22.
- Barrow, G. W. S. (2005). *Robert Bruce & the community of the realm of Scotland*. Edinburgh University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748620227.003.0001>
- Beam, A. (2021). *The Balliol dynasty: 1210-1364*. Birlinn Ltd.
- Caen, J. of. (1970). Statement of John Balliol. In E. L. G. Stones (Ed.), *Anglo-Scottish relations 1174-1328 some selected documents*. Oxford University Press.
- Carley, J. P. (n.d.). *Rishanger, William (b. 1249/50, d. After 1312), Benedictine monk and chronicler*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23669>
- Duncan, A. (2008). Revisiting Norham, May–June 1291. In C.
- Given-Wilson, A. Kettle, & L. Scales (Eds.), *War, government and aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150–1500: Essays in honour of Michael Prestwich*. Boydell & Brewer.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/war-government-and-aristocracy-in-the-british-isles-c11501500/230043894A3F9C5F61842B381421209E>

- Fordun, J. (1871). *Johannis de Fordun chronica gentis Scotorum*.
Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas.
<http://archive.org/details/johannisdefordun02ford>
- John | king of Scotland [1250-1313] | Britannica*. (n.d.). Retrieved 15
November 2022, from
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-de-Balliol>
- Prestwich, M. (1997). *Edward I*. Yale University Press.
- Reid, N. H. (1984). *Political role of the monarchy in Scotland, 1249-1329*
[University of Edinburgh]. <https://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/7144>
- Rishanger, W. (2021). In A. Beam, *The Balliol dynasty: 1210-1364*. Birlinn
Ltd.
- Stones, E. L. G. (Ed.). (1970a). Declaration by the clergy of Scotland. In
Anglo-Scottish relations 1174-1328 some selected documents (pp.
280–287). Oxford University Press.
- Stones, E. L. G. (Ed.). (1970b). Extract from the plea roll in case of
MacDuff. In *Anglo-Scottish relations 1174-1328 some selected documents*.
Oxford University Press.
- Watson, F. (1998). *Under the hammer: Edward I and Scotland 1286-1306*.
Tuckwell Press.
- Watson, F. (2002). The demonisation of King John. In E. J. Cowan & R. J.
Finlay (Eds.), *Scottish history: The power of the past*. Edinburgh
University Press.
- Wyntoun, A. of. (1872). *Andrew of Wyntoun's orygyne cronykil of
Scotland* (D. Laing, Ed.; Vol. ii). Edmonston and Douglas.

Matrix Model Predicts Implications of Enzootic Avian Influenza on Svalbard Barnacle Geese (*Branta leucopsis*) on the Solway Firth

Cameron Wood¹

*The Svalbard barnacle geese are a population of *Branta leucopsis* that breed within the Svalbard archipelago and make an annual migration to the Solway Firth in South-West Scotland from the end of August onwards. The population was a conservation success story, increasing from around 2,000 to 30,000 birds between 1966 and 2019. H5N1 Highly Pathogenic Avian Influenza (HPAI) severely affected the Svalbard population as they overwintered in the latter half of 2021, with a third of the geese succumbing to the disease. The focus of this paper is to model the Svalbard population using a Leslie matrix model with data from 1966-2020 and then project the population forward for the next decade (2021-2030) under different hypothetical enzootic scenarios. This allowed us to determine the effect of HPAI with varying degrees of disease mortality and thus analyse the population viability. Results showed that the population is only likely to be viable ($\lambda \geq 1$) with a disease mortality rate of $\leq 5\%$. The implications of these findings reinforce the need for rapid monitoring, prevention, and control to aid in reducing the mortality rate and allow the Svalbard barnacle geese to recover.*

¹ Cameron Wood is currently pursuing a Zoology degree at the University of Aberdeen and is set to graduate in the summer of 2024. With a keen interest in entomology and population ecology, he has proven to be a dedicated and passionate student. Alongside their academic pursuits, Cameron is also an animal rescue officer with the Scottish SPCA, demonstrating a strong commitment to animal welfare. In his free time, he partakes in wildlife photography.

1. Introduction

The barnacle goose, *Branta leucopsis*, is a medium-sized species of goose, distinctive for its monochromatic black and white plumage. The barnacle goose is hugely widespread with breeding occurring both in Greenland and in Spitzbergen, within the Svalbard archipelago, and then migration to the British Isles where wintering ensues (Robinson, 2005). Several other populations exist, notably in Russia and Iceland, however this paper will focus on one of the two populations that overwinter in the UK. Interestingly, both the Greenland and Svalbard populations have separate wintering locations with the entirety of the Svalbard population overwintering on the Solway Firth Estuary on the Scottish-English border (Owen *et al.*, 1987). Annual migrations occur in the latter half of the year with the first birds arriving at the very end of August through mid-October. The return migration begins in the spring with the birds departing between March and June. The Solway Firth initially held only 6,000 barnacle geese at the start of the 20th century however its designation as Natural Nature Reserve (NNR) in 1957, protected status in 1954, and reduced accessibility to illegal shooters leading to a reduction in death rate allowed the Svalbard population to increase dramatically (Owen *et al.*, 1984; Owen & Norderhaug, 1977), with a record number of 30,000 barnacle geese recorded in 2019 by the Wetland Bird Survey (Frost *et al.*, 2021).

The success story of *B. leucopsis* on the Solway Firth has since been challenged in the past few years with the spread of highly pathogenic avian influenza (HPAI) H5N1. H5N1 first arose in China in 1996 within commercial goose populations and quickly spread worldwide, with it now considered enzootic² in many south-east Asian countries (Webster *et al.*, 2006). Miller (2022) highlights that in excess of 77 million commercial birds have been culled and an additional 400,000 wild birds have succumbed to H5N1 due to the current outbreak which started in 2021. Additionally, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) estimates that a third of the entire Svalbard population died over the winter of 2021/2022 (RSPB, 2021). The worry is that, due to their migratory nature, *B. leucopsis* and other wild

² Regularly affecting animals in a particular district or at a particular season.

fowl have the capacity to spread H5N1 further afield with effects ranging from asymptomatic to fatal and thus allowing them to act as effective disease reservoirs³ (CMS FAO Co-convened Scientific Task Force on Avian Influenza and Wild Birds, 2022). In addition to this, the World Organisation for Animal Health states that HPAI incidence is seasonal with disease spread rising in September and peaking in February (Awada *et al.*, 2018) which coincides with the overwintering of the barnacle geese. However, there is an increasing amount of literature suggesting that HPAI is becoming enzootic in Europe.

Both cases pose significant threats to the longevity and viability of the barnacle geese. Ecological modelling can aid in exploring the future implications of avian influenza on Svalbard barnacle geese. This paper aims to do so using a matrix model to examine predicted population viability under hypothetical enzootic scenarios in the UK.

2. Methods

2.1 Data Collection

The raw data was taken from the Wetland Bird Survey (WeBS) Annual Report – Waterbirds in the UK 2019/20 (Frost *et al.*, 2021). The data used were observed annual counts for Svalbard barnacle geese (*B. leucopsis*) from 1966-2019 on the Solway Estuary (both English and Scottish counties) and WeBS's corresponding predicted counts for 2020 (calculated as the mean of the previous five years), including all age classes (juvenile, immature, and adult) and both sexes. Supplementary counts from the Wildfowl and Wetlands Trust (WWT) were available for several of the years but these were not included to ensure consistency of the data.

³ Acting as sources of new cases in a target population.

Population parameters including the brood size, proportion breeding, productivity, juvenile/immature/adult survival rates were provided by Dr Clare Trinder.⁴

2.2 Data Exploration

A continuous density-independent exponential curve was modelled alongside the observed count values from 1966-2020 to visualise the population growth trend before the impact of HPAI H5N1 in 2021. However, this was not an accurate representation of the population growth and was therefore excluded from the results.

Instead, the observed counts were plotted over time (1966-2020) with a locally smoothed weighted regression (LOWESS fit) which allowed for noisy data values to be taken into consideration when fitting the line of best fit. This was a better fit for the data and showed almost linear growth (Figure 2). The non-parametric LOWESS fitting technique was chosen since statistical testing was not performed and thus did not need to assume the data followed a specific distribution. Minitab v20.3 (64-bit) was used with a 0.5 degree of smoothing and 2 steps.

2.3 Modelling

2.3.1 Leslie Matrix Model

An age-classified model, or Leslie matrix, was utilised to model the historic count data as well as predict the implication of HPAI H5N1 for the following 10 years. Barnacle geese juveniles are aged 0-1 years, immature geese are 1-2 years old, and geese are considered mature (adults) at 2+ years old when they start breeding. Using these 3 distinct age classes (Figure 1) alongside their respective demographic rates (Table 1), a 3x3 population matrix was constructed in Microsoft Excel, demonstrating the survival rates for each age class (Table 1) and the fecundity of adults, calculated as:

$$\frac{\text{productivity}}{2} \times \text{adult survival rate}$$

⁴ Acknowledgements to Dr. Clare Trinder, Senior Lecturer, University of Aberdeen.

This allowed for modelling of the populations for each age class from 1966 to 2020 and then projected future populations for 2021 to 2030 taking into account the effect of avian influenza.

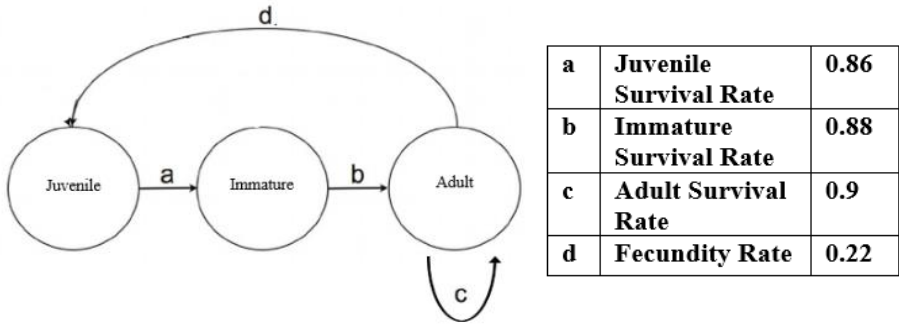


Figure 1. Life cycle chart for Svalbard barnacle geese.

(A) The three distinct age classes of Barnacle geese are illustrated with a, b, c, and d representing the demographic parameters featured alongside (B)

The model’s starting (1966) population size totalled to 2,200 birds (Frost *et al.*, 2021) however the data did not discriminate between age classes. To account for this, we used WWT records for *B. leucopsis* breeding success which shows that young birds made up 13% of the population in the Solway Firth in 1966 (Owen and Norderhaug, 1977). The terminology “young” does not tell us if those birds were juvenile or immature, so the count was split (6.5%) between the two categories. This gave an initial population of 143 juveniles, 143 immatures and 1,914 adults. The modelled population was then constructed from 1966 to 2020 as well as the predicted population projected forward from 2021 to 2030. This initial model resulted in a population growth rate (λ) <1 which does not match the observed data. Thus, it was decided that the demographic estimates for proportion breeding and brood size should be altered to account for this, increased from 0.145 to 0.245 and 1.912 to 1.970 respectively.

2.3.2 Enzootic Avian Influenza Viability Model

To simulate the effects of HPAI H5N1 potentially becoming enzootic in wild birds in the UK, the population of birds in 2021 was reduced by a third

to represent the loss quoted in the literature (RSPB, 2021). Then, for the remaining years (2022-2030), four simulations were run, each one with a different percentage of birds lost due to avian influenza. This was to introduce an aspect of stochasticity (randomness) to our matrix model as we do not know how HPAI H5N1 will affect the population in years to come (enzootic HPAI could kill similar percentages each year or the population could develop resistance leading to lower yearly death rates). Thus, by including a range of percentages killed by the disease, we can examine the viability of the barnacle geese for a range of scenarios.

3. Results

3.1 LOWESS Weighted Regression

Initial data exploration prior to the 2021 outbreak shows that the Svalbard barnacle goose population growth from 1966 to 2020 was relatively

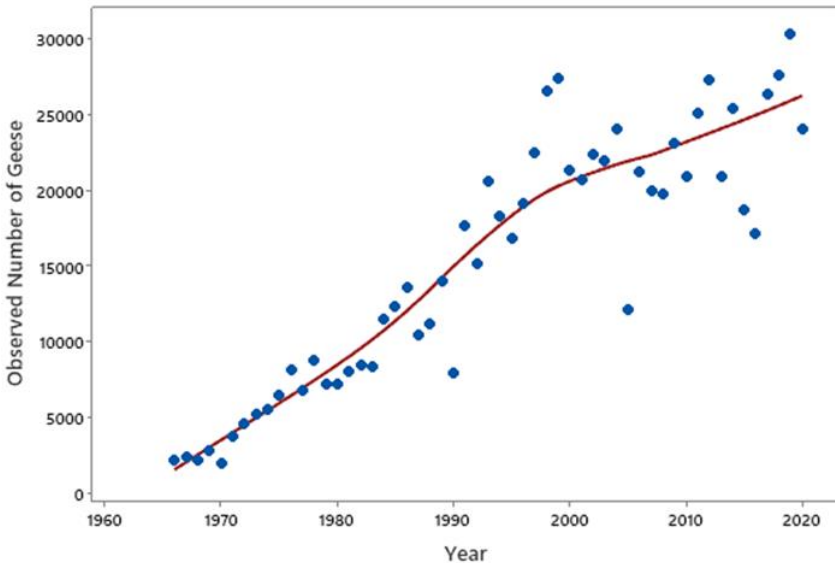


Figure 2. Svalbard barnacle geese population growth between 1966 and 2020. Observed counts (blue) from 1966-2020 with locally weighted scatterplot smoothing (LOWESS) regression line (red).

linear with a slight increase between 1990 and 2000 (Figure 2). The increase was relatively stable with only two major troughs ($\lambda \approx 0.5$) in 1990 when the population dropped from around 14,000 geese to 8,000 and also in 2005 the population dropped from around 24,000 to around 12,000. In both cases the population recovered.

3.2 Leslie Matrix Model

The matrix model results (Figure 3) show our modelled values for all three age classes as well as the modelled total population. The total population reached a stable stage distribution at $t=1975$ with a population growth rate (λ) = 1.049. The number of juvenile and immature birds remained similar to one another, and the number of adult birds was the greatest. Our model projected 30,710 birds in 2020 compared to the observed 24,000.

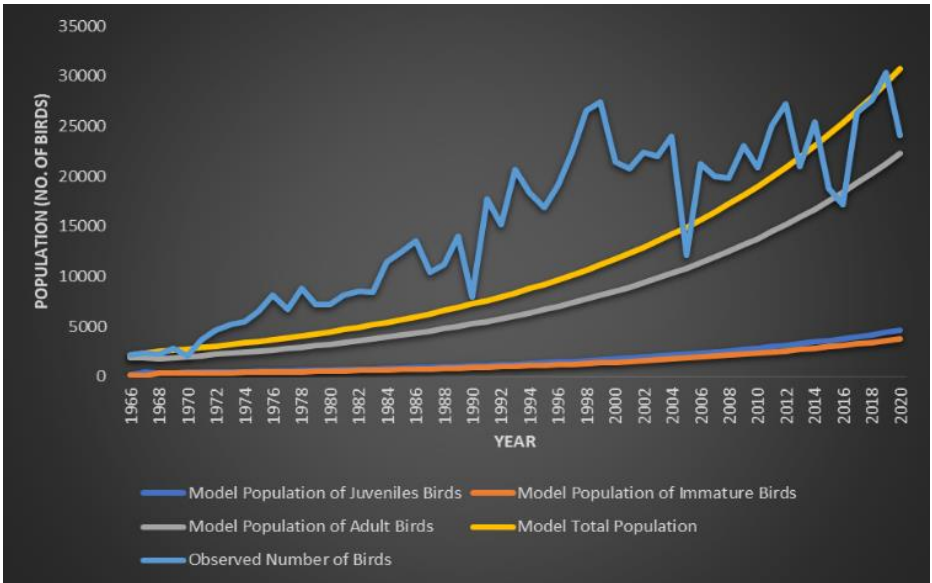


Figure 3. Svalbard barnacle geese modelled and observed population growth from 1966 to 2020.

Modelled population growth were plotted based on age-classified Leslie Matrix models using Microsoft Excel. Observed population growth based on actual bird counts by WeSB (Frost *et al.*, 2021)

3.3 Population Viability Simulations

Each simulated population initially decreases by a third ($\lambda=0.700$) to around 21,500 birds in 2021, to replicate the observed losses from the 2021 outbreak estimated by the RSPB (RSPB, 2021), after which they diverge based on hypothetical mortality rate.

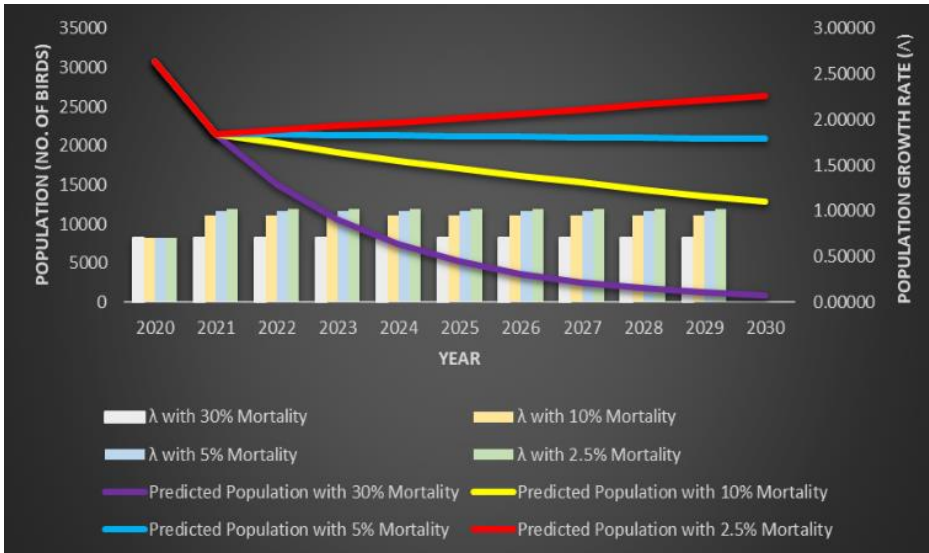


Figure 4. Svalbard barnacle geese population growth projections to 2030 under different hypothetical enzootic scenarios.

Populations projected under varying percentages of HPAI H5N1 mortality from 2.5% to 30% (lines) with corresponding population growth rates for each year (bars) from 2020-2030.

Looking at the 30% mortality (i.e., the model trend should HPAI H5N1 become enzootic with the same yearly mortality rate as the 2021 outbreak), the population continues on a steep exponential decrease pattern over the 10 years ($\lambda=0.700$), with the population reduced to 866 birds by 2030. If the mortality were to sit at 10%, we would still see a decline but not as steep ($\lambda=0.944$): our model predicts a population of around 12,800. The 5% mortality simulation showed a relatively stable slight decrease ($\lambda=0.997$) each year, overall decreasing from 21,500 in 2021 to 21,000 by 2030. Lastly, the 2.5% mortality rate simulation is the only one where the population

shows a positive population growth rate ($\lambda=1.023$). The model predicts the population to increase to around 26,400 by the end of the decade.

4. Discussion

4.1 Our Findings

In line with our expectations, the results from our matrix model for the next decade following the outbreak of H5N1 HPAI show that with decreasing levels of disease mortality there is an increase in the population growth rate (λ). Both the 30% and 10% mortality rates proved unviable ($\lambda < 1$) for the persistence of the Svalbard barnacle goose population if the disease becomes enzootic in the population and mortality rates remain constant. The population was tolerable of a mortality rate of 5% and below according to our model. The population growth rate for our model hits 1 (the point at which the population is neither increasing nor decreasing) between 2.5-5% mortality and thus if HPAI does become enzootic we would ideally want to observe a mortality rate of $< 5\%$. However due to the fact that *B. leucopsis* was markedly affected by the outbreak in the winter of 2021 with the reported 30% mortality, it is perhaps unreasonable to assume that the mortality will drop to such a low number in subsequent years.

Comparable results were found by Trinder (2014) who similarly modelled forward the effects of hunting on the Svalbard population, observing mean population growth rates under varying proportions of the population being shot. Their results showed that population growth remained positive until the percentage of the population shot exceeded 5% which is very similar to our findings on HPAI mortality. Thus, it is clear that the Svalbard barnacle geese should tolerate a mortality $\leq 5\%$, but anything greater would be unviable and likely lead to local extinction in the long-term.

4.2 Is HPAI Becoming Enzootic?

Interestingly, the Greenland population of barnacle geese overwinter in both the Island of Islay and Ireland but were unaffected by the initial

outbreak in 2021. However, as of October 2022, the RSPB Islay shared their concern for the Greenland population this winter (2022) as 200 dead geese were reported in Iceland, which is the stopover for the Greenland population on route to their overwintering locations in the UK (How, 2022). How (2022) also highlights that barnacle geese have already begun arriving from Greenland/Iceland to Islay and numbers reached around 24,000 in October however it is unclear if they are carrying H5N1 or will become infected whilst overwintering.

Due to the current and ongoing nature of avian influenza, there are new reports and data being released all the time. It is not possible to know the full extent of HPAI on the barnacle geese yet for this 2022 winter. As of December 6th 2022, DEFRA reported that the risk of HPAI within wild birds in the UK is still classed as ‘very high’ as there have been 500 cases since October 1st 2022, in which seven were barnacle geese (Freath *et al.*, 2022).⁵ As mentioned already, HPAI H5N1 has already been declared enzootic in South-East Asia (Webster *et al.*, 2006) and there is growing literature to suggest that likewise is happening in Europe. Pohlmann *et al.* (2022) state that there has been a major shift in the infection dynamics of avian influenza and there is potential for an enzootic status in Europe, specifically in the North. This is due to an increase in infections in both wild migratory birds and sea birds. Our model shows a very unfavourable outcome if HPAI becomes enzootic with the mortality rate remaining as high as we have seen in the last year. So, what can be done?

⁵ Winter 2022/2023 Update:

The Svalbard barnacle goose population on the Solway Firth showed no signs of HPAI H5N1 over the winter of 2022/2023. This is promising news and hopefully means that the population can recover over time. However, it should be noted that the pathogen is very much still present – the Greenland population of barnacle geese that overwinters on Islay was notably affected this past winter and suffered large losses.

4.3 Solutions

The Solway Firth was considered the epicentre of HPAI last year in the UK and it is clear that prevention and control methods are needed urgently. Better monitoring of infected wild birds is extremely hard due to the vast numbers. However, it has been suggested that high disease impact areas such as migratory destinations and seabird breeding grounds should be prioritised in order to monitor the disease (Miller, 2022). NatureScot has implemented a Scottish Avian Influenza Response Plan to aid in mitigation and population recovery as well as early counts of barnacle geese (NatureScot, 2022). Reducing disturbance in areas where sick birds are present is vital according to the RSPB (2022). Disturbed birds often become stressed which can increase energy expenditure resulting in them becoming even weaker, or infected birds may fly away and potentially spread the influenza to other areas (RSPB, 2022). Putting a stop to poultry housing/farms in the vicinity of wetland areas and migratory overwintering locations would likely help prevent the flow of HPAI between poultry and wild birds. A vaccine has been suggested for commercial poultry however vaccinating wild birds is likely to be unfeasible due to the sheer scale of their numbers and the practicalities due to their extensive range (Miller, 2022).

5. Conclusion

Our model shows a very unfavourable future for the viability of the Svalbard barnacle geese if the pattern of mortality continues at such high rates attributable to a potential enzootic HPAI scenario. Nevertheless, if control and preventative measures are applied rapidly and are successful in lowering mortality rates, there is a chance of recovering this population of barnacle geese.

