Frauke Reitemeier (ed.)

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Seminar für Englische Philologie

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Introduction

Frauke Reitemeier

A recurring questions in student counselling expresses students' doubts on thesis writing. "I would like to start with my thesis, but I do not know what I should write about – how do I find a topic?" There are some disciplines, of course, that offer a list of topics and themes to choose from, and students have to apply to be given a research question or field for their thesis. We in the Anglophone Literature division do not do this. We believe that students should develop their own ideas, find their own questions, decide on their own approaches. This is what they are taught in their degree programmes, and in writing a thesis they show what they have learnt.

Yet the question is a fair one. Topics do not grow on trees, after all, and the sheer number of books, authors, ideas, approaches and concepts to choose from is quite simply overwhelming. This is where supervisors and student advisors come in. They sound the student's interests, the depth of reading in specific areas and the overall knowledge they have, and then they suggest the student this or that first tentative novel, or play, or topic. They provide lenses and prisms to sharpen the focus, if students do not already bring them. Which way the prism must be turned to create a rainbow, however, is up to the students to disover. When they find it, they can discover something truly exceptional.

The papers in this collection are on a broad variety of texts, authors and ideas. Together they represent only a small slice of the ground students cover in their studies. They all provide exceptional insights, though, by turning well-known texts and facts inside out or by approaching them from a completely different angle. It is by no means only those authors or texts that have so far been largely neglected by the academic community that allow for a change of perspective. As Lisa Neumann,

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Wiebke Schäfer and Manuel Cabrera Palacios convincingly demonstrate, even authors with the status of a classic can be made to reveal new insights. Neumann discusses *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, which any student of English literature knows to be concerned with homosexuality and art at the end of the nineteenth century. In her study of the objectification of Dorian, Neumann shows that the novel depicts a specific kind of scientific experiment that relates to religion, art, morals and humanity at the same time. The experiment fails because of the inability of the experimenter to step outside society's rules, or rather because of the impossibility of being part of society without being part of society. This is not simply a novel about the Victorians' strict moral codes on sexuality.

Manuel Cabrera Palacios takes on another novel with the status of a literary classic, Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, to tease out a new layer of meaning and substance that most readers are unaware of. Every student of literature knows that the novel is a representative of Modernism, a movement that experiments with different perceptions and voices, with breaks and shifts in structure and content that mirror, in a way, the uncertainties of life after the Great War. Cabrera Palacios connects well-known facts with scientific discoveries and developments contemporary to the writing of *To the Lighthouse*, in physics, psychology and astronomy. He convincingly shows how Woolf translates these discoveries into a singular literary style. Modernist writing, then, is shown to have facets that most literary histories have not taken notice of (yet).

Wiebke Katharina Schäfer also makes use of a very specific publication context to enlarge the understanding of, in her case, William Blake's poems. Blake, too, is a canonised author; many students know him as a Romantic visionary and somewhat cryptic poet. However, Blake was also an artist and printer in his own right. Schäfer's paper discusses the connection between poetic text and printed and coloured image and indicates how the pictures enlarge the textual content and subtly undermine careless readers' assumptions. Any student of literature who only reads Blake's poems, without taking their visual comment-illustrations into account, from now on risks missing significant layers of meaning.

The other three theses in this collection focus on perhaps less canonised authors and themes, at least when seen from conventional academic literary history. Both Richard Adams and J. K. Rowling are very well-known authors of childrens' literature, so the very fact that their texts go centrepiece in an academic thesis is something of a change of perspective. It is rather the themes they cover, though, that make them stand out. There are monographs and essays aplenty on the *Harry Potter* series, for example, yet Lena Kühn manages to open up a completely new area of interest through her analysis of leadership styles. Quite surprisingly she shows that Albus Dumbledore, Headmaster at Hogwarts, does not simply lead by taking his charges' wishes and needs into consideration, but uses a mixed style of leadership that clearly has autocratic elements. By contrast, Lord Voldemort's purely self-centred style of leadership is long-term ineffectual because Voldemort's followers mirror his egocentrism, thus causing the following to implode. While most readers

would undoubtedly consider the three main student protagonists Harry, Ron and Hermione as being the key to Voldemort's downfall, Kühn's thesis widens the perspective and proves that the protagonists are not a group of standalone hero/in/es but that their, and their antagonists', social leaders play a large role in the novels' outcomes.

Lisa Bölinger looks at quite a different issue. She, too, is concerned with a classic children's book, *Watership Down*. What many readers may remember best is the horrifying experiences of Hazel's and Fiver's group of rabbits in the totalitarian Efrafra warren, a feature that firmly groups *Watership Down* with other dystopian novels like *1984* and *Brave New World*. Bölinger is not interested in the sociopolitical aspects of building and maintaining a society, however. Instead she discusses what functions and effects the animal protagonists have as a structural element: she contends that the readers' perception of what may be done to animals changes drastically through the immersion in rabbit perspectives. Bölinger broadens her view by additionally discussing notions of civilized and primitive humans, indicating that the allegedly uncivilized and primitive humans are, in fact, much better suited to sharing the planet with other species. Throughout her paper she stresses that the novel uses by no means simplistic constructs but is diverse in its presentations of rabbits and humans alike. She thus goes beyond the usual rabbit-behaviour-stands-in-for-human-behaviour parallel that reads the novel merely as an allegory on dystopian human societies.

One paper stands out among the contributions: Doris Dokua Sasu's discussion of the concept of outstanding universal value that the UNESCO World Heritage organisation promotes and of national and local values that form the basis of considering sites as relevant heritage. Sasu explains in detail how UNESCO defines outstanding universal value and outlines the process of selecting suitable sites from the pool of applications. In this she also discusses what academic and scientific importance is attached to the sites, both for conserving the heritage and for studying it in larger contexts. While this may seem unproblematic and indeed beneficial to unconcerned parties, Sasu points out that this can, and in fact sometimes does, feature as hidden imperialism. Studying different World Heritage sites in the UK and in the African continent she notes that local values tend to be "overshadowed" (312) by the more global definitions of the UNESCO-defined concept of outstanding universal value.

It may come as a surprise to readers that a study on heritage conservation and marketing is part of a collection of theses on aspects of Anglophone Literature and Culture. This is because we do not consider literature to be merely an abstract term for books and authors and ideas in general. Literature has a very practical side to it, too: books are written partly by authors who want to make money from them; they are marketed, bought and sold. They have a monetary value, and a whole industry has developed that promotes literature at different levels. Another industry is concerned with getting readers and authors into contact through festivals, fairs and readings. In time, literary texts become part of a country's culture, and they may also turn

into cultural heritage that is marketed, bought and sold in turn. Studying the literature and culture industries, then, is a vital component of understanding the literature of a county. Sasu's study focuses on architectural sites, but could equally also have been concerned with literary heritage.

In all these cases, then, the contributors use a well-known text or concept, in Sasu's case, which they then contextualise in a new way or approach from a new angle. Changing perspectives on a text means seeing different things and discovering new connections and relations. The implications for topic-searching students are, then, that they can find inspiration for their thesis (almost) anywhere they look. Their problems usually are not so much with finding texts to write about but with the change in perspective that they find difficult to effect. Getting niggled and asking "why?" is a good way to start: "Why does Adams use rabbits if *Watership Down* is supposedly a dystopian novel? Humans are more relatable." – "Why do Harry and friends keep on fighting Voldemort when it is plain that they do not have a chance, being mere children? Surely they have learnt to follow instructions in school." These questions give access to ideas or elements that allow a different way 'into' the text or concept – all that remains is to twist the prism to see things in a new light.

Ethics

Life as an Object of Art: Moral Corruption and Dehumanization in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*

Lisa Neumann

1 Introduction

The Picture of Dorian Gray, published for the first time in *Lippincott's Magazine* in 1890 (Stern 756) immediately lead to a scandal in Victorian England. Not only was the novel used as proof at the beginning of its author's trial prosecuting Wilde's alleged homosexuality (Stern 756), it also resisted sexual and Christian social norms in the eyes of the public and was not published anymore after its first publication (Stern 756). Critics in Wilde's Age merely read the novel as a corrupting tale of a young man seduced by the older Lord Henry Wotton to lead an immoral and sexually scandalous life deprived of any social norms. Interestingly, many modern critics have been tempted to focus on a queer reading of the novel and interpret it as a work of repressed homosexuality[1]. Clearly, this point of view implicates an understanding of Oscar Wilde as a modern homosexual, a standpoint which has been criticized by Alan Sinfield[2] since it contains a modern view of sexuality not given in the Victorian

1 E.g., Esther Rashkin notes "that Wilde's creation of this work of art may be an effect of Victorian society's aggressive denigration of his own sexual identity as "vile" and "corrupt", and as a symptom of that society's painting of the author himself as *véreux*" (80).

2 Joseph Bristow writes about Alan Sinfield's academic work: "In the preface to his engaging study of Wilde's sexual styles, Alan Sinfield insists that we must be wary of assuming this defiantly effeminate man can be readily understood as homosexual or gay. […]. The problem for modern critics, as Sinfield sees it, lies in the fact that 'Wilde and his writings look queer because our stereotypical notion of male homosexuality derives from Wilde, and our ideas about him'" (199-200).

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Age. But also other positions on Wilde's oeuvre have come out since the 1980s. In his review of scholarship on Wilde, Bruce Bashford differentiates between four recent directions of interpretation of Wilde's work: the Gay Wilde, the Irish Wilde, the Materialist Wilde and the Idealist Wilde[3]. This paper will mainly take into account the perspective of aesthetic theory and Wilde's religious beliefs as indicated in his only novel and further draw on the implications of Gay Wilde studies for an interpretation of the novel.

Even though *The Picture of Dorian Gray* implicitly refers to "the love that dare not speak its name", as Wilde himself put it in his trial (Bristow 196), the novel does not simply deal with male-male-desire. As a contemporary work of art, it furthermore illustrates an aesthetic experiment by turning the protagonist into a living object of art. Thus, Wilde's novel focuses on the consequences and moral corruption which appear when life imitates art[4]. This paper will argue that *The Picture of Dorian Gray* can only be fully understood in the framework of its contemporary context and thus needs to be related to the theory of aestheticism, especially to the influence of Walter Pater's academic work *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* on Wilde. As a character Dorian reflects Wilde's philosophy of aestheticism but also evokes a critique of this philosophy as the novel pushes Pater's aestheticism to its utmost form. Its setting is a test of Wilde's own theory of aestheticism in the Victorian society he lived in. This is a test which is set up to fail. On the one hand, the novel reflects aestheticism in a positive light by closely describing Victorian society and mocking its values, but on the other hand, Dorian's moral corruption leads to the decay of his human soul and his suicide so that the negative consequences of a life free from social and moral bonds are clearly portrayed and can be seen as a critique of an aestheticism that dominates an individual life[5].

As a result, aestheticism and Christianity are both portrayed ambiguously in the novel, since the decay of Dorian's soul is reduced to a satirical experiment of life as an object of art under the influence of his corruptor Lord Henry. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that Dorian is not a human subject to Lord Henry and Basil Hallward right from the beginning of the novel. Whereas Basil uses Dorian as a muse, his sexualized object which improves Basil's art through his male desire towards Dorian, Lord Henry regards Dorian's life simply as a human experiment that helps him to escape his boredom with married life by turning the young man into the artificial figure of a dandy. Dorian thus addresses the two men's senses: Basil's

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3 Bashford sums up: "Here I will focus my discussion by borrowing what Small designates three "new paradigms" that emerged in the 1990s: the Gay Wilde, the Irish Wilde, Wilde and Consumerism – this last I will rename the Materialist Wilde. To these I will add a fourth category, […]: Idealist Wilde" (613).

4 As Wilde claimed in his essay *The Decay of Lying*. Danson comments: "in 'The Decay of Lying' Wilde reverses the course of wisdom: 'Nature imitates Art', and should be made to obey art's laws" ("Wilde as Critic and Theorist" 85).

5 Colleen Cooper Harrison notes: "Therefore, it can be assumed that Wilde is satirizing the concept of material belongings as the new religion of the Victorian people, thus arguing that aestheticism is the result of a loss of faith in both man and God, both sacrificed for objects of beauty" (7).

sexuality and Lord Henry's decadent thirst for new experiences. Basil and Lord Henry serve as outstanding figures in Victorian society who do not fit into the constraints of Christian social norms: Basil struggles with his homosexuality and Lord Henry tries to lead a nihilistic life free from social pressure and responsibility. They are two individualists, each of them trying to shape Dorian according to their own ideals[6].

Although Christian values are questioned in the novel, Christianity, as well as aestheticism, is viewed ambiguously. Dorian's portrait painted by Basil shows his moral corruption and the expression in it alters after every sin Dorian commits. The portrait functions as a moral marker of Christian values by capturing Dorian's flawed soul[7] which returns to his body after he stabbed the painting in a vain attempt to free himself from the status as a living object of art[8]. Thus, the failure of Dorian's life and Lord Henry's aesthetic experiment serves as a reassurance of Christian social norms and a Catholic understanding of the unity of soul and body. In order to lose his human soul, Dorian needs to lose his morality and his religion first. This is achieved by Lord Henry's speeches. However, even Lord Henry is unable to free himself entirely of the belief in the soul as a moral faculty (Salamensky 128). The conception of the soul as a moral consciousness – most prominently symbolized by the character of Basil Hallward (Hinojosa 89) – remains a decadent Catholic concept in the novel which mirrors Wilde's own attraction to Catholicism (Schuchard 392). Dorian Gray suffers beautifully in the novel but cannot achieve Christ's redemption because – as will be shown – he is unable to feel any remorse for his sins. The topic of homosexuality is thereby subtly portrayed in the novel as a love of higher virtue (Brinkley 65). This higher virtue is most prominently ascribed to the love of Basil for Dorian, a feeling that is closely linked to Christian terms such as empathy and care. Interestingly, Wilde's novel suggests the possibility of a Christian homosexuality in the figure of Basil Hallward but this possibility is finally negated by the novel through Basil's violent death as a victim of Dorian Gray. Nevertheless, Basil represents Wilde's personal belief that homosexuality and a Christian consciousness do not necessarily negate each other[9]. In the end, the novel escapes a clear paradigm if

6 Lynne W. Hinojosa comments: "In this plot, however, God does not create and reveal Dorian Gray's 'true self'; rather, two human creators, Basil Hallward and Lord Henry Wotton, create not one true self but two 'true selves' of Dorian Gray" (88).

7 Jarlath Killeen notes: "The picture that holds Dorian's soul is like a consecrated Host. The visual consummation of the picture is the equivalent to the consumption of Christ that occurs when partaking in the Eucharist. Ironically, Dorian behaves like a priest who decides to consume the transubstantiated Host alone and to refuse others access to the sacred body of Christ: he locks he picture away in the altar/schoolroom" (98).

8 Ruth Robbins notes: "Sibyl and Dorian are both works of art. […] His [Dorian's] story, however, shows that making the human subject – whether male or female – into an object, exposes him/her to a dangerous split. For Dorian and for Sibyl, who inhabit the slash line between the binary opposition of subject/object, this split is entirely destructive" (231-232).

9 As Henry M. Alley notes about the representation of Basil's love: "We have, then, more than midway through the novel, a carefully wrought portrait of what a contemporary, healthy gay love might be, both sensual and spiritual in nature" (4).

Victorian sexual morals are bad or good for society. On the one hand, they can serve as guidance for men like Basil Hallward and Dorian Gray by promoting virtues such as care and moral responsibility. On the other hand, they try to repress homosexual attraction as a form of perversity. Overall, the ambiguous role of Christianity is set in an equally ambiguous representation of aestheticism, the framework of the novel.

2 Life as Art – Wilde's Paterian Theory of Aestheticism

As in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* Wilde's own theory of aestheticism was highly ambiguous: his position towards art was never stable, but changed over the course of his lifetime[10]. Consequently, this chapter will take into consideration Wilde's aesthetic position around 1890, the year of publication of his only novel and the earlier published essay *The Decay of Lying* (1889), also examining the influence of Wilde's Oxford education, especially the academic work *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* written by Walter Pater. The focus will further lie on an implicit critique of Pater in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Wilde was influenced by Pater's composition of aestheticism deriving from ideas of French symbolists such as Baudelaire and Gautier who coined the sentence "art for art's sake" (Pestka 66). Art was regarded as an equivalent of religion by the French aesthetes (Pestka 66) and the worship of experience, as it also plays an important role in *The Picture of Dorian Gray,* later led to the movement of decadence (Chai 99).

As Wilde stated in the highly discussed "Preface" to *The Picture of Dorian Gray*: "There is no such thing as a moral or immoral book. Books are well written or badly written. That is all" (Wilde 3). For Wilde, art does not include any moral judgement since the artist is merely the creator of beautiful things with no ethical sympathies (Wilde 3). This statement calls forth Wilde's distance to the social critique of nineteenth-century realism put into practice in Victorian England by authors such as Charles Dickens and Elisabeth Gaskell (Albers 63). Wilde's disdain for the social ambitions of realistic literature can be further seen in his famous statement that "life should imitate art" in his essay *The Decay of Lying* (1889). Lawrence Danson sums up Herbert Vivian's position in the essay:

> With his disdain for the supposedly objective truths of science, economics, sociology, or anything not of his own making, the liar's very existence, a constant act of self-invention, is a protest against the realist's submission to nature and to social conditions that pose as natural ("Wilde as Critic and Theorist" 86).

[10] Caroline Sumpter claims that Wilde's position was not static due to his articles in journals in which he reacted to contemporary evolutionary and artistic theory.

As an imitation of a dandy, a man who honors taste more than morality and tries to rebel against Victorian social and gender norms[11], Wilde himself attempted to live a life as a product of art in which good taste was one of the highest achievements of a personal aestheticism. Consequently, Wilde's own dandyism and the dandyism of Lord Henry Wotton who tries to turn Dorian Gray into an artificial dandy can be seen as an aesthetic escape from the social and sexual conventions of Victorian society. Thus, Wilde's notions of style have, nevertheless, a political dimension (Sammels 111): the disruption and change of society. Since this obviously could not be achieved in Wilde's time at least his rebellion can be regarded as an attempt to challenge Victorian England about its own social norms. Even though the dominant category for Wilde might not be simply art but style (Sammels 110), his style implicates hidden social ambitions and Wilde's self-performance has thus more in common with nineteenth-century realism than Wilde himself might have been aware of.

When looking at Wilde's aesthetic position, the influence of the academic work *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* written by Walter Pater and read by Wilde in the time of his studies at Oxford cannot be underestimated.[12] As Stephen Calloway notes:

> Wilde of course belonged initially to that generation of Oxford Aesthetes who, beginning as disciples of Ruskin, had first espoused his earnest, Christian, medieval and Pre-Raphaelite enthusiasm and his desire for "Truth to Nature" in art, only to be seduced in due course by the more indulgently neo-pagan, Renaissance-inspired, "decadent" and, consequently, rather dangerously glamorous teachings of Walter Pater (Calloway 35).

In his work Pater distances himself from Ruskin's claim of realistic art as true art, a form of art that should imitate nature[13], and instead promotes the ideal of the Renaissance as represented by painters such as Michelangelo. Pater seeks an art that no longer imitates nature but strives to express an aesthetic experience of which nature might only be the trigger point. Wilde takes this recognition of the independence of art further when he claims in "The Decay of Lying" that nature should imitate art, not the other way around (Danson, "Wilde as Critic and Theorist" 85). Caroline

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11 As Stephen Calloway puts it: "The dandy-aesthetes of the *fin-de-siècle* period above all honed their senses and cultivated the rarest of sensibilities; they made the perfection of the pose of exquisiteness their greatest aim and they directed all their languid energies towards nurturing a cult of aesthetic response that begins beyond ordinary notions of taste, that lies beyond mere considerations of fashion, and operates quite outside the dictates of all conventional canons of morality" (Calloway 34; emphasis in the original).

12 Lawrence Danson states: "The effect on Wilde of Pater's 'beautiful and suggestive essays' calls to mind the 'influence' of the 'poisonous' yellow book Lord Henry Wotton gives to Dorian Gray" ("Wilde as Critic and Theorist" 83).

13 Levine analyses: "While Ruskin appealed to the realities of the natural world as the ground of the truth for representation, Pater moves back and forth from one [nature] to another [form] without allowing the process [of creation] to come to rest" (184).

Levine expresses that the similarity between Pater and Wilde is that "they drew attention away from the truths to be affirmed by narrative and pointed instead to the artifices of the form" (Levine 198).

For Wilde form, like style, was not a mere category or a by-product of the creation of art but art itself. Only in art could a perfection of form and style be achieved which nature could not offer the artist. Consequently, copying nature, as Ruskin claimed[14], was not good art. Rather, works of art should stand independently from nature and their historical context of time in which they were created[15]. *The Picture of Dorian Gray* then can be read as an aesthetic experiment against realism: the protagonist of the novel himself becomes an object of art, crossing the borders between human nature and art by letting the portrait take over his soul, deceiving his realistic environment in order to fully become an artistic figure. Accordingly, human nature is valued as plain in the novel, it is something unnatural in itself, a state which has to be overcome through art and the decadent development of a consciousness based on aesthetic experience, not on rationality or morals. As Lord Henry states, his mode of individualism can serve to achieve such a consciousness:

> "To be good is to be in harmony with one's self," he replied […]. "Discord is to be forced to be in harmony with others. One's own life – that is the important thing. […] Besides, Individualism has really the higher aim. Modern morality consists in accepting the standard of one's age. I consider that for any man of culture to accept the standard of his age is a form of the grossest immorality." (Wilde 76).

Influenced by Pater, Wilde still echoes the patterns of Ruskin's realist experiments while questioning and destabilizing their claims (Levine 192), most prominently the claim that good art should imitate nature. This can be proved by Lord Henry's statement that "to become the spectator of one's own life […] is to escape the suffering of life" (Wilde 107), a quote that Dorian uses when Basil blames him for Sibyl's suicide after Dorian has left her. Only when Dorian can enjoy his own life fully as a pleasure of aesthetic experiences – like watching a play on the stage – he can escape his dreadful human existence which is defined by suffering. "Only the individual […] who is a creator not a product, is fully human. You have to be artificial to be really yourself" (Danson, "Wilde as Critic and Theorist" 87). In conclusion, aestheticism serves not only for Wilde himself but also for Dorian and Lord Henry as an escape from Victorian society and human suffering.

The influence of Walter Pater's work on Wilde can further be seen in Wilde's aesthetic conception of the role of literature in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. "The effect on Wilde of Pater's 'beautiful and suggestive essays' calls to mind the 'influence' of

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14 "Nature's crude imperfections and unfinished condition, its failure to fulfill its good intentions, is a cause of art: 'Art is our spirited protest, our gallant attempt to teach Nature her proper place'" (Danson, "Wilde as Critic and Theorist" 85).

15 "in 'The Decay of Lying' Wilde reverses the course of wisdom: 'Nature imitates Art', and should be made to obey art's laws" (Danson, "Wilde as Critic and Theorist" 85).

the 'poisonous' yellow book Lord Henry Wotton gives to Dorian Gray" (Danson, "Wilde as Critic and Theorist" 83). Reading literature is regarded in the novel as an experience addressing the aesthetic senses and consequently produces individual pleasure.[16] Reading has not a primarily intellectual aim, rather it can lead to temptation and a change of one's attitude to life as can be seen by the corruption of Dorian Gray by the yellow book which seems to influence Dorian's mind like his later addiction to opium:

> One hardly knew at times whether one was reading the spiritual ecstasies of some mediaeval saint or the morbid confessions of a modern sinner. It was a poisonous book. The heavy odour of incencse seemed to cling about its pages and to trouble the brain (Wilde 121).

While reading the yellow book, Dorian is "unconscious of the falling day" (Wilde 121), he loses his sense of time. The yellow book which Wilde himself defined in his trial as J.-K. Huysmans's *À Rebours* (Calloway 48) becomes a guide to an aesthetic lifestyle for Dorian who fully turns into the artificial figure of a dandy by living up to the experiences of its protagonist. The yellow book then functions as Lord Henry's most powerful tool in his aesthetic human experiment of totally influencing Dorian Gray. The decadent longing for new experiences holds Dorian in a firm grip and his pleasure becomes unattainable, thus leading to the moral decay of his soul. Dorian's search for pleasure yields his morality: to deepen his consciousness by using art, sexual pleasure and drugs, he has to abandon his self-awareness, losing his consciousness at the same time. His desire, as Leon Chai notes, can no longer be satisfied; "it becomes in effect a desire *for desire*" (Chai 98; emphasis in the original).

This path of chasing desire leads Dorian to his moral corruption and alienation from the society he lives in. On the one hand, Wilde takes Pater's conception of sensual aestheticism seriously as a refuge from suppressing Victorian conventions for figures such as Lord Henry. On the other hand, he criticizes Dorian's isolation in his artificial life of a dandy by showing its moral consequences uttered through Basil Hallward who asks Lord Henry: "'But, surely, if one lives merely for one's self, Harry, one pays a terrible price for doing so?'" (Wilde 76). Hence, Dorian seems to be like a young man seduced by Henry Wotton to follow Pater's final statement in his work about the Renaissance that "young men should […] 'burn always with [a] hard, gem-like flame'" (Calloway 36) and "seek primarily for sensation and 'great passions' in both art and life […] to 'get as many pulsations as possible into the given time'" (Calloway 36) which in the novel ultimately leads to Dorian's social isolation and loss of his human soul.