References

- Awada, L., Tizzani, P., Noh, S.M., Ducrot, C., Ntsama, F., Caceres, P., Mapitse, N., & Chalvet-Monfray, K. (2018). Global dynamics of highly pathogenic avian influenza outbreaks in poultry between 2005 and 2016—focus on distance and rate of spread. *Transboundary and emerging diseases*, 65(6), 2006–2016.
- CMS FAO Co-convened Scientific Task Force on Avian Influenza and Wild Birds (2022). Scientific Task Force on Avian Influenza and Wild Birds statement. H5N1 Highly Pathogenic Avian Influenza in poultry and wild birds: Winter of 2021/2022 with focus on mass mortality of wild birds in UK and Israel. [online] Available at: https://www.cms.int/sites/default/files/uploads/avian_influenza_0.pdf [Accessed 10/12/2022].
- Freath, L., Gale, P., Mastin, A., Pacey, A. and Perrin, L. (2022). Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Highly pathogenic avian influenza (HPAI) in the UK and Europe Disease report. [online] Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1123726/HPAI_Europe_37_06_December_2022_FINAL.pdf [Accessed 16/12/2022].
- Frost, T.M., Calbrade, N.A., Birtles, G.A., Hall, C., Robinson, A.E., Wotton, S.R., Balmer, D.E. and Austin, G.E. (2021). Waterbirds in the UK 2019/20: The Wetland Bird Survey. BTO/RSPB/JNCC, Thetford. [online] Available at: <https://www.bto.org/sites/default/files/publications/wituk1920forweb.pdf> [Accessed 16/12/2022].
- How, J. (2022). Bird flu update from Islay, October 2022. [online] Available at: <https://community.rspb.org.uk/ourwork/b/birdflu/posts/bird-flu-updates-october-2022> [Accessed 16/12/2022].

- Miller, B.J. (2022). Why unprecedented bird flu outbreaks sweeping the world are concerning scientists. *Nature*, 606(7912), 18–19.
- NatureScot. (2022). Avian flu vigilance remains high. [online] Available at: <https://www.nature.scot/avian-flu-vigilance-remains-high> [Accessed 16/12/2022].
- Owen, M. and Norderhaug, M. (1977). Population dynamics of Barnacle Geese *Branta leucopsis* breeding in Svalbard, 1948-1976. *Ornis Scandinavica*, 8(2), 161–174.
- Owen, M., Black, J.M., Agger, M.K. and Campbell, C.R.G. (1987). The use of the Solway Firth, Britain, by barnacle geese *Branta leucopsis* Bechst. in relation to refuge establishment and increases in numbers. *Biological Conservation*, 39(1), 63–81.
- Pohlmann, A., King, J., Fusaro, A., Zecchin, B., Banyard, A.C., Brown, I.H., Byrne, A.M., Beerens, N., Liang, Y., Heutink, R. and Harders, F. (2022). Has Epizootic Become Enzootic? Evidence for a Fundamental Change in the Infection Dynamics of Highly Pathogenic Avian Influenza in Europe, 2021. *Mbio*, 13(4).
- Robinson, R.A. (2005). BirdFacts: profiles of birds occurring in Britain & Ireland. BTO, Thetford. [online] Available at: <http://www.bto.org/birdfacts> [Accessed 09/12/2022].
- RSPB (2021). Urgent action needed to address impacts of Avian Influenza. Outbreak of bird disease is worst on record. [online] Available at: <https://rspb.org.uk/about-the-rspb/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/avian-influenza-outbreak/> [Accessed 10/12/2022].
- RSPB (2022). Avian Influenza Updates. [online] Available at: <https://www.rspb.org.uk/birds-and-wildlife/advice/how-you-can-help-birds/disease-and-garden-wildlife/avian-influenza-updates/> [Accessed 16/12/2022].

Trinder, M. (2014). Status and population viability of Svalbard barnacle geese in Scotland. Scottish Natural Heritage Commissioned Report No.756.

Webster, R.G., Peiris, M., Chen, H. and Guan, Y. (2006). H5N1 outbreaks and enzootic influenza. *Biodiversity*, 7(1), 51–55.

A Conflict in Curation and Architecture: The Politics of Memory and Rhetorical Sovereignty of the Jewish Museum Berlin

Sarah Benson¹

After the ravages of the Holocaust alienated millions of Jews from their homes in Germany, 1950s Berlin dealt with the consequential question of how does a city invite and house the memory of the people they had so murderously driven out of it, and how does the German state sufficiently and sensitively confront the absence in society that it had purposefully created? Such questions suggest an uncanny answer: a state-funded Jewish Museum in Berlin, the capital city. Today, the Jewish Museum Berlin is devoted to narrating the 2,000-year history of Jewish communities in Germany in a monumental construction designed by Jewish architect Daniel Libeskind. Expressly, as is apparent in its curation, the museum is not a Holocaust museum, but rather is dedicated to the exploration of the abstraction of identity, contributions, and memory of the lives of German-Jews prior to the Holocaust. However, with the curation rejecting memorialisation of the Holocaust and celebrating German-Jewish culture, the museum itself becomes a counter memorial that projects an idealised image of Germany's past with the 'politics of nostalgia' and forgoes any mention of the atrocities

¹ Sarah Benson is a fourth-year MA History of Art student at the University of Aberdeen. Her academic research focuses upon contemporary ideologies surrounding the curation of art, with a vested passion for postcolonial curation, and the decolonising of global art and Western exhibition spaces, as well as ancient Greek art objects and Classics. She will be continuing her studies at the postgraduate level with an MSc in Classical Art and Archaeology.

of the Holocaust. Ultimately the curation of the museum becomes problematic as it opposes the symbolism of the museum's architecture that was designed as a monument to the societal void experienced in Berlin after the Holocaust and is more starkly apparent with the lack of Jewish curators and experts employed within the curatorial team. For museumgoers, there is a clear conflict between architecture and curation of the Jewish Museum Berlin.

“Inconceivable God! Inexpressible, many-sided idea, will You let it be so explained? Shall Aaron, my mouth, fashion this image? Then I have fashioned an image too, false, as an image be. Thus, I am defeated! Thus, all was but madness that I believed before, and can and must not be given a voice. O word, thou word, that I lack!”

- Arnold Schoenberg's Moses and Aaron, Act II, Scene V.

In the development of the concept for a much-needed Jewish Museum for Berlin, as a state-funded entity, there was, of course, an extensive number of political considerations of how to properly approach the tender topic of Jewishness and Jewish-German representation in a post-Holocaust society.² Similar to the famous (yet commonly mistranslated) Adorno adage, “Nach Auschwitz ein Gedicht zu schreiben, ist barbarisch...” (Adorno, 1967), the question of how the nation and people that simultaneously elected someone such as Hitler into leadership and sought to benefit from the scapegoating and subsequent eradication of millions of Jewish people can properly atone without promptly forgetting as the tides of

² The first Jewish Museum in Berlin opened just one week before Adolf Hitler was appointed Reich Chancellor in 1933 and it continued to run exhibitions even whilst the NSDAP consolidated power until Kristallnacht in 1938 when, like most other Jewish establishments, the museum was destroyed.

history wash over it needed to be addressed. How does this unprecedented failing of a modern society allow for reconciliation within itself, and, most importantly, with the peoples for whom it built an entire infrastructure and legal system based on the sole intention of killing the entirety of their populace?

The post-Holocaust society of the 1950s and onwards has attempted to answer such questions, however, to varying degrees throughout varying nations, the majority of which are Western and post-Modern in ideology. As such the methods in which those victims of the Holocaust are immortalised, with large conceptual monuments and the tourism of death/ labour camps throughout Europe as *lieux de memoire*³ to these atrocities, are significantly focused on the socio-political ramifications of memorial discourse. With the sensitive handling of heritage, especially for one that has been consistently targeted such as Judaism in the West, it becomes important that those belonging to Judaism or of Jewish origin regain cultural liberation through the determination of their own cultural collective memory and how the community as a whole portrays its own history in order for the aforementioned atonement to simply begin. However, the problem lies with those who are not prepared to completely relinquish control over the narratives of history and the specificity of memory, especially by way of large-scale public monuments and museums. As such, these same issues were encountered between the philosophy of Daniel Libeskind's design for the Jewish Museum Berlin and the curatorial practices of the institution itself, with both concluding upon vastly different priorities in their approach to the abstract visualisation of Jewish memory and rhetorical sovereignty in a post-Holocaust Germany.

³ *Le lieux de memoire* is defined in Pierre Nora's "Between Memory and History: Les Leieux de Memoire" (1989) as a functional site, or a formerly functional site, that in the present times is now associated with memory and humanity's will to remember certain events through the preservation of symbolic structures or material objects from said event.

To begin with context for the conception of the Jewish Museum Berlin, after the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the Berlin City Museum, the *Markische Museum*, was relegated to the German Democratic Republic in East Berlin. As a result, West Berliners had lost a cultural relic of their beloved city. And so at the haste of the *Association for the Friends and Sponsors of the Berlin Museum*, a Baroque-style building that was constructed from a design of an eighteenth-century building – which was formerly located in Kreuzberg and sustained a large amount of damage from the Battle of Berlin⁴— became the new home of the State Museum of Berlin in 1969 (Miller, 2005). Six year later, the formation of the *Society for a Jewish Museum* asserted that through the Berlin Museum’s exhibitory spaces its content should reflect the centrality of Jewish history, as well as the community’s contributions, in the historical landscape of the city. So as it does not exist separately from the larger cultural landscape of Berlin, the association insisted that the desired exhibition of Jewish history exist as an integrated department within the museum (Miller, 2005) and to serve as an ideological counter to the intended eradication of Jewish people and Jewish memory by the Nazi regime, and to further protect Jewish culture within the larger framework of Berlin’s totality. As such, this sentiment grew in the 1970s and 80s as the department expanded and outgrew the confines of the limited exhibition space it was provided within the museum; The cultural obligation for the museum to develop a separate Jewish entity was imminently approaching. 1988 saw the announcement of an architectural design competition for the extension of the Jewish Museum and the declaration of Daniel Libeskind’s submission as winner. Construction began in 1993 after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and with Berlin reunited, it was completed in 1999 and opened in September of 2001 (Sodaro, 2013).

⁴ This is yet another example of memory preservation. By reusing the design of the original Baroque building in a new context, especially since it was destroyed in World War II, the building’s design is historicized in Berlin’s history and public memory with educational associations and can be interpreted as a symbol of the complicated history of Berlin.

Following the establishment of the JMB there have been notable philosophical and socio-political conflicts between Libeskind's writings and his intentions for the architectural design, as opposed to the messages directors and curatorial teams have been disseminating *via* the objects and texts chosen for display, as well as through bureaucratic handlings within the museum's staff. Even before the opening of the museum, in 2000, the projected philosophy and mission of the institution shifted; the dramatic architecture, employed with the responsibilities of that of a counter-monument, was paradoxical when read in conversation with the museum space itself which rejects this post-Modern, monumental association (Akcan, 2010).

At the conception of Libeskind's design submission, there are multiple cultural and political factors that must be taken into account in the contemporary debate surrounding architecture and cultural criticism in museology, primarily with the changing representational values of monuments and, in turn, architecture in the West during the Cold War. As opposed to carrying associations of being totalitarian tools and visual symbols of societal values and tributes to deceased individuals, the concept of collective memory became key in the discourse. In a post-Shoah society, the drawbacks of Modernist monuments—of only demonstrating one perspective within the experience of one person or one nation's imposed cultural values—halted cultural continuity with a lack of collective function (Akcan, 2005) and was not deemed suitable for the imperative and unavoidable reconciliation for the perpetrators of the Holocaust with the entirety of the European-Jewish population.

During the 1960s, according to Andreas Huyssen, the West became "obsessed" (Libeskind) with the function of memory and heritage within this attempt at reconciliation, with the rise of an abstract memory coming as a result of a sense of fatigue in the perpetual procession of modernity and consumerism as a Western ideation. People no longer wanted to look forward to the future in exhaustion, but rather nostalgically at the past and to right the wrongdoings of their own societies, with the 1960s to the 1980s not only

being the Cold War era, but also an era of decolonisation, social rights movements, and revisionism in history. Thus, in West Germany specifically, this manifested in the mass production of abstract counter-monuments and Holocaust memorials in the 1980s, such as the *Monument Against Fascism* (1986-91) created by Esther Shalev-Gerz and Jochen Gerz, and Sol LeWitt's 1985 sculpture *Black Form*. For Libeskind's design in 1988, there was a precedent of a post-Modern Conceptualistic approach to monument making and visual culture based on raw emotion as a response to societal trauma and a collective, shared memory, not just by Jewish artists but by artists who empathised with the Jewish community's historic struggle with persecution and pogroms, and mass extermination in the Modern era.

Returning to the idea of Jewish rhetorical sovereignty, Libeskind, who is of Polish heritage and son of Jewish Holocaust survivors (Libeskind, 1992), sought to communicate the void felt in Berlin specifically after the Holocaust through the interplay of two fragmented and torturous lines as the external centrepiece of his architectural design for the JMB. Entitled "Between the Lines", it is informed by geometry and Jewish mysticism with the structure of the building being inspired by a disjointed and "irrational" (Libeskind, 1992) Star of David. While the design was in development, his vision for the JMB has been described as being of three dimensions, with the first being that of a nexus that connects the addresses of famous Jewish Berliners, such as Walter Benjamin, Arnold Schoenberg, and Paul Celan (Libeskind, 1992) to anonymous spiritual, unreal places of Berlin, with the second being that of a musical dimension. Classically trained at the Łódź Conservatory, he was appropriately taken by Schoenberg's unfinished opera *Moses and Aaron*, and for this project Libeskind specifically quoted the final lines of Act III from the composition as Schoenberg wrote it, as is present in the epigraph of this paper. The concluding lines are notable, as it ends in a desperate plea and a sense of isolation with a lack of musical accompaniment; It conveys absence in such a moving way that Libeskind found inspiring in the communication of his message for the design of the building. The third dimension, the textual dimension, was based upon a book

that contained the names of Holocaust exiles and victims, presented in alphabetical order, who were deported from Berlin, for this project was not only for citizens of Berlin's present, but also, in a metaphysical level, a project for citizens of Berlin's past. For Libeskind, the JMP is a place for visitors to define a common heritage within each other, as Libeskind wrote, "Since they all are Berliners, were Berliners, and will be Berliners..." (Libeskind, 1992).

During and towards the end of the construction of the institution, Libeskind's emphasis on the counter-memorial associations his design began to adopt was founded on more explicit and precise language, with the aforementioned dimensions became more pointedly specific in their values as the Berlin Wall fell and Libeskind's mental project developed. He expressed a growing desire for his design to contextualise the impossibility of a Berlin as it is known today without the economic, cultural, and intellectual contributions of its once sizeable Jewish community, as well as to integrate the void created by the erasure of Jewish life into Berlin's cultural landscape as a method to coerce the public to engage in and acknowledge the meaning of the Holocaust so that it becomes ingrained into the memory of the city itself (Libeskind & Binet, 1999).

Libeskind's concept of "the void" is visually apparent and is reason why the building itself can be considered to be a counter-monument. It is not just a tool used for the act of remembering but is also testament to the disillusionment of Modernist monument making and the social need for monument culture to transcend history itself to reflect the generational fear and indignation felt within the Jewish collective memory, not just after the Holocaust but throughout the entirety of Judaism's existence. With its wandering, zig-zag hallways marked by dead-ends and limited light as a result of the knife wound-like windows, the interior is an unconventional and seemingly unfunctional space to be utilized for exhibiting and museal purposes. Empty spaces are demarcated throughout the exhibition spaces, elucidating not only a visual and physical void, but an emotional and mental void as well. When one enters the building through the underground tunnel

leading from the former State Museum of Berlin, one is meant to feel disoriented by the Deconstructivist structure and the desolate concrete forms. As one explores the dark corridors, though the ceilings are high, the architecture creates an illusion of claustrophobia, as if the void is forcibly engaging with visitors and drawing them in deeper to the history of Jewish trauma, with the zig-zagging terrain and obscurity between light and dark emblematic of the perpetual maelstrom experienced within Jewish communities across eras, working as a reminder that this museum isn't only a Holocaust museum, but a monument to the faults and depravity of those who had oppressed and alienated Jews at the outset until now. To Libeskind, who reclaims this narrative and memory as a Jewish person, it is a spiritual memorial to the 'fatality of the German- Jewish cultural symbiosis' and the 'insupportable burden' (Libeskind, 1992) that runs through contemporary Berlin.

The architecture of the museum itself summons a visceral reaction from its visitors. For Jewish and non-Jewish visitors alike, the void can be felt in the empty spaces alone. However, a significant number of Jewish visitors and academics are conflicted as to whether the curation of the JMB satisfies the standard of tone for the museum set by Libeskind.⁵ Ultimately, one can detect a divided sense in academia as to what the JMB actually is: is it Libeskind's architectural masterpiece dedicated to memory and absence or is it the curation and the works exhibited? This conflict is striking because, as mentioned previously, the dichotomy between the two is stark for such a tender subject, with W. Michael Blumenthal, the first director of the museum, rejecting the focus on the Holocaust and Germany's reconciliation as promoted by Thomas Freudenheim, the lead curator, and his curatorial

⁵ There is, of course, the inclusion of *Shalekhet — Fallen Leaves*, an installation piece located in the Memory Void, a symbolic space of the ground floor of the JMB, by Israeli artist Menashe Kadishman, however I would argue that this has become a part of the architecture itself and is a necessary piece of the floor in the Memory Void as it takes on a symbolic meaning that interplays with the architecture, rather than a rhetorical, historical one and so it is separate from the curatorial practices of the museum.

staff. A year before the museum was set to open to the public, Blumenthal replaced Freudenheim as lead curator with Kenneth C. Gorbey and Nigel Cox, curators to the TePaPa Museum⁶ with Blumenthal's JMB once again embracing the integrative model first established in the State Museum of Berlin's Jewish Department to create a museum dedicated to Jewish-German history.

With this dramatic shift, the decision by Blumenthal was—and still is—not a popular one within the Jewish community. Israeli author Tomer Gardi's *Broken German* (2016) begs a startling question that introduces a longstanding, yet evermore puzzling issue: “When a Jew enters the Jewish Museum, does he become part of the exhibition?” (Feller, 2021). Significantly, this question is directed at the primary concerns surrounding the museological framework of the JMB for Jewish visitors: whose museum is it? Is it *for* the Jewish community or *about* the Jewish community? Who has or should have the right to choose the narrative and rhetoric presented in the museum itself? As the JMB is a federally funded institution, the inclusion of the Jewish community in the theoretical processes of memory work has been scarce since its inauguration, with the priority resting upon marketing research and commercial success, intentionally evading the more distressing and unpalatable aspects of Jewish history to become a “family friendly experience” (Friedlander, 2021).

In addition, of the entirety of the curatorial staff, though highly qualified and dedicated, very few were Jewish, and so the presented rhetorical voice of the exhibition texts was driven by a traditional narrative form which many Jewish visitors read as unexpectedly biased and separate from the experiences and memories of the very community it was attempting to engage with on historical and memorial grounds (Friedlander, 2021). This disconnect furthers the “othering” of the Jewish community in a primarily

⁶ “Our Museums History, Part Three: Political Decisions in 2001.” *Judisches Museum Berlin* website. <https://www.jmberlin.de/en/objects-from-our-museums-history-3>

Christian society by catering to Christian perceptions of Jewish history and stereotypes.⁷ As the cultural minority, Jewish people do not have the rhetorical sovereignty to explore and represent their own culture. Evidently, there is a Foucauldian power structure present. Museum directors and curators, especially those belonging to federally funded (rather than private) institutions, possess a level of power that is greater than the short-term memory of our fast-paced society. The human ability to forget is an advantage to museum curators and scholars, who are the perceived authorities on the construction of memory for the wider public through exhibitional messages.

In separating the institution from the magnitude of its architectural vessel, the question that must be asked is if the JMB is doing enough for the furtherment of the Jewish community in the post-Holocaust Germany? As Europe's most well-known Jewish Museum, in focusing on German multiculturalism (Feldman & Pelekeis, 2014), it becomes involved more so in the politics of nostalgia, where the museum can project a biased, positive perspective on the past before the World Wars and Cold War, as opposed to the politics of regret and representing the past in a way so as to represent the aspirations for reconciliation as a state-sponsored museum that was believed to be necessary for the post-Modern ideals of atonement (Sodaro, 2013). It is possible that this was a purposeful model, however, with Libeskind's architectural design itself representing the politics of regret of the Holocaust within the perpetrating nation and political memory of the Jewish community in its struggle for rhetorical sovereignty and self-representation, working in conjunction with the orientation of the politics of nostalgia as it is diffused throughout the exhibition spaces in a celebration of Jewish heritage in a multicultural Germany. Conclusively, with the intentions of this dichotomy

⁷ Though not outwardly stereotyping, the museum focuses on the origins of Judaic peoples as coming to Germany from elsewhere and as associated with commerce, which furthers the stereotypes of Jewish people as "not belonging" to any one place as foreigners, and as greedy and avaricious.

ambiguous, it becomes an intellectual and self-reflective challenge posed to the millions of visitors of the JMB each year.

To conclude, the question of heritage preservation and memory work in the Jewish Museum Berlin comes as a result of the hugely social and political impacts in Germany occurring within the last century. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the question of what it meant to be German pervaded the lost society of the once divided nation, desperately looking to the past in order to define itself from the precedent of what it once was. This, along with the heavy burden of the Holocaust, sought reconciliation to claim a rebirth of renewal in the twentieth century. In representing this endeavour, the JMB as an architectural entity and its representation of Jewishness is at a crossroads with itself in terms of the true subject and narrative of the museum. Ultimately, at least in the present, the JMB appears to have forgotten the intended mission of a true ‘*Jewish Museum*’ and has lost itself in the journey of redefining German heritage, as well as the heritage of millions of Jewish lives lost in the Shoah.

References

- Adorno, T. (1967) “Cultural Criticism and Society.” In *Prisms: Studies in Contemporary Germany Social Thought*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press. P. 34.
- Akcan, E. (2010) “Apology and Triumph: Memory Transference, Erasure, and a Rereading of the Berlin Jewish Museum.” *New German Critique*, no. 110. Pp. 153-79.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40926587>. [Accessed 20/11/2022].
- Bertz, I. “The First Jewish Museum in Berlin.” *Judisches Museum Berlin website*. <https://www.jmberlin.de/en/first-jewish-museum-berlin>. [Accessed 20/11/2022].

- Feldman, J. & Peleikis, A. (2014) "Performing the Hyphen: Engaging German-Jewishness at the Jewish Museum Berlin." *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 23, no. 2. Pp. 43-59. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43234608>. [Accessed 20/11/2022].
- Feller, Y. (2021) "Whose Museum Is It? Jewish Museums and Indigenous Theory." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63, no. 4. Pp.798-824. doi:10.1017/S0010417521000256. [Accessed 20/11/2022].
- Friedlander, M. (2021) "From Object to Subject: Representing Jews and Jewishness at the Jewish Museum Berlin." In *The Future of the German-Jewish Past: Memory and the Question of Antisemitism*, edited by Gideon Reuveni and Diana Franklin. Purdue University Press, pp. 37-50. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv15pjxvw.8>. [Accessed 20/11/2022].
- Huysen, A. (2003). *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Huysen, A. (1997) "The Voids of Berlin." *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 1 Pp. 57-81. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1344159>.
- Huysen, A. (1995) *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*. New York: Routledge.
- Libeskind, D. (1992) "Between the Lines: The Jewish Museum, Berlin." *Research in Phenomenology* 22. Pp. 82-87. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24654490>. [Accessed 20/11/2022].
- Libeskind, D. & Binet. H. (1999) *Jewish Museum Berlin*. Verlag der Kunst. G + B Arts International: Amsterdam. (1999).
- Miller, B. (2005) "The Politics of Memory in the Judisches Museum Berlin, 1999-2004: Curatorial Strategies, Exhibition Spaces, and

the German-Jewish Past." Thesis, Georgia State University.
<https://doi.org/10.57709/1059608>. [Accessed 20/11/2022].

Nora, P. (1989) "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26. Pp. 7-24.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520>.

"Our Museums History, Part Three: Political Decisions in 2001." *Judisches Museum Berlin* website. <https://www.jmberlin.de/en/objects-from-our-museums-history-3>. [Accessed 20/11/2022].

Sodaro, A. (2013) "Memory, History, and Nostalgia in Berlin's Jewish Museum." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 26, no. 1. Pp. 77-91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42636436>. [Accessed 20/11/2022].

What do differences in homicide procedure between the Grágás Laws and the Laws of Scania inform about the societies these laws governed?

Peter Catterall ¹

This article seeks to compare the Treatment of Homicide in the Grágás Laws and in The Ordinance on Homicide in the Laws of Scania. This comparison allows for a more thorough exploration of what the relevant cultures valued, such as personal standing, reputation, retribution, and religion and offers an interesting look into similar but ultimately diverging paths the development of law would follow in northern Europe.

As Njáll reflected in chapter 70 of the saga Brennu-Njál, “with law our land shall be built up and settled, and with lawlessness wasted and spoiled” (Fox, 1963, p. 301). Laws have provided the vital solid foundation of society from the ancient Romans to the present day and the importance of these laws have not been understated historically. Significantly, this is so when addressing one of the greatest threats to the safety and peace in society; homicide. This essay will seek to explore how homicide procedure differs

¹ Peter Catterall is a third-year MA History and International Relations student at the University of Aberdeen. Academically, he has a keen interest in Northern European history, especially Scandinavian studies and the roles of the UN and other global organisations in the pursuit of international and European security. Furthermore, Peter is interested in the laws and strategies concerning conflict resolution, humanitarian intervention and business. After graduating, he plans to go on to study a master’s degree.

between the Treatment of homicide in the Grágás Laws and The Ordinance on Homicide in the Laws of Scania to shed light on not only some of the differences in how penalties and sentences were executed, but also what these differences can reflect about the context and the society these laws governed.

To begin, the early collection of Icelandic laws titled Grágás, also known as the Grey Goose Laws, were the first Icelandic laws to be written down during the winter of 1117-1118. The Grágás Laws were used until they were replaced by the Járnsíða law codes. Also known as the Ironside laws, the Járnsíða was introduced through 1271-1274 by the Norwegian King Magnus VI after Iceland came under Norwegian rule between 1262-1264 (Jakobsson, 2009, p. 1). Homicide procedure in the Laws of Scania is presented in King Knud VI's Ordinance on Homicide, believed to have been published on the 28th of December in the year 1200, which superseded The Book of Heinous Crimes. In Grágás, homicide procedure is presented in the section of the book titled Treatment of Homicide, from K86 through K112. "K" representing Konungsbók, one of two main manuscripts found in Grágás. A range of procedures are depicted through the manuscript providing guidance and details of different cases of homicide. From explaining outlawry (K86), detailing cases of servant killings (K111), how to prepare cases correctly (K89) to who qualifies as principle in a homicide case (K94). Considering the format and length of the two texts, differences can be seen. The Ordinance on Homicide is observably much shorter in size than the Treatment of Homicide. The laws in the Ordinance are presented in nine chapters, addressing the compensation one would need to provide and different penalties for a killing. Likewise, the role of religion in the Ordinance on Homicide and the orality in Grágás present further differences. While the laws presented in Grágás are more reminiscent of the oral tradition which preceded it in both format and style, the Ordinance is much further removed from any remnants of the old oral traditions and is more consolidated literarily and embedded with Christian jargon.

Examples of this are present in both the introduction to the Ordinance with the mention of “the help of God” and chapter 9 which mentions the presence of the Archbishop of Lund (Tamm & Vogt, 2016, pp. 98-101). The date Knud VI published the Ordinance reflects this with the publishing date being on the anniversary of the Massacre of the Innocents, a rather symbolic crossover (Andersen, 2011, p. 137). The wording in the ordinance further reflects religious influence with the use of words such as “cleanse,” for example “cleanse himself by hot iron” (Tamm & Vogt, 2016, p. 100). Although Iceland adopted Christianity peacefully in the year 1000 shortly after Denmark, there are next to no mentions of the church being involved in legislative proceedings in the Treatment of Homicide section of Grágás in comparison to the Ordinance (Jochens, 1999, p. 621). The Ordinance on the other hand was likely influenced by negotiations between the king and the Archbishop Absalon of Lund alongside Peder, the Governor of the city, and numerable magnates or “distinguished men” of Scania (Tamm & Vogt, 2016, p. 101). Remnants of oral traditions are present in Grágás, which explains the difference in length, format and style between the texts with secular authorities holding the majority of authority in homicide procedure (Sigurðsson, Pedersen, & Berge, 2008, pp. 39-40). However, even though signs of orality are present in Grágás the text does present a move towards literary consolidation and away from orality, as can be seen in the observation by Ehrhardt in that only 16 percent of Grágás alliterates (McGlynn, 2009, p. 525).

A similarity between the Grágás Laws and the Laws of Scania can be observed in that there were no unified laws for the whole realm in Denmark. Rather, the laws differed from province to province. This is reminiscent of how disputes were settled in Iceland, as is reflected in Grágás, at the Althing where there was no singular authority figure but rather an assembly where goðar, chieftains, and freemen would gather to resolve disputes. The freemen who would qualify are described in K89 as needing to be able to “ride full days’ journeys and bring in his own hobbled horse after baiting,” would also join their chieftains to solve disputes (Bessason

& Glendinning , 2012, p. 151). Notably, the chieftains had the authority in these proceedings (Sigurðsson, Pedersen, & Berge, 2008, pp. 37-64). However, the specific lack of central authority differs from Denmark because of depicted authority of the king and the church over legislation in the Ordinance. Despite the requirement for the king to attain the acceptance of the magnates of a province, this influence over the law shows a step towards centralizing power. As Moore has stated, clerical culture became “fundamental to all exercise of power in the secular as much as in the religious sphere” and the presence of the church in the Ordinance of Homicide supports this statement (Moore, 2004, p. 82). The Ordinance serves to prove that Denmark was moving towards a more centralised authority over legislative processes. This is similar to the action taken by the Norwegian King Magnus VI with the introduction of *Járnsíða*, the Ironside Laws, which in effect emphasised his authority and brought Iceland under his control through abolishing the *goðar* and reforming the *Althing*.

There is a substantial difference in penalties between the texts. Notably, outlawry is a prominent sentence in *Grágás*. K86 provides descriptions of different cases of assault and the consequent penalties, all of which are different forms of outlawry (Bessasson & Glendinning , 2012, p. 139). The first five assaults, which would constitute to lesser outlawry, are described as situations where a man has cut, thrust, shot, thrown or struck another man (2012, p. 139). The text also specifies intent, which potentially qualifies for the penalty of lesser outlawry. For example, swinging with the intention of landing a blow or if the blow would have landed had it not been stopped, is an example indicating intent. To qualify for full outlawry, one would have to commit one of four assaults. This included felling another, to the point where they would go down to a hand, knee or further, when a man would shake another, when a man wrestles something from another and when a man would throttle someone (2012, p. 139). If found guilty of one of these assaults, the assailant would forfeit his immunity and that of those who knew of his intent, if there were any. There are further cases which would qualify for a sentence of full outlawry. Examples include burning a house

with people inside (K109), not covering the body of a felled opponent and failing to publish the case correctly (K87) or if someone was killed by an animal which was under the responsibility of a man (K88) (2012, pp. 143-169). Although the Ordinance on Homicide does incorporate outlawry, such as in the case where a killer would fail to produce a fine or where the kin of a victim would take revenge and kill the killer after compensation had been paid, the sentence does not feature as prominently in comparison to Grágás (Tamm & Vogt, 2016, pp. 100-101). Instead, there is an emphasis on financial compensation throughout the nine chapters. Chapters 4-7 explain how the fine for killing or wounding was 40 marks to be paid by the killer to both the members of the injured party and the king, with normally 3 marks to be paid to both by any companions (Andersen, 2011, p. 139). To prove innocence, in the case of being accused of delivering a perforating wound and there not being any witnesses, one would need 24 compurgators, witnesses, or two times the oath of twelve (Tamm & Vogt, 2016). The defendant would be required to carry hot irons if two witnesses testified against him to dismiss the accusation (Andersen, 2011, pp. 138-139). As shown in chapters 4-5 and 7-8, if there were no witnesses to a wounding, the defendant could also dismiss accusations with either 12, 24 or 36 witnesses depending on the severity of the crime (2011, p. 147). Furthermore, in the Ordinance, chapters 1 through 3 required the kin of a killer to pay compensation, *ethbot*, after the killer had paid a third of the fine. A requirement only applicable in cases of homicide. If a kinsmen refused to pay, their amount would need to be covered by the other kin of the killer or, in the case where they would not be able to provide it, the king would be responsible for raising the funds. This provided strong incentive for kin to pursue peaceful resolutions and potentially aid in navigating a direct conflict between the kin of the victim and the kin of the killer and prevent further violence. The law also stated that a killer had no legal right to force his kin to pay and if he resorted to stealing from them and was caught, he would be tried as a thief and hanged (Tamm & Vogt, 2016, p. 99).

The financial compensation present in the Ordinance in effect limited violent revenge, which is accepted and almost encouraged in some cases to regain honour in Grágás, and sought to reestablish social peace and balance which had been disturbed by such crimes. Notably, there is a foundational principle which differs here between the Treatment of Homicide in Grágás and the Ordinance. While the Ordinance aims to mostly attain social equilibrium through financial means which would provide compensation relative to a crime, such as a killing or loss of a limb, a more eye for an eye approach is present in Grágás. For example, K86 states a man who was wounded had the right to seek revenge for his wounds up to the date of the General Assembly where the case would be presented. Otherwise his party were allowed to seek revenge on the killer or assailant within 24 hours of the incident (Bessasson & Glendinning , 2012, p. 141). Likewise, K90 states that a man has a right to kill on behalf of six women, including a daughter, wife, mother, sister, foster-daughter and foster-mother (2012, p. 154). If any of these women are forced to lie with another man or if the woman was found in the same bed as another man, lying side by side with the intention of intercourse, a man would have the right to kill the perpetrator even if intercourse had not yet occurred. These laws suggest a society which values keeping face and retaining honour even at the expense of further violence. This is further evidenced by the description in K86 where a man would pull “whatever may do duty as a weapon away from a man, knowing that it will fly back at the other of its own accord when he lets it go,” the act of which would be classed as a punishable blow and could lead to outlawry (2012, pp. 140-141). This concept of honour is likewise reflected by the mention of shame-strokes, which were delt across the buttocks. Significantly, this aspect of revenge is not tolerated in the Ordinance which reflects a society where Christian values are more prevalent.

It is worth noting the Ordinance on Homicide was more severe than The Book on Heinous Crimes, which proceeded the Ordinance and for which the penalty for a revenge killing after fines had been paid would result in a more severe fine rather than perpetual outlawry (Andersen, 2011, pp. 140-

141). Despite this, in comparison to the laws presented in Grágás, outlawry was a less common penalty and the value of saving face or revenge at the cost of further civil unrest was not present. The reason why outlawry and revenge were more prevalent and present in Grágás than in the Ordinance was likely due to the fact that there was no state authority which would manage cases of violence and as a result there could be no punishment for those who carried out private justice. In this way, in Icelandic society private and public perceptions of justice were closely linked.

Another notable difference between the texts is the continuous reference to the king in the Law of Scania. Markedly the prologue, the continuous mention of the charge due to him and the final point of the Ordinance display his involvement in legislative proceedings. Despite the similarity and overlap of the dates of the two law codes, Iceland did not have a king and the settlers seemed to be opposed to a central state which depended on such an office. This fact is observed in the oldest record of the Icelanders as a separate entity and quote by Adam of Bremen in 1074 as “a people not governed by a king but only by its laws” (McSweeney, 2018, pp. 586-587). Instead of a king, Icelanders had chieftains, or *goðar*, who would take part and aid in legal matters at gatherings called *þing*, or the national assembly called a *Alþing*, or *Althing*, which formed the legislative and juridical body of the country. However, significantly this quote was found in one of the later additions of Bremen’s text and there is academic debate over whether Bremen wrote it himself. Interestingly the original quote states that the Icelanders “hold their bishop as king” (2018, pp. 586-587). A statement fairly contradicted by the lack of references to the church in the Treatment of Homicide in Grágás. This contradiction is possibly explained by how in Bremen’s eyes the Icelanders were exceedingly primitive and living in a state of nature, thus to a degree keeping to their traditional ways which made their society function differently than other Nordics societies such as Denmark, but were simultaneously Christian (Hastrup, 1984, p. 244).

In Grágás, K89 states in cases of homicide nine neighbours are called locally from the place of action, if a wound and blow occurred in one

place, to decide on the quality of the blows (Bessasson & Glendinning , 2012, pp. 148-151). The place of action being described in K86 as the area covered within bowshot in all directions where the first action took place (2012, pp. 141-142). If an action took place outside of one of these areas the chieftain to whose group the assailant belonged to was to form a panel of twelve at an assembly, such as the Althing. If a man was to avenge a blow with a blow, he would need to call five of his neighbours to clear him stating that his opponent struck first. If the blow wounded or killed, neighbours of the place of action were to decide on the killing and wounds with a panel of twelve to decide on the blow. The law notes who would qualify as a panel member in terms of kinship, legal involvement, fitness and economic status, such as needing to be in a position to pay attendance dues and to “own a debt free cow or its price” (2012, p. 150). This system of procedure involving the calling of nine neighbours, forming a panel of twelve and the presence of the goðar are not reflected in the Ordinance which only mentions the use of two witnesses no matter whether they were neighbours to the place of action. Observably, this supports the idea of centralising power and the concept that one is responsible to his king more than just his community.

The Treatment of Homicide in Grágás presents a law where there is evidence of a government without a state which addressed issues of violence but relied upon the actions of individuals and private groups to see that the laws were upheld and justice given instead of relying on a state authority to ensure the upholding of the law (Jakobsson, 2009, pp. 1-2). The Ordinance on Homicide in the Laws of Scania was a provincial law which sought to resolve conflicts between individuals through royal authority and thus had the foundations of a state authority through the royal authority of the king. The payment to the king symbolising the fact that an offence against an individual was also one against the state. A fact also noted in chapter 9 of the Ordinance where if an individual opposes the ordinance “he shall not be in doubt that he has offended the king’s majesty and is to be punished with the obligatory punishment” (Tamm & Vogt, 2016, pp. 100-101). As Frederick Pollock states; “civilized communities appear to have gone

through a stage in which it was impossible to say where a private vengeance for injuries ended and the public retribution for offences began” (Pollock, 1899, p. 177).

To conclude, through the study of the differences between the two law texts it is possible to observe how aspects of homicide procedure in these laws reflect the context they were deployed in and shed light on the society that they governed. The Treatment of Homicide in Grágás reflect the Icelandic people and culture, who valued honour and would treat homicide procedure through secular law, despite being Christian, and would rely on individuals to carry out justice even at the expense of revenge or further violence. The Ordinance on Homicide on the other hand was backed by royal authority and there is evidence that it was influenced by papal authority. In this way, while Denmark was in the process of replacing the law, or rather it was becoming intrinsically intertwined and indistinguishable from the law, Iceland had not yet experienced this development. These differences also reflect the different social contexts in which they were written, as is evidenced by the absence of orality in the Ordinance and its presence in Grágás. Further exploration of subjects will shed further light on these societies and cultures as well as this comparison of homicide procedure in the law texts. Questions to consider are how did access and the spread of education aid in the development of written law? And finally, how did the relationship between the goðar and the church develop in Iceland and in what capacity did their secular responsibilities remain?

References

Andersen, P. (2011). *Legal Procedure and Practice in Medieval Denmark*. (J. Hudson, Ed., F. Pedersen, & S. Pedersen, Trans.) Leiden, Netherlands : Brill.

- Bessasson, H., & Glendinning, R. (Eds.). (2012). *Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás I*. (P. F. Andrew Dennis, Trans.) Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Fox, D. (1963). Njáls Saga and the Western Literary Tradition. *Comparative Literature*, 15(4), 289-310.
- Hastrup, K. (1984). Defining a Society: The Icelandic Free State Between Two Worlds. *Scandinavian Studies*, 56(3), 235-255.
- Jakobsson, S. (2009). The Process of State-Formation in Medieval Iceland. *Viator*, 40(2), 1-20.
- Jochens, J. (1999). Late and Peaceful: Iceland's Conversion Through Arbitration in 1000. *Speculum*, 74(3), 621-655.
- McGlynn, M. (2009). Orality in the Old Icelandic Grágás: Legal Formulae in the Assembly Procedures Section. *Springer*, 93, 521-536.
- McSweeney, T. (2018). Fiction in the Code: Reading Legislation as Literature. *Georgia State University Law Review*, 34(3), 581-629.
- Moore, R. (2004). The Transformation of Europe as a Eurasian Phenomenon, Eurasian Transformations, Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries: Crystallizations, Divergences, Renaissances. (J. Arnason, & B. Wittrock, Eds.) *Medieval Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture Encounters in Confluence and Dialogue*, 10, 77-98.
- Pollock, F. (1899). The King's Peace in the Middle Ages. *Harvard Law Review*, 13(3), 177-189.
- Sigurðsson, J. V., Pedersen, F., & Berge, A. (2008). *Making and Using the Law in the North, c. 900-1350: Making Using and Resisting the Law in European History*. (E. M. Günther Lottes, Ed.) Pisa: Plus.

Tamm, D., & Vogt, H. (Eds.). (2016). *The Danish Medieval Laws: The Laws of Scania, Zealand and Jutland*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

The Vegetalisation of Women's Bodies in Han Kang's *The Vegetarian* (채식주의자) and Shin Kyung-sook's *Violets* (바이올렛)

Elisa Taillefesse¹

*From Mother Nature to the Earth Goddess, women have a long history of association with nature in culture and society; literature is no exemption. Han Kang's *The Vegetarian* and Shin Kyung-Sook's *Violets* prove and illustrate this association through the stories of two women who experience a reconnection to nature: while one contemplates her vegetal transformation after becoming a vegetarian, the other immerses herself in a flower shop and blossoms a new obsession with plants, which influences her mental health and social life. Such drastic reconnections to nature lead us to re-imagine what it means for the female body to undergo a vegetal transformation, especially when it comes to their subjectivities. Drawing on Elizabeth Grosz's reading of Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's theories of becomings, I investigate the origins of these women's becoming-plants, the shift that occurs in their subjectivities, and which elements contribute to women's emancipation from oppressive movements. In first approaching the texts through an eco-feminist lens, the texts reveal the overlapping violence both nature and women are submitted to and are strongly forced to*

¹ Elisa Taillefesse (she/her) is a final-year student in MA English with Creative Writing at the University of Aberdeen and will graduate in the summer of 2023. Alongside writing and reading novels, her interests lie in exploring feminist and queer theories, with a special focus on East-Asian literatures. After graduating, she plans to build her career as a writer, while always keeping a foot in academia by contributing to literary studies with a comparative approach to French, English, and East-Asian literatures.

perpetuate. I nuance my take by considering the Korean background of these stories and by making use of Yi Young-Suk's Saeng-Myung feminism. My research concludes that the main distinction between the vegetal transformations of Han Kang's and Shin Kyung-Sook's protagonists and their shifts in subjectivity lies in their sensitivity to life.

In *Undomesticated Ground* (2000), Stacy Alaimo writes that 'casting woman as synonymous with nature actually constituted woman as "woman", that is, as a completely sexed being. Defining woman as that which is mired in nature thrusts woman outside the domain of human subjectivity, rationality, and agency' (p.2). Her statement is particularly interesting when analysing Han Kang's obsession with Korean poet Yi Sang's line, 'I believe that humans should be plants' (Chandran, 2017, p.22), since it not only hints at a review of the concept of the body but also of subjectivity. More precisely, she implies that humans would gain something from transforming into plants and shifting their subjectivity which they would not necessarily acquire by keeping their human form. It is specifically the transmutation of female bodies into plants that this essay aims to investigate in Han Kang's *The Vegetarian* (2015) and Shin Kyung-Sook's *Violets* (2022). I will first consider the very reconceptualisation of the body as composed of assemblages in perpetual metamorphosis; the subsequent part focuses on the Deleuzian becoming-plant, while the last part explores what these becomings involve through the introduction of Eco-feminism and *Saeng-Myung* Feminism.

Before establishing any connection between women and nature, it seems crucial to focus on how bodies are conceptualised in *The Vegetarian* and *Violets*. To do so, I will explore Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's work on the body through Elizabeth Grosz's reading in *Volatile Bodies* (1994). Grosz recognises Deleuze's and Guattari's theorisation of the body as a valuable framework for feminists since they understand the body as 'more in terms of what it can do [...] the transformations and becomings it

undergoes, and the machinic connections it forms with other bodies' (1994, p.165). Their idea of becomings can be achieved in three stages, namely desire, intensity, and affect.

Firstly, Grosz notes that Deleuze and Guattari review the concept of desire which, instead of being perceived as a lack—with which women have constantly been associated—is an 'actualization, a series of practices, bringing things together or separating them' (1994, p.165). Desire produces *assemblages*, 'linkages of elements, fragments, flows, of disparate status and substance' (1994, p.167); the body, thus, is understood as 'fragments of a desiring machine' (1994, p.168). Shin Kyung-Sook writes in *Violets's* 'Afterword' that San 'is unable to express her confused desire for love and connection' (2022, p.211). And indeed, it is with this theme that the novel opens:

There is a green grass stain blotting Namae's small, sloped back; the blot is softly, tenderly spread across the white. Without thinking about it, San reaches out with her fingers to touch the spot when Namae whips around. Their eyes meet. "You saw it!" San is speechless. "You saw the birthmark on my back, right? Namae's voice trembles. "I didn't want anyone to see it." San says nothing. "I'd forgotten about it." Namae's eyes fill with tears of rage. (2022, p.11)

A Biblical reading of this passage is tempting: like the Forbidden Fruit, there is something prohibited, almost sinful, about the Mongolian spot. Namae herself 'didn't want anyone to see it,' yet San cannot avoid the desire to connect with it. Once she does, San acknowledges Namae's singularity, which 'threatens their being two of a kind' (2022, p.11). The Mongolian mark also occupies *The Vegetarian's* second part, in its title and theme; although it first provokes sexual arousal from In-Hye's husband, he then realises that

this is the body of a beautiful young woman, conventionally an object of desire, and yet it was a body from which all desire had been eliminated. But this was nothing so crass as carnal desire, not for

her—rather, or so it seemed, what she had renounced was the very life that her body represented. (2015, p.85)

Desire being ‘eliminated’ should not be misinterpreted as a lack, for Yeong-Hye’s body is not to be read as an ‘absence that strives to be filled through the attainment of an impossible object’ (Grosz, 1994, p.165); instead, it is to be read as her refusal of ‘plenitude,’ of oneness; it is a ‘body which, though this [is] not visible to the eye, [is] also ceaselessly *splintering*’ (2015, p.85, my emphasis). In this sense, Kim Mi-Jeong clarifies Deleuze and Guattari’s theory by writing that desiring machines ‘determine the direction of “becoming,” that is, what the subject will become’ (2020, p.329).

In being so, the body is accessible to intensities—or flows—, which constitute a crucial part of Deleuze’s and Guattari’s reconceptualisation of the body as the “Body Without Organs” (BwO) (2020, p.329). The Body Without Organs is not to be understood as an organic space, in which organs occupy their place following a hierarchy; rather, Deleuze and Guattari exemplify it as an ‘egg, which instead of being composed of three kinds of substances is fluid throughout [...]. [It is] its state before the extension of the organism and the organization of the organs, before the formation of the strata’ (Grosz, 1994, p.169). Only in this state can flows circulate. The term ‘flows’ is particularly interesting when speaking about the BwO contextualised in East Asia since it is reminiscent of the Chinese’s *Qi*, Japanese’s *Ki*, and Korean’s *Gi*—氣, which is ‘a universal energy which courses through people’s bodies and connects them with the [*gi*] energies of the universe’ (Rosenberger, 1992, p.68). Like *gi*, the BwO does not stratify intensities and refuses propriety, thereby making the BwO ‘never yours or mine. It is always *a* body’ (Grosz, 1994, p.170). San refers to such a body when recalling ‘*the* body that [she] saw and *the* body [Namae] saw take form’ (Shin, 2022, p.152, my emphasis), and the narrator of ‘Mongolian Mark’ testifies that ‘never before had he set his eyes on such *a* body, *a* body which said so much and yet was no more than itself’ (Han, 2015, p.87, my emphasis). I would argue, however, that Yeong-Hye’s and San’s BwO can be differentiated by the movement of intensities: in San’s case, the BwO is

full in that *gi/intensities* are destroyed; they do not circulate, thereby ‘vitrifying the body, rendering it fragile, amenable to invasion’ (Grosz, 1994, p.171). San’s amenability to invasion is observable through the photographer’s ‘[slipping] into her body’ (Shin, 2022, p.122). San is haunted by the photographer and struggles against the hold he has on her insofar as it induces her flows of pain—a ‘headache’—and disconnects her from Su-Ae (Shin, 2022, p.129). Conversely, Mr Cheong fails to recognise Yeong-Hye when she becomes a vegetarian (Han, 2015, p.52): Yeong-Hye displays an empty BwO. In other words, her intensities move so quickly that Yeong-Hye prevents their free circulation, the freeing of ‘lines of flight’ (Grosz, 1994, p.171), and is unable to communicate them to other BwO.