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16 Stefanie Albers states that "whereas Victorians saw art as a tool that can be used as a form of oral enlightenment and social education, aestheticism's aim was to free art from all responsibility, and aesthetes believed that art does not need to have any other purpose but to be beautiful" (Albers 63).

Through the rationality of Basil Hallward, the empathetic artist trying to live up to Victorian social norms by not acting out his homosexuality[17] in direct opposition to the irrational desire for pleasure in its utmost form represented by Lord Henry Wotton, the novel opposes two points of view: mainly, Christian morality versus aesthetic pleasure. As will be shown in the following analyses, aesthetic pleasure can be a refuge from strict Victorian convention, but once it totally dominates Dorian's life it inevitably leads to moral corruption and soulless artificiality. Art, which should always be a pleasure in Wilde's eyes, only bears suffering when human nature is abandoned in order to fully achieve art's ideal of aesthetic beauty and a decadent life of desire for new experiences. As Joseph Carroll realizes: "Wilde is intoxicated by Pater's aesthetic, but his own intuitions tell him that Pater's concept of human nature is profoundly false" (Carroll 302).

3 An Object of Art – *The Picture of Dorian Gray* as an Aesthetic Experiment

3.1 Dorian Gray – a Seduced Boy and an Aesthetic Object?

Many readings of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* focus on the role of its protagonist. Most prominently, Dorian's function as *Doppelgänger* has been closely analyzed[18] and the novel has been regarded as a Gothic tale sharing certain similarities with other works of the Victorian Age such as Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*[19]. Some critics even claim its framework as a *Bildungsroman* putting forward Dorian's process of learning which ends in catastrophe[20]. I will argue that Dorian's development in the novel is not only due to the influence of Sir Henry Wotton, but instead it is made possible by the fact that Dorian is not entirely regarded as a human subject by both Lord Henry and Basil Hallward right from the beginning of the novel. Thus, the novel cannot be seen as a *Bildungsroman* focusing on the development of a human being

17 As Henry M. Alley observes: "Both men [Basil and Dorian] are pressed by a vision of the past to take action. Both ultimately turn to the closet, Hallward pursuing an extension of his monkish life in art, and Dorian moving on to become the ultimately secretly gay Narcissus, who acts out his own inner hatred by destroying the lives and loves of both men and women alike. In this sense, Hallward's undisclosed truth about himself is not far from Dorian's about the portrait" (5).

18 As Linda Dryden notes: "*Dorian Gray* is also inspired by any number of doppelgänger tales" (Dryden 115).

19 Linda Dryden also marks the contrast between the two works in her comparative analysis when she writes: "In *Dorian Gray*, the deviant in society exhibiting regressive tendencies is not a monster, whose degeneracy is figured in his repulsiveness, as in Hyde, but rather a monster whose deviancy is caused by his extreme narcissism, a decadent Gothic subject whose beauty is the wellspring of horror" (Dryden 114).

20 Guy Willoughby writes: "the story traces Dorian Gray's attempt to realize his life as art in the interest of an expanded selfhood, akin to that advanced in *The Sould of Man*. In this sense the novel is an aesthetic *Bildungsroman*, an intense study of its hero's (aestheticized) knowledge and experience after Pater or Huysmans" (Willoughby 63).

but instead requires to be read as an aesthetic experiment set in the Victorian society Wilde himself lived in. Under the ongoing influence of Lord Henry, Dorian slowly develops into the artificial figure of a dandy losing his soul gradually the more his portrait shows the effects of his committed sins. At the end, Dorian has become a criminal dandy who values art but at the same time sacrifices his morality for the price of beauty. Such a figure was Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, an artist, aesthete and poisoner worshipped by Wilde in his essay *Pen, Pencil and Poison* from 1889 (Sheehan 337)[21].

Lord Henry does not produce Dorian's evil nature by the power of his speeches; instead, his mere words trigger the evil part of human nature in the young boy so that his unconscious (sexual) phantasies become a real possibility to Dorian (D'Alessandro 69). When Dorian is first exposed to Lord Henry's influence he reacts as follows to Lord Henry's speech about Dorian's soon coming loss of his wonderful youth soon coming:

> For nearly ten minutes he stood there, motionless, with parted lips, and eyes strangely bright. He was dimly conscious that entirely fresh influences were at work with him. Yet they seemed to him to have come really from himself. The few words that Basil's friend had said to him […] had touched some secret chord that had never been touched before, but that he felt now vibrating and throbbing to curious pulses (Wilde 21).

Dorian's reaction to Lord Henry's words – "the throbbing to curious pulses" (Wilde 21) – recalls a similarity to the reaction of the human consciousness to some kind of drug. Again, Dorian seems to lose his awareness of time. Here, Lord Henry's words function like opium: once absorbed by Dorian, their substance starts to reveal desires and horrible wishes to him that have until now resided in his sub-consciousness. Only under this "spell" Dorian can utter the dreadful wish to remain forever young and take over the role of the portrait that leads to his final transformation into an object of art, when his wish comes true and his portrait really starts to alter after he has left Sibyl Vane.

Even before Lord Henry sees Dorian for the first time, Basil describes Dorian to him in such a way that Henry's mind is already preshaped for viewing Dorian as a beautiful object rather than a human being:

> "He is all my art to me now", said the painter, gravely. […] "What the invention of oil-painting was to the Venetians, the face of Antinoüs

[21] Paul Sheehan acknowledges the influence of the dandy Wainewright on Wilde when he writes: "Though initially a talented artist, Wainewright later 'sought to find expression by pen or poison', and it is the relationship between the two spheres that fascinates Wilde. […] Wilde's claim, then, is that some artists are naturally inclined towards criminality, just as some criminals are impelled to creative expression" (Sheehan 337). Sheehan regards Lord Henry as a character constructed after Thomas Wainewright, but in contrast to Wainewright, Lord Henry's talk is immoral but he does not act after his corrupting statements. Instead, as I will argue, he uses Dorian to fulfill these and turn his epigrams into reality.

> was to late Greek sculpture, the face of Dorian Gray will some day be to me. […] Dorian Gray is to me simply a motive in art. […] He is a suggestion, as I have said, of a new manner. I find him in the curves of certain lines, in the loveliness and subtleties of certain colours. That is all." (Wilde 13-14).

Here, Basil mainly focuses on the aspect that at the beginning mostly constitutes his perception of Dorian: his desire for him as a (sexual) muse for his art and thus a beautiful object of his painting. This aspect is strengthened by the fact that at the beginning of the novel Lord Henry does not see Dorian in person but instead meets his half-finished picture in Basil's studio and immediately admires its beauty. He acknowledges this by telling Basil that the portrait was his best work until now and that he needs to exhibit the picture in the future (Wilde 6). That Basil resists such an invitation by admitting that he put too much of his own soul into the picture of Dorian (Wilde 9), illustrates that he sexually admires Dorian in a way that could offend the Victorian public. Whereas Basil is dominated by Dorian's beauty as an object, Lord Henry in contrast is so fascinated by it that he seeks to dominate Dorian by putting him totally under his aesthetic influence thus trying to turn him into the artificial figure of a dandy:

> It was clear to him that the experimental method was the only method by which one could arrive at any scientific analysis of the passions; and certainly Dorian Gray was a subject made to his hand, and seemed to promise rich and fruitful results (Wilde 58).

Nevertheless, he also regards Dorian merely as an object, a soulless vessel that he himself can fill with his ideas[22], reduced to its external beauty. As a consequence, Dorian is robbed of his own personality by both Basil and Lord Henry and is ascribed the status of a beautiful aesthetic, and for Lord Henry experimental, object. Michal Peled Ginsburg analyzes the triangle of relations between the three men and the portrait in the second chapter of the novel as follows:

> Dorian now recognizes himself in the painted image, itself shaped by Lord Henry's words as well as by his own influence on Basil and by Basil's love. In the same way that Dorian influenced Basil's art so that in this new art Basil can recognize his love for Dorian, Lord Henry influences Dorian, who can then see his newly discovered/produced self in Basil's painting (Ginsburg 101).

Thus, Dorian's portrait is not merely a beautiful picture but a revelation of the denying of Dorian's individual personality since his pose in the picture is influenced by Lord Henry's words and his beauty as a sitter is his most valuable character trait of him for Basil (Ginsburg 100). Once turned into an aesthetic object, Dorian cannot

[22] S. I. Salamensky notes: "He [Dorian] is an empty shell until Harry – as transmogrifying God to a son of God, or a Dr. Frankenstein to his monster – invests him with his 'own soul', and, in that, his own 'thoughts,' 'passions,' 'virtues,' and 'sins'" (Salamensky 127-128).

escape his fate anymore since Lord Henry does not cease viewing Dorian as an object and Dorian has fallen under his control. In the following, I will analyze which aspects reveal Dorian's status as an aesthetic, soulless object in the novel once his portrait has started to change.

After uttering his wish that he may stay forever young, Dorian loses his emotions gradually by his ongoing sins. After he has left Sibyl Vane for her bad acting caused by her love for him and she has taken her own life, he notices a change in the portrait. Interestingly, after his talk with Lord Henry about his faded love for Sibyl when he saw her bad acting, Dorian does not ascribe this change to his immoral cruelty towards Sibyl but to Sibyl's suicide itself:

> No; there was no further change in the picture. It had received the news of Sibyl Vane's death before he had known of it himself. It was conscious of the events of life as they occurred. The vicious cruelty that marred the fine lines of the mouth had, no doubt, appeared at the very moment that the girl had drunk the poison (Wilde 101).

Consequently, Dorian tries to alleviate his bad conscience by telling himself that it was Sibyl's suicide which has changed the picture, not his immoral behavior. By adopting Lord Henry's view that her death was merely an aesthetic event incorporating the authentic tragedy of her good acting, an ability which vanished when Sibyl fell in love with him, Dorian adapts his mind to the views of an artificial dandy resenting Victorian social norms and Christian empathy. Moreover, he views Sibyl as Lord Henry and Basil Hallward view him: Dorian regards Sibyl as an aesthetic object (Brinkley 8). As Ruth Robbins notes, Sibyl's suicide "fixes her meaning in a remote aesthetic sphere. This attitude [of aestheticism] enables him [Dorian] to discern beauty in her death without having to examine its morality" (Robbins 231).

When Dorian resists Basil's attempt to take his own moral involvement in her death into account, he absolutely abandons his Christian consciousness and thus loses his human nature. As an object of art, he does not feel pity or empathy for other human beings anymore. From now on the picture functions as a moral marker showing Dorian the consequences of his committed sins (Bristow 211). Since the portrait alters instead of Dorian himself, he is finally dominated by his appearance after his personality has already been reduced to his looks by Lord Henry and Basil Hallward. Jerusha McCormack notices:

> Seeking to numb his guilt, Dorian anaesthesises himself with things, inventing himself by means of his own collections. His relationship with himself, as with others, is dictated by an object; but which Dorian is now the artefact? Neither can live outside the world of the fabricated, nor tolerate the "life" which threatens it with destruction (McCormack 113).

What McCormack overlooks is that Dorian has already lost his feeling of guilt by not paying attention to Basil's moral considerations. Only at the end of the novel,

when Dorian tries to restore his moral consciousness by not seducing a young country-girl, he feels morally responsible. But even this sense of morality ends when he stabs the picture in a final egoistic attempt to hide the consequences of his sins from the outer world. The two Dorians, the young and the altering one, are both not alive: the picture only portrays Dorian's sins, whereas Dorian himself has lost his humanity (Cooper Harrison 11) by becoming an artificial dandy. The role of the portrait is therefore to function as a mirror of his soul, showing Dorian the visible results of his bad actions (Ginsburg 102) but at the same time it does not function as a real mirror since "it does not give Dorian an idealized image of himself as eternally young and beautiful" (Ginsburg 102).

As most critics highly disagree with each other, there exist different analyses of Dorian as a character. Whereas Jerusha McCormack regards Dorian as "the very image of the feckless Irish lad – the 'Great Irresponsible'" (McCormack, 112), Ruth Robbins focuses in her analysis on the treatment of Dorian as a young woman by Basil and Lord Henry: "Moreover, it is not only in the fact of Dorian's multiplying image that he is feminized. It is also in the substance of the image, in the ways in which the other two men, and the narrative as a whole, see him" (Robbins 229). Overall, "Dorian acts and is treated like a virginal young girl" (Robbins 230). According to Robbins, Edward S. Brinkley also takes the sexual implications of Dorian's representation into account, but mainly in a viewpoint focused on implicit homosexuality in which "the body of the young male, of Dorian, […] comes into function both as icon, that is, as an enabling *fetish* in the text, and as a social experiment in *homosexualization"* (Brinkley 65; emphases in the original). Interestingly, also Esther Rashkin emphasizes Dorian's status as an object, but by applying the psychological theory of Sandor Ferenczi about child abuse, she regards Dorian as an abused child who, as an adult, tries to live up to the villain image of himself constructed by his grandfather and thus identifies himself with his aggressor (Rashkin 72). Other critics interpret Dorian's character as a stereotype of Narcissus, in love with his own image[23], or as a young man, influenced by Lord Henry, their relationship a model of Greek Paterian love (Irmak 78) a model of male-male desire that Wilde worshipped himself (Irmak 79).

Esther Rashkin's interpretation to regard Dorian merely as a seduced or abused boy is tempting but it neglects the aspect that Lord Henry only triggers the immoral part of Dorian's nature by his first speech, a part which has already existed in Dorian

[23] González writes about Dorian: "His transformation after death is a reversal of Narcissus' metamorphosis into a flower: the epitome of Victorian beauty is turned into a monster of evil and ugliness. It goes without saying that Dorian-Narcissus has reached the self-knowledge he was looking for" (González 10). And Andrew Wenaus further notes: "So, in this sense, where Narcissus amputates his whole body, Dorian seeks oblivion by being transferred completely to the extension; yet the extension itself is entirely dependent upon the body" (Wenaus 69). In contrast Michal Peled Ginsburg notices: "Dorian is different from Narcissus, who falls in love with his image and wants to join it even at the cost of death. Dorian, by contrast, wants to exchange places with the portrait, which is quite a different thing: rather than wishing to unite with the image, he would like to keep the difference between them, only exchange their respective attributes" (Ginsburg 101).

and only has to be enforced to bear evil fruit. Consequently, reading *The Picture of Dorian Gray* only as a parable of abuse or seduction is not fully taking into consideration the critique of Dorian's treatment as an object in the novel. Dorian himself is not a seduced or abused object without content, but he is treated as such by Basil Hallward and Lord Henry, a treatment which makes it easy for Dorian to develop a narcissistic obsession with his own beauty and regard Sibyl as an aesthetic object. Dorian does not consider his treatment as wrong and thus is unable to free himself of its consequences. Rather he embraces the aesthetic philosophy of Lord Henry, a philosophy which seems too dangerous as to regard Lord Henry as a good teacher of life in the way of the Greek model of Paterian love between an older and a young male[24].

The aesthetic experiment that Lord Henry runs with Dorian is based on this false treatment of the young boy. But it is Dorian himself who voluntarily falls under its spell, living out the immoral side of his human nature and developing a disdain for Christian morality and Victorian social conventions. Dorian embodies an aristocratic young man who is frustrated with the boundaries of his age and the society he lives in, an anachronistic hero who tries – and fails – to free himself of these boundaries by worshipping a Paterian aestheticism. Furthermore, he finds pleasure in immoral and new experiences and thus becomes a decadent criminal dandy aesthete such as Thomas Wainewright. But unlike Thomas Wainewright, Dorian does not merely corrupt – and thus indirectly poison – people by use of his beautiful exterior, he also takes further pleasure in his own decay by watching the change of his portrait, "a masochistic pleasure of seeing his body degraded, seeing it being "punished" for his actions" (Ginsburg 102). The narrator tells that Dorian

> would creep upstairs to the locked room, open the door with a key that never left him now, and stand, with a mirror, in front of the portrait that Basil Hallward had painted of him, looking now at the evil and aging face on the canvas, and now at the fair young face that laughed back at him from the polished glass. The very sharpness of the contrast used to quicken his sense of pleasure. He grew more and more enamoured of his own beauty, more and more interested in the corruption of his own soul (Wilde 124).

For Dorian, aestheticism functions as a substitute for a belief or religion, a theory which dominates his life and turns him fully into an object by putting him under its spell. He has fallen for Pater's statement in his conclusion to *Studies in the History of Renaissance* to "burn with a hard, gem-like flame" (Calloway 36) and is unable to lead a life not dominated by the excesses of pleasure. His crime is not a worship of beautiful objects but worship of aestheticism over human nature, religious belief and

[24] Burak Irmak puts forward this view when he claims that "Lord Henry finds relief in his new pederastia teacher role. He embraces it and uses it as an escape from his other performative roles" (79). But this statement is not supported by the view that Dorian has of Lord Henry, in a moment when he realizes how dangerous Lord Henry's influence is.

Victorian conventions[25]. His former self is dissolved in the hunger for new experiences and pleasure. "The heightened sensory experience of aestheticism entails the basic instability of the self because it is precisely that instability which enables, and is compounded by, aesthetic response" (Davis 554). But through his increasing desire, Dorian's desire turns into a "desire *for desire"* (Chai 98; emphasis in the original) and Dorian's emotions such as pity and empathy yield to the aesthetic hunt for pleasure. As an object of art and a criminal dandy he chases experiences but pays the price of losing his human soul. The aesthetic experiment of the novel is thus developed to fail and its failure exposes Pater's aesthetic theory to a sharp critique, since when tested in real life, this isolates Dorian from society and robs him of his humanity (Cooper Harrison 11).

3.2 Lord Henry Wotton – a Soulless Paterian Aesthete or a Failed Modern Individualist?

No other character symbolizes Pater's theory of an aestheticism based on sensual experiences and pleasure better than Lord Henry Wotton. As emphasized by many critics, he is the person who introduces Dorian to the beauty of the senses and makes him aware of his own beautiful youth, uttering the warning that he should not waste it by living up to Victorian norms and Christian morality[26]:

> Yes, Mr Gray, the gods have been good to you. But what the gods give they quickly take away. You have only a few years in which to live really, perfectly, and fully. When your youth goes, your beauty will go with it, and then you will suddenly discover that there are no triumphs left for you (Wilde 24).

Dorian is heavily influenced by Lord Henry's and Basil Hallward's obsession with his beautiful youth. Consequently, Dorian becomes intoxicated with the fear of the loss of his youth and thus the fear of ageing and death, foreshadowed by the decay of human beauty[27]. Sylvia Ostermann notes that

> Between the pictures Basil Hallward had painted, and Dorian exists an autoerotic relation which is connected with the fear of growing older and the longing for eternal youth. The connection between death and eros is already indicated in the first two chapters (Ostermann, 299).

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25 Cooper Harrison notes generally: "It can be assumed that Wilde is satirizing the concept of material belongings as the new religion oft he Victorian people, thus arguing that aestheticism is the result of a loss of faith in both man and God, both sacrificed for objects of beauty" (7).

26 Jean M. Ellis D'Alessandro writes that "Dorian thus acknowledges implicitly that he accepts Lord Henry's view that were he to follow a life of social morality and religious thought, and thereby save his soul, this very kind of life would mar his body through the suppression of his desires" (D'Alessandro 65).

27 Ostermann notes: "Dorian's increasing egotism is in fact the unconscious fear of death" (301).

Lord Henry himself does not seem to notice the consequences of having imbued Dorian with this fear. He merely regards Dorian as an experimental object, with which he can play around. What Lord Henry defines as Dorian's essence of being is the Dorian portrayed in Basil's pictures: a young and extraordinarily male representing his philosophy of a new hedonism (Ostermann 299). Thus he does not acknowledge Dorian's identity but a made-up stereotype which is fostered by Basil's notion that Dorian defines for him "the lines of a fresh school, a school that is to have in it all the passion of the romantic spirit, all the perfection of the spirit that is Greek" (Wilde 13). Interestingly, Lord Henry seeks to achieve the harmony of soul and body in Dorian, which Basil worships when the artist claims: "The harmony of soul and body! We in our madness have separated the two, and have invented […] an ideality that is void" (Wilde 13). But in contrast to Basil, Lord Henry does not see this harmony already accomplished in Dorian's beautiful appearance. Instead, he wants to achieve this aesthetic aim by influencing Dorian with his aesthetic theory and so turn him into a substitute leading the fulfilled life of (sexual) sensual experiences of a criminal aesthete such as Thomas Wainewright (Sheehan 337) that he himself wants to lead but is too afraid of living. As Burak Irmak notes: "Filled with desires by Lord Henry, Dorian becomes more than what Lord Henry expects. At first, Dorian is a mere student, a personification of Lord Henry's phantasy" (Irmak 81). Whereas Basil views Dorian as a symbol of youthful perfection, Lord Henry worships Dorian's youth – both in his appearance as in his naivety – as the main tool contributing to the achievement of his experimental aims.

The multiple interpretations of the character of Lord Henry Wotton by contemporary Wilde critics seem to prove the opinion that Lord Henry is a far more interesting character in the novel than Dorian Gray himself. If the novel were not named after Dorian, it could even be questioned if he should be viewed as the protagonist or if not the main player in this aesthetic composition is instead the figure of Lord Henry. Given interpretations of his character include a queer Lord Henry, struggling with Victorian gender norms (Irmak 78), Lord Henry as a devil in persona inspired by Goethe's *Faust*[28], a bored and rather morbid aristocrat and dandy who takes more pleasure in the end of desire than in desire itself[29] as well as Dorian's teacher of life as in the model of ancient Greek male-male love[30]. This range of interpretations shows a controversy concerning the question if Lord Henry as a character should be

[28] Guy Willoughby writes: "Thus inspired by his aesthetic Mephistopheles, Dorian Gray embraces a career of intense, scrupulous experience, both cerebral and sensuous" (Willoughby 66).

[29] Jeff Nunokawa analyzes the role of ennui in the novel and notes: "Like the secret longing for a long-anticipated death, the dandy harbors a never quite covert desire for desire's termination. However much his constitution inclines toward indolence, Lord Henry, […] could hardly be more industrious finding new opportunities to mention passion's tendency to recede" (Nunokawa 78). I would like to emphasize here that the role of ennui in the novel expressed by Lord Henry rather needs to be read as a frustration with the non-ability of Lord Henry to act out his own desires than with a morbid longing for death as a dandy, as I will argue later.

[30] Burak Irmak also emphasizes Lord Henry's role as Dorian's teacher, but merely views it as platonic and without desire, a view I would clearly resist.

valued positively as an aesthete introducing the pleasures of life to Dorian, or negatively as an immoral person influencing him in a fatally wrong way. I will argue that the character of Lord Henry can only be analyzed by taking into consideration the context of his life as a character, mainly, the struggle with Victorian society and his own sexuality suppressed by a hetero-normative married life (Irmak 80). Burak Irmak writes: "As he is a teacher of desire, he turns Dorian into a personification of his own desires and the result of his escape from the normative gender. His teacher role, however, causes the collapse of his married life in the end" (Irmak 79).

Furthermore, Lord Henry symbolizes Pater's theory of aestheticism and the desire for a life lived through sensual experiences. Nevertheless, Lord Henry himself cannot lead the life he desires. He watches Dorian's change of lifestyle and enjoys influencing him for his own pleasure in order to satisfy his own (sexual) desires. His dissatisfaction with himself as an outsider not wanting to fulfil Victorian norms for an aristocratic male (Irmak 77), "the resistance to dictated male performativity and its results" (Irmak 77), leads to his urge for the aesthetic experiment he runs with Dorian. Thus, Dorian is merely a substitute compensating Lord Henry's own failure to free himself from his social bonds as a married man of high status (Irmak 81). As Lord Henry himself states in the second chapter of the novel:

> Because to influence a person is to give him one's own soul. He does not think his natural thoughts, or burn with his natural passions. His virtues are not real to him. His sins, if there are such things as sins, are borrowed. He becomes an echo of some one else's music, an actor of a part that has not been written for him (Wilde 20).

By influencing Dorian, Lord Henry unwillingly becomes one of the persons he despises because of their fear of themselves. His claim that many people in Victorian society have forgotten "the highest of all duties, the duty that one owns to one's self" (Wilde 20), meaning the courage of true self-development, is revealing in two aspects: firstly, Lord Henry himself does not have the courage to develop himself freely and instead uses Dorian for this purpose, and, secondly, he is thus included as an involuntary victim of the terror of God and society which he claims govern England's population (Wilde 20). So his sharp social critique cannot be taken entirely seriously by the reader since he remains a failed individualist trying to develop a modern identity but is unable to live out this modernism by himself. Lord Henry's individualism is doomed to failure because it does not account for the general condition of society (Willoughby 70). Thus, his hatred for his own failure leads to his bad influence over Dorian. Lord Henry can be seen as the devil, whose self-hatred destroys Dorian's life, but nevertheless, it cannot be argued that Lord Henry as a character is soulless since he himself is not aware of the total catastrophe to which his powerful influence leads. This can be proven by the aspect that he cannot believe in the murder of Basil committed by Dorian, even when Dorian indirectly confesses this awful action to him:

> "What would you say, Harry, if I told you that I had murdered Basil?" said the younger man. […] "I would say, my dear fellow, that you were posing for a character that doesn't suit you. All crime is vulgar, just as all vulgarity is crime. It is not in you, Dorian, to commit a murder" (Wilde 203).

This non-belief in Dorian's crime by Lord Henry implies a sharp critique of Pater's aesthetic theory by Wilde[31] and, at the same time, a reassurance of Christian social norms: unable to see beneath the surface of Dorian's beauty and remaining youth, Lord Henry clings to his personal aestheticism without realizing its bad consequences. Beauty as a substitute for morality in a character, as Lord Henry unconsciously worships it in Dorian, is thus not justifiable. Consequently, Wilde indirectly claims that one has to worship morality over beauty and real personality over superficial appearance and so contradicts his claim in the preface to the novel, in which he states that "There is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book. Books are well written, or badly written" (Wilde 3). Beneath the surface of aesthetic beauty, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* conveys a moral by illustrating the failure of Lord Henry, the dandy aesthete, and his aesthetic experience. Pater's aim to lead a life adhering to experiences which evoke high personal pleasure remains opposed to the failure of Dorian's attempt to lead such an aesthetic life free from social bonds under Lord Henry's influence. Guy Willoughby emphasizes the limits of Lord Henry's aesthetic theory of a free life, when he analyzes Dorian's failure:

> This is the central flaw in Dorian Gray's quest: it is not that an aesthetic view is innately wrong, but that it needs to be redefined, to incorporate all of experience, no matter how demeaning or vicious, into a more complex vision. Because Dorian insists on rejecting the "ugly", "horrible", and "distressing" in life – in spite of the portrait's insistence on their veracity – he is doomed to fragmentation and collapse, not expansion and "self-development" (Willoughby 68).

I claim that in order to achieve his aims and fulfill his desire by watching Dorian's radical change of lifestyle, Lord Henry uses two strategies of discourse. Firstly, the conscious use of his rhetoric skill of ridiculing Victorian society as a tool to tempt Dorian to change his life by evoking fear in the young man of wasting his youth through a moral life adapted to the contemporary gender norms and conception of morality (D'Alessandro 65). D'Alessandro emphasizes that "Wotton […] presents belief in society and religion as fanaticism producing terror […], as against the joy coming from self-development" (D'Alessandro 64). The joy of self-development means a Paterian search for sensual and sexual pleasure. Lord Henry cleverly interweaves the possibility of a life of pleasure for Dorian and the full commitment to

[31] Joseph Bristow writes: "By exposing the damaging consequences of Lord Henry Wotton's desire for Dorian to become the 'visible symbol' of a new 'Hedonism', Wilde is satirizing Pater's emphasis upon 'getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time' we are allotted in life" (Bristow 212).

his youth with the decay of his soul and mental unhappiness as an opposing image negatively connoted, should Dorian follow the path that is outlined for him by Victorian society (D'Alessandro 65). This "psychological manipulation of Dorian" (D'Alessandro 63) starts immediately when Lord Henry sees him for the first time in the second chapter of the novel. Lord Henry uses Dorian's unsteady personality typical for the youth in order to turn him into the person he wants, or rather needs, Dorian to be (D'Alessandro 63). He does so by playing with Dorian's forbidden sexual desires (D'Alessandro 69) telling him that

> The only way to get rid of a temptation is to yield it. Resist it, and your soul grows sick with longing for the things it has forbidden itself, with desire for what its monstrous laws have made monstrous and unlawful. […] It is in the brain, and the brain only, that the great sins of the world take place also (Wilde 21).

For a young man like Dorian in an age where sex before marriage was considered a moral shame, these words are fatal. D'Alessandro notes that for Lord Henry

> all is simply a game, a game to experiment with the power of words to bring to the surface passions that, through mental speculation, could be a source of delight for him, and Dorian, with his hidden passions and inexperience, is the perfect subject […] for his analysis (D'Alessandro 63).

On the surface, Lord Henry's aesthetic experiment with Dorian might seem to be simply a game but it is much more than a game for simple pleasure. More likely, it is a game stimulating Lord Henry's own unfulfilled sexual desires (Irmak 79) and his radical want for personal freedom. This is indicated in the novel by the fact that Lord Henry regards Dorian merely as an aesthetic object. He tells Dorian to view Sibyl not as a human being but as an object of art by stating that "The girl never really lived, and so she has never really died" (Wilde 100), revealing that he himself regards Dorian in the same way. The narrator expresses that when he tells that for Lord Henry

> It was delightful to watch him [Dorian]. With his beautiful face, and his beautiful soul, he was a thing to wonder at. It was of no matter how it all ended, or was destined to end. He was like one of those gracious figures in a pageant or a play, whose joys seem to be remote from one, but whose sorrows stir one's sense of beauty, and whose wounds are like red roses (Wilde 57).

To let Dorian fulfill his secret pleasures with all their dreadful consequences, Lord Henry needs to dehumanize Dorian at first, turn him into "a thing to wonder at" (Wilde 57) in order to be ignorant of his human fate when Dorian follows the theory expressed in Lord Henry's epigrams. Yet Dorian's joys only seem to be remote from Lord Henry, but truly they are not indifferent to him since they stimulate his own hidden sexual desires.

The second strategy Lord Henry uses in his conversations with Dorian is that of putting emphasis on a certain emotion: his own boredom with things[32]. Lord Henry constantly stresses his own *ennui* as a means of illustrating how bored he is with his life in Victorian society and that consequently, a life under the aesthetic principles of pleasure seems to be the only escape from this constant ennui for Dorian. A life dominated by boredom, as Lord Henry demonstrates to live, could according to him destroy Dorian's youth and leave the young man socially included but totally unhappy with his life (D'Alessandro 65). Lord Henry portrays Dorian's youth as a way through which the young man could escape boredom:

> We degenerate into hideous puppets, haunted by the memory of the passions of which we were too much afraid, and the exquisite temptations that we had not the courage to yield to. Youth! Youth! There is absolutely nothing in the world but youth! (Wilde 25).

Thus, if Dorian successfully enjoys the pleasures of his youth, a certain youthfulness in his appearance will last and he can enjoy pleasure endlessly. As a consequence, his life would remain free from the dreadful boredom that Lord Henry has to experience in his own life. Jeff Nunokawa analyzes Lord Henry's comments on ennui as a symptom for the false lifestyle of Victorian aristocracy, merely a morbid attitude of a dandy, namely, the pleasure of pain found in the awareness that every fulfilled desire has to come to an end. Nunokawa writes:

> Beyond the satisfactions it affords the aesthete and the advertiser, the ephemerality of desire that Lord Henry promotes offers the additional advantage of relieving its subject from the horror that befalls the subject whose desire persists (Nunokawa 84).

The desire that persists is interpreted by Nunokawa as the homosexual desire of Lord Henry towards Dorian. It might be true that Lord Henry's ennui is a symptom for his unfulfilled homosexual desire. However, Lord Henry uses the stress of his ennui consciously in order to manipulate Dorian by opposing the boredom of a life regulated by Victorian social norms and Christian morality with an aesthetic life of a dandy and modern individualist full of sensual experiences leading to pleasure (D'Alessandro 70).

Both strategies of discourse used by Lord Henry show that he is psychologically conscious of his manipulation of Dorian but unconscious of that he manipulates the young man in order to satisfy his own desire (Irmak 81). He hides this motivation for his aesthetic experiment under the veil of Pater's philosophy of aestheticism. As the narrator of the novel revealingly tells about Lord Henry's excitement about the planned marriage of Dorian and Sibyl Vane:

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[32] Nunokawa analyses the two most dominant feelings in the novel: "The contrast between desire's affluence and boredom's poverty of affect couldn't be more apparent: Where desire possesses, or better, is possessed by, all the thrill of investment, bordedom is known by its lack, characterized by the condition of indifference" (Nunokawa 73).

> It was the passions about whose origins we deceived ourselves that tyrannized most strongly over us. Our weakest motives were those of whose nature we were conscious. It often happened that when we thought we were experimenting on others we were really experimenting on ourselves (Wilde 58).

The experiment with Dorian by Lord Henry can thus be further read as an experiment testing the possibility if Lord Henry's (sexual) desire to lead a life free from the social bonds of Victorian society is at all possible. In this experiment Dorian acts as Lord Henry's substitute following Pater's wish to base his personal happiness entirely on the pleasure of sensual experiences (Irmak 79).

3.3 Basil Hallward – a Love-blinded Artist and Moral Judge?

As a contrast to Lord Henry's theory, the character of the artist Basil Hallward seems to be the moral judge of Victorian society (Hinojosa 99) who criticizes Dorian's sinful actions and his careless attitude towards other people, mainly the young actress Sibyl Vane. But Basil Hallward cannot be reduced to a simple moral judge (Hinojosa 99) or a personification of Jesus Christ[33] since it is clearly indicated in the novel that he feels for Dorian a true and honest love "that dare not speak its name" (Bristow 196). The narrator confesses Dorian's knowledge that

> Basil would have helped him to resist Lord Henry's influence, and the still more poisonous influences that came from his own temperament. The love that he bore him – for it was really love – had nothing in it that was not noble and intellectual. It was not that mere physical admiration of beauty that is born in the senses, and that dies when the senses tire (Wilde 115).

Basil's love for Dorian is honest and caring. It views Dorian not simply as a sexual object – as Lord Henry does – but it also fails to take into consideration Dorian's unstable young personality and thus to save him from Lord Henry's evil influence. Basil's worship of Dorian is simply too much, it veils his eyes from necessary actions that might hurt Dorian in his new self-esteem but save him from Lord Henry's poisonous words. As Guy Willoughby notes

> Basil's failure to kindle Dorian's moral sensibility is marked by the progressive tightening of Lord Henry's hold over their mutual friend. The battle-lines between Wotton and Hallward for Dorian's "soul", […] is given an ethical and philosophical focus on the eve of Sybil Vane's suicide – the suicide that confirms Henry's ascendancy (Willoughby 71).

[33] Guy Willoughby claims that "Like Christ, Basil dies for excess of love, killed because the vision he bears is unpalatable to his sometime follower" (73).

Overall, Basil's silent but not hidden homosexuality, indicated in the novel, seems to stand in sharp contradiction to his function as a moral judge. Interestingly, his homosexuality, implicitly expressed in his portrait of Dorian as a work of art (Alley 4), is not judged by the narrator of the novel although, at a first glance, Basil seems to be punished for his love for Dorian through being a victim murdered by the personality he once admired the most (Danson, "'Each Man Kills the Thing He Loves"' 92). I will argue that the murder of Basil is not a punishment for his homosexual and true love for the young man but a consequence of his irrational and dehumanizing idealization of Dorian's personality, a "personality" which is merely the output of unconscious wishes Basil bestowed on Dorian (Danson, "'Each Man Kills the Thing He Loves"' 89) and Basil's desire for Dorian's outward appearance. Lawrence Danson describes Basil's emotional reaction when he first sees Dorian as Basil's self-discovery of his homosexuality:

> Basil's terror […] registers the homosexual panic of his *self*-discovery; yet that discovery can only occur through Basil's recognition of Dorian's personality – a personality which cannot exist in Dorian until Basil has first read it into Dorian by projection from the personality he discovers in himself by reading Dorian ("'Each Man Kills the Thing He Loves"' 89; emphasis in the original).

The "personality" that Basil bestows on Dorian is dominated by Dorian's youthful beauty (Carroll 297) which attracts Basil to the young man and creates – as an ideal – a new style of art. Basil, then, views Dorian as a homosexual young man unaware of his sexual desires, but like Lord Henry he dehumanizes Dorian. Instead of turning him into an experimental object, Basil worships Dorian as a God of his art and a suggestion of a new manner (Wilde 14), turning him involuntarily and unconsciously into a higher being. In other words: Dorian's flawed humanity is denied by Basil since he transforms Dorian as his muse into a higher sphere of art and existence.

Dorian's male body "is announced openly as a fetish" (Brinkley 66) when he is painted by Basil in a sexual pose (Robbins 229) with "half-parted lips, and the bright look in the eyes" (Wilde 22). What Basil claims as Dorian's "personality" is based heavily on the representation of Dorian's body as a male object (Robbins 228). The portrait Basil paints can thus be seen as a revelation to the reader of his homosexual desire (Brinkley 6). Michel Peled Ginsburg notes:

> If Basil's fascination with Dorian is the result of a "face to face" encounter […], his art betrays this secret fascination through the representation of the body when it is no longer "ideal and remote." It is only as a portrait of the full body that the picture of Dorian Gray can be the site of Basil's secret love; it is only as a portrait of the full body that it can accomplish Dorian's secret wish to exchange places with the portrait (Ginsburg 99).

Thus, both painter and sitter reveal their desire in the portrait. Dorian's pose is due to the words of Lord Henry and Basil's style of painting involuntarily declares his

sexual desire. This is further proved by Basil's fear of exhibiting the picture. He confesses to Lord Henry responding to his question why he would not exhibit the picture:

> Because, without intending it, I have put into it some expression of all this curious artistic idolatry, of which, of course, I have never cared to speak to him. He knows nothing about it. He shall never know anything about it. But the world might guess it; and I will not bare my soul to their shallow, prying eyes. My heart shall never be put under their microscope. There is too much of myself in the thing (Wilde 14).

"It" here can be read as Basil's homosexuality, a sin he is afraid to reveal to the world by exhibiting his picture. Interestingly, Basil does not want Dorian to know anything about "it" as well. This caring attitude indicates that Basil – in contrast to Lord Henry – does not want to lead Dorian into the commitment of sexual actions that were considered as sins by Victorian society.

But while focusing on his art and Dorian's beauty, Basil is not aware of the beginning Lord Henry's influence and fails to acknowledge the awakening of Dorian's desires caught in the sexual pose in the picture. Basil merely states that the picture is finished and he has caught the effect (Wilde 22) without registering the subtle poison of Lord Henry's words. As Basil admits to Dorian: "I don't know what Harry has been saying to you, but he has certainly made you have the most wonderful expression" (Wilde 22). On the one hand, then, Basil's art portrays his powerful creativity (Alley 2) and ability to catch Dorian's pose, but on the other hand the process of painting the picture keeps Basil from participating in the ongoing discourse around him and thus from sheltering Dorian from Lord Henry's words. Basil's role as an artist must consequently be seen ambiguously: it puts his homosexuality in a beautiful aesthetic light (Alley 2), but it is also a mode of egotism since Basil uses Dorian as his muse but is ignorant to what happens to Dorian while he is painting the picture.

This egotism is diminished by the aspect that as a character who values morality more than aesthetics and thus denies Lord Henry's purely aesthetic theory, Basil Hallward tries to lead a life adapted to the morality and Christianity of his age. Basil's fear shows his religious belief in the illusionary idea that sins cannot be hidden from the world. This is illustrated in the novel when Basil cannot believe in the rumors he heard about Dorian because, as he states "Sin is a thing that writes itself across a man's face. It cannot be concealed. People talk sometimes of secret vices. There are no such things" (Wilde 143). Thus, blinded by Dorian's outward appearance, Basil fails to acknowledge his corrupted personality under the influence of Lord Henry until it is too late, a failure that will lead to Basil's death. In opposition to Dorian's youth, the portrait takes over the function of showing the consequences of Dorian's bad actions. Joseph Carroll notes that "Dorian himself thinks of the painting in the same terms Basil uses to explain the logic of moral consequences. The painting becomes 'the visible symbol of the degradation of sin'" (Carroll 298). Thus, the portrait

of Dorian shows the consequences of Dorian's sins as an outward expression of the morality of its creator (Hinojosa 91): the portrait is the painted proof of Basil's morality, a sign of warning that reminds Dorian of his corrupted soul each time he looks at it (Carroll 298). Consequently, the portrait does not simply show Basil's homosexual love but also his extended moral consciousness (Hinojosa 91), a consciousness that wants to show Dorian the sinful shame of his actions. As Lynne W. Hinojosa notes:

> The painting performs a narrative typological function – it marks the life and time of Dorian, increasing in its horrors with the weight of events and revealing what experience does to Dorian's moral and spiritual nature. Basil, too, although initially overcome by Dorian's beauty, is and remains a moral agent (Hinojosa 99).

In conclusion, the murder of Basil Hallward by Dorian Gray has thus to be read as a last attempt of Dorian to escape Basil's judgements and not, as Henry M. Alley states as "an act of internalized homophobia because Dorian hates the male love that would seek him out and speak its name" (M. Alley 6). But, as Dorian soon has to notice, killing the painter of the portrait is not enough to calm him. Instead, he has to destroy the portrait, Basil's extended consciousness (Hinojosa 91), itself.

Whereas Dorian's corruption seems to be almost inevitable for the plot of the novel, the murder of the artist could have been prevented if Basil Hallward had not overlooked Dorian's horrible change. As Dorian himself tells Basil after Sibyl Vane's suicide: "You have not realized how I have developed. I was a schoolboy when you knew me. I am a man now. I have new passions, new thoughts, new ideas" (Wilde 107). Since it is Lord Henry who turns Dorian into a criminal dandy aesthete, Basil cannot be seen as the creator of Dorian's corruption. He painted Dorian's picture unaware that it was already dominated by a facial expression that Lord Henry's evil words triggered. Only before his violent death Basil realizes the flaws of his love. He cries out: "I worshipped you too much. I am punished for it. You worshipped yourself too much. We are both punished." (Wilde 151).

Interestingly though, the novel does not judge Basil's homosexuality. As argued above, the murder of Basil cannot be read as a punishment for his love for Dorian. Basil's homosexuality is not judged negatively within the work of art. Rather the novel portrays Basil Hallward's failure to be a teacher of life for Dorian after the Greek ancient model of male-male-love. Nevertheless, even though Basil fails because he worships Dorian too much, he comes closer to the Greek ideal of an older man teaching and desiring his younger student than Lord Henry ever does. It is clear that Basil's influence on Dorian is positive, but Basil cannot put Dorian under his positive influence.

However, even if Basil is, as an opposite of Lord Henry, positively connoted in the novel, he cannot be seen as a literary incarnation of Christ (Willoughby 73). Basil's belief in morality and his selfless love for Dorian might remind a religious reader of the suffering and victimhood of Jesus Christ, but whereas Christ took the

sins of mankind onto him and thus relieved mankind of their sins through his death, Basil's death cannot relieve Dorian from his sins. Instead, Dorian has to kill his picture in order to re-achieve the unity of his soul and body[34]. Moreover, even though the novel claims his love to be true and honest, this love of Basil for Dorian is – in contrast to the compassion of Christ for mankind – unable to save Dorian from Lord Henry and himself. For Lynne W. Hinojosa "Basil and the painting retain something like the Puritan function of art by which the self can see his own inner nature revealed in the narrative" (Hinojosa 92). She analyzes the failure of Basil's theory of morality and compassion:

> Yet in the end, Basil's Dorian is also an inefficacious theory of the self because it is unable to take action in the world: even though it remains a moral function, the painting remains passive and alone in the attic, unavailable to others for viewing, judgement, or interaction (Hinojosa 99-100).

Basil's interaction with the altered painting comes too late for Dorian. The ignorance of Dorian's change at the beginning of the novel, when Basil paints the portrait of him remains fatal: once slipped through the entanglement of Lord Henry's influence, Basil is unable to destroy it effectively throughout the plot (Willoughby 71). His own fear of his silenced but not hidden homosexuality stops him from rescuing the young man he loves. Instead, unlike Jesus Christ, he becomes the involuntary observer of Dorian's fate, unable to intervene. In the end, Basil does not die to rescue Dorian, he dies because he fails at this attempt.

Overall, Basil Hallward is a character incorporating the moral judgement of Dorian by Victorian society (Hinojosa 99). Basil values morality and Christian ethos, nevertheless, from a perspective in the context of his lifetime, he is a flawed moral judge due to his own homosexuality. His sexuality is further the flaw that prevents Basil from becoming a moral guide to Dorian since he worships the young man irrationally (Carroll 300). Joseph Carrol writes: "The most likely candidate for the role of internal moral guide would be Basil, but Basil is fundamentally compromised by his subjection to Dorian's 'personality'" (Carroll 300). Basil's sexuality turns him into a tragic hero[35], a character which on the one hand, benefits from his male-male-desire as a great contribution to his art (Alley 2), but on the other hand is defined by the fear of revelation of his love, a love that blindly worships instead of facing a personality's reality (Carroll 300).

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34 Anna Budziak remarks: "The split appears between two entities whose attributes are exchanged: between the eponym's picture and the eponym, or the Decadent dandy. This dandy is ultimately identified with the self-conscious and insatiable mind in an immutable though sensuous shape; he is the very incarnation of the fantastic Soul. The picture, in turn, must bear the weight of the body and of the violated morals; it is the body be-souled" (277).

35 Henry M. Alley analyses the parallel between Wilde's life and the novel: "Yet, in both the artistic tale and the biography, a gay man comes to a tragic end because of an admirable attachment to a being who nevertheless would or could not return the "sacred love that dare not speak its name" (1).

4 Ambiguous Christianity in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*

4.1 The Concept of the Soul in the Novel

In *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, religion and aestheticism are both regarded ambiguously. Whereas aestheticism is celebrated through the figure of Lord Henry and criticized by the character of Basil Hallward and Dorian's fatal fate, religion is attacked by Lord Henry even though overall a Catholic concept of the human soul remains present during the plot of the novel (Killeen 95). In the following analysis, I will contrast Basil's and Lord Henry's conception of the soul. It will be shown that even Lord Henry is unable to free himself entirely of the belief that each human being has a soul and that this soul is both a religious conception and a moral faculty (Salamensky 128). Furthermore, I will argue that only through the loss of his soul, Dorian can commit his sins, but through his suffering he does not achieve redemption at the end of the novel because he cannot feel remorse for his sins due to the loss of his soul (Killeen 95). Thus, at the end of the novel the Christian unity of soul and body might be restored by the stabbing of the portrait (Killeen 95), but it remains unclear whether Dorian's hideous soul stays in his dead body or is transferred to heaven or hell.

S. I. Salamensky claims that "while soul is a moral faculty in Basil's case, in Harry's, it is something like consciousness, and highly linguistic in nature" (Salamensky 128). Basil's idea of the soul is indeed that of a moral faculty judging the acts of the individual by whether they are morally right or wrong. This belief of Basil is linked with the idea that bad actions considered sins cannot be erased from the appearance of a man and thus, if a man merely lived for his own sake, he would, as Basil claims, pay for it in remorse and suffering (Wilde 76). Dorian's beautiful appearance manipulates Basil because the painter can only believe in the truth of the rumors about Dorian's sins once he has seen the altered picture. Basil's belief in the soul as a moral faculty (Salamensky 128) reveals his true religious belief when he tries to rescue Dorian by suggesting that he as a sinner should pray for mercy: "Let us say that together. The prayer of your pride has been answered. The prayer of your repentance will be answered also" (Wilde 151). Nevertheless, the novel leaves open whether Basil's belief could have saved Dorian since the painter is murdered by him and Dorian does not pray for God's mercy. So, Basil's belief in the soul and in Christ's mercy remains without consequences. However, it should not be overlooked that Basil's belief is – although he is not referred to as an active member of any church – right in its presupposition that body and soul are a Christian unity[36] and belong together in each human being. This is demonstrated in the end of the novel when Dorian's hideous soul is transferred back to his body (Schuchard 385) once he has stabbed the portrait. Soul and body are reunited and their unity seems

[36] As the painter states right at the beginning of the novel: "The harmony of soul and body – how much that is! We in our madness have separated the two" (Wilde 13).

to be confirmed. Basil's belief then is both reaffirmed and portrayed as useless: the corruption of Dorian's soul is – though too late – only fully acknowledged by the painter and not by the superficial Lord Henry, but at the same time Basil's belief does not save him since he fails to convert Dorian and is consequently murdered because he cannot escape the dominance of Dorian's sins conveyed by the hideous picture. Anna Budziak remarks:

> Despite their multiplicity, the connotations of the "soul" seem to be generally divided into two groups: one linked with consciousness and the "soul's" metaphysical meaning and the other connected with the forms of desiring. The conscience and its metaphysical meaning are contained by the picture; together with the picture, the conscience undergoes a physical change. In that sense, the picture is a besouled body (Budziak 266).

It is Dorian's rotten soul, then, shown by the picture, which leads to Basil's murder and reaffirms the moral consciousness of the painter expressed in the painting. Thus, Catholicism is neither denied nor treated as a clear solution to the corruption of Dorian's soul, as a possibility of rescuing Dorian from his fatal fate.

Whereas Basil's belief cannot save him but acknowledges Dorian's religious role as a sinner, Lord Henry's superficial aesthetic hedonism even fails to trace the ugly corruption of Dorian's soul (Carroll 290), it even denies this change of Dorian's personality when Lord Henry states after Dorian has indirectly confessed Basil's murder to him: "It is not in you, Dorian, to commit a murder. […] Crime belongs exclusively to the lower orders" (Wilde 203). Instead of viewing the suffering of the sinner as a possibility of receiving redemption as Basil does, Lord Henry regards suffering as a mere unpleasant aspect of human life which needs to be banned for aesthetic reasons:

> "I can sympathize with everything, except suffering," said Lord Henry, shrugging his shoulders. "[…] It is too ugly, too horrible, too distressing. There is something terribly morbid in the modern sympathy with pain. One should sympathize with the colour, the beauty, the joy of life. The less said about life's sores the better." (Wilde 41).