So, desire and intensities represent the direction and force of becomings, the ‘transition from one mode to another’ (Kim, 2020, p.329). Becomings are not simply the mimesis of a human or non-human entity but the connection with it, the adoption of its abilities and its links to other bodies. This is *affect*; ‘Affects are becomings’ (Grosz, 1994, p.169). Grosz mentions that, for Deleuze and Guattari, ‘all becomings begin with and pass through becoming-woman,’ significantly characterised by the ‘little girl’ (Shin, 1994, p.174). Interestingly, *Violets* begins with ‘a little girl’ (Shin, 2022, p.1); Shin highlights her significance by saying that she represents ‘a woman punished by violent men in a cruel city because she is unable to express her confused desire for love and connection’ (2022, p.211). Han also implicitly conveys the little girl figure through Yeong-Hye’s refusal to wear a bra (2015, p.5). Her husband comments that, if ‘[he] became quite aroused’ (Han, 2015, p.5) after discovering that Yeong-Hye never wears a bra, he realises after that she is not ‘trying to send any kind of [sexual] signal’ (Han, 2015, p.5). And when he reproaches it to her, she argues that ‘[he]’d never worn [a bra himself] so [he] couldn’t understand how constricting it felt’ (Han, 2015, p.6). In their depiction, both Shin and Han suggest that the little girl is not the object of ‘(pederastic) fantasy’, ‘pure innocence’ or ‘the romantic figure’, but the ‘site of a culture’s most intensified disinvestments and re-castings of the body’ (Han, 2015, p.175). Becomings, and most

specifically becoming-woman, do not render bodies as organic, phantasmatic, and fixed entities, what Deleuze and Guattari call ‘molar’ and ‘majoritarian’; instead, they are ‘molecular’, ‘minoritarian’, ‘rhizomatic’, in perpetual transformation and expansion (Grosz, 1994, p.177). They imply a political resistance against patriarchal power dynamics since the aforementioned ‘molecular’ body rejects all forms of hierarchisation, binarisation and sexualisation—all relations that impact the free circulation of intensities. Therefore, Deleuze and Guattari’s theorisation of the body renders both Yeong-Hye and San as more-than-human entities who, in this respect, are entangled with nature.

Consequently, San’s and Yeong-Hye’s becoming-woman is only the first step of their becoming-something. Precisely, it is becoming-plant that permeates San’s and Yeong-Hye’s bodies. Yeong-Hye’s becoming-plant begins when she becomes a vegetarian. After cutting her finger with a knife, Yeong-Hye has recurrent ‘dreams of murders’ (Han, 2015, p.28), of which she is the perpetrator. These dreams originate from a traumatic childhood episode caused by the family’s dog, Whitey, biting Yeong-Hye’s leg. Yeong-Hye remembers that her father drove ‘the dog to keep running until the point of death [to] make the meat tender’ (Han, 2015, p.41) and that her family, being wary of superstitions, ate the dog for Yeong-Hye’s wound to heal (Han, 2015, p.42). Kim Won-Chung mentions Carol J. Adams’s *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, in which Adams writes that “‘patriarchy is a system of sexual discrimination inherent in the relationship between humankind and animal” and that “meat is a symbol of patriarchy”” (Kim, 2019, p.6). Although Yeong-Hye claims that ‘[she] really didn’t care’ (Han, 2015, p.42) about Whitey’s violent death and the subsequent feast they had over his flesh, her recurrent dreams symbolise her trauma and the realisation of her implication in patriarchal discriminations against human and non-human bodies. This is made more explicit when her mother argues: ‘When we stop eating meat, the world will devour you whole’ (Han, 2015, p.48). As a result, Kim Mi-Jeong justly pinpoints that

Yeong-Hye's rejection of meat is to be read as her struggle to become a "nonpredator," [...] leading her to eventually refuse to continue existing as a human being, a predator. (Kim, 2020, p.333)

Yeong-Hye even refuses to comply with her husband's sexual demands since '[his] body smells of meat' after he showered (Han, 2015, p.17). Yeong-Hye is not referring to the smell itself but to Mr Cheong's intensities, which she rejects since she purges her body from flows suffused with violence, whence also her disconnection from her relatives, who conversely maintain it.

San's becoming-plant is different. Instead of changing her eating habits, she modifies the intensities of her BwO when changing her environment and accepting the job at the flower shop, which is 'an unexpected oasis' (Shin, 2022, p.17) where 'annoyed pedestrians[']s frowns melt into contented sighs at the sight of lush green plants' (Shin, 2022, p.17) and which 'revitalises [San]' (Shin, 2022, p.28). This 'oasis,' however, suggests that the insertion of the BwO in the flower shop makes San vulnerable to intrusive flows. Indeed, once Choi Hyun-li enters the space, San 'takes a step back' after being 'surprised by the man's unexpected introduction' (Shin, 2022, p.30), and she feels 'awkward' (Shin, 2022, p.30), 'dazed' and 'inexplicably insulted' after he 'gives her shoulder a playful tap' (Shin, 2022, p.31). Her stepping back and remaining silent all along their one-sided conversation epitomises her lines of flight from the patriarchal violence that Choi characterises.

Another point that suggests the becoming-plant is the importance of clothing and of the white colour. Lee Yeseung (2021) writes that

as the permeable membrane between the 'outside' and 'inside' of the body, skin has a powerful symbolic function of generating metaphors for boundaries between the self and others. This symbolic function of skin is perhaps most powerfully present in clothing. (p.2)

In *Violets*, San makes a point of focusing on Choi's 'white ramie shirt' (2022, p.31) while, in *The Vegetarian*, white is also predominant in clothing (e.g., 'white ankle-length nightdress' (2015, p.7), Mr Cheong's 'white shirt' (2015,

p.10), etc.) but also in other materials like ‘white china’ (2015, p.41) or Whitey, her dog. White pervades the visual landscape, human and non-human bodies. It is also significantly known in Korean culture for representing Koreans, long ago called the ‘white-clad people’ wearing traditional white *hanboks* as symbols of nationalism and culture under the Japanese colonisation (Lee, 2021, p.2). Interestingly, Yeong-Hye fights this idea of nationalism, also hinting at a patriarchal culture, by first becoming vegetarian in a meat-eating culture, then by splashing ‘the shock of red [blood]’ (Han, 2015, p.41) on white china and soaking with blood In-Hye’s husband’s white shirt (Han, 2015, p.66). Blood here is to be read, in very generic terms, as soiling nationalism with violence. Choi Yoo-Jin (2013) goes even further by interpreting the blood as ‘the distress of Korean women who, in a metaphorical sense, have been murdered, devoured, and buried in the history of patriarchal Korea’ (p.217). San’s fight against ‘white-clad people’ is more subtle:

She stares until the white of the petals pierces back into her eyes, losing all sense of distance, leaving her feeling empty inside. Whenever this happened, she would close her eyes. Trying to overcome the lethargy that felt like she was falling into a hollow of white. (Shin, 2022, pp.86-7)

Anton Hur’s translation choice ‘pierces’ is relevant when San’s resistance is read as going beyond the physical, organic—molar—dimension; San combats the invasive intensities of her BwO.

Yet, neither vegetarianism, the suppression of white, nor the insertion into a vegetal environment is enough for the becoming-plants of these women. Indeed, San realises that even inside the flower shop can violence occur when she meets the photographer for the second time; he implicitly compares violets, which are fragile, and Venus’s eyelash (Shin, 2022, pp.114-5), which are carnivorous plants that eat insects and ‘small mammals like rats’ (Shin, 2022, p.133). Their association with San is made by the photographer, whose ‘frown disappears’ only when he forces her to model with the violets, despite the bright light, which is both aggressive and

painful for both them and San (Shin, 2022, p.90), and who insists on ‘how beautiful [San’s] eyelashes are’ (Shin, 2022, p.115). San is exposed to two becoming-plant models, one who is the prey and the other the predator. One should also note that the latter is a failing becoming-plant since Venus’s eyelash ‘[has] separate organs for digestions’ (Shin, 2022, p.133); the flower symbolises the organic and molar, and more metaphorically patriarchy. Similarly, Yeong-Hye ‘thought all [she] had to do was stop eating meat’ for the dreams to disappear (Han, 2015, p.115), yet they do not. Thus, in ‘Mongolian Mark’ Yeong-Hye works with her brother-in-law on a video project that displays naked bodies painted with flowers. In-Hye describes his art in ‘Flaming Trees’ as ‘scenes of flight’ that are ‘[lacking] connection to the overall subject’ (Han, 2015, p.130). Indeed, whilst he first paints Yeong-Hye’s body by focusing on the Mongolian mark, which is ‘vegetal’ and calling ‘to mind something ancient, something pre-evolutionary, or else perhaps a mark of photosynthesis’ (Han, 2015, p.83), he then abuses Yeong-Hye’s becoming-plant by determining ‘J’s penis as the centre’ of the huge flower on his body (Han, 2015, p.102) and wanting them to have sex (Han, 2015, p.104). It is not so much the act of having sex that interferes with her becoming, since sex is a way for her to connect with the flowers (Han, 2015, p.109), but rather it is the re-objectification of her body, a body reduced to men’s desire, control, and power.

Eventually, Stacy Alaimo’s claim that ‘defining woman as that which is mired in nature thrusts woman outside the domain of human subjectivity’ (2000, p.2) is correct because ‘woman as that which is mired in nature’ should be interpreted as a becoming—specifically becoming-plant, in both novels—, which elevates Yeong-Hye and San to more-than-human subjectivities. These becomings entail a ‘substantial remaking of the subject’ (Grosz, 1994, p.175) while re-evaluating ‘the coagulations, rigidifications, and impositions required by patriarchal [...] power relations’ (Grosz, 1994, p.176) present not only between men and woman but also between men and nature.

In this respect, an eco-feminist reading of *Violets* and *The Vegetarian* is appropriate and a good starting point to critically consider what Yeong-Hye's and San's becomings entail. Rincy Chandran (2017) writes that eco-feminism examines the conditions that cause and perpetuate the subordination of both women and nature and, therefore, it 'declares that all forms of oppression are connected' (pp.21-2). This can be explored through the ethics of care tackled in both novels. *The Vegetarian's* third part 'Flaming trees' presents such toxicity in familial and relational care: after their parents abandon Yeong-Hye and sever contact with In-Hye, In-Hye cannot 'bring herself to abandon her sister' (2017, p.139). Lee Seul (2022) mentions Kim Eunjung's 'proxy for cure' to describe In-Hye's position:

In a culture that values communal unity, the society assigns to healthy family or community members (usually women) the task of becoming "curative agents." As Kim clarifies, "A proxy . . . exhibits devotion to cure and the continued manifestation of the desire for a painless, normatively shaped and functioning body, as if to stop wanting a normal body is itself morally corrupt, even pathological". (Lee, 2022, p.8)

In-Hye repeatedly attempts to persuade Yeong-Hye to eat insofar as she even negotiates Yeong-Hye's wish to leave the hospital: 'If you promise to eat I'll get you discharged' (Han, 2015, p.156). Yet, at that point Yeong-Hye has evolved in her becoming-plant: more than a vegetarian, she now believes that she is transforming into a tree, that 'all the trees of the world are like brothers and sisters' (Han, 2015, p.144), and she goes so far as to root herself by planting her two arms in the earth (Han, 2015, p.148) and claiming that 'all [she needs] is sunlight' (Han, 2015, p.154). In Yeong-Hye's eyes, her behaviour is normal, while to doctors she is suffering from schizophrenia (Han, 2015, p.141); Yeong-Hye's subjectivity is in disjunction with that of society. Consequently, Lee Seul explains that

In-hye's care centers on the responsibility for identifying and meeting the needs of others, but it calls for problematizing care

imperatives in terms of self-sacrifice for the duty to care and ethical violations in the practices of care responsibility. (Lee, 2022, p.3)

Yeong-Hye and In-Hye are, thus, put in opposition since Yeong-Hye's becoming-plant implies the refusal of violence towards any living beings, even if that means her self-sacrifice, against which In-Hye fights (Han, 2015, p.157).

In *Violets*, the flower shop's owner reveals that 'trees are like people. They grow well if you love and care for them' (Shin, 2022, p.27). This sentence echoes all throughout the novel, with San's role as 'woman to look after the flower' (Shin, 2022, p.17). She envisages that 'taking care of the plants might be a kind of consolation for her sinking heart' (Shin, 2022, p.53); her self-care depends on the plants but is endangered when San '[cuts] leaves or branches' of a bonsai (Shin, 2022, p.66) and when Su-ae informs her of the replanting of the papaya palms on Korean territory, which climate does not fit that of the plant (Shin, 2022, p.99). Both make her uncomfortable (Shin, 2022, p.66), leave her 'unable to sleep' (Shin, 2022, p.67) and without words: '...' (Shin, 2022, p.99). This, I believe, calls out one of the many drawbacks of Deleuze's and Guattari's theoretical framework, that Grosz herself points out: the act of '[deterritorializing] women ([subverting their social status in society]) and their subjectivities only [reterritorializes] them as part of a more universalist movement of becoming' (Grosz, 1994, p.183). When once San believes that looking after the flowers would help her reach her dream of 'never being bothered by anyone in a large room of her own with a wide table' and wash 'away her childhood feelings of loss and abandonment' (Shin, 2022, p.193), she then realises that it is impossible and that she will always be the victim of the 'looming' excavator—the very representation of patriarchal Korean society, 'ready to swallow' her (Shin, 2022, p.210). In deterritorialising both Yeong-Hye and San through their becoming-plant, their more-than-human subjectivities are modified but only reterritorialised in a position where they are still playing an active part in generating violence.

Furthermore, posing women as either ‘synonymous’ or ‘mired with nature’ reminds us of the Western concept of Mother Nature/Earth, deeply rooted in eco-feminist thoughts. The relationship between women and nature is undeniable, yet one should be cautious of the link established by eco-feminists that women and nature are similar in their experience of suffering from violence (Yi, 2010, pp.28-9). Yi Yong-suk (2010) criticises this perspective and, instead, proposes *Saeng-Myung* feminism (*saeng-myung* 생명 means ‘life’), which understands women’s and nature’s relation through their connection to *life*. According to Yi, ‘life is gendered ([one should understand ‘gendered’ as ‘oppressed’ here]) according to social structure’, like the body (Yi, 2010, p.25), whence the ‘[manifestation] of control and violence involved in women’s lives’ (Yi, 2010, p.23). Eco-feminism, which is globally a Western theory, fails to encompass the experiences of Korean women, who ‘recognize nature as “oneness” with themselves’ in that they do not identify themselves as ‘the subjects (agents) and nature the object, but [they] support the recuperation of the subjectivities of life’ (Yi, 2010, p.29). By contrast, *Saeng-Myung* feminism puts women, nature, and life as ‘co-subjects’ and does not ‘require nature as a point of reference’ when dealing with systems of oppression against women (Yi, 2010, p.30). Similar to this line of thinking, Shin voices her difficulty to understand the relation between *Violets* and the documentary *Buena Vista Social Club*, which is extensively mentioned in her novel, yet she makes it clear when translating lyrics: ‘*I want to hide my pain from the flowers. I don’t want to tell them of life’s suffering. Because if they know my sadness, the flowers will cry too*’ (Shin, 2022, p.207). She looks ‘directly at the reality of gendered life through women’s issues themselves’ (Yi, 2010, p.30). In doing so, Shin and *Saeng-Myung* feminists develop a sensitivity for life, which despite being undeniably present in *The Vegetarian*, still follows an eco-feminist perspective of taking nature as a referential point in, for instance, Yeong-Hye’s dreams and of failing to recognise the life present within Yeong-Hye’s own body, thereby rendering her becoming-plant auto-destructive.

Although I cannot claim that Han Kang and Shin Kyung-Sook followed a Deleuzian conceptualisation of the body while writing *The Vegetarian* and *Violets*, Elizabeth Grosz's reading of Deleuze's and Guattari's becomings enlightens about the representation of Yeong-Hye's and San's bodies. They are read not as corporeal, sexualised, and fixed entities influenced by binary oppositions but as fragments in perpetual transformation and movement diverging from patriarchal South Korea. Han and Shin propose female characters undergoing a becoming-plant, which connects women with nature through their sensitivity to life. As a result, it thrusts women into this in-betweenness, a more-than-human state that continually reviews their subjectivities and opens them to different realities which make them perceived as mentally ill and irrational, and deprive them of their own agency. This sensitivity to life, nevertheless, would recognise the value of life in every human entity, put them on an equal foot, and it would also come as a solution to dealing with bodies impacted by other political issues, such as mentally and physically disabled bodies.

References

- Alaimo, S. (2000). *Undomesticated Ground: Recasting Nature as Feminist Space*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Chandran, R. (2017). The Flowering of Human Consciousness: An Ecofeminist Reading of Han Kang's *The Vegetarian* and "The Fruit of My Woman". *International Journal of English and Literature (IJEL)*. 7(4). 21—28. Accessed 9 November 2022 from: <https://doi.org/10.24247/ijelaug20173>
- Choi, Y-J. (2013). Male Violence and Female Body in Kang Han's *The Vegetarian*. *Feminist Studies in English Literature (FSEL)*. 21(3), 205—235. Accessed 13 November 2022 from: <https://doi.org/10.15796/fsel.2013.21.3.008>

- Grosz, E. (1994). *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*. Bloomington, US: Indiana University Press.
- Han, Kang. (2015). *The Vegetarian*. (D. Smith Trans.) London, UK: Granta Books.
- Kim, M-J. (2020). A Deleuzian Reading of ‘Becoming-plant’ in Han Kang’s Writing: ‘The Fruit of My Woman’ and *The Vegetarian*. *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*. 61(3). UK: Routledge, 327—340. Accessed 9 November 2022 from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00111619.2020.1713716>
- Kim, W-C. (2019). Eating and Suffering in Han Kang’s *The Vegetarian*. *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*. 21(5). Indiana, US: Purdue University Press. Accessed 9 November 2022 from: <https://doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.3390>
- Lee, S. (2022). Enforced Conviviality and the Violence of Care in Han Kang’s *The Vegetarian*. *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*. UK: Routledge. Accessed 9 November 2022 from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00111619.2022.2051420>
- Lee, Y. (2021). The white-clad people: The white hanbok and Korean nationalism. *Cultural Dynamics*. London, UK: Sage Publishing. 1—26. Accessed 5 December 2022 from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/09213740221117811>
- Rosenberger, N. R. (1992). Tree in Summer, tree in Winter: movement of self in Japan. In N. Rosenberger (Ed) *Japanese Sense of Self*. Cambridge University Press. 67—92.
- Shin, Kyung-Sook. (2022) *Violets*. (A. Hur Trans.) London, UK: Orion Publishing Co.
- Yi, Y-S. (2010). Gendered Life and *Saeng-Myung* Feminism: The Localization of Eco-Feminism in South Korea. In S. Bergmann and

Y-B. Kim (Eds) *Religion, Ecology & Gender: East-West Perspectives*. Lit Verlag.

Aaron Cohen's Argument Concerning Differences Between First World War Narratives Published in Soviet Russia and by Russian Émigrés

Marie Søbørg Grib¹

In the aftermath of the Russian 'continuum of war' much historiography has emphasised how the Inter-war period constituted a time with little collective memory regarding the First World War within the Russian population. This is attributed to the fact that the war did not fit the foundation myth of the USSR. However, I emphasise how this interpretation overlooks important aspects of Russian remembrance since it gives too much significance to the official communist narrative. In this essay, officer memoirs published in the USSR will be compared to memoirs from the Russian émigré community to understand how event such as the outbreak and the Imperial family are remembered in subsequent decades. Following this, I will argue that the memory of the war did prevail in the Inter-war period with different interpretations being presented within Russian memoirs and memoirs from Russian immigrants.

¹ Marie is a third-year History and Politics student. She is Danish but chose to study in Scotland since they do not have split degrees in her home country, meaning that she would have had to choose either history or politics after Secondary School, which she did not want to do. As such, she is most interested in the grey zones between these two schools. However, recently she has started to see a preference for history within her academic interests and thus hopes that she will be able to specialize in collective memory studies after her undergraduate degree.

Much attention has gone into the history of memory of the First World War from a Western perspective (Winter, 2014; Prost, 1992; Mosse, 1990; Winter and Prost, 2020). After years of being overlooked, historians have started to address this topic in a Russian context as well. However, since this remains a fairly new branch of research, no historiographical consensus has appeared yet. On the one hand, Vera Tolz (2014, p. 259) argues that the war was “forgotten” since it did not fit the foundational myth of the Soviet Union. Catherine Merridale (2001; 1999, p. 62) likewise argues that the interwar period was a troublesome time for Soviet Russia and thus, little time could be spared on memories of the past. Counter to this line of argument, Karen Petrone (2011) has found that a multiplicity of accounts prevailed during the interwar period, especially at the “margins” of society. Aaron Cohen (2003) agrees that different perspectives were present, but, according to his work, the most significant difference is found between publications within the Russian territory and the Russian émigré community. When addressing the question, my primary source selection will be based on officer memoirs. Two of these were written within the Soviet Union, whereas the other five were written by Russian officers who had fled the country. Military personnel have been identified as “a major constituency in Russia Abroad” which is why I argue that their narratives are all the more relevant to this topic (Ibid.). Based on this, I will first investigate how officers remembered the outbreak of the war, and then, I will examine how they described the Imperial family.

Methodology

By using military memoirs, I take inspiration from ‘*Personal trajectories in Russia’s Great War and Revolution, 1914-22*’ with its emphasis on ego-documents, and since my focus is on the memory of the First World War during the interwar period, the writings of my primary sources took place during this time (Amacher and Schenk, 2021, p. 7). Nevertheless, the use of memoirs, like any other historical primary source,

suffers from a specific set of limitations such as the potential discrepancy between the time and place of the events and the time and place of the writings of a memoir (Stoff, 2015). However, as I am investigating the *memory* of the war, these omissions are the very points of interest. Much historical research based on memoirs has highlighted how their source selection might be a limitation to their analysis since accounts that are insufficiently “representative of the diverse population” might overlook certain nuances (Ibid.). Yet, since my sourcing is based on prior literature on the Russian émigré community, I argue that my focus on officer memoirs is a valid set of boundaries (Cohen, 2003). However, I must also acknowledge that my selection is dominated by accounts from the émigré community due to the limited availability of memoirs. My two primary sources published in the Soviet Union are: Bonch-Bruyevich’s book *‘From Tsarist general to Red Army Commander’* (1966) and Brusilov’s memoir *‘A soldier’s Notebook 1914-1918’* (1930). The Russian émigré memoirs are: Denikin’s *‘The Russian Turmoil; Memoirs: Military, Social, and Political’* (1922); Fedotoff-White’s *‘Survival through War and Revolution’* (1939); Loukomsky’s book *‘Memoirs of the Russian revolution’* (1922); Sukhomlinov’s memoir *‘Vospominaniia. Memuary’* ([n.d.]); and lastly Wrangel’s *‘Always with Honour’* (1936).

In this essay, ‘memory’ will be treated as a reconstruction of the past into a “coherent, imaginative pattern” which can give insides into the society in which it was produced (Cohen, 2003). When discussing my topic, I argue that Aaron Cohen’s article from 2003 remains the most central secondary source concerning the memories of the First World War within Soviet Russia and the Russian émigré community, while Karen Petrone’s impressive research on the memory of the First World War in Russia also highlights essential nuances regarding this topic (Petrone, 2011). Other authors have investigated case studies regarding the émigré community in France, the UK or the US, and as such, none have added significantly to Cohen’s piece in a cross-cultural context (Hassell, 1991; Staristina, 2013; Harold, 2015). Ultimately, Cohen argues that the émigré community constructed an

emphasis on the “idealized pre-revolutionary Russia” when addressing the memory of the First World War, whereas Soviet Russia described the war as an “ahistorical symbol of imperialist [...] war” as part of their new Bolshevik narrative (Cohen, 2003.). Building upon this distinction, I will investigate whether or not military memoirs produce similar patterns, or if Cohen’s argument needs to be amended.

The Outbreak of the War

Twentieth-century Europe was not just a century marked by political change but also by significant demographic changes (Kaya, 2002). Estimates of immigration from Russia during the interwar period vary substantially, with figures ranging from 2,500,000 to 5,000,000 (Smele, 2016); among these at least 200.000 settled in France (Hassell, 1991). Following this wave of migrations, it should come as no surprise that authors have identified an emphasis on severe loss and nostalgia within this community when referring to their past (Staristina, 2013). In addition to this, Cohen has found that ‘Russia Abroad’ resisted “cultural assimilation, preferring instead to cultivate a Russian identity” (2003). In sum, it can be inferred that ‘Russia Abroad’ had the opportunity to build a highly homogeneous society within their new surroundings based on the numbers and characteristics of this migration.

The First World War in Russia started with the Tsar’s decision to support Serbia and to mobilise its army against Austria-Hungary and its allies (Smele, 2016). This chain of events is referred to as the ‘July Crisis’ and started on the 28th of July after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand (Stevenson, 2004). These events have been described extensively by General Alexander Lukomsky:

After the events that had taken place at Sarajevo in July 1914, and after the irreconcilable attitude of Austro-Hungary with regards to

Serbia, His Majesty the Emperor of Russia issued the order, in the night of July 29th, to mobilize the Russian corps. (1922)

Firstly, the General is very critical of Austria-Hungary when calling their actions “irreconcilable” and thus the blame is put on their shoulders; secondly, the naming of Serbia is significant as they were an ally of Russia. Even though General Anton Denikin does not mention Serbia by name, the same sentiments are found in his memoir: “There was no question on our part of aggressiveness or self-interest. To sympathise sincerely with the weak and the oppressed was in keeping with the traditional attitude of Russia” (1922). Said in other words, the blame is not put on Russia or the Tsar in émigré memoirs, but on the aggressor Austria-Hungary and its ally Germany. Lukomsky especially expresses himself in absolute terms: “everybody considered that Germany was to blame in everything” (1922).

Similar points can be found in memoirs published inside the Russian territory. Alexei Brusilov also argues that the Tsar had no other choice: “He cannot possibly be blamed for its occurrence, for he could not help intervening on behalf of Serbia” (1930). However, Brusilov also described how the Russian “clumsy policy” had led to a “noisy encouragement of Kaiser William” which led to the outbreak of the war (Ibid.). As such, it is fair to say that the support of the Tsar is amended significantly. The same sentiment is expressed by General Mikhail Bonch-Bruyevich. He remembered telling his men in 1914 that:

Russia had stepped on no one's toes, had not started the war, but had merely stood up for the Serbs, who were a kindred people of the same Slavic origin and who had been the victim of an armed assault by Austria-Hungary. (1966)

This is a clear echo of Brusilov’s opinion. Yet, like him, Bonch-Bruyevich also nuances his statement when adding that he recollected the “speech of mine with mixed feelings” in the years to follow (Ibid.). It is difficult to tell whether these changes are a candid reflection of the officer’s memory, or if

it is a mirror of the Bolshevik ideological narrative. However, the inclusion of these observations still tells a story regarding the memory of the war.

It can thus be summarised that memoirs written by Russian émigrés express a positive attitude towards the Tsar’s decision to declare war on Austria-Hungary. Russia simply protected their ethnic family and thus did nothing wrong. This framing has many parallels to Cohen’s arguments regarding the émigré community. Firstly, the emphasis on Slavic ties might be interpreted as a nostalgic retrospect regarding the ethnic origins of the Russian community; and secondly, it may also be part of a broader rejection of the assimilation process in new foreign settings. In some respects, similar points can be found in memoirs published in Soviet Russia. Both Brusilov and Bonch-Bruyevich describe how they initially supported the Tsar’s declaration of war, yet this support was critically adjusted. Consequently, I argue that the descriptions of the outbreak of the war is one area where the Soviet officers might have been the subject to the Bolshevik censorship. At least, the possibility of ideological modifications cannot be excluded.

Following this note, it also has to be highlighted that, even though Cohen identifies military immigration as a “major constituency in Russia Abroad” surprisingly little time is in fact spent on this issue in his seminal piece (2003). Following this critique, my account should thus be seen as the initial steps taken towards tackling this deficit by investigating a topic that has otherwise been overlooked. As seen in the analysis above, I note that some differences between the two officer groups might be explained by ideological restrictions within the Soviet Union, while other similarities, such as an initial positive reaction to the outbreak of the war, still prevails. As such, space should be given to these nuances. This should not be understood as a final conclusion, but rather as an initial evaluation of Cohen’s arguments.

The Imperial Family

Memoirs published inside Russian territory and memoirs published within the Russian émigré community were subject to different external boundaries. During the First World War, all belligerent countries, Russia included, introduced censorship (Petrone, 2011). However, it must be noted that the Russian “continuum of war” changed the use of surveillance and censorship both quantitatively and qualitatively (Holquist, 2002). This did not mean that the Bolshevik regime was able to fully control the narratives concerning the memory of the First World War, especially during the first half of the interwar period (Petrone, 2011); however, Petrone has found that later publications within Soviet Russia were affected by more rigorous censorship after the turn of the 1930s (2013). Contrary to this, memoirs from the émigré community were not published under these regulations and could thus play a different role within the Russian diaspora; instead, these narratives became important means to maintain the social and “institutional cohesion” within émigré communities (Cohen, 2003). Consequently, one can infer that the memory of the First World War had an equally political purpose outside Soviet Russia as inside it (Ibid.). They were simply the subject of different systematic boundaries.

Building upon the description of Bolshevik censorship, it should come as no surprise that memoirs published inside Soviet Russia were critical of the Tsar. As an example, one can look at Bonch-Bruyevich’s memoir where he writes:

I could never properly reconcile the required adulation with the story of the head injury sustained in Japan by the tsar [...] with the tsar's addiction to drink; and, finally, with Rasputin, whose influence on the tsar's family could be neither explained nor justified. (1966)

Firstly, the General attempts to taint the Tsar’s character by questioning a former injury and by describing him as a drunk. Secondly, he also links the Tsar to Rasputin which appears to be an even worse offence. Bonch-Bruyevich even goes as far as to say that Rasputin was “the last uncrowned ruler of the crumbling empire” (Ibid.). Similar points can be

found in Brusilov's memoir. He also describes the Tsar's reign in very negative terms such as a "bewildering shilly-shallying, which ruined our Army" but nothing as categorical as expressed by Bonch-Bruyevich above (Brusilov, 1930). However, they still share the same critical memory of the Tsar and his regime.

Furthermore, there appear to be some parallels between the narrative in Bonch-Bruyevich's memoir and the Russian émigré community. This is exemplified by Denikin's summary of the summer of 1915:

The Emperor, influenced by the entourage of the Empress and of Rasputin, decided to take the Supreme Command of the Army. Eight Cabinet Ministers and some politicians warned the Emperor against this dangerous step, but their pleadings were of no avail. (1922)

Again, Rasputin is identified as a bad influence on the Tsar. Yet, this is also where the resemblance ends. Rather than condemning the Tsar, Denikin critiques the Tsarina. Officer Peter N. Wrangel, and later the last General in command of the Volunteer Army, similarly describes how he and other individuals had warned the Tsar about the dangers of where the dynasty was heading. But the Tsarina remained the only one who "could not or would not see it" (Wrangel, 1936). These negative descriptions concerning the Tsarina were often accompanied by comments about her German origin or her flawed personality (Sukhomlinov, ([n.d.]). Only Dimitrii Fedotoff-White was a clear exception to this critique of the Empress and instead expresses his empathy towards the Imperial family (1939).

Ultimately, the different memoirs appear to share some similarities. This is clearest when discussing the figure of Rasputin. The memoirs published inside Soviet Russia identify him as a key figure when discussing the issue of blame alongside the Tsar himself. Similarly, the memoirs written by the émigré community are very condemning of Rasputin but equally so of the Tsarina. Here, it is important to emphasise that the criticism of the Tsarina does not extend to her husband. It's difficult to say whether it was a conscious political decision to critique Rasputin and the Empress within the

émigré community. Yet the likelihood that all but one émigré memoir expresses the same attitude towards the issue of blame is somewhat slim. Thus, I argue that my analysis regarding the critique of the Tsarina echoes Cohen's argument of political cohesion within 'Russia Abroad'. It is evident that the Imperial family, and more specifically the Imperial couple, is one aspect where the differences between the two officer groups are the most apparent.

My findings, both regarding the outbreak of the war and the Imperial family, cannot stand alone. Cohen's central article on the Russia abroad suffers from a specific shortcoming regarding his lack of focus on the officer group inside and outside Russia. Yet, this shortcoming might be due to his extensive investigation of other topics. Due to the scope of this essay, my primary source selection includes seven officer memoirs, all translated into English. Cohen, on the other hand, uses a much larger selection of sources (including newspaper articles, organisation manifestoes, and personal correspondence) in both Russian and English. Thus, his thematic and methodological approach encompasses a much larger diversity. Following this, Cohen builds upon the methodological critique of memory studies that stresses the need for a varied source selection (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995; Confino, 1997; Kansteiner, 2002). Following this critique, my project does not address the "reception by the common man" which similarly has been highlighted as a clear methodological drawback regarding certain examples of collective memory studies (Confino, 1997). In summary, my contribution to the historiographical debate should be seen as an accompanying and nuanced argument to that of Cohen's and should not be read by itself. Our arguments are not mutually exclusive but rather complementary.

Conclusion

Following Petrone and Cohen's research, I argue that the First World War was not a forgotten war within Russian communities during the interwar period. Both officer memoirs published in Soviet Russia and within the émigré community clearly address this epochal event and as such the memory of the war did prevail. Following Cohen's findings, one might expect to find two distinct narratives concerning the First World War: one published in Soviet Russia and another published within the émigré community. Overall, my analysis supports this, yet certain nuances also emerge and deserve to be mentioned. When investigating the outbreak of the war, many similarities are striking, especially regarding the initial response to the Tsar's declaration of war. Later, when turning to the issue of the Imperial family, the relationship with Rasputin (be it with the Tsar or the Tsarina) once again ties the two officer groups together. Thus, I argue that Cohen's findings deserve further revisiting, putting issues such as censorship to the forefront of future analyses.

References

Primary Sources

- Bonch-Bruyevich, M. (1966). *From Tsarist general to Red Army Commander*. Progress Publisher.
- Brusilov, A. (1930). *A soldier's Notebook 1914-1918*. Macmillan and Co.
- Denikin, A. (1922). *The Russian Turmoil; Memoirs: Military, Social, and Political*. Hutchinson & co.
- Fedotoff-White, D. (1939). *Survival through War and Revolution*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Loukomsy, A. (1922). *Memoirs of the Russian revolution*. T. Fisher Unwin

Sukhomlinov, V. A. ([n.d.]). *Vospominaniia. Memuary*. ([n.p.]).
http://dugward.ru/library/xxvek/suhomlinov_vospom.html#moyproc
c [Accessed 5/12/22] (translated by DeepL)

Wrangel, P. (1936). *Always With Honour*. Robert Speller & Sons.

Secondary Sources

Amacher, K. and Schenk, F. (2021). Introduction. In Korine Amacher and others (Eds.), *Personal trajectories in Russia's Great War and Revolution, 1914-22: biographical itineraries, individual experiences, autobiographical reflections* (pp. 1-12). Slavica Publishers.

Assmann, J. and Czaplicka, J. (1995). Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. *New German Critique*, 65(1), 125-133.

Bourke, J. (2004). Introduction 'Remembering' War. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39(1), 473-485.

Cohen, A. (2003). Oh, That! Myth, Memory, and World War I in the Russian Emigration and the Soviet Union. *Slavic Review*, 62(1), 69-86.

Confino, A. (1997). Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method. *The American Historical Review*, 102(1), 1386-1403.

Harold, D. (2015). *Russian Exiles in Britain, 1918-1926: The Politics and Culture of Russia Abroad*. Unpublished Honours Dissertation, Northumbria University.

Hassell, J. (1991). Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars. *American Philosophical Society*, 81(1), i-vii+1-96.

- Holquist, P. (2002). *Making War, Forging Revolution: Russia's Continuum of Crisis, 1914-1921*. Harvard University Press.
- Kansteiner, W. (2002). A Methodological critique of Collective Memory Studies. *History and Theory*, 41(1), 179-197.
- Kaya, B. (2002). *The Changing Face of Europe – Population Flows in the 20th Century*. Council of Europe Publishing.
- Merridale, C. (1999). War, death, and remembrance in Soviet Russia. In Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (pp. 61-83). Cambridge University Press.
- Merridale, C. (2001). *Night of stone: death and memory in twentieth-century Russia*. Viking.
- Mosse, G. (1990). *Fallen soldiers: reshaping the memory of the World Wars*. Oxford University Press.
- Petrone, K. (2011). *The Great War in Russian Memory*. Indiana University Press.
- Petrone, K. (2013). The Great War and the Civil War in Russian Memory. In Murray Frame and others (Eds.), *Cultural History of Russia in the Great War and Revolution 1914-22* (pp. 259-272). Slavica Publishers.
- Prost, A. (1992). *In the wake of war: "les anciens combattants" and French society*. Berg Publishers.
- Smele, J. (2016). *The "Russian" Civil Wars, 1916—1926: Ten Years That Shook the World*. Oxford Academics.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190233044.001.0001>
[Accessed 12/11/2022].

- Staristina, N. (2013). On Nostalgia and Courage: Russian Émigré Experience in Interwar Paris through the Eyes of Nadexhda Teffi. *Presses Universitaires du Midi*, 22(1), 38-53.
- Stevenson, D. (2004). *1914-1918 The History of the First World War*. Allen Lane.
- Stoff, L. (2015). *Russia's Sisters of mercy and the Great War: more than binding men's wounds*. University Press of Kansas.
- Tolz, V. (2014). Modern Russian Memory of the Great War, 1914-20. In Eric Lohr and others (Eds.), *The Empire and Nationalism at War* (pp. 257-286). Slavica Publishers.
- Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*. Cambridge University Press.
- Winter, J. and Prost, A. (2020) *The Great War in History: debates and controversies, 1914 to the present*. Cambridge University Press.

Altruism and Prosociality in Behavioural Economic Research – A Psychological and Philosophical Analysis of Prosocial Interactions

Veronika Wendler¹

Kahneman and Tversky's research challenged traditional economic assumptions about human rationality and decision-making, showing that people often make decisions that are not consistent with rational economic models. Their work laid the foundation for the development of behavioural economics, which seeks to incorporate insights from psychology and other social sciences into economic analysis. After a brief overview of the concepts of altruism and prosociality in the domain of behavioural economics I will analyse and interpret game behavioural data from the Neuroeconomics lab at Queen's University in Canada. Lastly, I will contrast the findings with theories in social philosophy. Using a modification of the dictator game, a behavioural economic game consisting of a hybrid choice between keeping more money for oneself or spending more money on another participant, we investigated people's altruistic decisions based on their social status and the status of another player. Participants were assigned a rank through a pre-game condition which classified them into novice, intermediate, or expert. The investigated sample involved 43 women and 64 men

¹ Veronika Wendler is an undergraduate psychology student who spent her second year of studies at Queen's University in Canada where she worked as an undergraduate research assistant at Queen's Neuroeconomics laboratory. She conducted the analysis under the supervision of Dr. Tusche and Dr. Janet who have given their approval for the presentation of their data in this essay. She is very inspired by their research and learned a lot from the scientists in the Neuroeconomics lab. Veronika is hoping to pursue a master's degree in neuroscience after her bachelor's degree.

($M_{age} = 34.27$ years, $SD_{age} = 5.77$) who were randomly assigned to the move 0 (losing status) ($n = 60$) and move 1 (gaining status) ($n=47$). Applying a generalised linear mixed model analysis in R, we found an inverse relationship between the status of the player and the recipient with low self-status and high other-status predicting relatively less altruistic choices. Interestingly, participants of intermediate status did not show such a preference pattern but seemed to make random choices regarding the other participants' status.

Altruism and Prosociality in Behavioural Economic Research – A Psychological and Philosophical Analysis of Prosocial Interactions

The field of behavioural economics is concerned with the investigation of human interaction driven by economic incentives. It is widely studied under the framework of decision-making assessing situation-variables that influence an agent's choice from psychological, cultural, emotional, and health perspectives while distancing itself from standard economic decision theory. The standard economic theory emphasizes an individual's endeavour for utility maximisation while putting little emphasis on the role of human sentiments in decision making, which thereby entails irrational behaviour. Besides their somewhat limited influence, sentiments such as predisposed attitudes, individualistic values, and moral judgments explicitly and implicitly guide the decision maker. Yet, social phenomena such as prosociality and altruism vastly oppose even the many modifications of standard economic decision theory in that the underlying reasons for an individual's behaviour must be motivated by the need to benefit others. Fundamentally, such propensities violate economic utility maximisation and are thus of great interest to researchers in the fields of economics, psychology, neuroscience, and philosophy, investigating this paradox. Defining prosociality from a historical and ideological viewpoint can be best ascribed to the work of Enlightenment philosophers, while the empirical assessment of its influence on behaviour describes a core element of

experimental research in social sciences. In this essay I want to review predispositions through an investigation of behavioural economic games concerned with prosociality, altruism and status while referring to and contrasting with research from this domain to modern philosophical theories of social philosophy. The first part will involve the analysis of independently investigated behavioural economic data from the Neuroeconomics lab at Queen's University in Canada. In a second instance, I will explore social interactions through the critical assessment of statements from contemporary philosophers.

Behavioural Economics and Decision Making

As mentioned above, the domain of behavioural economics is concerned with the individual's underlying intentions regarding an economic decision process. The deviation from rationality implies difficulty in understanding the individual's assessment of all possible outcomes (Kanev & Terziev, 2017). Ultimately, the interest lies in contrasting socially- or rationally induced behaviour with objectively observed behaviour, diagnostically explaining such behaviour, and possibly forecasting future events (Tusche & Bas, 2021). The beneficiality of this research applies to improvement of standard economic diagnosis through viewing the human as a biased agent with main responsibility regarding the failure and success of economic interactions (Ilut & Schneider, 2022). It is important to mention that in accordance with Kanev & Terziev's (2017) view, the labelling of this field as "behavioural economics" might be misleading in the sense that many economic studies essentially follow a behaviouristic approach, and that the method of scientific assessment in the domain of "behavioural economics" rather implies a cognitive perspective. Rooted in neoclassicism, it fundamentally distanced itself by building on the structures of behaviourism a new field concerned with the study of mental processes (Núñez et al., 2017). Adding the prefix "neuro-" extends previous methodologies through the possibility of neuroimaging. Methods such as EEG

(electroencephalography) and fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging) are non-invasive techniques to study brain activity in response to stimuli. Such methodologies allow for increased precision in forecasting consumer choice through the identification of brain networks involved in the decision process while also considering subconscious influences guiding the participant. EEG measures the electrical activity in the brain, while fMRI measures changes in blood flow which allows for correlations between the brains underlying activity and a mental or behavioural response. The labelling “neuroeconomics” thus describes a subcategory of this field that, as a technologically advanced approach, adds valuable insight into the neural connections underlying decision making. Without doubt, the father of behavioural economics was the Scottish philosopher and economist Adam Smith. Smith was the first to demonstrate a fundamental discrepancy between people’s economically motivated actions, which he discovered to be non-rational and of limited conscious participation, and the assumption of a rational “homo economicus”. His first observations, undermining the character of irrational choice, addressed morality, over-confidence, and loss-aversion. Later extensions to the field of behavioural economics include voting intend, health care, terrorism, criminality, and environmental issues (Ashraw et al., 2005). It cannot be ruled out that Smith’s pioneering research lay the foundations for Neisser to develop experimental cognitive psychology as the new branch of inter-disciplinary psychology. However, it was not until Raiffa introduced “Decision Analysis: Introductory Lectures on Choice under Uncertainty” that behavioural economics was exclusively assigned the analysis of decision making (Bell et al., 1988). Researchers like Kahneman and Tversky highly influenced the field of decision theory through their theories on dual processing and the role of effortless, automated thinking. To date, a major branch covers the behavioural game theoretical approach, concerned with mathematical modelling and analysis of strategic decisions regarding altruism, fairness, and task framing in experimental applications such as the dictator- and ultimatum game (Tusche & Bas, 2021).

Data Analysis - Neuroeconomics Lab- A. Tusche

Prosociality, altruism and fairness are concepts commonly studied through the lens of the game theoretical approach. While altruism refers to the tendency of positioning other people's intentions before one's own, merely concerned by other's welfare, prosociality as a precursor does not exclude the possibility of underlying selfish intentions (Hui et al., 2009). Doctors and nurses might display prosociality on a day-to-day basis by providing excellent health care to their patients. Even when it entails the cost of risking one's own life, by saving other people, firefighters arguably make up another example of prosociality in the workplace. Bearing in mind the double-edged sword of anthropomorphism, recent studies have pointed towards shared features of prosociality and altruism observed in chimpanzees that undertook hybrid choice tasks (Horner et al., 2011). The primates were observed making prosocial choices without solicitation, with female chimpanzees displaying a greater tendency for such behaviours. On the other hand, the concept of fairness seems trivial at first, yet requires further explanation under the framework of behavioural economic game theory. Fairness in the dictator game driven is described by Güth et al. (2001) as the choice of an equal split over an unequal split with subjects more often choosing the equal split when no other information is given. To allow for greater generalisability to every day social interactions, we implemented a ranking system into our dictator game which assessed the effect of social status of the self (player) and the other (recipient) on the frequency of altruistic choices. The following abstract taken from Engel (2003), citing Güth et al.'s (1982) approach of the ultimatum game, provides a quick example of the nature of popular behavioural economic laboratory research:

You will be matched at random with two other students, and you will get to share some money with one or both of them. If the two people made different decisions in the first stage [...] then you must make a decision about how to allocate the money. Call the person who took \$10 and gave the other one \$10 student E (for even). Call the person who took \$18 and gave the other one \$2 student U (for

uneven). Your choices are as follows: you may allocate \$5 to yourself, \$5 to student E, and nothing to student U; or you may allocate \$6 to yourself, nothing to student E, and \$6 to student U.