With the ban on suffering, Lord Henry denies the possibility of the existence of religious redemption for the human soul. He even views the category of sins as merely man-made. Thus, he cannot be seen as a parallel to Jesus Christ as Francis C. Rossow claims when writing: "Lord Wotton is epigram personified, suggesting by this characteristic a blasphemous parallel to the Christian doctrine of the World, which is both a person (Jesus Christ) and a book (The Scriptures)" (Rossow 136). For Lord Henry, a human life is only fulfilled when dominated by aesthetic pleasure and not by Christian morality. But by denying the corruption of Dorian's soul he automatically denies its fatal consequences for the young man and thus overlooks the split of body and soul in Dorian (Killeen 99). Nevertheless, Lord Henry does not deny entirely the unity of body and soul in human beings when he claims that

"'Nothing can cure the soul but the senses, just as nothing can cure the senses but the soul'" (Wilde 23). Lord Henry believes that soul and senses depend on each other and aesthetic pleasure thus influences the soul. However, this belief is still based on a Christian – if not Catholic – conception of the soul, namely that the soul is shaped by human joy as well as by human misery. Even though Lord Henry does not admit the last, it seems clear to him that one does not go without the other when he utters his detest for the later. Consequently, Lord Henry cannot deny that the soul is shaped by perception of the senses relying on good or bad actions although for him outward beauty defines the soul and not a moral soul defines outward beauty. That Lord Henry secretly thinks in Basil's terms of the soul is further emphasized by the aspect that he talks badly but does not commit bad actions (Killeen 96). This indicates Lord Henry's fear of corrupting his own soul. Instead, he joyfully corrupts the soul of a young man and watches this process like a scientist. As Jarlath Killeen notes:

> Lord Henry can talk flippantly about the soul, but the reader is fully aware that he has not lost it. He has his soul conveniently still with him. The irony is that Dorian, the only character who has truly managed to banish the soul as Lord Henry insists all should want it back, and dies in the attempt to get it back (Killeen 95).

Whether Dorian really wants his soul back at the end, or if his longing is just another aesthetic pose as Lord Henry puts it, is unclear[37]. Nevertheless, the consequences of Lord Henry's ignorance of Dorian's split of soul and body show that the concept of the soul in the novel can only be properly understood in Catholic terms (Killeen 95). Such an understanding of Dorian's loss of the soul might have saved him since he cannot receive redemption at the end because he is unable to feel remorse for his sins. Thus, his suffering does not lead to mercy through Christ who took mankind's sins upon himself through his crucifixion, but it remains senseless in purely aesthetic terms.

As a character driven to ruin by the loss of his soul, Dorian does not deny his soul as a moral faculty, but he neglects it. As Donald R. Dickson notes:

> Dorian fails to achieve these ideals [of aestheticism] because he neglects the development of his soul. Though he always recalls Lord Henry's epigram – "'Nothing can cure the soul but the senses, just as nothing can cure the senses but the soul'" [Wilde 23] – he in fact devotes himself entirely to the senses, hoping to mask the sickness of his soul in the oblivion of opium (Dickson 12).

However, it is indicated in the novel when Dorian looks at his picture that he views it as bearing his soul life and thus his sins. He consequently implicitly acknowledges

[37] In contradiction to Jarlath Killeen, Anna Budziak claims that Dorian's "testing of self-hood, begun with luxuriating in melodramatic self-reproach for having rejected Sibyl, ends with Dorian examining his pose of ostensible selflessness after the Sybil-like Hetty has been spurned" (Budziak 278).

Basil's view of the conception of the soul as a moral faculty (Salamensky 128)[38]. The narrator tells that in a moment of self-awareness Dorian tries to resist Lord Henry's poisonous words and thus leading a life of sins:

> It [the portrait] had altered already, and would alter more. […] For every sin he committed, a stain would fleck and wreck its fairness. But he would not sin. The picture, changed or unchanged, would be to him the visible emblem of conscience. He would resist temptation. He would not see Lord Henry anymore – would not, at any rate, listen to those subtle poisonous theories. (Wilde 89).

The portrait bears Dorian's soul life and thus becomes a religious symbol (Killeen 97-98). At the same time, Dorian becomes an Anti-Christ acting immorally, influencing the people around him in a bad way instead of leading them to mercy and God's glory. The loss of his soul is the necessary precondition for Dorian's sins. With the wish to dominate his emotions, Dorian finally denies the uncontrollability of his soul and puts himself into a God-like position as a total master of his own soul when he tells Basil:

> It is only shallow people who require years to get rid of an emotion. A man who is master of himself can end a sorrow as easily as he can invent a pleasure. I don't want to be at the mercy of my emotions. I want to use them, to enjoy them, and to dominate them. (Wilde 105).

However, the ending of the novel denies the possibility that such an attempt of total human self-control can succeed. Although Dorian does not seem to be punished for his sins because his picture suffers from the whole burden of his soul life, his death can be viewed as a reinforcement of the Christian unity of body and soul and a Catholic depiction of his soul-life (Killeen 97). A man whose body and soul are divided cannot live a moral life. But on the other hand, the ending leaves open if a hideous sinner like Dorian can still find mercy despite of his sins without being a believing member of the Catholic or any other church. This avoidance of a solution for the ever-present problem with Dorian's soul at the end is opposed by Wilde's own death-bed conversion to Catholicism as a last act of hope to achieve redemption despite of having committed sexual acts which were considered as sins in the Victorian Age. Ronald Schuchard writes that "we should not longer deny the fact that beneath the glittering *carnival* of the Happy Prince of Aesthetes was the *dans macabre* of the decadent Catholic" (Schuchard 392; emphases in the original). This decadent Catholicism is depicted in Wilde's only novel in its darkest form by a sinner who suffers beautifully but who cannot achieve Christ's redemption. As will be shown in the next chapter, the sin of homosexuality – as it was considered in the Victorian Age – stands in contrast to Catholic religious morals but, nevertheless, this contrast

[38] This becomes obvious as well when Dorian reflects in front of Lord Henry after his picture has become horribly hideous: "The soul is a terrible reality. It can be bought, and sold, and bartered away. It can be poisoned, or made perfect. There is a soul in each one of us. I know it." (Wilde 205).

is solvable in the novel through the character of Basil Hallward. For Basil – as for Wilde himself – homosexuality and Catholicism do not necessarily exclude each other.

4.2 Sexual Morals – the Possibility of a Christian Homosexuality

Like religion, sexuality in the novel is dealt with in a hidden and not straightforward way. As Wilde himself stressed in a letter, the sins of Dorian are never named[39]. Thus, the imagination of the reader is stirred since the desire between the three men is mostly hinted at with aesthetic descriptions such as Dorian's pose which Basil paints (Brinkley 67). Only Basil's love for Dorian is explicitly named as such when Dorian reflects about Basil's compassion for him a few years after Sibyl Vane's suicide[40]. As I will claim, the subtle descriptions of homosexuality serve Wilde's purpose as an author of his age in two ways: firstly, the implicit hints at homosexual desire introduce the topic sensitively to the Victorian reader by trying to prevent the outrage of the Victorian public, an attempt that did not succeed for Wilde but which he nevertheless tried[41]. Secondly, the careful presentation of homosexuality as a love of higher virtue (Brinkley 65) – portrayed in the Greek model of an ideal relationship between a younger and an older man – does not negate the possibility of a homosexual love that is closely linked to Christian terms such as compassion and care. This possibility of a homosexuality remaining within Christian morality is most prominently in the figure of the artist Basil Hallward. As an older man loving Dorian and caring for him at the same time, Basil does not act out his homosexuality but his love is nevertheless portrayed in a way that it does not oppose Christian virtues. It even enhances them. Thus, Basil Hallward represents Wilde's own life attempt at reconciling his homosexuality with Catholicism. Wilde's decadent Catholicism[42] is not based on the institution of the Catholic church but on the attraction to the personality of Jesus Christ (Quintus 518) and a subjective belief in a model of him as an artistic individualist (Schuchard 387). Basil Hallward represents this belief of Wilde not only because he is not named as a member of a certain church in the novel but because he feels compassion for the sinner Dorian Gray. Even though Basil Hallward cannot be regarded as a parallel to the figure of Jesus Christ, his love, then, is like the love of Christ forgiving those who bring shame upon their names

39 Ronald Schuchard notes: "And Wilde leaves each reader to discover in Dorian Gray his own sins: 'What Dorian Gray's sins are no one knows', wrote Wilde. 'He who finds them has brought them'" (Schuchard 385).

40 The narrator states: "The love that he bore him – for it was really love – had nothing in it that was not noble and intellectual" (Wilde 115).

41 Ellmann notes that "*Dorian Gray*, besides being about aestheticism, is also one of the first attempts to bring homosexuality into the English novel" (Ellmann 300).

42 Ronald Schuchard states: "Gradually realizing that his perverted sensual desires are manifestations of subverted spiritual desires, he [Wilde] finds temporary solace in a Catholicism that is seasoned with 'a touch of magic' and 'a touch of sadism', a decadent Catholicism based on a subtly depraved and perverse type of mysticism" (Schuchard 379).

(Willoughby 73). As Chris Mounsey writes: "God [or Christ] remains in Wilde's writing as its central theme: and as a resolution to the paradox in which he found himself" (Mounsey 30).

As many critics have noted, homosexuality is a subtle theme in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. As an author of his time, Wilde tried to prevent the outrage of the Victorian public by at the same time being truthful to himself[43] and addressing male-male desire as a higher form of artistic love that was mostly regarded as a sin by many Victorians. Dorian Gray's fate is thus closely linked to his "personality" as an object of desire (Brinkley 65). Nevertheless, desire is not put forward directly in the novel. Rather it is subtly hinted at, when the narrator states for example Lord Henry's view of Dorian Gray:

> The pulse and passion of youth were in him, but he was becoming self-conscious. It was delightful to watch him. With his beautiful face, and his beautiful soul, he was a thing to wonder at (Wilde 57).

An exception to this common subtle representation of desire in the novel is Basil Hallward's love for Dorian. At first also subtly presented by Basil's talk about Dorian as a beautiful young man and his fear of having put too much of himself in Dorian's portrait (Wilde 14), the representation of Basil's love changes during the plot when it is finally clearly commented on by the narrator as noble and intellectual (Wilde 115). This move of Wilde to openly proclaim male-male-love as an author was morally possible for him in this case because Basil's love is like the love of Shakespeare and Michelangelo the fulfillment of a higher aim[44]. It is selfless and rendered with compassion. Basil's love for the sinner Dorian Gray can be seen in analogy to the role Wilde ascribes to Christ in *De Profundis*: "Christ, he says, loved sinners" (Quintus 524). Wilde considered Christ as an individualist and artist (Quintus 516), a forerunner of the romantic movement in the arts (Quintus 515). Basil equals Christ in his profession as an artist who celebrates the virtue of mercy[45] but over his fixation on his art he loses Dorian to Lord Henry. Nevertheless, Basil's love is clearly framed within Christian terms and supported by his role of a Christian believer, even though it remains open whether he is a member of a certain church community or not. This uncertainty whether Basil's personal belief is Anglican or Catholic mirrors Wilde's

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43 Chris Mounsey writes: "Reading his attitude to Catholicism together with Wilde's sexuality, we can understand Wilde's response to desire for the forbidden as one which began with self-justification, led to 'coming-out' to others about the desire, and then was full of surprise and hurt at the negative response to his being truthful. And being truthful to himself and others was probably the strongest driving force in Wilde's life" (Mounsey 27).

44 "It was such love as Michelangelo had known, and Montaigne, and Winckelmann, and Shakespeare himself" (Wilde 115).

45 Wilson Knight writes about Wilde's relationship to Christ in the last decade of his life: "From the start Christian sympathies had run concurrently with his Hellenic and aesthetic passions. Now Christ is his central interest. He [Christ] is seen as, above all, the supreme artist; more, as the first and greatest romantic, behind the romances of medievalism, of Shakespeare, and of more modern times" (Knight 296).

own doubts about the fitting institution for his personal religious faith[46]. Rather than linking Basil's Christianity in the novel to a powerful institution and thus enforcing it, Wilde's subjective belief is illustrated in the figure of Basil Hallward (Alley 7). Thus, Basil's homosexuality is turned into the realm of spirituality. It can be argued that this embedding of Basil's love in a spiritual context is an attempt by Wilde to escape the judgement of the Victorian public as at the same time it is a revelation of his own belief and sexuality.

Consequently, Wilde tries to reconcile two opposing forces of his time: Christianity and homosexuality[47]. *The Picture of Dorian Gray* opens the possibility of a Christian homosexuality embodied by the figure of Basil Hallward, an indirect question of Wilde whether his homosexuality could be respected by society when seen as a spiritual entity which holds creative power (Alley 5). But the ending of the novel negates this possibility by portraying Basil's failure to rescue Dorian from his shameful path. Instead, the painter becomes a victim of murder, an aspect one might read as a foreshadowing of Wilde's own fate of Reading Gaol when looking at his biography (Quintus 521). Consequently, the novel negates the opportunity of a modern form of male-male-desire. It is important to note that Wilde himself has only been identified as a homosexual since the 1980s. In the Victorian Age, homosexuality remained to be seen as an unacceptable and prohibited form of perversion[48]. As Foucault notes in his work *The History of Sexuality:*

> Up to the end of the eighteenth century, three major explicit codes – apart from the customary regularities and constraints of opinion – governed sexual practices: canonical law, the Christian pastoral, and civil law (Foucault 37).

Nevertheless, as in Wilde's novel, Foucault emphasizes the parallel world of "perversion" which existed along (Victorian) society and strict sexual norms:

> There emerged a world of perversion which partook of that of legal or moral infraction, yet was not simply a variety of the latter. An entire sub-race race was born, different – despite certain kinship ties – from the libertines of the past. From the end of the eighteenth century to our own, they circulated through the pores of society; they were always hounded, but not always by laws; were often locked up, but not always

46 Chris Mounsey claims that "Had either the Anglican or Catholic churches been able to welcome him [Wilde] as a homosexual, they would have had a devoted servant. However, since each form of Christianity with which he associated himself attempted to turn him against his immutable sexuality, he rejected both for their obduracy" (Mounsey 11).

47 Mounsey brings Wilde's personal dilemma to the point when asking: "why should he accept a religion which condemned his private behaviour as unacceptable, but whose saving grace he wanted and needed?" (Mounsey 18).

48 Mounsey notes: "In the late nineteenth century, the homosexual drive was conceptualized in terms of inversion and perversion, and it is hard to believe that Wilde did not wonder on which side of that opposition he fell?" (Mounsey 19).

> in prisons; were sick perhaps, but scandalous, dangerous victims, prey to a strange evil that also bore the name of vice and sometimes crime (Foucault 40).

In conclusion, the question of sexual morality in the novel needs to be dealt with in a framework which is aware of its modern presuppositions. It is unclear, then, whether Wilde thought of himself as a homosexual (Bristow 199). Mainly, he struggled with his male-male-desire as a form of sin that needed to be hidden in order to maintain moral immunity in the public eye but which at the same time was an aesthetic fulfillment producing new experiences.

The fact that Basil Hallward does not act out his homosexuality seems to be a tribute to Wilde's age of time and its moral framework. Nevertheless, Basil's love is not reduced to a perversity which should not exist. It serves as a powerful force for both fear and shame of the painter as well as strengthening his artistic creativity[49]. Homosexuality thus remains as ambiguous a religion and aestheticism. So do sexual morals implied in the novel, which at the same time are ridiculed by Lord Henry's epigrams and reinforced through Basil's moral and caring love for Dorian. Struggling with his own desire and claiming that he is punished for the worship of Dorian, Basil nevertheless holds on to his rather traditional thoughts about marriage and love when uttering concerns about Dorian's marriage proposal to Sibyl (Wilde 72), a girl of lower rank. Only when he sees Dorian's love as noble and truly motivated, Basil agrees to the marriage and even promotes it as a steady moral and aesthetic framework for Dorian's life as an aristocratic young man:

> she is worthy of all your adoration, worthy of the adoration of the world. This marriage is quite right. I did not think so at first, but I admit it now. The gods made Sibyl Vane for you. Without her you would have been incomplete (Wilde 80).

Thus, Basil Hallward with his love for a sinner is the character in the novel who is mostly driven by moral motives[50]. Through his failure to rescue Dorian, sexual morality in the novel is neither celebrated – since it leads to Basil's death and Lord Henry's divorce – nor denied any worth because Basil's spiritual love is clearly positively connoted although it probably would be mocked as dominated by "traditional" and "medieval" thoughts and virtues in Lord Henry's eyes. Overall, the novel escapes a clear paradigm whether Victorian sexual morality causes more problems than it is a helpful sexual guidance for men such as Basil Hallward and Dorian Gray

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49 Henry Alley states about Basil: "his gayness compromises some of the grandeur of his personality, a valuable endowment which emphasizes his capacity for creative admiration" (Alley 2).

50 Interestingly, Michael Patrick Gillespie writes about the common awareness of certain values in the Victorian population: "Of course, throughout the nineteenth century certain values – duty, respectability, commercial success, middle-class morality – occupied a central position in the Victorian consciousness, but Victorians also became increasingly aware of how frequently the behavior of individuals and of society as a whole undercut the ideals that purportedly characterized their age" (*"What the World Thinks Me"* 5). Basil's homosexuality and Lord Henry's hypocrisy can be seen as individual modes of desire or behavior that undercut those characteristic ideals of the Victorian Age.

by proclaiming virtues such as care, moral responsibility and fidelity. However, the test of the possibility of a Christian homosexuality embodied by the figure of Basil fails through his fate as a victim of Dorian's murder.

5 Conclusion

Wilde's only novel remains highly ambiguous. Its setting is a test of Wilde's theory of aestheticism in Victorian society, an aesthetic experiment of Lord Henry's which is set up to fail. Lord Henry's epigrams mock Victorian society and its values but overall the novel is unable to free itself from the social norms and the historical context of its time. This is shown by Dorian's violent death which enforces the Christian unity of body and soul (Killeen 95). However, both Christianity and aestheticism are not clearly negated as possibilities to escape Victorian society. Whereas Lord Henry tries to escape from his heteronormative married life with its restricting norms by watching Dorian's change of lifestyle into a criminal dandy for his (sexual) pleasure (Irmak 81), the character of Basil Hallward holds on to Victorian norms by not living out his homosexuality (Alley 5). Basil honors Christian norms such as compassion and care for others, especially Dorian, and regards his Christian religion as a moral guidance to life (Alley 4). In the end, both Lord Henry's individualist hedonism and Basil's moral religion fail as idealized concepts for Dorian's life (Willoughby 73). Lord Henry is incapable of realizing the consequences of Dorian's moral corruption through his influence (Carroll 300) and Basil's attempt to rescue the young man is too late, so that instead of being a moral guide for Dorian, the artist is murdered by him. As I have shown, Dorian's fate is a result of his status as an object rather than an individual human subject for both Basil and Lord Henry: Basil worships Dorian as his muse and transfers the "personality" of the young man into a higher being by worshipping him without rationality, and Lord Henry uses Dorian merely as a substitute for leading the aesthetic life full of sensual pleasure that he himself is too afraid to live (Irmak 78).

By taking Pater's aestheticism to its utmost form, Wilde criticizes this concept of a hunt for pleasure. The novel shows that Dorian's aesthetic pleasure can be a refuge from strict Victorian conventions (Irmak 78) but once this "desire *for desire*" (Chai 98; emphasis in the original) completely dominates Dorian, his new form of lifestyle unavoidably leads to moral corruption and soulless artificiality. Nevertheless, it would be too easy to view Dorian merely as an abused object since the young man has a character of his own which is abandoned at the beginning of the novel, when Dorian totally falls under Henry's control in at their first meeting in the second chapter. His beauty covers his character to a fatal degree: his appearance is so powerful that it dominates Basil Hallward and Lord Henry. The male-male desire between the three men – and especially Basil's love for Dorian – is depicted in a subtle presence in the novel (Brinkley 67). Only Basil's love for Dorian is open named as such. This is possible for Wilde since he turns Basil's love into a spiritual sphere by

comparing it to the love of Shakespeare and Michelangelo. Thus, homosexuality is valued in the novel as a love of a higher virtue (Brinkley 65) which can be combined with a Christian consciousness and morality as the character of Basil Hallward represents. In this aspect Wilde's novel does not banish Victorian sexual morals. Rather, it broadens their spectrum to male-male-desire as well as heterosexual relationships as the episode between Sibyl Vane and Dorian.

The Catholic concept of the human soul (Killeen 95) further underlines this ambiguity concerning the topic of religion in the novel. The soul is a moral faculty and human consciousness (Salamensky 128) which is shaped by experiences – an aspect on which Lord Henry is focused – but which can also be corrupted as Dorian's portrait shows. His picture functions both as a religious symbol (Killeen 98) showing his sins and as Basil's extended consciousness (Hinojosa 91) reminding him of his wrong path of simple pleasure every time he looks at the artist's work. As a sinner Dorian is unable to receive Christ's redemption due to the loss of his soul (Killeen 99) through his fateful wish at the beginning of the novel that the picture should grow old instead of himself, he cannot really feel guilt and remorse for his sins. In the end, his picture is as well a revelation of the denying of Dorian's personality since it only focuses on his outward appearance and enforces this as dominating his character.

However, the unity of Dorian's body and soul is restored when he and his picture switch place and his soul is transferred back to him (Killeen 99-100), turning his body into an ugly shape, after he has stabbed the picture. Overall, Wilde's novel criticizes the conception of Pater's aestheticism by framing it as a theoretical artistic experiment of Dorian's life (Bristow 212). At the same time, Christian norms seem to be reassured by this fate of Dorian as a criminal dandy and Anti-Christ, even though Basil's personal belief – like Wilde's own religious belief – cannot save the artist from his suffering.

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A Comparative Analysis of Leadership Styles in the Magical World of Harry Potter

Lena Susann Kühn

1 Introduction

> *"Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together"* (Arendt 44)

There is no doubt about the enormous influence that the Harry Potter series[1] exercises upon its readers, regardless of their age. Despite the rather obvious entertaining aspect, the books also inspire countless scholars of all areas to examine their influence on society. Cordova, for example, closely observes the gender representation that forcefully influences the books' readers in her journal article "'Because I'm a Girl, I Suppose!': Gender Lines and Narrative Perspective in Harry Potter" (2015). Given that Hogwarts is the predominant place of action, others focus on the socialisation that takes place through the education within this institution, such as Dickinson in "Harry Potter Pedagogy" (2006). This work, however, focusses on the examination of different leadership styles that are exercised towards a group of followers, and that alters the reader's perception about how power is exercised and attained. Furthermore, it needs to be noted, that this work exclusively considers the books and not the cinematographic adaptations of the series. Due to the depiction of varying leadership styles, the Harry Potter book series proves to be fruitful for

[1] See the bibliography for a list of abbreviations of the respective titles.

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comparing different leaders' approaches with each other. This analysis examines on the one hand whether the above-mentioned citation of Arendt which states that power can only be achieved through groups proves to be true. On the other hand, it observes how leaders must act within their respective groups to be successful. In order to analyse these aspects, the following thesis is examined throughout this work: Leaders who place an emphasis on reciprocal communication policies within their groups are more successful in using the power that results from such group-constellations to attain their respective goals. Even though also other leaders are suited for an analysis of this aspect, this work mainly considers Albus Dumbledore, headmaster of Hogwarts, and Voldemort, the main antagonist and villain of the series. The decision to compare those two with each other results from their notable presence and clear depiction of their leadership that is exercised towards a rather clearly defined group. Whereas Harry is also considered a leader in other works (see Agar and Terk 187), this work deliberately decides against analysing him as a leader. This is because it concludes that Harry's leadership is only the result of the long-term influence of his mentor and role model Dumbledore. Considering this, Harry disqualifies for being examined as an individual leader with his own leadership style. Instead, Dumbledore's and Voldemort's leadership characteristics as well as their respective success regarding the objectives considered in the context of this work, represent the focus of this work.

To begin with, this work gives an overview of leadership style theories which appear within the leaders' groups. This chapter also introduces the concept of hegemony, which becomes important when the respective success of the two leaders is examined. Whereas chapter 3 offers a broad overview of people and institutions that display and transmit leadership, chapter 4 observes the leaders that form the centre of analysis in this work, namely Dumbledore and Voldemort. Here, the way they structure their leadership within their groups is explored, while also considering the importance of institutions when it comes to the legitimacy of their leadership. Chapter 5 then uses the results of the observation to draw conclusions about the success of the leaders in attaining their goals. Given that there are several motivations that could be considered, the chapter also shortly explains the ones chosen for this analysis before exploring them in detail. Based on the insights gained from these examinations, the thesis above will be revisited.