Hereby, the results demonstrate that fairness exists even when players are anonymous, and that private money will be spent non-rationally for the purpose of punishing those who do not act fairly. These early experiments initiated a rapid movement of economic research concerned with the underlying cognitive discrepancies. A modification of the ultimatum game that we implemented, is called the dictator game, which includes only two players. The player (self) is presented with a monetary choice between two different price options (Figure 1). While the default option always presents an equal split it is only regarded as altruistic option when the amount of money presented for the player (self) is higher than the amount of money for the recipient. Hence, in the decision process, the player is either in an advantageous or disadvantageous condition. The advantageous condition represents a choice between the default option and an alternative option in which the player would receive either more money (advantageous condition) or less money (disadvantageous condition) than the recipient. In our dictator game, players were given the impression of facing another player, however, this was manipulated to account for a greater degree of mundane realism. To effectively study inter-individual differences in the sensitivity to the self-status and the status of the recipient, the players were assigned a status-ranking after completion of a dots-game. The participants were presented with briefly flashed images of black dots and made subsequent estimations regarding their number. This was implemented for the purpose of creating the impression that the participants' performance determined their later status, and in an equal manner, the status of the recipient. However, in our procedure every participant started in the intermediate rank which represented the middle rank of three: Novice, intermediate, or expert. In the following trials the players either lost or gained a rank; we subsequently analysed the frequency of altruistic choices through examination of the combined effects of the player's status, the status of the recipient and their

move (loss or gain of rank). The original data includes a 3 x 3 design where the players faced all rank/status possibilities. In this brief analysis, I will assess only a concise subset of the original data set. The sample involved 43 women and 64 men ($M_{\text{age}} = 34.27$ years, $SD_{\text{age}} = 5.77$) who were randomly assigned to the move 0 (losing status), ($N = 60$), and move 1 (gaining status), ($N=47$). To control for the possibility of a learning effect over the trials, it was made sure that offer spaces were created so that the expected value remained the same across all dictator game trials. After model comparison, we applied a general linear mixed model using the REML algorithm in R (Figure 2). Our results show no significant interaction between the combined effects of the move and the player's – and the recipient's status on the frequency of altruistic choices; however, main effects of the player's- and the recipient's status were found (Figure 3-5). A significant interaction between the self and the other was identified in the condition where participants lost a rank. We point out an inverse relationship between the status of the player and the recipient with low (high) self-status predicting relatively less (more) altruistic choices and high (low) other status predicting relatively less (more) altruistic choices. This means that while the player gained status, the probability of choosing the altruistic option increased; however, with the recipient gaining status, altruistic choices decreased. Similarly, the loss of the player's status was significantly correlated with a decrease in the frequency of altruistic choices for the recipient (Figure 2). Interestingly, contrary to novice and expert ranks, participants who remained in the intermediate ranks across trials did not show the aforementioned pattern, rather utilized random choice regarding the allocation of money. In contrast to the inverse relationship between the player's and recipient's status, it can be assumed that participants of intermediate status were missing a valid strategy, possibly, due to higher uncertainty and a lack of orientation. Consistent with this view, Puauschunder (2017) argues that the process of status orientation demands from the individual to make decisions relative to a reference point. Such a reference point seems easier to grasp when the self- and other's status are placed on lower ends of a scale (novice vs. expert). Quite effectively, a possible visualisation of the decision curve of our study

might be described in orientation to Jenkin's et al.'s (2017) effects of social perception on inequity aversion, modelled as a function of participant's perceived warmth (Figure 6). The graph serves the purpose of indicating the decision boundary pointing out a region of "uncertainty" in which the participant's choice seems unclear regarding either option. In its vicinity the probability of choosing randomly is thus higher and decreases towards the extremes. In a similar concept – social status uncertainty – the decision maker cannot identify possible outcomes of his or her choice thereby requiring longer response time as well as risking cognitive load (Hauge et al, 2016).

Prosociality and altruism in the modern and postmodern world of psychology and philosophy

Zaki et al. (2021) divide prosociality into "generalised prosociality" and "tainted prosociality" of which the former considers the latter in a broader, rather optimistic light. A special notion on empathy and morality is made as it reflects a necessity through which self-interest facilitation benefits the greater good. Tainted prosociality purely categorizes interpersonal relationships as transactional means in which its components, trust, and empathy, are thinly disguised. These explanations are not new to the field of economic social interaction and are related to the famous debate regarding the well-known "Adam Smith problem". The Scottish enlightenment economist and moral philosopher Adam Smith unintentionally initiated the debate, due to incompatibility of his books "The theory of moral sentiments" and "The Wealth of Nations", which, to this date, is still reflected upon in incomprehension. The debate is concerned with the paradoxical view of the human being as driven by selfish intent, yet innately moral in its actions. (Wells, 2013). For Smith, the acquisition of knowledge occurred via one's senses (Wells, 2013). Regarding sentiment, Smith pointed out the discrepancy between rational and non-rational reasoning eminent in the economic marketplace. How come there be rationality when decisions are

the product of the continuous assessment of other's intentions, emotions, and beliefs? He concluded that inferring other's mental states to assist the guidance of one's own behaviour, must be innately and uniquely human. Consistent with this idea one must only look at theories in developmental psychology stating the importance of face-recognition for infants, the tendency to focus on other people from the youngest age (Lewis et al., 1966), and the broad, domain-specific regions that face-recognition covers in the human cortex (Kanwisher, 2000). Supporting this view, Philippe et al. (2022) suggest that when given only little information, naturally, the assessment of other people's intentions becomes more difficult. However, the brain is able to dynamically track people's intentions in situations of informational uncertainty regarding cooperation or competition.

Contemporaneously, the philosopher Hobbes argued against Smith stating that humans' interactions follow selfish goals by nature, that people show innate altruistic aversion and hide aggression behind an artificial mask of sympathetic concern (Chadwick, 2021). In his famous book *Leviathan*, he went even as far as to advocate for a strong central government with absolute authority over all citizens to prevent chaos and violence which he believed characterized the human state of nature. To this day, few contemporary intellectuals address the prevalence of these social issues in our modern society as provocatively, yet accurately as Peter Sloterdijk. The philosopher, professor for cultural studies, and aesthetics at a modern media and technology institution in western Germany, supports the Hobbesian point of view as he perceives the current state of the human within society as "cynical" and – in its actions – far from morality (Sloterdijk, 1987). While drawing parallels to Hobbes' cynical picture of human intent, he appears to be in partial agreement with Smith on perceiving this intent as an unfinished, non-holistic representation of behaviour, which, when "zoomed in", appears "dis-embedded" from its former position (Van Dijk, 2018). What he calls "false consciousness" is reflective of a misleading perception of all prosocial acts as hidden acts of competition. This is representative of Zaki et al.'s (2021) assumption of the phenomenon of "false market cognition", fuelling

modern cynicism through such self-fulfilling prophecies. In a similar manner, Becker et al. (2021) showed that when asking participants to engage in thoughts about a future marketplace defined by neoliberal norms of deregulation and hyper-individualisation, severe feelings of distress and loneliness were triggered. This was due to the very fact of a false awareness of competition, one we can call “cynical”. The kind of polarisation which occurs in the behavioural game theoretical approach would, from Sloterdijk’s perspective, presumably be a highly generalisable and valid one, for it embodies the subdivision into binary classes. Decisively, this is what he perceives to be unique to every culture, whether demographically or created frankly through somewhat ecumenical “trainings-systems”.

Religious cultures are founded on the distinction between the sacred and the profane; aristocratic cultures base themselves on the distinction between the noble and the common; military cultures establish a distinction between the heroic and the cowardly; athletic cultures have the distinction between excellence and mediocrity; cognitive cultures rely on and cultivate a distinction between knowledge and ignorance. (Critique of Cynical Reason, 1983)

In examining crowd theoretical phenomena, Sloterdijk’s ideas of “collective emotionality”, or “emotional synchronisation” find support in neuroscientific research. Drawing on recent findings in affective neuroscience, inter-brain-synchronisation during social interaction has the potential to predict collective team performance; that is, stronger synchronous activation in specific regions of the cortex is predictive of successful later team performance (Diego et al., 2021). By reflecting on a hypothetical “decision boundary”, his analogies to cognitive equilibria propose the notion of an individual’s self-positioning on mental scales. Hereby, he refers to Smith’s understanding of sympathy as a product of social comparison through which an individual’s self-awareness is only possible after morally judging the actions of others, and thus cannot be excluded from economic interactions. In doing so it would ultimately imply the denial of self-awareness (Berry, 2012). Following Nietzschean logic,

Sloterdijk continuously refers to the individual as its “own experimenter”, responsible for creating boundaries of moral judgement (Lemm, 2014).

Despite the thoughtful annotations on morality, it must be stated that Sloterdijk’s ideas should be treated carefully and within a certain distance to empirical findings in research on moral predispositions. As pointed out by Weibel (2011) Sloterdijk is a product of his philosophic-artistic scene, his theories, heavily influenced by the ideological foil of an innately instable dynamic, given his social surround and vista. Undoubtedly, he is a rhetorical genius, seemingly able to provide answers to almost every current issue. Nonetheless, he alternates between the axis of his mental cartesian diagram in the generation of theories. A process, unquestionably attention-grabbing. As self-fulfilling prophecy has it, what else is there to expect from a philosopher in the spotlight of the masses than posing unconventional statements to remain the focal point of attention? Yet, as can be taken from Schelling’s manuscripts – having influenced Sloterdijk to a notable degree – the ramifications of philosophy are to discover through “intellectual contemplation” (Weibel, 2011). As his rhetorical abilities make up the largest part of his occupation, clearly the primary intention is to continuously reveal them, but it is not to look for the truth. “*Esse est percipi*” (George Berkeley) – “*to be is to be perceived*” – hence, one can ask, what value does the philosopher have when he is not perceived?

Lastly, in accordance with Zaki et al.’s (2021) concerns regarding self-fulfilling prophecies in behavioral economic research, one must view the philosopher and the researcher as biased individuals, prone to self-confirmation. In the process of distinguishing between the many concepts while pressured to make impactful findings, simple task-framing can unintentionally highlight individualistic tendencies which might lead to the perception of human nature in merely neoliberal ways. Not only does this affect the validity of one’s findings it preeminently fosters the creation of a poor pool of scientific papers, skewing scientific legitimacy. For the enhancement of scientific rigor, it is therefore crucial for psychological,

economical, and neuroscientific research to critically question their own approaches from time to time.

Figures

Figure 1

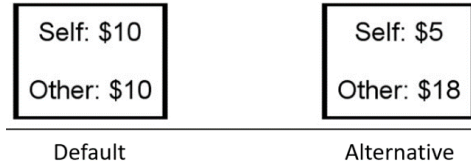


Figure 2

Linear mixed model fit by REML. t-tests use Satterthwaite's method [lmerModLmerTest]
 Formula: `Raw ~ self * other + (1 | subID)`

Move 1

Predictors	Raw		
	Estimates	CI	p
(Intercept)	0.22	0.18 – 0.27	<0.001
self [s2]	0.01	-0.02 – 0.03	0.657
self [s3]	-0.01	-0.03 – 0.01	0.337
other [o2]	0.02	-0.01 – 0.04	0.135
other [o3]	-0.01	-0.03 – 0.02	0.579
self [s2] × other [o2]	-0.02	-0.05 – 0.01	0.290
self [s3] × other [o2]	-0.02	-0.05 – 0.02	0.308
self [s2] × other [o3]	-0.01	-0.05 – 0.02	0.361
self [s3] × other [o3]	0.00	-0.03 – 0.03	0.906
Random Effects			
σ^2	0.00		
τ_{00} subID	0.02		
ICC	0.88		
N subID	47		
Observations	423		
Marginal R ² / Conditional R ²	0.004 / 0.880		

Move 0

Predictors	Raw		
	Estimates	CI	p
(Intercept)	0.25	0.20 – 0.29	<0.001
self [s2]	-0.01	-0.03 – 0.01	0.303
self [s3]	0.03	0.01 – 0.05	<0.001
other [o2]	-0.02	-0.04 – -0.01	0.012
other [o3]	-0.03	-0.05 – -0.02	<0.001
self [s2] × other [o2]	0.02	-0.00 – 0.05	0.074
self [s3] × other [o2]	-0.01	-0.04 – 0.01	0.327
self [s2] × other [o3]	0.04	0.01 – 0.06	0.004
self [s3] × other [o3]	0.02	-0.00 – 0.05	0.058
Random Effects			
σ^2	0.00		
τ_{00} subID	0.03		
ICC	0.92		
N subID	60		
Observations	540		
Marginal R ² / Conditional R ²	0.011 / 0.925		

Figure 3

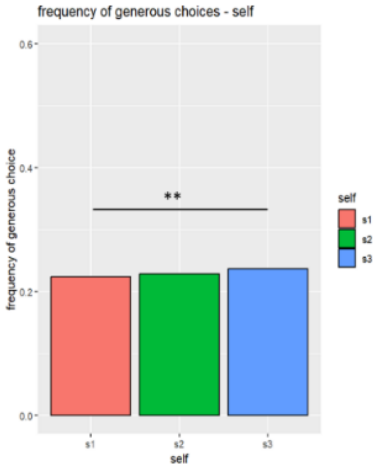


Figure 4

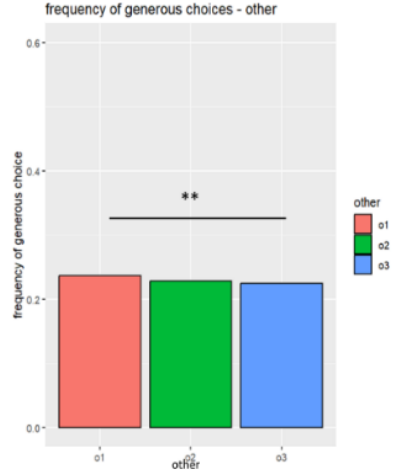


Figure 5

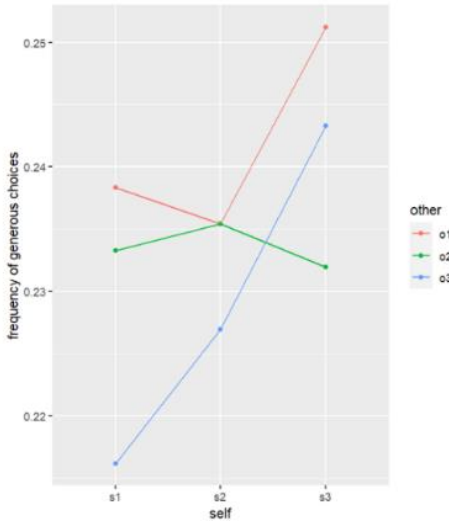
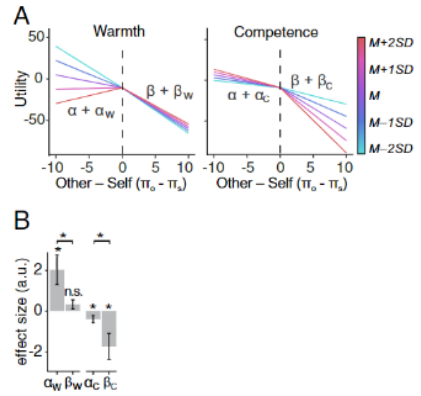


Figure 6

Effects of social perception on inequity aversion (Jenkins et al., 2017)



References

- Ashraf, N., Camerer, C. F., & Loewenstein, G. (2005). Adam Smith, behavioral economist. *Journal of economic perspectives*, 19(3), 131-145.
- Becker, J. C., Hartwich, L., & Haslam, S. A. (2021). Neoliberalism can reduce well-being by promoting a sense of social disconnection, competition, and loneliness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 60(3), 947-965.
- Bell, D. E., Raiffa, H., & Tversky, A. (Eds.). (1988). *Decision making: Descriptive, normative, and prescriptive interactions*. Cambridge University Press.
- Berry, C. J. (2012). Adam Smith's "Science of Human Nature". *History of Political economy*, 44(3), 471-492.
- Chadwick, Alexandra. "Hobbes and Hume on Human Nature: "Much of a Dispute of Words?"". *A Companion to Hobbes* (2021): 463-477.
- Diego A Reinero, Suzanne Dikker, Jay J Van Bavel, Inter-brain synchrony in teams predicts collective performance, *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience*, Volume 16, Issue 1-2, January-February 2021, Pages 43–57, <https://doi.org/10.1093/scan/nsaa135>
- Engel, C. (2011). Dictator games: A meta study. *Experimental economics*, 14, 583-610.
- Güth, W., Huck, S., & Müller, W. (2001). The relevance of equal splits in ultimatum games. *Games and Economic Behavior*, 37(1), 161-169.
- Hauge, K. E., Brekke, K. A., Johansson, L. O., Johansson-Stenman, O., & Svedsäter, H. (2016). Keeping others in our mind or in our heart? Distribution games under cognitive load. *Experimental Economics*, 19, 562-576.

- Horner, V., Carter, J. D., Suchak, M., & De Waal, F. B. (2011). Spontaneous prosocial choice by chimpanzees. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 108(33), 13847-13851.
- Hui, P., Xu, K., Li, V. O., Crowcroft, J., Latora, V., & Lio, P. (2009, April). Selfishness, altruism and message spreading in mobile social networks. In *IEEE INFOCOM Workshops 2009* (pp. 1-6). IEEE.
- Ilut, C. L., & Schneider, M. (2022). Modeling uncertainty as ambiguity: A review.
- Kanev, D., & Terziev, V. (2017). Behavioral economics: development, condition and perspectives. *IJASOS-International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences*, 3(8).
- Kanwisher, N. (2000). Domain specificity in face perception. *Nature neuroscience*, 3(8), 759-763.
- Lemm, V. (2014). *Nietzsche and the Becoming of Life*. Fordham University Press.
- Lewis, M., Kagan, J., & Kalafat, J. (1966). Patterns of fixation in the young infant. *Child Development*, 331-341.
- Núñez, R., Allen, M., Gao, R., Miller Rigoli, C., Relaford-Doyle, J., & Semenuks, A. (2019). What happened to cognitive science?. *Nature human behaviour*, 3(8), 782-791.
- Philippe, R., Janet, R., Khalvati, K., Rao, R., Lee, D., & Dreher, J. C. (2022). Neurocomputational mechanisms engaged in detecting cooperative and competitive intentions of others.
- Puaschunder, J. M. (2017). Ethical decision making under social uncertainty: An introduction to Überethicality. *Sustainable Production and Consumption*, 12, 78-89.

- Tusche, A., & Bas, L. M. (2021). Neurocomputational models of altruistic decision-making and social motives: Advances, pitfalls, and future directions. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science*, 12(6), e1571. DOI: 10.1002/wcs.1571
- van Dijk, K. (2018). The World as Sphere. *Conceptualizing the World: An Exploration across Disciplines*, 4, 327.
- Wells, T. R. (2013). Adam Smith on morality and self-interest. <https://philarchive.org/archive/WELASO>
- Weibel, P. (2011). Sloterdijk and the Question of an Aesthetic. *Willem Schinkel/Liesbeth Noordegraaf-Eelens (Hg.): In Medias Res. Amsterdam*, 83-98.

Multi-Criteria Tranquillity Mapping the Trossachs: Proposed New Hiking Routes from Aberfoyle to Callander

Croy Langlands¹

Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park is Scotland's most visited countryside destination. People seek tranquillity in national parks however, tranquillity is often overlooked in park management, particularly when creating hiking routes. I used GIS mapping to incorporate tranquillity into hiking routes by creating a multi-criteria (layered) map of five factors which contribute positively (naturalness perception, openness, & proximity to water), and negatively (road noise, & visual pollutants) towards tranquillity. The result was a series of weighted maps which were used to calculate optimal hiking routes for different needs. I propose 3 different paths with the most accessibility, tranquillity, and openness. I include further reflection on the ways in which the park can boost tranquillity, such as traffic calming measures, and the consideration of tranquillity in the design of infrastructure.

¹ Croy Langlands is a fourth-year Geography Student who is interested in researching the relationship people have with the environment. Croy grew up in a small town in rural Scotland, where he enjoyed spending time in nature. This early fascination led Croy to the study of geography. In his research, Croy enjoys using GIS mapping to visualize findings over a geographical context. This approach is central to the paper Croy presents.

**Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park:
With start and end locations for the walking route**

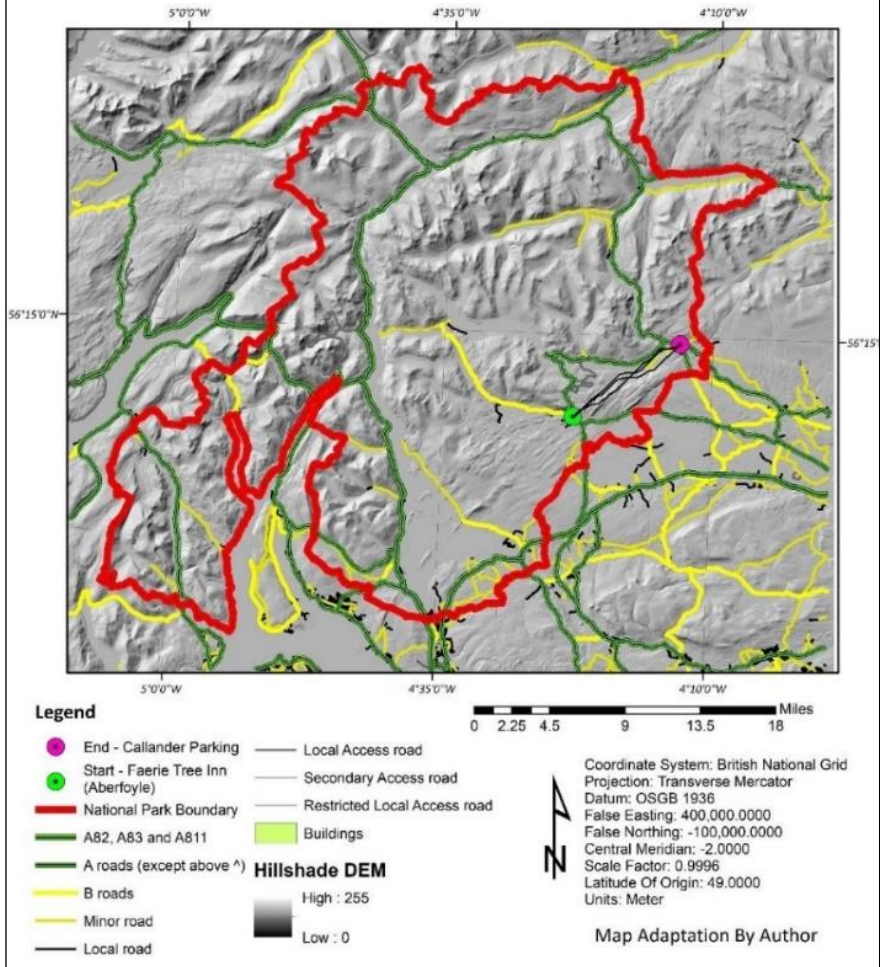


Figure 1 – Study site

Introduction

Tranquillity is ‘the state of being quiet and peaceful’ (Oxford University Press, 2021), or ‘free from disturbance; calm’ (Lexico, 2021). With this project I aimed to create a visual map showing areas with tranquillity within Loch Lomond National Park. I used the result as guidance for calculating new hiking paths between two key settlements to the western side of the park: Aberfoyle and Callander.

Over four million people visit the park each year; many of these are hikers. The ‘West Highland Way’ is one of Scotland’s most famous walking routes, and it runs through the centre of the park (Celtic Trails, 2021). However, this hiking route was created before any kind of comprehensive tranquillity map was available. Scotland’s National Planning Framework aims to establish new walking networks and improve visitor experience in Loch Lomond National Park (Scottish-Government, 2014). I propose that creating a tranquillity map helps to ensure that any new proposed path is as tranquil as possible, and may even be more attractive than the West Highland Way.



Figure 2 – Scotland’s most famous walking route; the West Highland Way.
Source: Celtic Trails, 2021

Methods

This study uses five factors/layers which contribute positively (naturalness, openness/visibility, proximity to water) or negatively (road noise and visual pollutants) towards tranquillity. I gave tranquillity scores ranging from 1 (low) to 10 (high) for all layers, so they could be overlaid to calculate the best areas of tranquillity. All five layers used the same coordinate system (British National Grid) and geographical extent (covering Loch Lomond National Park and some of the surrounding areas, like Alexandria and the A811 road).

It was necessary to decide to what extent areas outside the park should influence tranquillity. I included the town Alexandria, as major roads running through the park pass through it. The town is near to popular tourist sites (Loch Lomond) and even though it isn't included in the park it still impacts tranquillity across the region. Whilst this report provides an overview of tranquillity within Loch Lomond Park, it is not fully comprehensive because the scope excluded minor factors such as flight paths and the focus excludes paths used for activities other than hiking. However, in this project I was able to create a relatively high-quality map that could be used by park authorities. Tranquillity maps have the potential to assist a variety of activities and land use planning (MacFarlane, R., *et al.*, 2005). A range of published methods supported some of my tranquillity mapping process (Jackson, *et al.*, 2008; Watts, *et al.*, 2013; Hewlett, *et al.*, 2017; Wartmann, & Mackaness, 2020). However, the application of tranquillity maps into the design of hiking routes represents an innovative contribution to research.

Naturalness

Data downloaded from the Centre of Ecology and Hydrology divided land cover types into 21 classifications. After clipping this dataset to my study area, I reclassified a naturalness score. This reclassification

was based on the scores given in Jackson, *et al* (2008). Public perception of tranquillity changes, so it's important to use up-to-date data (Wartmann, F., *et al.*, 2021). Thus, for a more up-to-date perspective, two other reports were consulted (Pafi, M., *et al.*, 2018., and Smith, E., *et al.*, 2012), along with my own educated judgement to assign justified scores for each of the 21 land cover types. Some habitats were given the same score, such as two types of woodland. Therefore, the outcome produced six categories (1, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8). With the highest scores going to water bodies (8) and the lowest to settled areas like Callander (1) (Figure 4).