2 Leadership Theories: An Overview

The following chapter depicts different theories about leadership and governmental styles chosen by leaders. The focus is on their way of becoming a leader, the relation to and with their followers, and their organisation of their overall leadership**.** By taking a closer look at the different approaches there are, this chapter begins with the exercise of power that is characterised through downward communication. This means, that there is no exchange of opinion between leaders and followers and the

leaders do not take or value advice but decide exclusively on their own (see Said and Said 824). Then, it presents leadership styles with more intercommunicative leaders, who take their followers' opinions and ideas into consideration. Lastly, it presents leadership styles as presented by Warrick and points out their major characteristics. Throughout their presentation, the respective leadership styles also get compared to each other and similarities as well as differences are pointed out. It is important to note that this work combines leadership style theories and government theories as they both affect the respective constellation of leaders and followers. However, due to the size of the group in the Harry Potter series that is significantly smaller than the one of a whole population, this work rather considers leaders than governors. According to Kirkpatrick and Locke, there are specific traits that can be regarded as a "precondition" (49) to exercise power. However, they still need to be combined with appropriate actions in order to grant a successful leadership. These virtues have significant consequences for the respective leader's leadership style and, depending on the size of the group of followers, even the overall government resulting out of it. The general impact of the relationship between leader and followers has already been examined by Warrick in his article "Leadership Styles and Their Consequences" (1981), which serves as one of the main references in this chapter. He states that leaders have an enormous impact on their followers through their control of "both interpersonal and material rewards and punishments that often shape employee behaviour and influence [their] performance, motivation and attitude" (155). Further, he claims that leaders can affect their followers' performances through adapted treatment, such as the working atmosphere leaders create for them (see 155). Thus, the question whether leaders can affect their followers will not be looked at, but this work rather focusses on how this impact can be used to reach the leader's goals and why certain approaches are more successful than others.

2.1 Downward Communication Policy

Autocracy forms the first aspect of consideration in this chapter, as it provides one of the most clearly defined distinctions between leader and followers and thus lies the farthest away from democracy and its "rule by the people" (Bogdanor, 'Democracy' 166). All power and decision-making are centred in a single person, without any outward, public restraints (see Johnson, 'Autocracy'). Autocratic leaders enact a clear one-way communication with their followers which takes place either upward or downward but never vertically and thus does not consider the followers' opinions, concerns, and interests (see Deva and Yazdanifard 3). Therefore, Warrick states that they decide on their own about the goals that are pursued and thus organise, plan, and direct autonomously, without the interference of others as well as with minimal "employee involvement" (158). Additionally, he adds their strict use of rewards and punishments (see Warrick 160) as a characteristic feature. Even though they do not cherish a close relationship to their followers, autocratic leaders also reward desired behaviour to encourage obedience (see Warrick 160). Warrick

further points out that the autocratic leader's inherent assumption about people is that they will not work responsibly without being led and thus need a strict organisation to produce valuable outcomes (159). According to him, power and authority are crucial to uphold the given structure by the leaders and to ensure that the leaders' high productivity-goal can be achieved (see 160). Therefore, autocratic leadership is characterised through its high focus on performance and low emphasis on the people working for it (see Warrick 158). For an autocracy to persist, certain prerequisites are required such as "uneducated, backward [followers] with little or no conception of natural rights, […] lacking any concerted political aspirations to improve their condition" (Bogdanor, 'Autocracy' 37) and a leader who aims at keeping the situation like that ('Autocracy' 37).

There is only a narrow degree between an autocracy as presented above and an oligarchy, as they both depend on the given power structures to grant them their authority and leadership. However, the main difference between the two is that an oligarchic leader does not rule alone but power is shared among a group of privileged people. This becomes visible when looking at the Greek translation of the term: "rule by the few" (Bogdanor, 'Oligarchy' 391). One possible reason for this privileged standing of individuals in society was pointed out by Greek philosopher Aristotle when he referred to the influence of wealthiness on power relations: "oligarchy is when men of property have the government in their hands […] wherever men rule by reason of their wealth, whether they be few or many, that is an oligarchy" (Jowett 62). Despite their wealthiness, the term ascribes the susceptibility of corruption to the reigning elite, as the leaders do not have common interests in mind but are mostly focused on their individual (financial) benefit (Johnson, 'Aristocracy'). According to Mouzelis, "once in a dominant position, the primary interest of the organization élite is to maintain its power" (28). This goal is easy for them to achieve since they possess the means to "manipulate information […] in their own interest" ('Oligarchy' 391). Just as in an autocracy, oligarchic leaders often, but not necessarily, gain their power by the means of inheritance. This is because the next generation inherits the necessary characteristics granting power in oligarchic systems from their ancestors.

Totalitarianism resembles oligarchy insofar as that it can equally rely on an elitist group to govern. However, it can also, and here the leadership styles differ from each other, be ruled by a single, autocratic leader or even take on the form of a dictatorship (see Bogdanor, 'Totalitarianism' 614). Another similarity to oligarchic leaderships is that totalitarian leaders are focused on attaining their own goals and do not take into consideration the interests of their followers. The only communication that exists takes place downwards, from top to bottom, and all opinions that contrast with those of the ruling classes are oppressed (see Bogdanor, 'Totalitarianism' 615). Furthermore, totalitarian leaders are known for their "rigorous censorship of the mass media, centralized state planning and administration of the economy, and pervasive propaganda to inculcate the principles of the obligatory official ideology" (Johnson, 'Totalitarianism'). It is in its aim for total control not

only of political power but also regarding all aspects of social life in a society that totalitarianism differs from other authoritarian leadership styles. Often, totalitarian leaders assume their position of power due to the creation of an ideology and because given ideology "penetrates into the deepest reaches of societal structure" (Pipes 243) by promising the ultimate solution to society's worries and problems (see Bogdanor, 'Totalitarianism' 615). This ideology assures leaders the complete control of thoughts and actions of their followers. In order to uphold this, leaders use propaganda, such as manipulating the media, to influence people's convictions about their abilities and to ensure their power.

2.2 Reciprocal Communication Policy

All of the above-mentioned leadership and government styles are characterised either by a group of leaders on their top or by a single person who rules over the people, oppressing them if necessary. Yet there exists a leadership style that places voting in the centre, allowing those who follow participate in electing a possible leader: democracy. It is not without reason that democracy means "rule of the people" if translated from Greek (see Bogdanor, 'Democracy' 166). The active participation of the people that characterises this style can either take place directly through the election of the head of government or of representatives ('Democracy' 167). It can also involve "decentralizing decision making to smaller associations" ('Democracy' 168), fostering the followers' feeling of actively participating in the decision process. Due to the voting, democratic governments are often characterised through their absence of single force controls and the social equality the process of election (often via voting) entails (see 'Democracy' 186). The clear emphasis on two-way-communication highlights its reciprocal features and underlines that the focus is equally on the outcome of the group's work as on the satisfaction of the people (see Warrick 160). Like autocratic leaders, democratic leaders also value good organisation when it comes to working processes. However, they include their followers in these processes and thus create a content atmosphere within their group, which in turn causes better results for the overall goal (see Warrick 162). Contrary to the autocratic approach of mostly punishing whenever a standard cannot be held by a follower, the democratic leader uses "performance appraisal to let employees know what they are doing right and wrong" (Warrick 162). Thereby, it promotes independent workers who ambitiously strive for the optimum success of the whole group. Overall, democratic leaders encourage a "close but objective relationship" (Warrick 161) with their followers and thus provide an excellent example of uniting interest in both, performance and people (see Warrick 158). In terms of reciprocal interactions, anarchism needs to be added since it is the style of government that does not possess any leader at all. Coercive, hierarchal forms of authority are rejected and instead, it "look[s] forward to a social order based entirely on voluntary co-operation" (Bogdanor, 'Anarchism' 19). There is no leader, no voting processes and there-

fore no individual goals that are followed (see 'Anarchism' 20). Thus, power is directed exclusively towards the interests of the group and persecuted through its force.

Besides the outlaid democratic and autocratic approaches, which are rather extreme representatives of leadership styles, there are also others showing how leaders act and interact once they have gained power. On the one hand, there are styles which are focused on the relationship between leaders and followers, such as the paternalistic, transformational and transactional styles. On the other hand, there are also ways of exerting power where the emphasis on people is rather low, like in the laissez-faire leadership style.

The paternalistic leadership style places leaders in a father-like position and their followers in the one of his family whom he takes care of. Whereas "the role of the superior is to provide care, protection, and guidance to the subordinate […], the subordinate, in turn, is expected to be loyal and deferential to the superior." (Aycan 446). Often, the position of the leader is held by a dominant authority figure (see Pellegrini and Scandura 568). However, the fatherly benevolence can be deceptive, as, after all, paternalistic leaders also demand unquestioned loyalty from their followers and aim at maintaining the hierarchy granting them their position of authority (see Ünler and Kılıç 2). In this aspect, they resemble authoritarian leaders, for which the previously presented autocratic and oligarchic leaderships serve as illustrating examples. Paternalistic leaders tend to minimise their followers' autonomy in taking decisions and are likely to treat them "like immature children" (Demenchono qtd. in Jackson 3) – another parallel to authoritarian leaders which claim to be superior in their knowledge and status. Despite being treated like a child, followers of paternalistic leaders often grant the requested loyalty due to the close bond that exists between leader and followers and the latter's trust in their leader (Aycan 446). Whether the emotional affection the leaders presents towards their followers is real or a means of manipulation to achieve their goals is not always evident.

Even though paternalistic leadership displays signs of interaction between leader and followers, it plays an even more important role when it comes to transactional leadership. Here, the reciprocity between leaders and followers is in the centre and they influence each other (see Khan et al. 3). The ground on which they work together is based on a series of agreements (see R. House and B. Shamir qtd. in Khan et al. 3) which assure that the individual's interests are met in obtaining these collectively established goals. Clear definitions of common goals help the leader to pursue a consistent direction of leadership towards the groups' goals and allows for adequate punishment in case of misbehaviour. As the followers know about the rules and have helped to set them up, they cannot argue that the punishment is arbitrary and unfair, rules are strict and transparent. Therefore, the 'contingent-reward' concept that is based upon "explain[ing] performance expectation to the followers and appreciat[ing] good performance" (Khan et al. 3) helps to provide a clear structure for the followers. It allows them to know what to expect from their leader and what

to do to make him/her content. Appreciating desired behaviour (Khan et al. 3) increases followers' motivation and ensures them to keep working hard to attain common goals. However, transactional leadership also provides a clear organisation when it comes to the handling of misbehaviour and mistakes. The monitoring of performance and redirecting or correcting of followers if necessary is entitled "management-by-exception" (Bono and Judge 902). It can take place actively, meaning that the progress is supervised constantly by the leader and corrected as soon as he notices any deviations or passively, "intervening only when problems become serious" (Bono and Judge 902). At the ground of this concept lays an "inherent trust" (Chan 4) the leader expresses towards his/her followers.

While also adapting a close relationship between followers and leader, the transformational leadership style rather places inspiration and visionary thinking in the centre (see Eeden et al. 255) and entitles the leader as a role model for his followers (see Khan et al. 4). According to Eeden et. al., there are four main principles of successful transformational leadership characteristics: idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and personal and individualised consideration (see 255). The latter marks a similarity to paternalistic leadership, whereas the others highlight that transformational leadership aims at creating a positive change within the followers while attaining the group's interests. Transformational leaders' authority derives from their "capability to identify the need for change, gain the agreement and commitment of others, create a vision that guides change and embed change" (McGregor qtd. in Khan et al. 3). All three, transformational, transactional, and paternalistic leaders, care about their followers and practice varying degrees of consideration[2].

Leaders who neither strive for high performances nor have any interest in developing a close relationship to their followers follow the principles of laissez-faire leadership. They do not encourage development, neither personally concerning their followers nor business-wise (see Warrick 159) and generally avoid interaction if possible. Thus, laissez-faire leaders leave all decisions up to the group and get involved as little as possible. In their role, it is easy to gain positions of power, since there is no regulation about the hierarchical structure within the group and followers are entitled with all delegation power there is (see 160). These leaders are mostly indifferent, and their main objective is not to make "waves" (Warrick 159). Due to this reject of taking action, Warrick lists "apathetic, disinterested and resentful" followers as a possible consequence of such leaderships (162). However, when combined with other leadership styles, laissez-faire leadership can also "allow […] for the possibility of self-management" (Eeden et al. 255).

[2] 'Consideration' in this context is to be understood as "two-way-communication, mutual respect, and understanding" and includes "trust and warmth between the supervisor and his […] group and emphasizes concern for group members' needs" (Warrick 156).

2.3 Other Theories Used

Despite the leadership styles that are subject to the analysis in this work, also the concept of hegemony as presented by Antonio Gramsci needs to be explained shortly. The definition primarily refers to the approach used in this paper and therefore does not claim to be complete. There certainly are more facets that would be worth mentioning in a different context. Hegemony offers an explanatory approach to the domination of a social group over opposing groups. Bates summarises it as "political leadership based on the consent of the led, a consent which is secured by the diffusion of the world view of the ruling class." (352). This means that the followers of the leading group are convinced of their ideologies because they have been educated to accept them. To this, Gramsci adds that those outside these allied groups are dominated, "perhaps even by armed force" (57). Thereby, he hints at the aspect of coercion that comes to the fore when the leading group encounters resistances. He further claims that "a social group can, and indeed must, already exercise 'leadership' before winning governmental power" (Gramsci 57) in order to be able to assert it. Therefore, assuming power in smaller groups than the overall society is a prerequisite for leaders before attaining legitimate power that comes with institutions. Besides the antagonistic groups that it seeks to dominate, hegemonic leadership equally includes allied groups that it leads (Gramsci 57). Gramsci refers to these allies with Sorel's term of a 'historic bloc'. Sassoon explains that this concept serves as a "basis of consent" (230) assuring the ruling class' dominance and that it aims at recreating their ideas through social institutions, such as schools. She further highlights that the allies' consent needs to be active and genuine, and "cannot be reduced to legitimation, false consciousness, or manipulation" (231). Once the ruling class has achieved their goal of implementing their ideologies within society insofar as that the people consider it to be the norm, Sassoon speaks of cultural hegemony (see 230). Equally here, she underscores the importance of using rather an ideology to implant his ideas in the society's mind than coercion and force (see Sassoon 230).

3 Display and Transmission of Leadership in Harry Potter

This chapter presents the different leaderships that are displayed within the Harry Potter series. It examines how these forms of leadership or government are displayed and transmitted to the respective groups of followers and hence uncovers the way leaders become leaders. Furthermore, the chapter also considers the institutions which help leaders to impose power over the people they aim to rule.

As seen in the theory chapter of this work, leadership can be imposed in different ways and means, depending on the leaders' preferred style and on the help of possible institutions that are involved. The latter can be a useful tool as they assign a certain legitimacy to the leader that is on top of its internal hierarchy. The two major leaders serving as the subject of examination in this work may both, at least at one point of their leadership, rely on institutions granting them their authority and

power through their status in society. One such institution that appears in the Harry Potter series is the 'Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry', the school the protagonists of the series visit and where a major part of the overall action takes place. The overall influence of subordinates such as the teachers is enormous, since they interfere with each of the different sections in school where leadership is exercised. Like in non-wizarding schools, the hierarchy of Hogwarts is clearly structured: headmasters serve as controlling supervisors who delegate their will to subordinates, the teachers, who then transmit it to the students. The immense power that Dumbledore possesses due to his position as the headmaster of Hogwarts, an "educational institution" (Marciniak 49) becomes evident when the reader learns that it is within his power to ban subjects or to influence their content (see *HBP* 466). Such an impact on the students' education allows him to shape the students according to his personal morals and virtues by causing them "to believe a certain type of magic is immoral" (Marciniak 51). His status as the headmaster allows him to decide about the rules and structures of Hogwarts, assigning him indeed "a monopoly on the conditioning of young witches and wizards to the norms and mores of society" (Marciniak 49). To this, Turner-Vorbeck adds schools' general importance for "maintain[ing] social order" (Woodson 33), further highlighting their impact on society and thus also the power their leaders have. Given that the headmaster/headmistress decides about these "norms and mores of society" (Marciniak 49) that are taught in school, they cannot be considered neutral. Forcefully, they are altered by their personal perceptions of morality. Due to this possibility to get the students used to his individual style of leadership, Dumbledore ensures that they will not easily question the decisions he makes and accept his leadership style. Thereby, he takes influence on "not only on behaviour patterns but also [on their] identity formation" (Woodson 33). As will be seen in chapter 5, it is this advantage of being able to form the entire Hogwarts community right from the start that will cause the downfall of other leaders such as Voldemort, when it is their turn to become a leader in Hogwarts.

Umbridge serves as an illustrating example for this: regardless her level of success in leading the school, she can change the values within Hogwarts and influences the curriculum according to her personal and the Ministry of Magic's standards (*OoP* 341f.) after becoming 'Hogwarts High Inquisitor'. Thus, the position of headmaster or headmistress of (educational) institutions is undoubtedly powerful, no matter who holds it, and grants legitimacy of leadership without requesting further qualification of the person. At the same time, it enables the respective leader to impose his ideals and virtues on the school. Additionally, the children grow up knowing that Hogwarts is an established institution of authority. They know that the school has strong positive connotations within the wizarding society and thus, Hogwarts earns its already institutional legitimacy, which reflects on its leader.

This institutionally granted authority is ensured through the headmaster's/headmistresses' delegates, exercising and enacting his/her rules and inevitably also their ideologies. One of the executing subordinates of the headmaster or headmistress are

the teachers, leading their students both towards their superiors' and their own values. Given that Dumbledore chooses his teachers on his own, as can be seen when he recruits Slughorn in the sixth book, he pre-selects the competences and values that are brought into the classroom. Generally, it can be stated that the leadership a group of followers is confronted with daily gets accepted and becomes the norm (see Morris 6). Thus, the headmaster further takes influence on the students and the values they learn. Heilman argues that teachers contribute to the normalisation of the status quo by stating that they are "preservationists" (114) and therefore "do not challenge or disrupt but rather reify the institution of school" (114f.). In the end, this highlights that they reproduce the ideologies they have internalised from their leader, Dumbledore, and thereby help him to transmit his leadership style to the students.

However, it is not only Dumbledore's influence that shapes the students' perceptions about right and wrong. According to Marciniak, teachers generally aim at "condition[ing] the students to perform well and act in ways deemed 'good'" (50) and thereby transfer their own understandings of good and bad to the pupils giving a personal note to their teaching and underlining their understanding of their power position (see Marciniak 50). Snape, for example, reminds of a rather autocratic leader who teaches very strictly, does not allow any interruption, and punishes severely, if not always fairly (see *PS* 153). This is only possible because the teachers' authority is rarely questioned (see Chan 423), and assured by the hierarchy of the school. The headmaster does not interfere since he allows for them to design and enact their lessons individually and without superior control (see Wolosky 292). The clear differentiation in hierarchy between students and teachers is underlined in a number of scenes, such as in the description of the students sitting in the Great Hall whereas the teachers dine spatially separated from them, at the "High Table" (Röber 43). This also highlights the unit of teachers and headmaster and their collective leadership of their followers, the students. However, also the headmaster's status as the overall leader among his subordinates is emphasised, as he sits "in the centre of the High Table, in a large gold chair" (*PS* 134).

All in all, the teachers' task can be summarised as follows: "Hogwarts professors teach the basic mechanics of magic, while at the same time conditioning students in more profound and moral ways" (Marciniak 49) – both in agreement to their superior's interests as well as according to their own perceptions about right and wrong. This shows that Dumbledore hands over a lot of power to his subordinates, which reflects laissez-faire leadership style tendencies that will be examined later in more detail. Nevertheless, he does not avoid problems and hopes for them to "disappear" (Warrick 160) but rather becomes active through granting support when it is needed.

The headmaster provides the necessary surveillance instruments allowing the teachers to observe whether rules are followed or not. For once, there is the house-point system, resembling a typical punishment-reward scheme. Depending on the behaviour of the students, housemaster and mistresses are allowed to "award or dock points for students' behaviour" (Chan 421). Thus, they possess instruments of

power who allow them to lead according to their own understanding, as long as they stay within the general framework determined by the headmaster. More than once throughout the book, however, it becomes clear that "there is no standard whereby certain offenses are assigned certain proportionate punishments" (Barratt 45), causing teachers to become vulnerable for abuse of said power. Arbitrary punishments cause students to identify "authority and status, not facts, process, or justice" (Barratt 46) as the ground for authority. Therefore, such treatment contradicts the clearly defined morals and virtues that are placed in the centre of Hogwarts and which are exposed right at the beginning through the Sorting Hat, listing the virtues that are most valued in the respective houses (see *PS* 130).

Snape personifies power abuse in the teacher classroom since he "enjoy[s] power, hurt[s] children, and play[s] favorites" (Birch 112) on a regular basis. This becomes particularly evident in the first book, when Harry is quick to recognise that Snape appears to like Malfoy (*PS* 152), a student of his own house, whereas he treats Gryffindor's unfairly (see *PS* 153). Due to this kind of unprofessional behaviour on the part of the staff, students learn that personal interests play a significant role in power relations and that leaders do not always act in favour of the community.

Yet not only the teachers serve as extended arms of Dumbledore to uphold the rules. Some students that prove to be trustworthy become 'prefects', which means they are given certain powers, such as patrolling corridors, keeping an eye on anything that appears suspicious in school. Some of them are even empowered to administer punishments (see *OoP* 212). In case of disobedience, it is their task to report to their housemaster or housemistress who then decides about the consequences. As there is a prize at the end of each school year for the house having collected the most points, students are well aware of the possible consequences their (mis)behaviour might have for their respective house. The affiliation to a certain house and the resulting feeling of belonging encourages the majority of students to stay in line and rather aim at gaining points for them than risking losing them. Conditioning the students to monitor themselves and others in order to gain points for their own house creates a sense of collective responsibility (see Chan 421). Chan fittingly summarises the obedience caused by these surveillance mechanisms and the overall consequences resulting from it as follows: "[students] develop their obedience to rules, competitive spirits and faith in the academic system. The fear of being caught makes them police their own actions" (422).

Self-monitoring facilitates the surveillance of the teachers and thus appears to be an effective way of leading the school. Dumbledore's way of using this values-based self-control is closely related to his individual leadership style and success and thus further explored in chapter 4 and 5. All the previously mentioned surveillance mechanisms aim at upholding the moral ideologies which Dumbledore as headmaster considers important and, at the same, time transmits his understanding of leadership as the most valuable. In the end, it is the students' internalisation of these acquired virtues that contributes meaningfully to the success of some leaders and

the downfall of others, as chapter 5 will point out. Overall, Hogwarts enacts an enormous influence on the socialisation of its pupils and meaningfully adds to their moral values and virtues. Dumbledore's ability to define morality according to his will and to assure its compliance through his followers underscores his power in Hogwarts and strengthens his leadership position.

Apart from Hogwarts as an academic institution, leadership is also assigned to leaders through "bush-radio", meaning rumours and legends about experiences of others with the respective leader. Especially the character of Hagrid introduces both Harry and the reader to the magical world and thus also to the most relevant leadership figures in the series: Dumbledore and Voldemort. Right after learning that he is a wizard, Harry learns about Voldemort's power and recognises that he does not even dare to speak his name (see *PS* 64). Although he does not fully understand the extent of evil portrayed by someone who will turn out his biggest enemy, he learns right from the start that Voldemort is someone to fear.

As much as Hagrid fears Voldemort, he admires Dumbledore and his leadership style. He even calls him "the greatest headmaster Hogwarts ever had" (*PS* 68) and a "great man" (*PS* 69). Similar kinds of rumours and conversations about the great reputation of the headmaster and the evilness and cruelty of Voldemort occur regularly throughout the series, constantly underline the men's power and assure their position as leaders. Instead of forming his own opinions, it becomes evident that Harry is biased right from the start and appears to internalise what he learns from others. Since the reader perceives the wizarding world through Harry's eyes, he/she is induced to have the same perception about the characters as him.

However, there is another institution apart from Hogwarts which undoubtedly has a leading position, namely the Ministry of Magic[3]. Even though the books do not reveal enough information to draw a clear image of the way the wizarding government rules, it definitely serves as the main institution responsible for creating laws and rules that maintains the order within the magical world. As Hall states: "The legislative, executive, and judicial functions within the wizard world are all concentrated in the Ministry of Magic" (149). Due to its legitimacy among the people, it is *the* desired institution granting authority for the simple reason of being established within society. Even though the MoM portrays numerous leadership styles that could be analysed, for brevity's sake, it will not be subject of a detailed discussion in this work.

Unlike the MoM and Dumbledore, Voldemort as the great antagonist cannot rely on any sort of institution to back up his authority. Very early on, in his Hogwarts days, he starts to gather a group of followers around him (see *HBP* 338) to which he transmits his ideals and thus also his leadership style. The virtues Voldemort represents and the goals he seeks to accomplish are apparently shared by his followers and the reason for their compliance. Thus he can fall back on a group of supporters who agree on his position as leader. Later in the series, he also infiltrates the MoM

[3] Abbreviated from now on as "MoM".

and Hogwarts to spread his power more widely. Hence, he tries to assure himself of the legitimacy he has lacked before to be able to form the upcoming generations according to his wishes and ideologies. His perception of leadership, power, and the way he enacts it is subject of examination in chapter 4.2.

Apart from these rather obvious forms of leadership by the most influential leaders, there are also smaller appearances of exercising power throughout the series. Since the big leaders present a highly rigorous point of view, it is no surprise that minor resistance groups are formed who oppose these strong ideals and pursue their own agendas. One example of such a resistance group is the one Harry and his friends set up in book five when Umbridge starts getting involved in Hogwarts affairs. In order to practice what she prohibits, namely Defence against the Dark Arts, Harry becomes the leader of a resistance group called 'Dumbledore's Army'. His leadership entails teaching his peers to defend themselves, as he already has some experience through his earlier encounters with Voldemort.

Standing on the same side as the DA[4], there is another, slightly bigger and more experienced resistance group led by Dumbledore, the 'Order of the Phoenix'. It incorporates the direct counterpart to Voldemort's 'Death Eaters' and thus has made it its purpose to resist Voldemort's evil plans and to fight him and his supporters. These resistance groups become particularly important for the exercise of power that chapter 4 illustrates as well as the long-term consolidation of the leaders' values that chapter 5 explores in detail.

4 Leading Characters in *Harry Potter*

The previous chapter depicts several examples of how leadership is transmitted in the HP series. For brevity's sake, this work will focus on two leaders that fit the theories best: Dumbledore, as the headmaster of the wizarding school of Hogwarts and Voldemort, as the villain and great antagonist. This chapter focusses on the inward leadership, considering the size of the group the leaders are leading, the internal structure between leaders and followers, as well as the way power is enacted within these structures. Thereby, the respective leaders' virtues and ideals are revealed as they become clear through the way they treat their followers. While closely examining the leader's different ways of exerting power within their respective groups, it also takes into account the theoretical approaches of chapter 2.

4.1 Albus Dumbledore

Right from the start of the series, Albus Dumbledore's numerous titles are listed (see *PS* 114) and the reader unequivocally learns about his hierarchical standing within the wizarding society. This superior appearance of the seemingly almighty wizard is

[4] Abbreviation for "Dumbledore's Army".

further underlined when the reader learns that he even was asked to take up the position of the Minister of Magic (see *PS* 74). Even though he declined, the current Minister regularly seeks for his advice (see *PS* 74), acknowledging that Dumbledore would be more qualified for the job as him. The minister's jealousy towards him reaches its climax in book five, where Fudge "is paranoid that Dumbledore is gunning for his position" (Marciniak 30). At some point, the minister even tries to disprove the titles of his declared opponent in his fight for legitimate leadership (see *OoP* 111). Thereby he proves that he still feels as if his authority is endangered by Dumbledore, although the headmaster makes no effort to take up this position.

This powerful but humble description of Albus Dumbledore is further supported when Harry encounters Ron on the Hogwarts Express. He and the reader learn that Dumbledore "can be considered the greatest wizard of modern times" (*PS* 114) and that he has contributed to numerous achievements such as beating Grindelwald, a dark wizard, as well as discovering a medical cure (see *PS* 114). Despite his general ability as a wizard and his greatness that is repeatedly evoked by his followers, one of the very first information Harry, and thus also the readers, acquire, is that Dumbledore is "the only one You-Know-Who[5] was ever afraid of" (*PS* 64). This shows that even his enemies fear his power and are aware of his abilities.

Considering this hierarchical standing within the wizarding community and the strong convictions Dumbledore represents by openly opposing himself against Voldemort, it is not surprising that he polarises others that wish to join him in his fight against the evil. Due to his strong character and his powerful reputation, he becomes the leader of two groups throughout the series, which are the core of analysis in this chapter. For once, there is his leadership of Hogwarts as headmaster and second his role as the leader within the resistance group 'Order of the Phoenix'. Considering the size of each group, Hogwarts as a school portrays a broad field of people of different status, such as the teachers, students, and ghosts that live there. Despite the Order growing over the course of the books, it is still relatively small compared with the institution of Hogwarts.

Dumbledore's leadership within both these groups shows signs of what Hoyle and Wallace define as "temperate leadership" (187). He embodies the aspect of "reducing leadership and management" they assign to temperate leadership styles and which come to the fore due to his tendencies of laissez-faire leadership. Interestingly, Dumbledore reduces his own leadership and not that of his followers, as described by Hoyle and Wallace (see 188f). He willingly delegates some of his power to his subordinates so that they pay attention to the compliance of rules. Dumbledore seems to trust them enough to let them decide about minor decisions knowing that collectively they can rather focus on big strategic decisions (see Barratt 142). In his role as headmaster, this can be observed especially in the first books, where mostly Professor McGonagall and Snape are responsible for punishing or rewarding the students.

[5] Code name for Voldemort.

Contrary to the objective of relieving teachers from managerial tasks and thereby facilitating their main objective of teaching as proposed by Hoyle and Wallace (see 188f.), this leadership reduction from the headmaster rather assigns even more responsibilities and tasks for them. However, it also permits them more freedom in their actions and grants them "free reign within their classrooms without management procedures" (Chan 425). This shows that he trusts them to act according to his will, even if he does not monitor each of their steps. However, Snape vividly exemplifies that his temperate and laissez faire leadership at some point results in ignorance when it comes to mistakes made by his followers. Snape openly bullies students he does not like (see GoF 426f.), something Dumbledore, with his strong convictions about morality and gentleness, would not tolerate if he knew about it. As Dumbledore has no control about what happens in the classrooms, he cannot do anything against it. Although this might present an enormous danger for the students, the liberty Dumbledore grants to his followers, the teachers, causes them to feel honoured. This, in turn, strengthens the relationship between leader and followers.

A similar approach towards the management of followers is apparent in the Order of the Phoenix, a "secret society" (*OoP* 79). Here, everybody feels equally responsible for attaining the objectives the group has set itself. However, Hermione's statement that "Dumbledore's in charge, he founded it" (*OoP* 79) leads to the assumption that he remains the agreed leader. This agreement results from the fact that his followers share the same ideals and virtues as him and thus trust him to lead them towards their common goals. Their trust goes so far that the members of the Order even place their leader's word above the one of the actual, legitimate government by "admit[ting] that they answer solely to [their] leader […] Dumbledore" (Marciniak 35).

As noble as their confidence in Dumbledore might be, Marciniak argues correctly that it also devalues the group's legitimacy because they seem to accept disobedience to the government as long as their leader is convinced that it is necessary (see 35f). The ground of their resistance bases on the opposition to Voldemort's political ideals and the need for self-preservation. For once, they would be punished by Voldemort for not sharing his ideas and second, some of their group members portray exactly the minorities the Death Eaters want to exterminate (see 33). Lupin, for example, qualifies for being such a minority. As a werewolf, he is "not a very popular dinner guest with most of the community" (*OoP* 110). Therefore they stand together in their fight against the evil that wishes to eradicate them, and those alike them, sharing the same goals and ideals. Wolosky fittingly summarises Dumbledore's leadership within his groups as similar to the "discipline of an orchestra, where a violinist obeys the conductor because he is as keen on a good performance as the conductor is" (296). Thereby she underlines the emphasis that lays on shared interests, convictions and trust in each other.

It is because of this trust, combined with his abilities that assigns Dumbledore his leadership and that causes his followers to willingly accept him as their leader. In

this respect, one might wonder about the headmaster's true intentions. Potentially, the consideration he practices is used by Dumbledore to assure the support he needs to pursue his own goals. Another interpretation is that he genuinely wants to include his followers in the process of reaching their goals. These questions remain open for exploration and further discussion.

In any case, followers of both groups genuinely want to support him and agree with his decisions because Dumbledore as their leader places great value on "mutual assistance and cooperation of the members" (Chan 420). Therefore, his followers are content with the way he leads and feel as still having an impact on decisions. This proves that they do not confirm the assumption of Warrick that laissez-faire leadership results in "apathetic, disinterested, and resentful" (162) followers. Although obeying Dumbledore's instructions when he directly assigns tasks to them (see *HBP* 617), they also become active themselves and act independently if required. The reason for their willingness to contribute to the agreed goals of the group might be that Dumbledore does not fulfil the characteristic of putting a low emphasis on people that Warrick lists as typical for a laissez-faire leader (see Warrick 158). As mentioned earlier, he gives tasks to everyone based on their abilities and thereby assures that all of his followers can contribute as best as they possibly can to the group's well-being.

Despite assigning tasks, Dumbledore once more depicts the trust Hoyle and Wallace assign to temperate leaders (see 187) by clearly transmitting that he is convinced that they will succeed in achieving their respective tasks. Sirius, for example, is happy to do his part by providing the headquarter of the resistance group, Grimmauld Place, as he is convinced that it is "the only useful thing [he has] been able to do" (*OoP* 93) in his position as an alleged criminal wanted by the whole wizarding world. This shows that he knows well about the strengths and weaknesses of his followers and how to use them meaningfully to the group's purpose, which in turn causes the reader to assume that he maintains a close relationship to them.

This proximity between him and his followers explains not only the trust he has in them but also the willingness to accept risks in their favour, yet another trait that Hoyle and Wallace assign to temperate leaders (see Chan 426). When Umbridge tries to dismiss Professor Trelawney, Dumbledore defends her (*OoP* 656f.) and ensures that even though she is not allowed to teach any longer, she may stay at Hogwarts. By disrespecting the Undersecretary's will and by putting her back in her position, he places himself in the line of fire and becomes vulnerable, even risks his position as headmaster. Nevertheless, it proves the enormous loyalty he exercises towards his followers and that he genuinely cares about their well-being.

The headmaster's trust towards his teachers expands to the students because he relies on the education of his school that he delegates to create students that willingly embody the values and virtues transmitted to them. As long as this is the case, the headmaster looks over students breaking the rules and even encourages them to do so (see Wolosky 293). He repeatedly lets Harry and his friends get away with almost everything and even hands out the Invisible Cloak to Harry, asking him simply to

"use it well" (see *PS* 218). This underlines the beforehand explained temperate leadership characteristics: trust and willingness to accept risks for his followers.

It also highlights that, throughout the entire series, Dumbledore is presented as a man caring more about the internal values than external behaviour (see Chan 417). He makes clear that he "does not cultivate the rules as much as the values that inform the rules" (Knutsen 204). Even though this behaviour highlights the trust in his followers, it also discredits those who adhere to the rules there are, such as Argus Filch, the caretaker. Often throughout the series, Dumbledore appears to ridicule him for taking the rules seriously and asks the students "for what [the caretaker tells him] is the four-hundred-and-sixty-second time to remind [the students] that magic is not permitted in corridors, between classes, nor are a number of other things, all of which can be checked on the extensive list now fastened to Mr Filch's office door" (*OoP* 234). He does not seem to sincerely support the enforcement of the rules he set up himself and encourages the students to do so as well. Also, by rewarding house-points rather arbitrarily for courageous or clever behaviour, Dumbledore underscores his values-based orientation and invalidates the rules' importance (see *PS* 328f.).

Considering this way of approaching his leadership, it becomes evident that his laissez-faire behaviour grounds on educating "values-based self-governance" (Chan 426). According to Chan, this means that the students monitor themselves and act according to the way they have been educated in school (see 426). Dumbledore succeeds in underlining the enormous power he inherits through the possibility of deciding about the virtues the students acquire in Hogwarts. Nonetheless, he remains the generous headmaster by placing morality over strict structures and thus keeps his popularity among his followers. This is where his paternalistic leadership tendencies become evident. Dumbledore's approach of values-based self-governance does not only cause the students to behave according to his ideals, it also encourages them to reflect on their own actions (see Marciniak 49) and helps them decide about their actions based on values rather than on rules they do not understand. The headmaster wants them to think for themselves and fosters agency which is accurately described by the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy as the "exercise or manifestation of [the capacity to act]" (Schlosser). Just like a parent wants his/her child to become independent, he empowers his followers to try themselves out and he encourages them to think individually instead of simply following their leader's orders. Harry summarises this fatherly behaviour as follows: "He's a funny man, Dumbledore. I think he sort of wanted to give me a chance. I think he knows more or less everything that is going on here, you know. I reckon he had a pretty good idea we were going to try and instead of stopping us, he just taught us enough to help." (*PS* 325).

This statement shows the paternalistic leadership characteristics of Dumbledore as well as his ability to be the all-seeing and all-knowing headmaster (see Reynolds 273) that decides which lapses to punish and which to let slip because they meet his understanding of morality and virtues. The relation between Harry and the headmaster could be discussed separately and thus will not be examined in further detail.

However, it should be noted that especially between Dumbledore and Harry, the paternalistic features of the almighty wizard are highlighted repeatedly. Even though this relationship should not be considered as exclusively benevolent and indeed becomes difficult to grasp in the later books, there are numerous scenes where the otherwise professional Dumbledore becomes emotional when it comes to Harry and even cries at some point (see *OoP* 928) because he is worried about his well-being.

However, also the less benign side that comes with paternalistic leadership is embodied through the headmaster, as he requests relentless loyalty from his followers. Snape serves as an illustrating example, working as a double-agent and spying within Voldemort's group, making the latter think that he actually works for him and against Dumbledore. The headmaster entirely trusts him and stands in for him whenever other followers show their signs of doubt concerning his loyalty. No matter how often Harry asks him whether he really trusts Severus Snape, Dumbledore always affirms his loyalty (see *OoP* 915; *HBP* 336). By defending Snape, he also proves that once his followers have gained his trust, he returns it and also convinces others that they are trustworthy.

Also, the required characteristic of being a "strong authority" that characterises paternalistic leaders according to Pellegrini and Scandura (see 567) is met within the character of Dumbledore. His status as headmaster is not only assigned to him by the means of hierarchy but also widely accepted within the school, since most students and teachers like him and consider him a worthy leader. Harry, for example, in the second book highlights his loyalty and admiration for Dumbledore during his encounter of the young Riddle in the Chamber of Secrets and answers to his claim of being the "greatest sorcerer in the world" (231) as follows: "Sorry to disappoint you and all that but the greatest wizard in the world is Albus Dumbledore. Everyone says so." (232). Not only his personal trust towards Dumbledore's ability is shown through this statement but also the general reputation the headmaster inherits in the wizarding world, as "everyone" seems to share this point of view with Harry.

This inherent trust in the headmaster's abilities becomes ultimately evident in the fifth book, where the resistance group of Harry and his friends which rebels against the totalitarian regime of Umbridge takes on the name 'Dumbledore's Army'. Students seem to think that their headmaster shares their values, which might be because it was him imposing their morals and virtues on them by controlling their education. Here, the risk of manipulation evolving from leaders and their powers becomes clear. Even though the students appear to follow and support their headmaster out of free will, it was him determining the content of the subjects they learn in the first place. Hence, he influences their perception of right and wrong, as seen in the preceding chapter. All this proves that it is actually the other way around: students share his values, as they are faced with them on a daily basis and thus internalise them as their norm.

Despite him being a guiding figure, Dumbledore's role as a mentor is present over the course of the whole seven books and his intention of "help[ing] the hero develop into a functioning, useful man of good character" (Steege 150) is shown

numerous times. Not only for Harry but for the whole student body, he "stages learning opportunities and instils confidence" (Birch 113) to enable them to experience the feeling of success they have after triumphantly solving the riddles and tasks given to them. He embodies Bruner's statement that "acquired knowledge is most useful to the learner […] when it is 'discovered' through the learner's own cognitive efforts" (Bruner 3 qtd. in Wolosky 294). Here, the citation from Harry of the first book depicting Dumbledore as an all-seeing guiding figure can be applied to the storyline of the last book, where Dumbledore leaves gifts for Harry, Ron and Hermione that turn out to guide them towards their goals of finding the Horcruxes. Instead of providing them with a concrete solution, he offers just enough guidance for them to figure things out on their own because he knows that one day, he might not be there to guide them anymore.

The gifts also show, once again, that he knows well about the strengths and weaknesses of his followers. Whereas Hermione is left with a riddle to solve, due to her intelligence and cleverness, he provides Ron with the opportunity to make up for the mistake of leaving his friends because of his jealousy in the seventh book. When looking for the Horcruxes after the headmaster's death, the trio feels left alone at first and there are moments where they doubt that there was a plan at all he wanted them to follow (see *DH* 112f.). In the end, however, it turns out that their acquired agency enables them to solve the riddles. Harry even gets the chance for an explanation by Dumbledore in person when he encounters him in a dream-like state at King's Cross and learns that he wanted to slow him down and prevent him from becoming dominated by his "hot head" (*DH* 577). Thus, it turns out that Dumbledore indeed pursued a plan and even calculated weaknesses and strengths of his followers into it.

Despite all the good Dumbledore has in mind for Harry, his paternalistic leadership is limited through the fact that he "harness[es] the boy's potential in such a way that it will not be dangerous to the dominant/correct society" (Reynolds 277). Hence, he does not support him unconditionally but always keeps his and the society's interests in mind when fostering Harry's agency. In the fifth book, he avoids Harry intentionally because he fears the bond between him and Voldemort. Since he does not explain his behaviour to the protagonist, Harry feels left alone, revealing the father-like affection he has towards the headmaster (see *OoP* 137). Dumbledore's treatment of Harry is closely aligned to his overall goal to achieve what he entitles as the "Greater Good" and what will be discussed in detail in chapter 5. However, his general approach of letting his followers find their own paths points out the enormous influence the headmaster enacts on his students. The figurative parent he is, he supports them on their way and generally "acts as a role model, as a personal paradigm for ethics, values and goals, and indeed for learning and thinking himself" (Wolosky 294). This careful consideration of his followers rounds up the headmaster's mentoring image and highlights another crucial aspect of his character, namely his transformational leadership.

As already shown in chapter 2.3, transformational leadership characteristics include idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and personal and individual consideration (see Eeden et al. 255). The character of Dumbledore embodies the first, as he is "considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities" (Weber 241). Furthermore, his speeches in front of the school prove that he knows his way around words. Especially after Cedric dies in book four, the headmaster holds an encouraging speech to honour the deceased student as well as to motivate the school to stay together, as "[they] are only as strong as [they] are united, as weak as [they] are united" (*GoF* 627). What adds to this tendency towards inspirational motivation and intellectual stimulation is Dumbledore's endorsement of agency under his followers. Also, his role as a mentor and the guidance he provides, sometimes more, sometimes less visible, are proof of the support he offers to his followers. It is "under Dumbledore […] where students come to learn and control their magic while also being encouraged to think for themselves" (Marciniak 49). He continuously inspires them to think outside their mind frames and empowers courageous behaviour, like when emphasising his values-based orientation through rewarding house-points rather arbitrarily for "outstanding courage" (*PS* 328) or clever behaviour, even though the rules have been violated (see *PS* 328f.). This kind of managing the treatment of rules highlights once again that he accepts the breaking of rules as long as it corresponds to his virtues (see Knutsen qtd. in Chan 426).

Considering the individual attention transformational leaders enact towards their followers, Dumbledore's position as headmaster needs to be taken into consideration. Given that he rules over the whole school and needs to take major decisions, it is not easy for him to pay attention equally to all students and to develop a close emotional bond to all of them. However, he can address all of them by name, as far as portrayed in the books, and knows some of their main character traits. When it comes to Harry and his friends, he even develops a close relationship, that strengthens through the private talks in the end of the first books. There the whole storyline of the respective book is taken up once again and the headmaster explains what has happened by adding background knowledge the trio did not know about before.

Regarding his followers, in Hogwarts as well as in the Order, Dumbledore seems to know a lot about their individual character traits. It is only through his knowledge about their respective strengths and weaknesses that he can assign them fitting tasks in their groups. Snape serves as one of the most illustrating examples for this. The headmaster is well aware of the love he still feels for his teenage love Lily, Harry's mother, and knows that he would do anything for her, even protect the son that constantly reminds him of James Potter, his biggest enemy (see *DH* 544f.). Dumbledore uses Snape's love and the regret of losing Lily to get him to protect Harry from Voldemort (see *DH* 544f.). Thus, Dumbledore is aware of the power love can have and does not shy away from using it for his objectives.

His leadership within the group as well as his actions outside of it are strongly connected to emotions. When it comes to maintaining the position of authority

Dumbledore holds, the beforehand mentioned trust his followers have towards their leader might be the reason why none of his followers ever tries to claim the role of the leader. Dumbledore himself seems to have arbitrary convictions towards the hierarchical structure within his group of followers. Previously this paper already exposed his laissez-faire characteristics, causing him to delegate some of his exercising power to his teachers, such as letting the headmasters and mistresses decide about punishments and rewards. Another aspect shows that he "decentraliz[es] decision making to smaller associations" ('Democracy' 168). By doing that, he fulfils a characteristic of democratic leadership. The hints at group internal discussions, within the Order, such as the "meetings" (*OoP* 78) that take place in the headquarter of the resistance group are further evidences for his democratic tendencies. However, even in these 'meetings', Dumbledore is not seen as often (see *OoP* 77) and appears to leave most decisions about details to the group and only interferes in major decisions. Examples are deciding what Harry may know (see *OoP* 103) and determining that Sirius has to stay at home. Once again, these decisions are based on his knowledge of the characters; he is well aware that Sirius is known for being hot-tempered and Harry has already proved several times his "hot head" (*DH* 577). Therefore, Dumbledore's superior position combined with his knowledge about his followers allows him to reduce possible risks that result from flaws of the individuals.

Given that Dumbledore as the leader places great value on "mutual assistance and cooperation of the members" (Chan 420), his leadership might even show anarchistic tendencies at a first glance. A closer examination, however, illustrates that in the end, Dumbledore "never relinquishes his almighty authority over students and other teachers" (Chan 421). He has the last word in all affairs, such as deciding about the contribution of house points, according to his values (see *PS* 328f.) or about who is involved in which information- and decision processes (see *OoP* 75). This behaviour rather reminds of an autocratic than a democratic or even anarchistic approach. Yet it does not harm his reputation within his group, since his followers trust him unconditionally and therefore assume a greater tactic behind his decisions they are not yet able to understand. Hermione and Ron, for example, do not question Dumbledore's decision to withdraw all sort of information from Harry, even if they knew it would frustrate him (see *OoP* 77). Thanks to their inherit trust and loyalty, they are willing to accept Dumbledore's choice to keep some secrets from them. This acceptance reminds one more of paternalistic leadership followers (see Aycan 446).

Despite this exclusion of his supporters concerning active decision-making processes within the Order, there are no signs of democratic decision making in Hogwarts either. Dumbledore pursues a strict line with respect to the overall goals of the group. Whenever a follower questions the path that has been determined for the group's sake, he reminds them that they agreed to do as planned in the first place. Harry learns about such a situation when he watches Dumbledore's memory in the Pensieve. The moment Snape learns that he has protected Harry just for him to "die at the right moment" (*DH* 551), he doubts everything he has done for Dumbledore

in the past. However, there is no evidence of Dumbledore convincing him to maintain the path they agreed on, he simply reminds Snape that he gave him his word earlier (see *DH* 550). The reader, through Harry, witnesses that the headmaster's authority is enough to push through his objectives. Thus he is once more reminded of Dumbledore's leadership abilities to pursue his interests, whether under direct agreement or after reminding his followers of the hierarchy they are located in.

Therefore, a closer examination of the way Dumbledore treats his followers shows that the headmaster portrays numerous leadership style variants. His way of leading inside his groups can generally be summarised as community-based due to his role as a guidance-figure and mentor. Additionally, he values a positive relationship to the followers he leads by taking into consideration their interests and defending them if necessary. His paternalistic and transformational leadership characteristics underline his orientation towards independent, autonomous followers who exercise agency. As his authority and leader position is rarely questioned, Dumbledore does not appear as a leader who protects his position at all costs. In the few occasions where his decisions are doubted by his followers, however, he is quick to remind them of the reasons as to why they agreed on them.

4.2 Voldemort

As Lupin states, Voldemort's group of followers mainly consists of "witches and wizards he'd bullied or bewitched into following him [and] his faithful Death Eaters, a great variety of Dark creatures" (*OoP* 108). Considering the latter, Dumbledore gives a detailed description of what kind of people belong to this closest circle and the internal group structure in the sixth book:

> As he moved up the school, [Voldemort] gathered around him a group of dedicated friends; I call them that, for want of a better term, although […] Riddle undoubtedly felt no affection for them. This group had a kind of dark glamour within the castle. They were a motley collection; a mixture of the weak seeking protection, the ambitious seeking some shared glory, and the thuggish, gravitating towards a leader who could show them more refined forms of cruelty. […] they were the forerunners of the Death Eaters, and indeed some of them became the first Death Eaters after leaving Hogwarts (HBP 338f.).

This is proof of two major characteristics that are crucial in order to analyse Voldemort's inward leadership. For once, it becomes apparent that the Dark Lord, does not rule alone but relies on a group of supporters warranting his authority. He is aware of the fact that "social change […] can only occur with numbers" (Marciniak 33). Therefore, he knows about the tactical importance of having people to back up his authority and to help him attain his goals. Hence, he can be considered a leader of a group of followers and is thus suited for examination within parameters of this chapter.

While he "used to have huge numbers on his command" (*OoP* 108) when he first rose to power, Voldemort needs to rebuild his army after being defeated by Harry. Therefore, the size of his group is not as big as the circle Dumbledore has under command. Unlike him, Voldemort must actively recruit new members as he cannot rely on a powerful institution assigning him leadership and followers. His constant pursuit of world rule requires that he expands his power towards the whole wizarding world. In order to attain the number of followers he needs to reach this objective, he detects his enemies' weaknesses and tries to headhunt those who are not content in their current position in society by promising them a better hierarchical standing once he is in power. Here, he appears to try creating a historic bloc that uses alliances to ensure the hegemony of the dominant class he (see Sassoon 230) leads in his ideal vision of the future. Therefore his leadership is not yet as big but appears to be growing. Dumbledore recognizes this development and advises the Minister to avoids the joining of even more powerful creatures, such as the Dementors, of which he is sure will "join [Voldemort] the instant he asks them [because he] can offer them much more scope for their powers and their pleasures as [the Ministry] can" (*HBP* 614).