Openness

High visibility and openness contribute to calm and peacefulness. One study found 76% percent of people believed 'open spaces' were important for tranquillity (Hewlett, D., *et al.*, 2017). The dataset downloaded was OS Open Terrain 50 data, sourced from Ordnance Survey (Ordnance Survey, 2021). This provided a digital elevation model (DEM), made up of a series of grids containing elevation data. These elevation files were imported into the mapping software ArcMap, where they were merged and clipped into one elevation map covering the national park. Visibility was calculated from the DEM, based on 5000 random sample points. Sample points were more than 200 metres apart, to limit point clusters and to allow an even spread of points. The mapping software ArcMap assigned visibility scores by counting the number of visible points counted at each location. For example, mountain peaks were given the highest score because these locations could see a greater number of points. In comparison, valley bottoms are restricted by elevation and as a result output low visibility. Scores were rescaled into the standardized range of 1-10, so that this layer could be more easily interpreted (Figure 5).

Proximity to Water

Being close to water has been found to contribute to tranquillity (Watts, G., *et al.*, 2013). Polygons (2D shape map feature) for all water bodies in the study area were downloaded from OS Open Rivers. Water area, foreshore and tidal water polygons were used for the study area. 500 metre buffers were added for all water bodies and 1km buffers for the ocean; this is justified on the basis that the ocean is visible from a greater distance so the buffer should be larger (Watts, G., *et al.*, 2013). A score of 10 was assigned to all buffers of water. Areas not included in the water buffers were reclassified to score 1 (Figure 6). In this way, the final tranquillity map calculation would work for the whole study area

Road Noise Pollution

Vehicle noise detracts from tranquillity and larger/busier roads produce more noise (Jackson, S., *et al.*, 2008). The park's roads were first separated into eight separate polylines (2D line map feature), using a tool which selects by attributes. Six road categories were buffered by different amounts, based on the noise level which they produced. For example, the busiest roads had a 1.5km buffer whereas, B roads had an 800m buffer (Figures 7 & 8). Research by Watts, G., *et al.*, (2020) concluded that anthropogenic noise below 32dB has no negative effect on Tranquillity. Thus, this is the area outside my road buffers and the rings highlighted in blue (Figure 9).

Buffered road categories were: 'Local Access', 'Local', 'Minor', 'B', 'A (except A82, A83 and A811)' and 'A82, A83 and A811'. These separate categories were created based on different traffic flow data (Department for Transport, 2019). A 3-year average (2017 to 2019, pre COVID-19) of daily traffic was calculated at most of the traffic counters within the park. The resulting traffic count average was then rounded to the nearest 500 and assigned to each of the road categories. I calculated

Key	A82, A83 and A811 data example
L _{Aeq,10m} (number of vehicles per 24hr)	7500
T (time span)	24 hours
v (speed)	55mph (average)

Table 1 – Key of formula elements, with example data from the A82, A83 and A811 category.

dB values for each of the road categories using the following formula (Jackson, S., et al., 2008): $L_{Aeq,10m}(\text{light}) = LAE, 10m(\text{light}) + 10 \lg(N(\text{light})/T)$

Values were assigned using a ‘Calculate Field Geometry’ tool. The noisiest roads were scored 10/10, and areas out with a road were given a score of 1.

The ‘Euclidean Distance’ tool was used to visualise noise dissipation from roads (doubling distance is -4dB) to get a better understanding of which roads contribute the most noise. The final road noise layer did not include the dissipation of noise, instead Euclidean dB data was used as an average for each road buffer. I have included noise



Figure 3 – dB scale for each of the categories. Change in colour represents the doubling distance starting at 10m horizontally from the centre of the road and change in -4dB (for each doubling distance. From left to right: ‘A82, A83 and A811’, A roads (except A82, A83 and A811), B roads, Minorroads, local roads, local access roads.

level change as distance from the road increases. A colour scale represents each -4dB change, and ranges from 66dB to 27dB (Figure 3).

Visual Pollutants

Visibility of non-natural structures has been found to detract from tranquillity. This was the conclusion of a report which consulted over 400 people and 30 stakeholders for two national parks in England (MacFarlane, R., *et al.*, 2005). Another study found that 67.3% of 457 respondents agreed infrastructure detracted from tranquillity (Hewlett, D., *et al.*, 2017). The methodology I employed for visual pollutants was much the same as the one used for noise pollutants. However, a value was assigned based on a similar study (Jackson *et al.*, 2008). Scores were scaled from 1-10, with the worst visual pollutants scoring 10/10. Railways and rail stations were assigned 10, power lines were assigned 8 (as in the referenced paper) and buildings were assigned 7.5 (median of urban and rural buildings) (Figure 10)

Multi-Criteria Evaluation – Tranquil Path Suitability Map

Once all of the five layers were compiled, a suitability map was created to show the outcome of mapping tranquility in the national park. Firstly, an unweighted suitability map of tranquillity was calculated (Figure 11). This calculation was the sum of the three positive factors minus the sum of the two negative factors.

The following two tranquillity maps (Figures 12 & 13) were weighted to make certain layers relatively more or less important. Figure 12 was weighted to make perceived naturalness 25% more important and noise from roads 25% less important. This decision was based on research which concluded that road traffic had little effect on people's perception of tranquillity (Wartmann, F., Mackaness, W., 2020). This same research

argues that this perception is relative to where the person lives. In the context of the Trossachs, many visitors live in nearby Glasgow where road traffic is much greater and the traffic in Loch Lomond National Park seems much quieter relative to where they live. On these grounds, the weight for road noise was lessened. A report published by the CPRE found that public perception of what is tranquil is a very important factor in tranquillity mapping (MacFarlane, R., *et al.*, 2005). Therefore, perceived naturalness was increased in importance.

The third tranquillity map (Figure 13) is based upon the weighting method of Jackson, S., *et al* (2008). The layers were multiplied by the weighting value used by Jackson *et. al.*, which increased the importance of road and visual impacts, whilst openness and water were much less influential.

$$\text{Natural landscape} = 6.59 + 3.17 = \mathbf{9.76}$$

$$\text{Proximity to water} = 2.78 + 2.73 + 2.15 = \mathbf{7.66}$$

$$\text{Openness} = \mathbf{2.15}$$

$$\text{Hearing cars} = \mathbf{10.96}$$

$$\text{Visual pollutants} = 2.73 + 2.5 + 0.37 + 4.62 = \mathbf{10.22}$$

The starting point of the path was in Aberfoyle at the Faerie Tree Inn restaurant and B&B. The end point was in central Callander, at the main parking area. These are both popular and accessible start/finishing locations, with many services nearby. All the hiking paths were calculated using the ‘cost path’ tool in the software ArcMap. This tool creates an optimum route for different needs. It finds a path by connecting cells with the lowest score in relation to certain features. Here this tool was used to find paths with minimum elevation change, maximum openness and maximum tranquillity (Figure 14). Openness and tranquillity were reclassified to revert the values so that they could be used. The first path calculated the fastest route based on slope. The DEM created for the

openness layer was used to provide elevation data for this calculation. This path could be used for someone who is looking for a less strenuous walk and who wants to minimise large variations in topography. It would also be the most accessible and the most disabled friendly option, due to minimum change in topography.

The second path was calculated to be the most tranquil. This path includes all elements of tranquillity because it uses the final tranquillity map in the cost path tool (Figure 13). Therefore, it could be argued that this is the optimum path out of the three.

The third path maximises openness. Visibility data (Figure 5) was used in the cost path tool. This route would be ideal for someone who likes varied terrain and long-distance views. It would most likely be the most strenuous walk out of the three options I have proposed (Figure 15).

Discussion

This project has mapped two factors which detract, and three which contribute to tranquillity. Scores were given based on various research methods of tranquillity mapping and based on public perceptions of what impacts tranquillity. Reference was made to many similar research projects and the scoring/weighting used here was justified by incorporating some of their methods. For example, Hewlett, D., et al., (2017) was used to justify the importance of visual distractions from tranquillity. Jackson, S., et al., (2008), proposed comprehensive methodologies, and their vehicle noise formula was incorporated. Research involving tranquillity perceptions from a wide group of stakeholders was used to weight different layers (Brehme, C., et al., 2018).

The park authorities could use the first tranquillity map (Figure 11) if they want a general overview of tranquil areas within the park. The map shows that areas close to rivers, lakes and the sea have the highest

tranquillity, whereas busy roads and residential areas tend to create a lower tranquillity score (southeast of the park). Interestingly, the second weighted tranquillity map (Figure 12) shows areas around Loch Lomond to be one of the most tranquil in the park. This is because road noise was given less significance (Wartmann, F., Mackaness, W., 2020). This implies that reducing traffic or imposing speed limits to the A82 as it goes through the park could boost tranquillity even more. I would propose that reducing the speed limit to 50 mph within the park would help and would be relatively easy to implement. Lower speed limits in the New Forest National Park were generally accepted, but it is not specified whether tranquillity influenced this policy decision (New Forest, 2016). Traffic calming may also make the ‘West Highland Way’ more tranquil. Responsible driving and parking are already a policy area that the park authorities are keen to develop (Visitor Management Plan, 2021).

The third tranquillity map brings out a higher contrast between high and low tranquil areas. This weighting gives visual pollutants (buildings in particular) a stronger power of lowering tranquillity. This map would guide the park authorities to as to how development projects might impact tranquillity. If a new hiking path was to be considered using this weighting, more attention would need to be paid to buildings in the vicinity. Loch Lomond Park officials could learn from the New Forest National Park who created policy related to tranquillity: ‘tranquillity can be damaged by intrusive sights and sounds, particularly from man-made structures such as new roads, poorly designed lighting and overhead power lines.’ (New Forest NP: Local-Plan-2016- 2036).

Results

Figure 4 – Perception of Naturalness

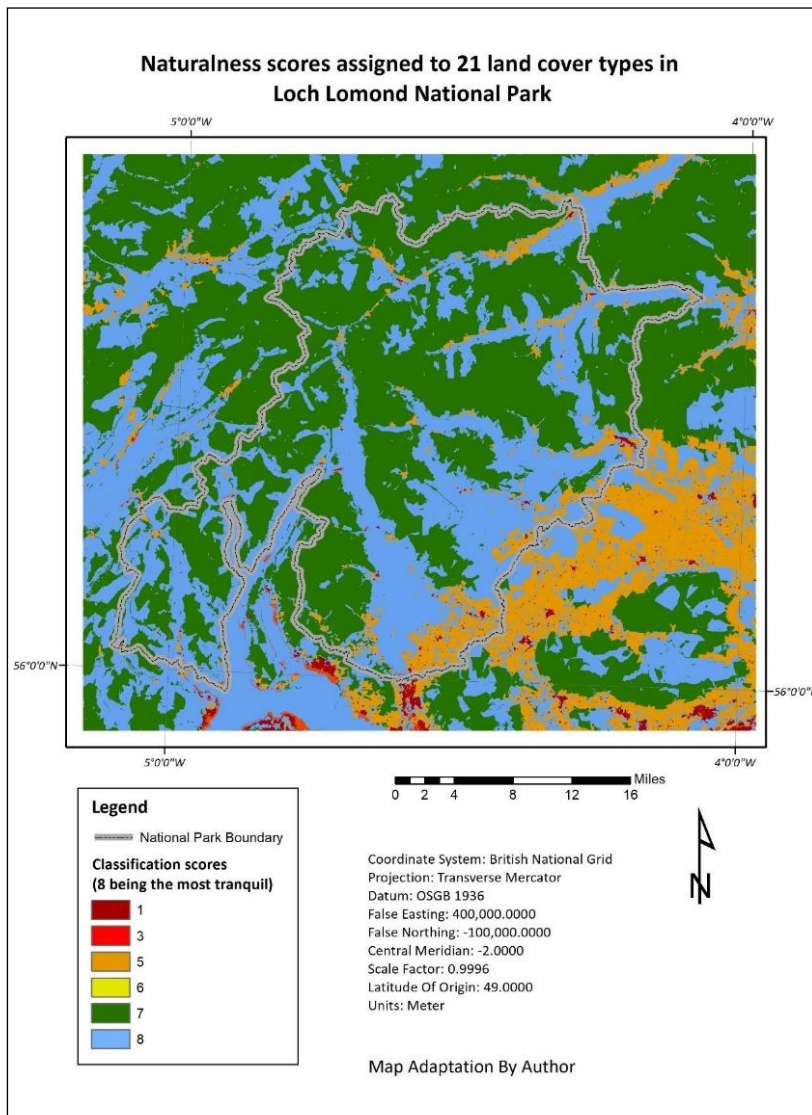


Figure 5 – Openness / Visibility

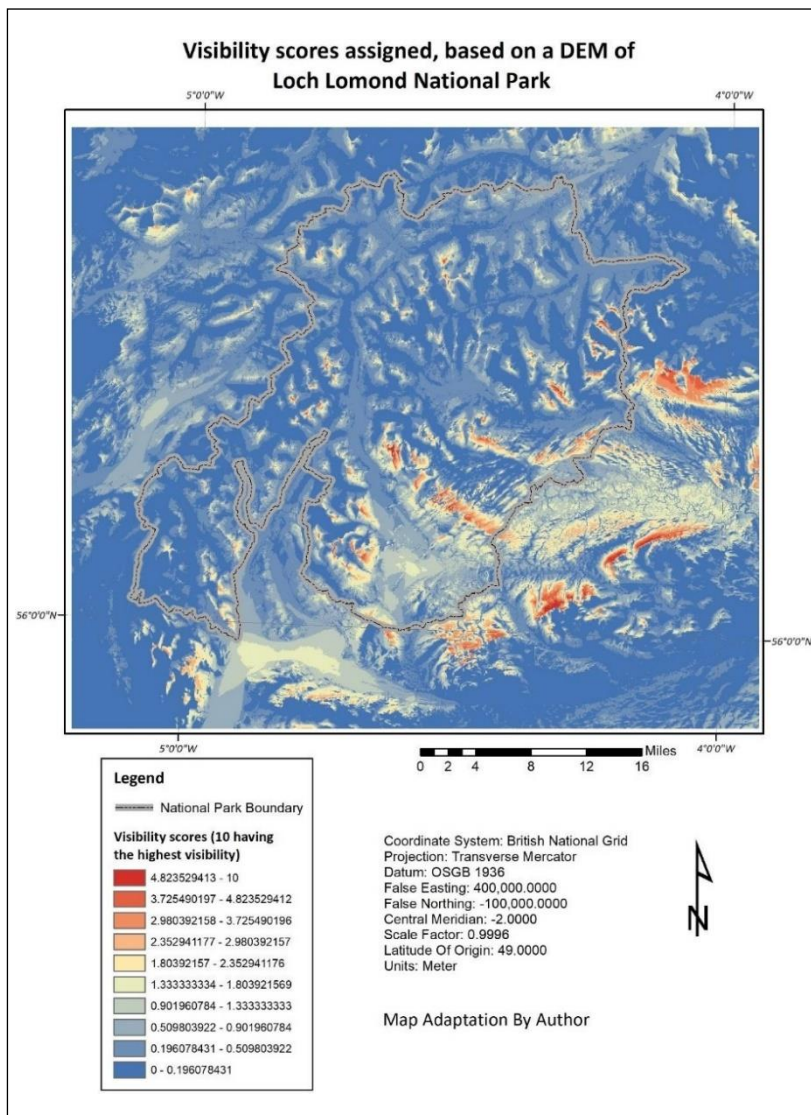


Figure 6 – Proximity to Water

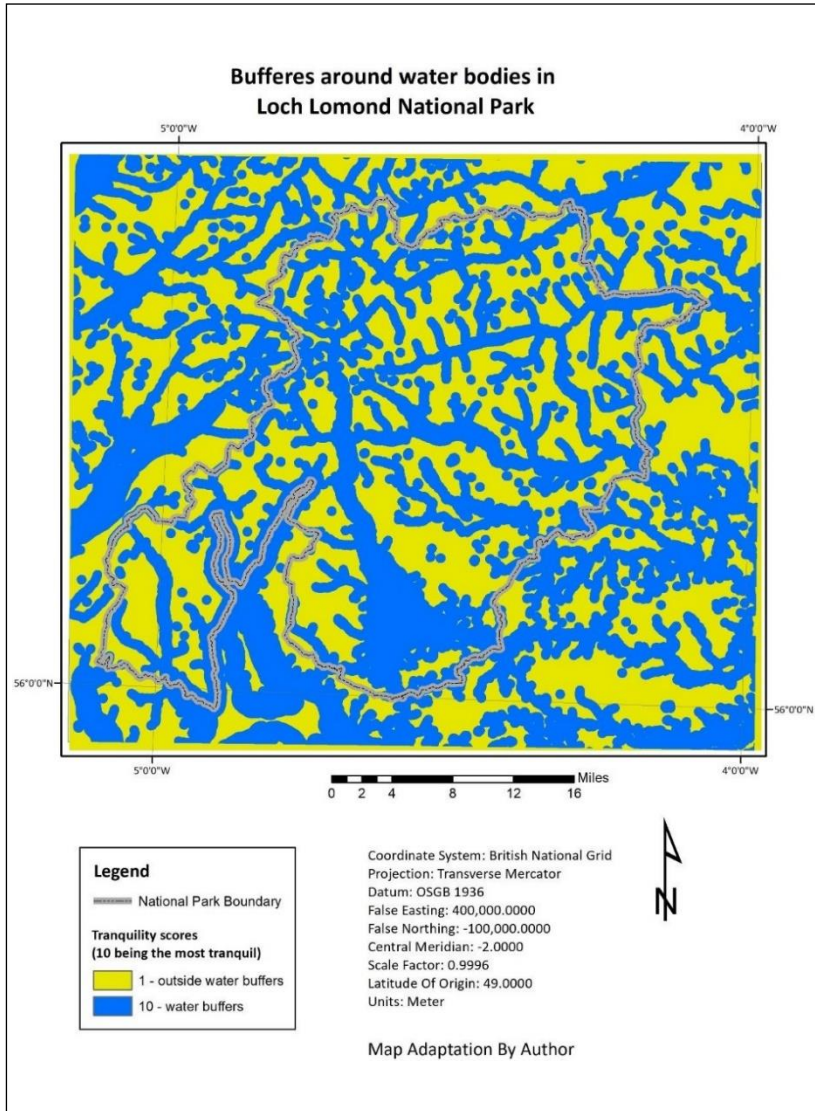


Figure 7 – Proximity to Road Noise Pollution (*with road polylines*)

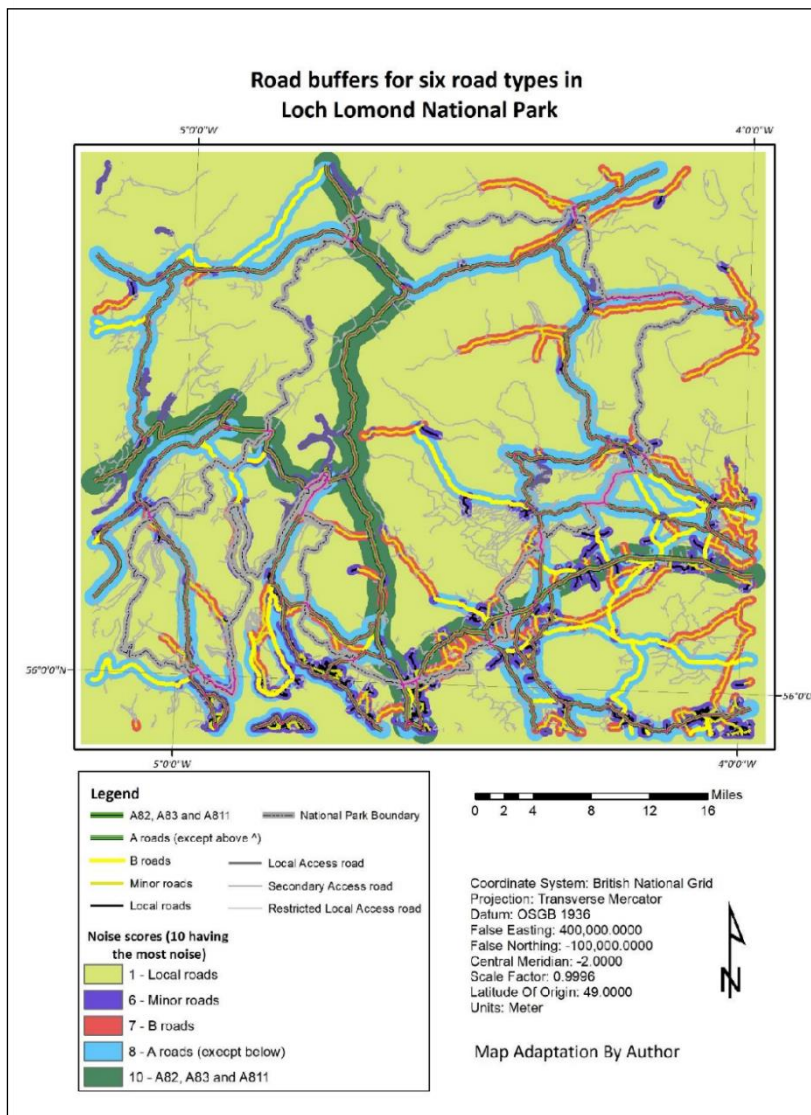


Figure 8 – Proximity to Road Noise Pollution (*without road polylines*)

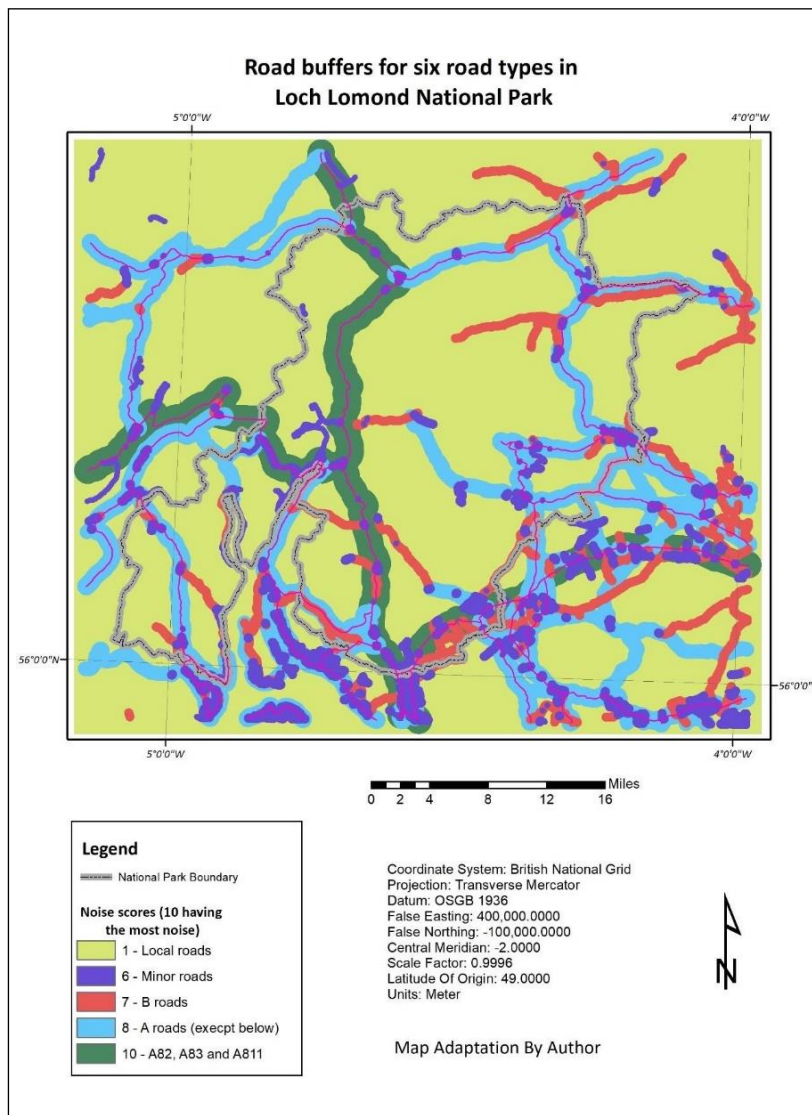


Figure 9 – Road Noise after each Doubling Distance

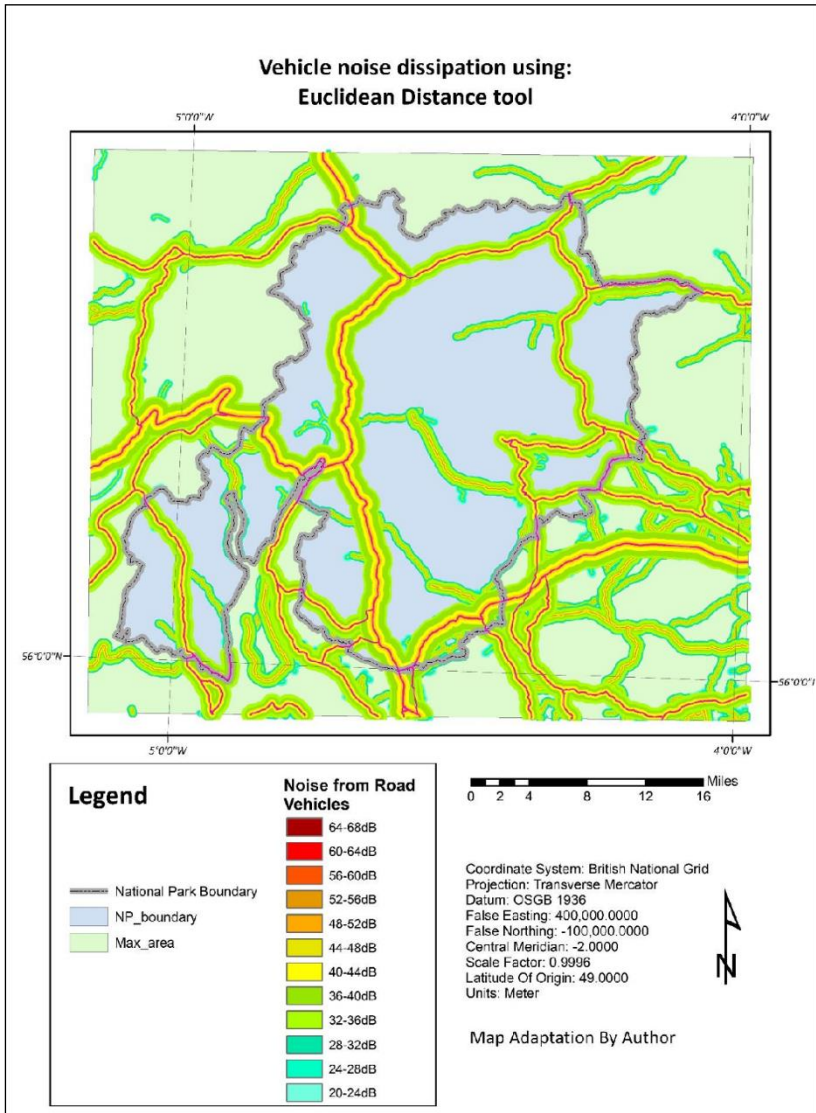


Figure 10 – Proximity to Visual Pollution

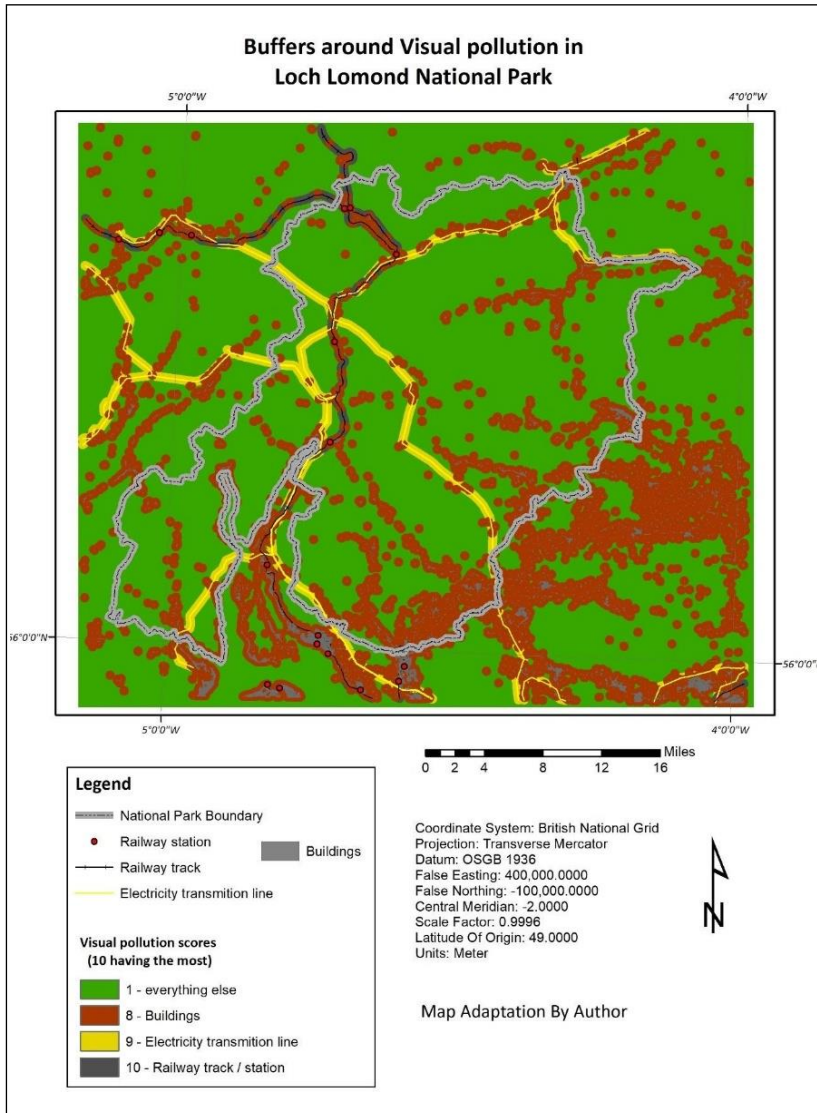


Figure 11 – Unweighted Map of Tranquillity

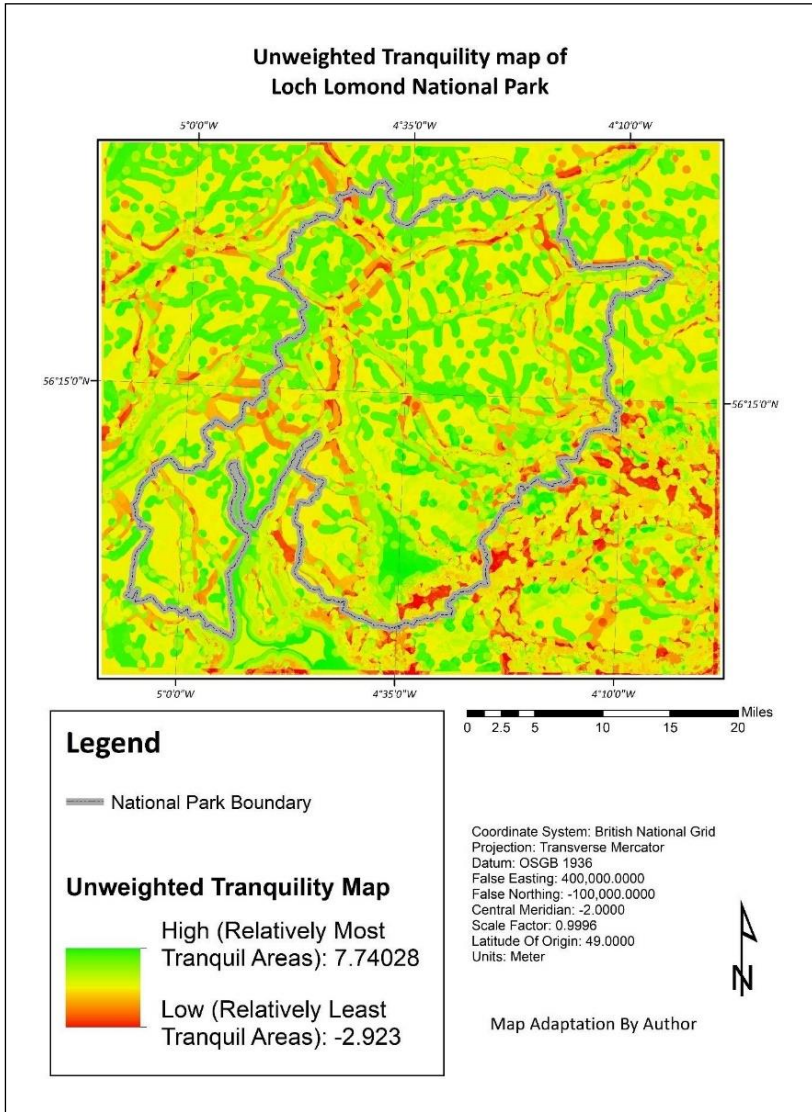


Figure 12 – Weighted Map of Tranquility

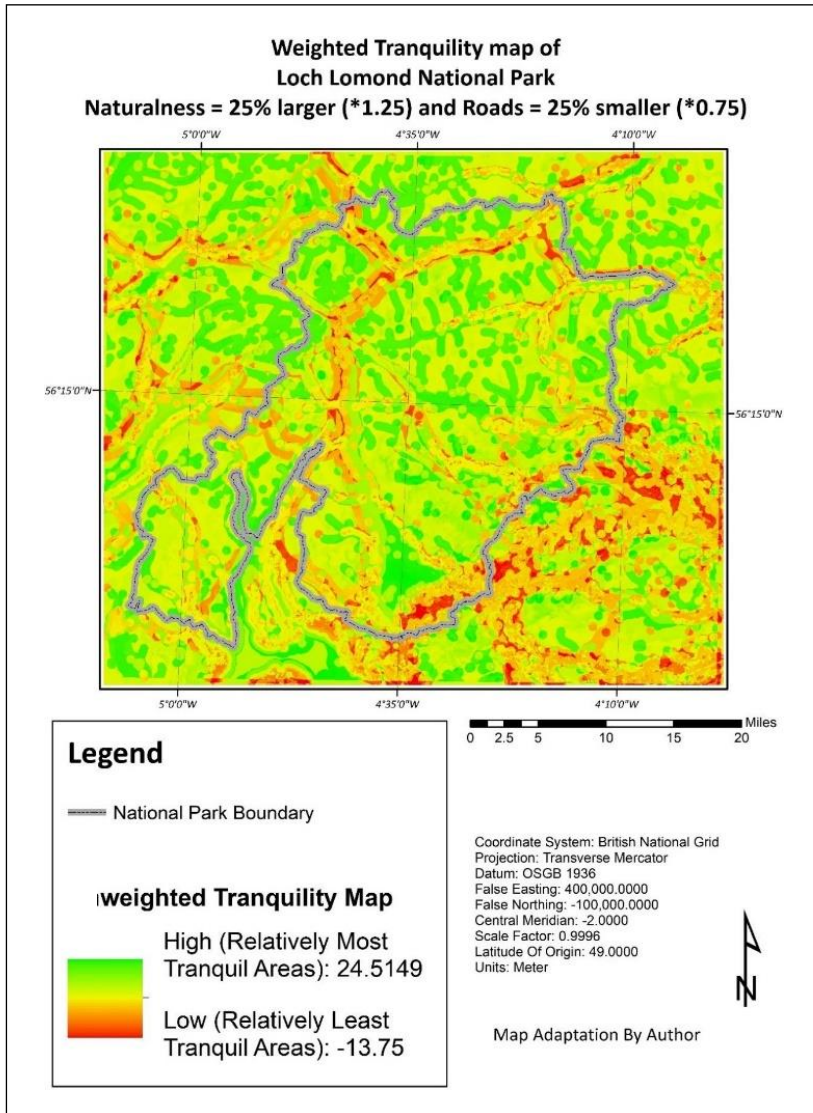


Figure 13 – Weighted Map of Tranquillity:

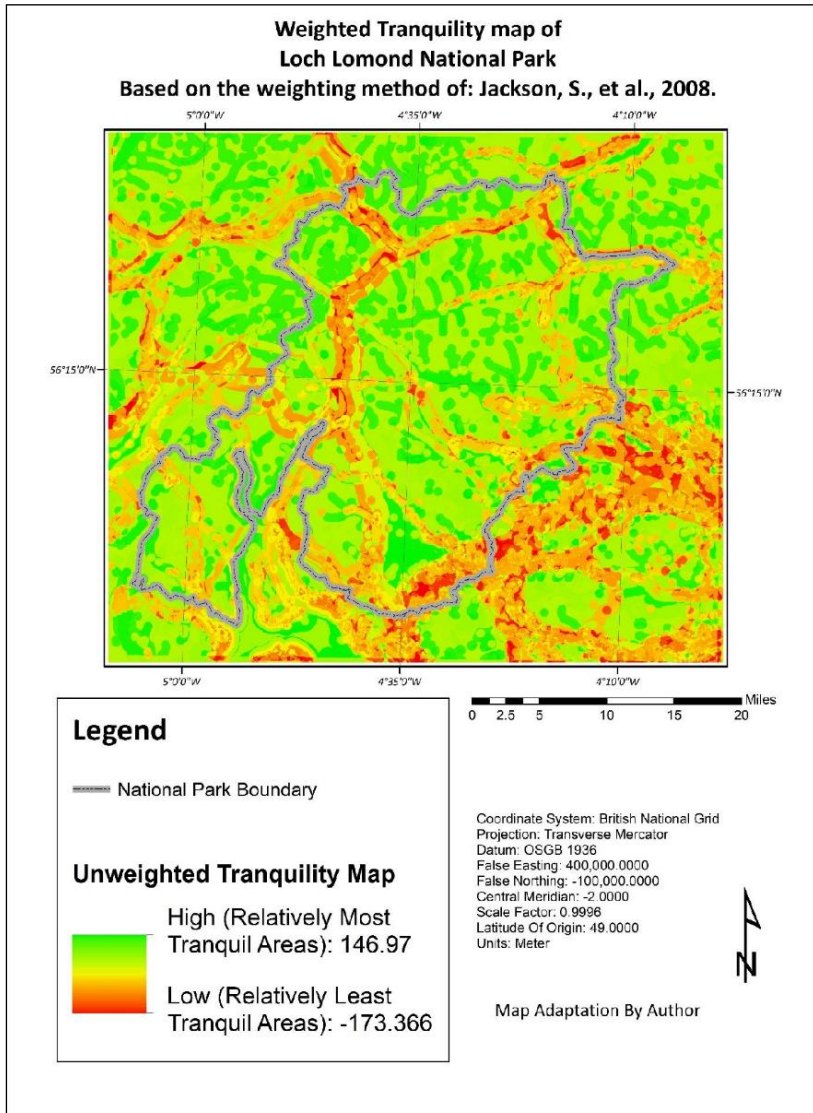


Figure 14 – All 3 Paths: using ‘Cost Path’ Tool

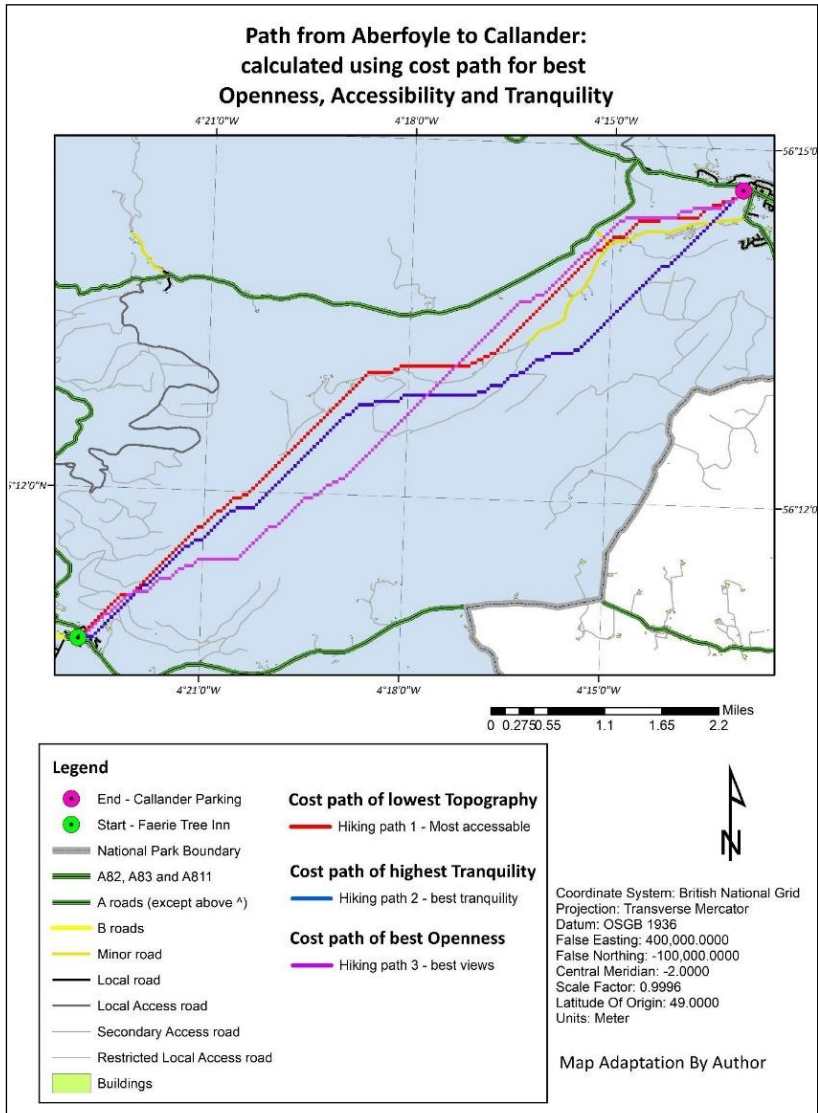
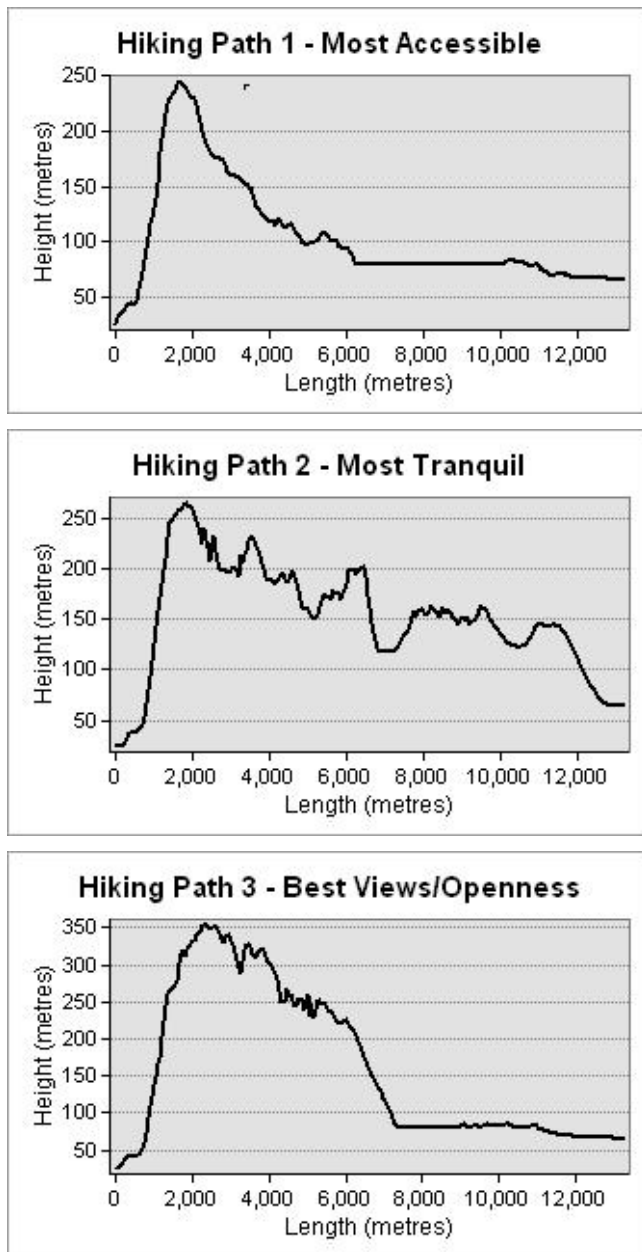


Figure 15 – Hiking Path Height Profiles



References

- Brehme, C., Brehme-Wentzell, S., & Hewlett, D., 2018. *Landscape values mapping for tranquillity in North York Moors National Park and Howardian Hills AONB*. International Journal of Spa and Wellness, Vol. 1, Issue. 2, doi: doi.org/10.1080/24721735.2018.1493776
- Celtic Trails, 2021. *West Highland Way Walking Holidays*. Available from: <https://www.celtictrailswalkingholidays.co.uk/walking-holidays/west-highland-way/> [Accessed 8/12/2021].
- Department for Transport, 2019. *Road Traffic Statistics*. Available from: <https://roadtraffic.dft.gov.uk/#6/55.254/-6.053/basemap-regions-countpoints> [Accessed 12/12/2021].
- Hewlett, D., Harding, L., Munro, T., Terradillos, A., & Wilkinson, K., 2017. *Broadly engaging with tranquillity in protected landscapes: A matter of perspective identified in GIS*. Landscape and Urban Planning, Vol.158, pp. 185-201, doi: doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2016.11.002
- Oxford University Press, 2021. *Tranquillity*. Available from: <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/tranquillity> [Accessed 8/12/2021].
- Ordnance Survey, 2021. *OS Terrain 50: All of GB*. Available from: <https://osdatahub.os.uk/downloads/open/Terrain50> [Accessed 9/12/2021].
- Jackson, S., Fuller, D., Dunsford, H., Mowbray, R., Hext, S., MacFarlane R., & Haggett, C., 2008. *Tranquillity Mapping: developing a*

robust methodology for planning support. Report to the Campaign to Protect Rural England, Centre for Environmental & Spatial Analysis, Northumbria University, Bluespace environments and the University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Lexico, 2021. *Tranquil*. Available from:

<https://www.lexico.com/definition/tranquil> [Accessed 8/12/2021].

MacFarlane, R., *et al.*, 2005. *Mapping Tranquillity: Defining and assessing a valuable resource*. CPRE, ISBN: 1 902786 77 7.

Available from: https://www.cpre.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/mapping_tranquillity.pdf [11/12/2021].

New Forest National Park: *Local-Plan-2016-2036*.

Available from:

<https://www.newforestnpa.gov.uk/planning/local-plan/> [Accessed 12/12/2021].

Pafi, M., Chalkias, C., & Stathakis, D., 2018. *A cost-effective method for tranquillity mapping using open environmental data*. Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science, Vol. 47, Issue. 3, pp. 417-436, doi: doi.org/10.1177/2399808318779084

Scottish-Government, 2014. *Ambition-Opportunity-Place: Scotland's Third National Planning Framework*. Available from:

<https://www.gov.scot/publications/national-planning-framework-3/> [Accessed 12/12/2021].

Smith, E., Crockett, J., & McCoard, S., 2012. *Public Perceptions of Wildness*. Nature Scot, Available from:

<https://www.nature.scot/public-perception-survey-wildness-scotland> [Accessed 12/12/2021].

Visitor Management Plan, 2021. *2021 Joint Response Visitor Management Plan*.

Wartmann, F., Koblet, O., & Purves, R., 2021. *Assessing experienced tranquillity through natural language processing and landscape ecology measures*. *Landscape Ecology*, Vol. 36, pp. 2347- 2365, doi: doi.org/10.1007/s10980-020-01181-8

Wartmann, F., & Mackaness, W., 2020. *Describing and mapping where people experience tranquillity. An exploration based on interviews and Flickr photographs*. *Landscape Research*, Vol. 45, Issue. 5, doi: doi.org/10.1080/01426397.2020.1749250

Watts, G., Miah, A., Pheasant, R., 2013. *Tranquillity and soundscapes in urban green spaces— predicted and actual assessments from a questionnaire survey*. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, Vol. 40, pp. 170-181, doi: [10.1068/b38061](https://doi.org/10.1068/b38061)

Watts, G., Perse, J., Delikostidis, I., Kissick, J., Donohue, B., & Dalley, J., 2020. *Tranquillity mapping in New Zealand national parks – a pilot study*. *Noise Mapping*, Vol. 7, Issue. 1, pp. 303-315, doi: doi.org/10.1515/noise-2020-0025