One of the rare similarities between him and his opponent Dumbledore is that they both are leaders of resistance groups, fighting against the status quo, although for completely different causes. The Death Eaters under Voldemort are a resistance group insofar as that they fight against the status quo where mudbloods[6] are mostly accepted, yet not appreciated, in society. Their main goal is to "fight for an authoritarian state, increasing the role of Blood Status in defining people and giving Voldemort absolute power over everyone" (Marciniak 33). According to them, the wizarding world should "cut away the canker that infects us until only those of pure blood remain" (*DH* 179). The pureblood ideology values wizards and witches who exclusively have wizarding ancestors and therefore is reminiscent of Hitler's Nazi-ideology during the Second World War. This subject will not be examined in this work but others, such as Sarah Wente and Nancy R. Reagin have discussed the parallel between Voldemort and Hitler in more detail (see Wente; Reagin).

Voldemort seems to seek these goals his followers share and is therefore accepted as their leader. Within these structures, he qualifies for being considered an autocratic leader, for he personifies a clear distinction between leader and followers. As Dumbledore's quote about Voldemort's followers points out, there is an entirely functional and clearly defined relation within their group. Being the dictator, Voldemort's hierarchy is never questioned and his authority never touched. As pointed out by Deva and Yazdanifard, an autocratic leader with totalitarian features generally does not care about the well-being of his followers and thus does not consider their interests while leading (3). Interestingly, Voldemort's lack of interest towards his followers does not hinder them to be emotionally involved with their leader. Bellatrix Lestrange embodies this, since she appears to even be in love with her master.

[6] Wizards and witches who are not "pure" wizards but have muggle-born parents or relatives.

She repeatedly reveals her emotions, such as when speaking to him "as if to a lover" (*DH* 580). Rowling never goes into detail about whether Bellatrix's intense behaviour results from pure admiration for her leader or whether she feels an actual emotional bond between them. Either way, she illustrates that, in contrast to him, some of Voldemort's followers do not consider their relation in exclusively functional terms. These strong feelings, even though he does not share them, suit him well as they cause Bellatrix to be the most loyal towards him and loyalty is what is most important to him. Her commitment even extends to the point of willingly going into prison because she is convinced the Dark Lord will reward her loyalty once he has regained his power (see *GoF* 517).

Voldemort despises love but is clever enough to use the energy resulting out of it for his proper uses. Instead of returning these emotions, he rather pursues his individual goals without interference or advice of others. He assigns tasks to his followers, without asking them for their opinions. Neither are there signs of "employee involvement" (Warrick 158) nor of meaningful vertical communication among the group members which further characterise Voldemort's leadership as an autocracy. Additionally, he fulfils the autocratic characteristic of being only interested in his personal goal of wanting to live forever. Nonetheless, within his group, he is clever enough to adapt additional goals that assure him of his followers' endorsement (such as aiming for blood purity in the wizarding world).

When examining the structure of his group of followers, the Death Eaters, a closer look reveals the cellular structure that reminds of terrorist groups (see Barratt 95). In these structures, mostly leaders with authoritarian tendencies are presented and determine the procedures (Hogg and Adelman 447). Marciniak has already stated that Voldemort can be considered as such (33) and thereby explains the Death Eaters' obedience towards him. Especially the masks worn by them (see *GoF* 561) reveal that, just like terrorists, Voldemort's followers hide their true identity from the other group members. Karkarov, one of the Death Eaters, admits that "He Who Must Not Be Named operated always in the greatest secrecy […] we never knew the names of every one of our fellows – he alone knew alone who all were" (*GoF* 511). Moody concludes correctly that this is a reasonable way for Voldemort to organise his fellowship given that it prevents his followers from betraying each other in case of being trapped (see *GoF* 511).

Despite minimising the risk of betrayal, Barratt fittingly points out that the cellular organisation of his followers allows Voldemort to reduce the risk of them plotting against him (98). Generally, it is not easy to determine whether the assumption that followers of autocratic leaders do not question the hierarchy of their group ('Autocracy' 37) fits the Dark Lord's group of followers. For once, this results from their lack of communication with one another. Secondly, Voldemort does not reveal anything about their identities. Thus, they stay anonymous and do not know much about their respective group members. The reader does not learn whether the Death Eaters are uneducated. What he/she learns, however, is that none of them tries to

revolt openly against the hierarchical structure within the group. Therefore, they appear to be content with the status quo and do not intend to alter anything about it and so willingly assign Voldemort his status as leader.

Rather than practise an open-communication policy and trying to please his followers, Voldemort places an enormous emphasis on loyalty to assure his leadership and power within his group as the beforehand mentioned example of Bellatrix shows. Obedience and unquestioned trust of his followers are his greatest weapons, since he needs his followers as instruments, who exercise power where he cannot be present. As Barratt states, the Dark Lord "expects complete loyalty from his followers" (24). It appears as if a lack of loyalty is the only thing that evokes an emotion in him. Although he usually does not appear to have any feelings at all, this scene shows him confessing his disappointment in his followers' lack of loyalty (see *GoF* 562). Normally utterly convinced of himself, Voldemort wonders who will be loyal enough to come back and who will be "foolish enough to stay away" (*GoF* 560). This exposes, on the one hand, his insecurity about his followers' loyalty and on the other hand, that he will punish those who are not loyal enough to come back to him in this moment of need.

Interestingly, Voldemort "has few followers who obey him out of loyalty rather than fear" (Barratt 141). This is not contradictory when looking at the fact that Voldemort merely demands loyalty and does not care for which reasons it is granted. He willingly manipulates people in order to get what he wants, as can be seen when he tries to interrogate Slughorn on the creation of Horcruxes. Despite not wanting to tell him anything about it, Slughorn cannot resist young Riddle's charm (see *HBP* 464f.). Voldemort does not care whether this loyalty is genuine or based on fear or false hope, as long as he can use this knowledge strategically. He openly admits that he knows about the true reasons for his followers' obedience when he addresses Peter Pettigrew at the graveyard in book four, claiming that "[he] came back to me, not out of loyalty, but out of fear of [his] old friends" (*GoF* 563). The old "friends" he speaks of are Lupin and Sirius, who now work for the Order of the Phoenix and are thus his declared enemies. Neill fittingly summarises Voldemort's treatment of his followers by comparing it with an army that "is ruled mostly by fear, and the soldier knows that if he disobeys he will be punished" (105). Indeed, the books portray multiple occasions where Voldemort penalises those not loyal towards him and thereby underscores his autocratic leadership style.

Nonetheless and contrary to Warrick's perception of autocratic leadership (see 160), Voldemort also honours desired behaviour. Hence, he reveals his transactional style tendencies by following the contingent-reward system (see Khan et al. 3). He rewards Wormtail's loyalty and obedience with a silver hand after he has cut his own off to enable his master to return (see *GoF* 556). Interestingly, Voldemort and the circle he leads exhibit the characteristic of agreeing on common goals (see Khan et al. 3). Voldemort also appears to consider the approach of "appealing to the wants and needs" (Bass and Avolio qtd. in Khan et al. 4) because he pursues their 'common' goal to enforce the pureblood ideology. Otherwise, the Death Eaters and their

leader do not practise the reciprocity that House and Shamir consider as crucial in transactional leadership constellations (see Khan et al. 3). He does not have an "inherent trust" (Khan et al. 4) towards his followers to achieve their tasks satisfactorily. Therefore he closely supervises them and does not allow for any individual performances.

Given that he is aware that "if you have assumed power by force, […] you must hold onto it by force as well" (Barratt 142), he can neither be considered a passive management-by-exception leader that "waits for things to go wrong before taking action" (Bass and Avolio qtd. in Khan et al. 4). Rather, he micromanages to avoid the smallest mistakes and thus no action happens without his final agreement. This behaviour further qualifies him for being an autocratic leader that never relinquishes his decision-making abilities and holds on to his autonomous management of actions. Although rewarding his followers at times, Voldemort is rather known for his strict exercise of discipline that does not allow for things to go wrong under his leadership than for his generous treatment of followers. Whenever mistakes are made, he severely punishes those responsible, as typical for autocratic leaders (see Warrick 160). One example is when he punishes the whole Malfoy family after Lucius fails to obtain the prophecy he tells him to get for him in the *OoP*. He even goes so far as to claim his wand, symbolically taking the very last bit of authority Lucius had. By setting such illustrative examples, Voldemort ensures that his followers grant him unconditional authority, even if it does not arise out of free will but of coercion.

The reason for the necessity of this behaviour is best summarised by the following statement by Barratt: "Those who base their claim to rule in possession of power must of necessity rely heavily on tactics of coercion" (11). This is what Voldemort does within his group: through emphasising loyalty and punishing those not willing or able to grant it as he expects them to, he assures that they all will constantly strive to please him, even if only to avoid punishment. Despite the fear his followers have towards their leader, they stick to him and his group because they "have no real life on the outside to which to return, […] further cementing their loyalty to the terrorist organization." (Barratt 98). The group is like their family that Voldemort surveillances and protects from the enemies they have gained through their collective actions. There is no way back for them, as the side they have chosen does not permit a change of mind.

Therefore, and when looking at the kind of inward leadership Voldemort creates within his group, Sirius' statement highlights that serving Voldemort is either "a lifetime service or death" (*OoP* 129) appears to be well suited. Due to the lack of emotional affection and consideration of his followers, Voldemort, at first glance, does not appear like a paternalistic leader that cares about his followers. When closer examining his emphasis on loyalty, however, certain paternalistic features of his leadership style can indeed be found. As pointed out by Aycan, this style is often employed in groups with clearly differentiated hierarchical structures (see 446) where the leader aims at maintaining the hierarchy and his position of authority (see Ünler and Kılıç 2). The previous analysis exemplifies that this is the case for the Death

Eaters. Also, the relation between leaders and followers suits Aycan's definition of paternalistic leadership, as Voldemort provides "care, protection, and guidance" (446), given that the group is like the followers' family and he as leader inherits the role of the father at the top who receives absolute loyalty in return (see Aycan 446). One example for him taking care of his followers is when he enables their escape from the wizarding prison Azkaban by getting the Dementors on his side of the combat by promising them "more scope for their powers and their pleasures" (*GoF* 614) than the Ministry could. As highlighted previously, his followers are likely to grant him the requested loyalty. Some, like Bellatrix, genuinely admire him and his abilities, which fit the paternalistic feature of accepting the hierarchy because of emotional affection and trust towards their leaders (Aycan 446). Others, like Wormtail and Lucius, are afraid of his power or want to have a share of it. Although they do not genuinely trust him, they profit from being protected and supported.

Within his group of followers, Voldemort also uses the aspect of manipulation that characterises paternalistic leadership styles. It takes place through the pureblood ideology that makes the Death Eaters believe in a common goal they are willing to work for. Despite uniting his group, the ideology equally serves as a means of differentiation between them and others. The ideology's segretagion of people into two separate spheres creates a clearly defined hierarchy. On the one hand, there are those worthier and of higher status (the 'purebloods') and on their opposite those considered as of lower virtue for society ('mudbloods' and 'muggle-borns'). As stated earlier, one of the reasons for the Death Eaters to follow Voldemort is their urge for power that is satisfied in being considered worthier of status and blood than others. This emphasis on status resembles the system of oligarchy, as it also favours leadership of privileged people (see Jowett 62), whose privilege equally results on an ideology.

However, as for Voldemort and his followers, their oligarchic leadership is only theoretical since they have not yet gained enough power to rule legitimately over the whole wizarding society. Mouzelis' claim of the ruling élite that does not want to relinquish its power once it has been gained (28) is not entirely fulfilled by the Death Eaters, given that they are not yet in a reigning position but only striving for it. The inheritance of status that characterises oligarchic leaderships, however, is illustrated by the Malfoy family. Draco is born into his position, firstly because he has literally inherited the "right" blood and secondly, because he inherits the ideology of Voldemort and his group and thus considers it as the right one – at least for a long time. Whereas his followers are genuinely committed to their ideology, the Dark Lord mainly focusses on his individual quest of eternal living. Also, Voldemort meets the requisite of only focussing on individual benefits instead of the common good, further corresponding to oligarchic leaders (see Bogdanor 'Oligarchy' 391). The pureblood ideology rather appears to be a 'side-quest' for him that allow for the creation of a common goal and thus obedience of his adherents. Therefore, they are convinced that they are indeed working to attain what they consider beneficial for the community. Apart from the power he has within his group of followers, he even

impacts those outside of it with his dominant character. This becomes particularly evident through the fact that most wizards and witches do not dare to say his name (see *PS* 64). Thus, one of his major powers is the fear he evokes in them because of all the cruel crimes he has committed in the past and the ones he is willing to commit in order to attain his goals. In a way, his reputation about his enormous power turns out to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Just as Dumbledore's reputation relies on his titles, so does Voldemort's renown depend on fear.

Overall, Voldemort's leadership is characterised by his strive for authoritarian control over the wizarding world, his pursuit of the pureblood ideology that assures him the loyalty of his followers and the use of coercion and fear. By organising his group of followers cellularly, he ensures that they will grant him the requested loyalty that is necessary for him to become more powerful, as he cannot yet rule as he wishes and requires support. Generally, the relation between him and the Death Eaters is purely strategical from his side and he appears to consider them rather as instruments than as human supporters and thus interchangeable at the first mistake. His followers are aware of Voldemort's refusal "to contain his power and wrath in anything beyond his own whims and interest" (Barratt 46) and it is this self-centeredness that causes them to assign him the power to rule. At first sight, it appears as if his followers are content with their leader's ideals and willing to follow him blindly wherever he goes. The potential success of the way illustrated beforehand of exercising power within his group is closely examined in chapter 5.

5 Successful Leadership

After having exposed the different approaches to exerting power within the different leadership groups, this chapter explores the degree of success the respective leader experiences by exercising it. A major focus is on the question whether the leader can achieve a long-term success that ensures his power over time or whether it is only of short duration. The results of this analysis are backed up by theories about relations of power. They further explain the reasons for the success or the ineffectiveness of a certain leadership style and why it does not lead to the expected outcome. Before being able to analyse their success, the individual objectives of Dumbledore and Voldemort as leaders need to be assessed. Then, this chapter inspects whether the chosen leadership style is suited to achieve said goals and the reasons leading to the corresponding results. Lastly, the focus is on the consolidation of leadership and how, if this is the case, the leaders assure that their power remains consistent as well as what they do to expand it.

As for Dumbledore, it can be said that his overall leadership is oriented towards "the Greater Good" that he explains in a letter to his childhood friend Grindelwald, with whom he once fought for dominance of the wizards over the muggles. Even though he eventually turns away from this objective, he expresses his understanding of how power should be handled within a group in this letter:

> Yes, we have been given power and, yes, that power gives us the right to rule, but it also gives us responsibilities over the ruled. We must stress this point, it will be the foundation stone upon which we build. Where we are opposed, as we surely we will be, this must be the basis of all our counter-arguments. We seize control FOR THE GREATER GOOD. And from this it follows that where we meet resistance, we must only use the force that is necessary and no more (DH 291).

It is not easy to clearly illustrate the "Greater Good" the headmaster refers to in this quote given that there is no general definition of it. The "Greater Good" depends on the individuals' virtues and on what he/she considers as 'good'. However, the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* defines it as "a general advantage that you can only gain by losing or harming something that is considered less important". It highlights that the outcome is beneficial for the overall society and at the same time harmful for a part of it. This quote vividly demonstrates several traits of Dumbledore that are crucial in the examination of his leadership success. The individual definition he assigns to the "Greater Good" can be depicted when closely looking at his actions throughout the series and the way he chooses to attain this objective. There is no doubt that his major interest is to fight Voldemort and the group he has assembled around him. Interestingly, the reader never explicitly learns about his motivation to do so. The headmaster is presented as a man of high ethics and neither supports the cruelty personified by the Dark Lord nor his pureblood ideology.

However, this was not always the case. As mentioned earlier, there was a time when Dumbledore also had ambitions to become a "glorious young leader […] of the revolution" (*DH* 573), assuaging the scruples he had by telling himself that it was for "a greater good" (*DH* 573). His change of mind mainly evokes from the painful recognition of the possible consequences the desire for power can cause and which he experiences himself when a fight between Grindelwald and his brother eventually caused his sisters' death. The remorse he feels because it was him who brought the young Tom Riddle, who would later turn into Lord Voldemort, to Hogwarts might be his motivation to fight the latter. One might argue that Dumbledore's actions are aimed at redeeming his mistakes. He is eager to achieve his individual "Greater Good" by eliminating the bad he brought upon the wizarding world by fighting Voldemort and everything he stands for. Even though the reasons for this objective may result from personal interests (redeeming his soul), the overall wizarding community would benefit from his success.

Voldemort, in contrast, does not pursue a goal that benefits the majority of the wizarding society. Rather the opposite is the case, given that his oligarchic leadership aims for the rule of the few that are of pure blood. His ideology openly excludes those that do not fit into the desired blood status and therefore creates a clearly defined concept of the enemy his supporters fight against. Interestingly, the Dark Lord's followers consider the beforehand-mentioned pureblood ideology equally as the 'Greater Good'. They are convinced that they make the wizarding a world a better place by "cut[ting] away the canker that infects [them] until only those of pure

blood remain" (*DH* 17). This approach underlines once more their totalitarian characteristics as they consider their ideology an ultimate solution to society's problems (see Bogdanor, 'Totalitarianism' 615). Dumbledore himself evokes the designation of this ideology as the Greater Good in his letter to Grindelwald and even refers to the exact same meaning: the purification of the wizarding world from pureblood interferences (*DH* 291).

Although Voldemort indeed pursues this objective, it cannot be considered his major interest. Like explained in chapter 4, his focus is on eternal life, a goal that is entirely egoistic and which he tries to achieve through the creation of Horcruxes. When talking to Slughorn about their creation, the otherwise so emotionless Voldemort cannot hide his "hunger" (*DH* 465) and his "longing" (*DH* 465) that the imagination of being able to beat death evokes in him. Thus the goal the Dark Lord aims at further underlines his autocratic leadership style, causing him to act exclusively for his own benefit.

Upon close inspection of Dumbledore's and Voldemort's respective goals, one can see that the two leaders have a very different understanding of what power should be used for. Nonetheless, there is one conviction they both share and that causes them to be suited for a comparative analysis in their leadership. It is directed towards the achievement of their individual goals. Both men have understood that "social change […] can only occur with numbers" (Marciniak 33). Thus, both leaders recognise the potential of alliances that is also crucial for the creation of hegemony (see Sassoon 230). As they aim for cultural hegemony that assures their respective ideologies through implanting it within society, they begin to recognise that it might be crucial for them to gain power over institutions. Arendt's quote that introduces this thesis points out their recognition about groups in leadership structures as follows: "Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together. When we say of somebody that he is 'in power', we actually refer to his being empowered by a certain number of people to act in their name" (44).

Chapter 4 closely inspected the leadership of both Dumbledore and Voldemort within their groups of followers that substantiates their authority with the help of theoretical propositions of leadership styles. I concluded that, even though both men can be considered leaders of a group, their leadership and perception of power is different. Now I will also critically assess leader's respective success in leading these groups which they need to achieve the power necessary to accomplish their goals. Dumbledore's numerous titles and his general hierarchical standing within the wizarding community (see Marciniak 29) make it easier for him to gain followers which help him to achieve his objectives. As pointed out in chapter 4, the institution of Hogwarts further grants his authority, transmits legitimacy to him as a leader and helps him to enforce his values and to transmit the virtues he considers important. Voldemort cannot rely on this kind of legitimate leadership that is granted through institutions and therefore needs to regain followers to be able to start pursuing his

goals. Therefore, with regards to the overall range of their leadership, Dumbledore starts with an advantage.

Although he does not yet lead an institution, Voldemort recognises the potential institutions may have for leads early on and thus tries to infiltrate the two major centres of power in the wizarding world. The reasons for his desire of controlling legitimate institutions within the wizarding world can be explained through the concept of hegemony. It is based upon using "the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function" (Gramsci 12). Marciniak fittingly describes that "Voldemort and his Death Eaters do not destroy the Ministry; instead they infiltrate and usurp its already established authority" (37). Given that the people do not easily question the decisions of the MoM, he is granted the legitimacy he lacked before. As assumed by force through the Death Eaters and their master, this power is not legitimate in the long run due to their coercive methods (see Marciniak 36). Nonetheless, it allows Voldemort to legally enforce laws. He succeeds in causing a social and political change (see Marciniak 37) by using the trust the people have towards their government to legitimate his enactment of rules. An example for that is the mudblood hunt in book 7 and the "Muggle Born Registration Commission" (*DH* 206f.).

After successfully infiltrating the MoM, Voldemort also aims at seizing control through the institution of Hogwarts, since he recognises the potential of forming young students according to his ideology and virtues right from the start (see Marciniak 50). Through the replacement of teachers with his followers, he tries to enable a radical change of values within the school and aims for creating a young generation of adherents. In spite of his enormous power within the school, he fails in transforming the students because they have already internalised Dumbledore's ethics. Morris points out that "ethical action produces a form of strength grounded in trust that nothing else can duplicate" (64). Whether Dumbledore's actions might be ethically correct or not, they appear to be for the students and teachers. Therefore, they willingly reproduce them (see Birch 115). Due to this enormous impact of Dumbledore on his followers in Hogwarts, Voldemort fails at embedding the ideology of totalitarian leaders into "the deepest reaches of societal structure" (Pipes 243) and does not attain the complete control of his followers' thoughts and actions. Although having mastered the first aspect of the "historic bloc" (Sassoon 230) by creating a basis of consent among his followers, his failure in transmitting his ideologies via the institutions prevents him from successfully re-producing the hegemony of his 'class'.

Ironically, it is his failure to gain control of Hogwarts that highlights the degree of Dumbledore's success in this very objective. In contrast to Voldemort, he fulfils both prerequisites of a successful historic bloc. Firstly, his group of disciples provides him the required basis of consent (see Sassoon 230). Secondly, as long-time headmaster, he succeeds in implanting his ideology so far that it becomes 'common sense', a characteristic of successful hegemonic leadership according to Hopf (see 318). Due to this failure, Voldemort needs to develop another strategy that helps

him gain followers to use the beforehand mentioned power that only occurs in groups. Quickly it becomes evident that his approach to reach that goal is coercion out of which his autocratic leadership arises. Even though he despises affection towards others, "shrewd strategician" (Barratt 136) he is, Voldemort promises those who are discontent in their current situation in society to satisfy their needs under his reign (Barratt 30). As explained in chapter 4.2, this strategy of requiring followers is successful.

This chapter has equally highlighted that Voldemort's strategy of creating a clear differentiation between the two groups ('mudbloods' and 'purebloods') applies to his followers' need of differentiating themselves from their enemies. Barratt argues that "such bodies often appeal to individuals who lack other sources of identity or power" (104). Since Voldemort is aware of their urge to share a part of his power, he is strategically capable of taking advantages of these desires. One example for such is their longing for attachment to a certain group which the Dark Lord provides through his ideology of races that have different value (see chapter 4). Thereby, he proves to inherit one of the crucial prerequisites for successful leadership as proposed by Adair and Thomas, "a thorough knowledge of his employees" (118). In book 5, it becomes clear that this knowledge about others equally allows him to lure his enemies into a trap, especially when he uses occlumency to make Harry believe that Sirius is in danger. These indications show that during his leadership he proves an "eerie skill for discerning and destroying or perverting the things closest to the hearts of his enemies" (Barratt 140).

Despite using emotions of both his followers and his enemies for tactical warfare, he practises neither consideration nor compassion. In none of the books does he show genuine interest in his followers' well-being. In the beginning, this is what his adherents admire their leader for, namely his lack of emotions since it makes him appear even more powerful. However, his high emphasis on attaining his goals and the low emphasis on the people, as typical for autocratic leaders (see Warrick 158), fire back against him. Despite this failure in considering his followers' needs, there is also another aspect that eventually causes the downfall of the Dark Lord and his failure in achieving his goals. In the end, it is Dumbledore's influence on Draco Malfoy combined with the latter's family's love for him that results in the betrayal of Voldemort. Although the Malfoys are repeatedly shown as strongly connected to Voldemort's ideology and thus appear as faithful servants at first glance, they eventually turn against their former master to protect themselves. Starting after Lucius' failure to obtain the prophecy, the Dark Lord treats them more and more as dispensable, taking away their authority, at last by taking Lucius' wand (see *DH* 373). It is due to this miserable treatment, which even expands to their son, that causes the Malfoy family to eventually turn against their former master. As unlikely as it seems at first sight, Voldemort's consideration of Lucius as a "slippery friend" (GoF 564) appears to be a prophecy that comes true. At first, the Malfoys try to restore their reputation within the Death Eaters but, no matter what they do, nothing seems to be enough (*DH* 371). Eventually, Narcissa betrays Voldemort when he commands

her to check whether Harry is still alive after the Dark Lord has tried to kill him in the final book, knowing this is the only opportunity to find her son (see *DH* 582). Harry correctly recognises that "she no longer cared whether Voldemort won" (*DH* 582) because she is more concerned with the well-being of her son than with her leader's victory.

Although Barratt argues that there is no clear hierarchical structure within this group (99), Lucius' standing appeared to be higher than the ones of others, as he is repeatedly represented as one of his closest servants. Together with the common motivations to follow Voldemort, fear and the lure for a share of his power, it was this standing within the group that motivated him to restore his position. When Narcissa recognises that he will not be able to rebuild this hierarchical position, she notices that there is nothing more to gain from her family's obedience to the Dark Lord. Barratt expresses this thought fittingly, he claims that "by failing to forgive, and by punishing those who have returned to him, [Voldemort] guarantees that his power over his followers is entirely dependent upon his ability to punish" (46). As he had punished them to the extent that they have nothing more to lose but themselves as a family, Narcissa decides to save those she loves with all means at her disposal. Later, during the battle of Hogwarts, Draco's parents are described as "running through the crowd, not even attempting to fight, screaming for their son." (*DH* 589).

This scene vividly portrays that even though Voldemort always put the loyalty of his followers in the centre, he fails in attaining it to the extent he wishes for. Their loyalty is not strong enough to withstand the emotional attachment to one's own family and the love parents feel for their child. Here, it becomes evident that in the end, Voldemort's followers mirror his egoistic behaviour and pursue their personal goals. As long as they follow their common goal of reaching power through fighting for an oligarchic system with pureblood families at the top, Voldemort's leadership is successful. Once his followers learn, however, that "Voldemort shows just as little mercy to his followers as to his enemies" (*PS* 126), their loyalty fades, and they willingly betray him. It is not without irony that the reason for his followers' betrayal results once again out of a mother's love for her son. Like Lily once did for Harry, Narcissa proves that she is willing to endure any consequences to assure that her son is in safety. Never having experienced love himself, Voldemort is unable of feeling and truly understanding it, which causes him, in turn, to underestimate its inherent power.

This example shows the weakness that can result from a purely autocratic leadership that is characterised through lack of interest in and consideration of one's followers. Voldemort, as a counter-intuitive example, highlights that qualities such as "warmth", "humility" and "fairness" towards one's followers are crucial to lead successfully (Adair and Thomas 121). His character further underlines that tactical knowledge about warfare and the role emotions can play is not enough to succeed. As pointed out above, Voldemort can use emotions to manipulate his opponents to

act as he wants them to. Nonetheless, he eventually fails since he underestimates the enemies' strongest power he has never experienced himself: love.

Concerning his followers, similar mistakes can be recognised. At first sight, Voldemort succeeds in controlling his followers' obedience through the cellular structure he chooses within his group. However, he does not foresee the betrayal due to love that causes his second downfall. Despite constantly underestimating the power of love, equally the all-embracing control of his followers' actions prevents Voldemort from asserting his leadership in the long run. By controlling all of the Death Eaters actions, he discourages them to become independent. Thus, they entirely depend on their master and are unable to pursue the group's goals without him. In the end, "[Voldemort's] army suffers from the same weakness as any other autocrats': when the leader shows signs of weakness, the troops have little incentive to persevere." (Barratt 142). This statement holds true for his first as well as for his second downfall, where his "weakness" consists of being disempowered from his body, not being able to assert his power physically, e.g., through his wand. The moment he cannot use violence to assure his domination, such as punishing disobedience directly, he loses his group of supporters which enable him to make the social change he aims for (see Marciniak 33). Thus, Marciniak as well as Arendt (see 44) have correctly predicted that his success depends entirely on the ability to keep his group of followers together. By failing in this attempt, Voldemort causes his downfall.

Even though he also has his limits, Dumbledore can generally be considered a leader who fulfils Adair's and Thomas' prerequisites and indeed practices "warmth", "humility" and "fairness" (121) within his group. As opposed to Voldemort's failing autocratic leadership, his transformational approach is successful in the long run as it includes consideration, an important aspect of such leaderships (see Eeden et. al 255). The knowledge of his followers which results from this consideration becomes visible, inter alia, through the gifts the headmaster leaves for Harry, Ron and Hermione. Although he is dead and thus cannot help them to figure out the respective reasons for each gift, his role as a mentor enables them to "mak[e] interferences on the basis of incomplete knowledge" (Brown 407). Thanks to the acquired agency and independence, they are capable of solving the riddles themselves, even if it takes some time. Bruner's assumption that "acquired knowledge is most useful to a learner, when it's discovered through […] own cognitive efforts" (Bruner qtd. in Wolosky 294) thus proves to be suited for the trio. Dumbledore's Army, which can be considered an extension of Dumbledore's leadership since it is led by "Dumbledore's man through and through" (*HBP* 326), namely Harry, personifies the same structure. Interestingly, Harry overcomes his mentor's mistakes and succeeds in establishing a democratic leadership within his group and includes voting processes (see Barratt 21). After all, Dumbledore's transmission of virtues onto his group of followers might not be as openly manipulative and coercive as Voldemort's ap-

proach. However, the reader cannot be sure whether those who are under Dumbledore's leadership, would also share his convictions if they had not been confronted with them daily and from a very early age on.

Previous chapters have shown that the institutional power Dumbledore inherits due to his position as headmaster contributes enormously to his long-term success. His values have even been internalised to the extent that Draco Malfoy cannot kill Dumbledore, even if he knows that he must to restore his family's reputation. Torn between the values cherished by his family and the ones he has learned in school, the reader experiences a weighing between the different educations Draco has witnessed – and in the end, Dumbledore's education beats Voldemort's. Draco cannot kill his headmaster and his longstanding mentor and influencer of his socialisation (see *HBP* 553ff.). It is reasonable to assume that Draco would have acted differently if he had grown up under Voldemort's education.

Like elaborated above, this successful internalisation of the headmaster's values presents the second major cause for the Dark Lord's downfall. Draco's behaviour serves as a particularly evident example of Dumbledore's leadership success caused by his rule of Hogwarts. Interestingly, it leads to the assumption that also others might act in Dumbledore's interest due to the presence of his values and virtues. This perspective allows for the imagination of a different Hogwarts under a different leader. Another example for the enormous success the headmaster in transmitting his ideas to his followers can be depicted when Harry willingly sacrifices himself for Dumbledore's 'Greater Good', the common goal they agreed on. This can be considered the peak of Dumbledore's leadership success since it personifies that he manages to implement his individual goal into others to the extent that they even willingly sacrifice themselves for it. It is only due to the unconditional trust and loyalty of his followers that the headmaster's values and objectives are carried on. As he provides plausible goals he strives for, his followers genuinely support him in their attainment.

Dumbledore's own death is equally an interesting aspect to look at when it comes to the depiction of his leadership towards his followers. At one point, he admits that he asks Snape to kill him instead of letting Malfoy or others do it because he does not want to suffer more than necessary (*DH* 548). Despite that, he knows that the wound the destruction of the Horcrux has caused is slowly killing him (*DH* 548). His followers do not know about these tactical influences which shape his decisions. Thus, Dumbledore suffers a martyr's death which appears to underline that he is dedicated to the "Greater Good" during life as well as in death. Due to this way of deceasing, Dumbledore assures that his transformational leadership continues even after his death. For his followers, he sets an example of selflessness that inspires them to seek after the goal they once tried to attain together. The basis for this long-term transmission of Dumbledore's values is the "agreement-oriented communication" proposed by Hannah Arendt (see Habermas and McCarthy 5f.). Per definition, the power that results from agreement cannot be instrumentalised because if it were, it would lose its power (see Habermas and McCarthy 5). Even

though it is questionable whether the headmaster's leadership would be equally successful under different circumstances, his way of exercising power is accepted and indeed "rests on conviction", as requested by Habermas (5f.) This approach makes up for his lack of democracy within his group since it underscores that his followers agree with their leaders' decisions. Even without voting processes, Dumbledore succeeds in working for the collective goals the group agreed upon and thus fulfils the democratic criteria of focusing on the outcome of the whole group (see Warrick 160). The headmaster's personal interest, to redeem that he brought the evilest wizard into the magical world, rather vanishes behind his effort for attaining the group's goals. Therefore, Dumbledore's followers consider him working for the group's interest and attribute him an interest in the satisfaction of his followers, another criterion for democratic leadership (see Warrick 160).

Even though all this presents him as a caring leader, the headmaster needs to be regarded critically. As stated above, his interest in the group's goals is not as genuine as they might appear and often there is a tactic behind his actions. There are even signs of manipulation of his followers since he repeatedly highlights the importance of alliances (see *GoF* 627), a prerequisite for him to rule successfully (see Arendt 44). The willingly granted obedience and acceptance of his rules and ideals ultimately facilitate the headmaster's leadership. It naturally minimises the need for punishments, which in turn helps to uphold the good relationship between him and his followers. It is also crucial for allowing laissez-faire tendencies under his leadership. These are only successful because Dumbledore's followers are capable of self-management (see Eeden et al. 255).

Due to this way of handling his followers, Chan ascribes anarchistic tendencies to Dumbledore which explain his success in leading his followers. Chan states that such leaders "believe that harmony can be better achieved in a society regulated not through the government but through mutual assistance and cooperation of the members" (420). Even though we rejected the idea of Dumbledore as an anarchistic leader earlier, Chan might be right in this assumption. Indeed, mutual assistance and cooperation become particularly evident when looking at the close bond between Dumbledore and his followers. One example that shows that the entire group works together for a common goal is when Mr Weasley is attacked in the Ministry. Dumbledore, without hesitation, initiates the necessary processes to save him. Nonetheless, it is only due to the common and genuine interest to save their member that everyone contributes his/her best to succeed. Both his agreement-orientated communication as well as his values-based orientation fit into Neill's understanding of the "discipline of an orchestra, where a violinist obeys the conductor because he is as keen on a good performance as the conductor is" (156). Thus, Dumbledore shows repeatedly that he does not make the same mistake as Voldemort, who micromanages everything. Instead, he relies on the libertarian assumption "that government is best which governs least" (Thoreau 244), trusts upon self-reliance, respect of individual rights (see Barton 1537) and the together-defined virtues and goals the group agreed upon. After all, the headmaster succeeds in his aim of educating his followers

to become independent, autonomous adults that think before acting – a goal he shares with most parents, underscoring the paternalistic leadership he inherits. As his adherents learn to understand the rules brought upon them by internalising the values that induce them, they are more likely to behave accordingly. Even if they do not, the headmaster trusts them and accepts that "there are no power relations without resistances" (Foucault 142). Thus, he ensures that even in case of breaking the rules as they will anyway, his pupils have at least the morals in mind that he has chosen for them to acquire. This way of reacting to resistances occurring in his leadership demonstrates that he fulfils the successful-leadership-quality of "not [to] become engrossed in detail" (Adair and Thomas 120).

Voldemort, on the contrary, relies entirely on his coercive leadership, his cellular organization and downward communication. Therefore, he does not expect any resistances and fails in managing them once they occur. Generally, the Dark Lord does not rely on agreement-oriented communication but rather refers to the teleological concept of power suggested by Max Weber. This approach of enacting leadership opposes the one of Hannah Arendt as it "only provides for actors who are oriented to their own success and not to reaching agreement" (Habermas and McCarthy 4). Thus, it implies the aspect of manipulation and can be considered rather "instrumental" (Habermas and McCarthy 4) than genuinely agreement-oriented like Arendt's approach. It can be applied to Voldemort's leadership insofar as that the Death Eaters neither appear to know about the creation of their master's Horcruxes nor are they generally involved in decision-making. They support their leader since they are part of the group of society he seeks to entitle as the elite but are not allowed to decide autonomously. In this respect, his oligarchic leadership style representing a clearly defined "ingroup/outgroup distinction" (Barratt 104) is successful. It motivates those belonging to the beneficial group to support his objectives and to grant Voldemort the authority he requests.

The teleological model, however, does not provide long-term success, as Voldemort vividly exemplifies. Given that their followership is not genuine, they are quick to change their minds and to pursue their own individual goals. This does not come as a surprise, given that they have learned this behaviour from their leader, Voldemort, who does the same by reigning autocratically. What holds true for both leaders, however, is William's assumption about the leading-by-example style: "In leading by example […] leaders provide a continual living demonstration of the values which represent the core culture of the team or group" (36).Adair and Thomas likewise list the ability to "set a good example" as necessary for a person in command (see 118).

Ironically, just like Dumbledore, Voldemort succeeds in getting his followers to mirror his behaviour. Their major difference is that the personification of the virtues Dumbledore hallows benefits his respective objectives, causing his followers to imitate him and entirely commit to reach their "together-defined goals" (Wolosky 295). His follower's commitment even extends to them sacrificing their lives for the greater good, just like he (seemingly) does. Voldemort, in contrast, teaches his followers ignorance and self-centeredness and thereby signs his downfall, as it is exactly

the self-centeredness of the Malfoy family that eventually causes his failure. Whereas Dumbledore relies on his followers to carry on his morals because of the trust towards them, Voldemort's analysis underscores that he does not trust anybody but himself. Therefore, it is only logical that he entrusts objects and animals instead of people to maintain parts of him, namely the Horcruxes he creates. The creation of the latter, however, only aims at fulfilling his personal goal of eternal life and does not contribute to his group's objectives. It might be due to this egoistic example he sets that he prevents himself from obtaining long-term leadership.

Taking all of the previously mentioned aspects into consideration, it can be concluded that the respective leader's success indeed depends on the success of leading within their groups (see Marciniak 33). Dumbledore achieves long-term success due to the passing on of his virtues through his followers. There is even a new resistance group evolving that bases on the same virtues the headmaster stands for, led by his most loyal follower, Harry Potter, who assures that his morals are lived on without him. By educating his group towards consideration, independence and cooperation, he assures their genuine conviction of the virtues they stand for. Especially through emphasising values-based self-governance, the headmaster causes his followers to internalise the educated values to the extent that they aim for 'Greater Good'.

Voldemort, however, might succeed in his "leadership-by-example" (Williams 36) as he transmits his virtues onto his followers but ultimately, it is because of them that his leadership fails. By educating his followers the virtues that are characteristic for his autocratic leadership, that is egoism and self-centeredness, he causes them to mirror these traits. Due to the total absence of consideration and warmth towards his followers, they soon recognise that they are indeed interchangeable for their master. In the end, the Malfoys place the benefit of their family above their obedience towards their leader, thus underlining the two major mistakes of the Dark Lord: Failing to create an atmosphere of contentment among his followers and underestimating once more the power of love. Due to the lack of reciprocal communication and recognition, Voldemort's followers realise that he is the only one who benefits from their fellowship.

Generally, this analysis depicts that whereas Dumbledore meets numerous of the proposed requirements Adair and Thomas set up for successful leaders, Voldemort fails in meeting them. In the end, it is "believing in the common good, in love, in friendship, in [genuine] loyalty, and in justice" (Barratt 160) that assures a long-term leadership, whereas "seeking power for power's sake, and self-preservation above all else" (Barratt 160) only allows for a short-term leadership.

6 Conclusion

The present thesis has treated extensively the leadership styles Albus Dumbledore and Voldemort portray within their respective groups of followers. I have further examined the treatment of the latter and eventually analysed their success in attaining

the goals the two leaders pursue with their leaderships. The results of the examination about the influence of behaviour towards one's group on their leadership success have confirmed the original hypothesis. Indeed, reciprocal leadership structures with an emphasis on consideration prove to be more successful, as depicted through Dumbledore's long-term success in transmitting his virtues onto his followers who even promulgate them after his death. Voldemort's failure that results from his mostly autocratic, one-way communication within his group further supports this hypothesis by providing a negative counterexample. It underlines that it is due to his lack of consideration and reciprocal communication policies that he does not achieve the goals he aimed for.

Additionally, the analysis of the different leadership styles used by Dumbledore supports the idea that a mixture of different styles is more successful than restricting oneself to only one approach. However, the leader's success depends not entirely on the leaders but is enormously influenced by their followers' perception of the style that is exercised towards them, as can be seen through the Malfoys' example.

Although this thesis has examined the leadership of the two chosen leaders and their respective success in-depth, there are still several aspects that remain open for exploration. For once, this work seized down the leader's motivation to consciously selected aspects that, at one point, are more or less explicitly stated by them as their goals. Further research could be done about the Dumbledore's success in fulfilling his position as headmaster. One might explore his approach to transmit the curricular knowledge to his students as well as his general success in educating them. Given that the acquired knowledge which forms the centre of this work is acquired mostly outside the classroom, the success concerning the transmission of technical magic knowledge is not treated.

Also, the limits of Dumbledore's success have not yet been regarded. Although the headmaster succeeds in achieving his personal goal of redeeming the evil he released into the magical world through his transformational and motivating leadership, he only fights the symptoms, not the 'disease' itself that is the pureblood-ideology. Indeed, his pursuit of personal interests contributes to society's well-being to the point of freeing the wizarding world from Voldemort and causing his followers to scatter. Nonetheless, Dumbledore's leadership does not aim for changing society's perspective about these outcasts and is thus unable to cause a significant social change. The only hint at an actual, altruistic social change is the promising transmission of his leadership to Harry, who might have the potential to overcome his mentor by aiming for greater causes and not his interests.

Generally, the way the leaders have attained their success needs to be put into relation to the respective goals that have been set by them. This thesis only considers those presented at the beginning of chapter 5. However, given that the definition of success depends on the goals set by a leader, also the leader's eventual success varies when considering other criteria than the one selected for this paper. Also, the present thesis seized down the applied theories to their use for the chosen focal point. Different works might place other aspects in the centre and thus provide an additional

perspective to the one provided within this work. Taking into consideration the aspect of hegemony as presented in the Harry Potter world would be for itself a possible emphasis of continuing scientific work. Therefore, this thesis serves as a basis for further research that provides an overview of the used leadership styles of Dumbledore and Voldemort. It considers their success resulting from their respective choices as well as the associated consequences. Despite the deliberately chosen limits of this work, there are also the limits given through the way J.K. Rowling decided to display the world she created. Given that the reader only gets to know Hogwarts under the long-term reign of Dumbledore as headmaster, it remains open whether Voldemort would have been more successful had he been granted the same preconditions as Dumbledore. The same question can be raised concerning another headmaster that might have imposed different virtues onto the pupils. Thus, it might be of interest to examine the general influence of headmasters towards their students and compare these findings with the display of Dumbledore as headmaster.

Bibliography

For brevity's sake, the following thesis deviates from the originally used MLA citation style considering the primary source (The Harry Potter book series by J.K. Rowling, Bloomsbury edition). Instead, the following abbreviations are used to refer to the respective books:

PS Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone
CoS Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets
PoA Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban
GoF Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire
OoP Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix
HBP Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince
DH Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows

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Animal Subjectivities and Anthropocentrism in Richard Adams' *Watership Down*

Lisa Bölinger

> But learn we might, if not too proud to stoop
> To quadruped instructors, many a good
> And useful quality, and virtue too
> – William Cowper, *The Task*, Book VI

1 Introduction

We live with them, we fear them, we love them, we eat them – human relationships with nonhuman animals are diverse and multi-faceted, and yet the underlying idea that dominates most of our conceptions of animals is that of human superiority, and of animals as non-subjects; for it stands to reason that a fully-fledged subject would not be possessed, purchased or hunted, kept in a cage or led on a leash. While animals have always featured strongly in the lives of human beings, humans have concurrently proven to be a tremendous influence in the histories of nonhuman animals, not only through practices such as domestication and breeding, but also through the systematic eradication of animal habitats and lives. As the destructive age of the Anthropocene progresses, it is becoming more and more urgent to focus on, rethink, and possibly reconfigure the way humans perceive and relate to nonhuman animals. In this regard, cultural products have been a significant means to form and disseminate human conceptions of animal beings, and the medium of children's literature, with its frequent focus on animals and its influence on young minds, can be seen as

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particularly formative. While historically, animal fiction tended to perpetuate human dominance, especially since the twentieth century there has been a trend to increasingly attempt to understand the world through the eyes of nonhuman animals and to represent animal characters as subjects in their own right. A reversal of perspectives, of representing the world through the eyes of the other, can be immensely powerful in changing dominant perceptions of a specific group.

As Karla Armbruster elucidates in "What Do We Want from Talking Animals?", only with the recent development of cross-disciplinary animal studies have analyses of literary animals, especially readings of animals as animals instead of as mere allegorical devices, gained more momentum (20). In a parallel to feminist literary criticism that centers on exposing disrespectful representations of women, Kenneth Shapiro and Marion Copeland argue for a critical, animal-based perspective that encourages scholars of animal studies to "[d]econstruct reductive, disrespectful ways of presenting nonhuman animals"; to examine how the animal other is represented "both as an experiencing individual and as a species-typical way of living in the world"; and lastly, to analyze the animal-human relationships as depicted in the work of fiction (345). In the following, I will abide by this set of guidelines by examining human-animal relationships and representations of rabbits, both on a species-level but also individually, in Richard Adams' novel *Watership Down*. All in all, I hope to lay bare possible reductive as well as respectful ways of representing nonhuman animals in fiction.

Watership Down came to be an immediate success after its publication in 1972, which means that for almost half a century it has been able to disseminate its ideas about animals and human-animal relationships. While *Watership Down* is by no means the first nor the last novel to explore the world through the eyes of nonhuman animals, it has been formative in many ways; in *Presenting Young Adult Fantasy Fiction*, Cathi Dunn MacRae notes that its influence on subsequent animal fiction ranges from the creation of a distinct animal language and the inclusion of fictional myths to the idea that animals are "more highly evolved than brutal humans," and she refers to the novel as a "prototype" for later animal fantasy (303). Its appeal lies among other aspects in its combination of numerous genres, encompassing "a beast fable, a fantasy, a mythological tale, an epic, a political/Utopian novel, and an allegory" (Miltner 63). However, *Watership Down* has received little scholarly attention until now, which is surprising given the potential for literary analyses within and considering the prominence of the novel; for instance, in *Penguin Classics*' list of the hundred best children's books, *Watership Down* ranks on place seventy ("Children's Books"). Having touched so many lives, one can only assume that the novel has been influential regarding contemporary understandings of animals, and one might therefore even go so far as to argue that an in-depth analysis of animal representations in *Watership Down* is pressing. According to John Pennington, this lack of scholarly interest might be attributed to the idea that the book is an "over-inflated children's novel" that is faulted "for its obvious conservative proselytizing that upholds traditional middle-class values" ("Mythmaking" 34). Although this may be true, especially

in its representation of conservative gender roles, it would be too simplistic to dismiss the entire novel and especially its exploration of animal subjectivities on these grounds. *Watership Down* thus makes for an appealing object of research as much might still be explored in this novel, and makes for a necessary one as it has contributed in its own way to the shaping of our cultural perceptions of animals, prompting especially an anti-anthropocentrist reconceptualization of rabbits. In this thesis, I argue that *Watership Down* rejects anthropocentrist notions by representing complex and rich animal subjectivities and by emphasizing the ubiquitous unnaturalness of so-called civilized humans. I further contend that, as a move away from anthropocentrist humanism, the novel proposes the idea of an inclusive animality that dissolves human-animal dualism and centers on interspecies empathy.

The first part will explain the necessary concepts and ideas that will recur throughout this thesis, beginning with anthropocentrism, a pervasive ideology deeply ingrained in much of human thought and action, and the related concept of speciesism as put forward by Richard Ryder and Peter Singer. Important for my understanding of these two concepts is especially Weitzenfeld and Joy's "An Overview of Anthropocentrism," which identifies the roots of contemporary forms of anthropocentrism in eighteenth-century humanism, and I further draw heavily on works by Bryan Moore and Rob Boddice that consider anthropocentrism and speciesism with their varying definitions. My main focus in this thesis lies on the concept of animal subjectivities, which goes against Descartes' and Heidegger's anthropocentrist conceptions of animals and centers on Jacques Derrida's influential essay "The Animal That Therefore I Am." The idea of animal subjectivities that was and often still is withheld from animals is especially well theorized in Amy Ratelle's *Animality and Children's Literature and Film* and Matthew Calarco's "Theorizing Animals," which examine Heidegger's as well as Derrida's conception of animals in detail. In this context, I will further focus on the status of animals throughout the last centuries and accompanying shifts in ideas about animal consciousness, sentience, and suffering. Next, I will trace the usage of animals in British children's fiction from its origins in the eighteenth century to the present, identifying conventions used to represent animal subjectivities as well as recurring (anti-)anthropocentrist themes. While eighteenth- and nineteenth-century animal stories tended to reinforce the idea of unquestionable human dominance over the subjugated animal, thus reflecting the prevailing belief of Western cultures, animal fiction in the twentieth century increasingly questioned this anthropocentrist worldview. *Watership Down* is such a novel, as it combines various aspects that aim to destabilize the idea of animal beings as inferior and valueless creatures. A multitude of sources traces the prominence and sometimes even subversive role of animals in children's literature, among them Catherine Elick's *Talking Animals in Children's Fiction* and Kathleen Johnson's *Understanding Children's Animal Stories*, both of whose works are crucial in my thesis as they outline (anti-)anthropocentrist conventions in animal fiction. Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I will focus specifically on rabbit stories in children's literature and ex-

plore how rabbits have traditionally been typecast as cute, toy-like, and over-anthropomorphized creatures. In this context, I will examine how *Watership Down* fits into this tradition and ask whether the novel can be seen as a children's story.

The next chapters constitute a close reading of *Watership Down*. Throughout the novel, different rabbit warrens with distinct mindsets and habits are featured and my analysis will begin with a focus on the main warren led by the rabbit Hazel. The rabbits of this warren are depicted as "natural" as they are framed to be living as wild rabbits are "supposed to" live. In the following, I will use the terms "natural" and "unnatural" as based on Adams' understanding, yet it should be clarified that these designations are problematic: they attempt to compartmentalize the world into two contrasting categories, are vague terms that are loaded with value, and can be conceptualized according to different needs and ideologies. An appeal to nature, understanding something as natural and good because it can be found in nature or in wild animals, and the subsequent belief that all that is unnatural is undesirable, will be addressed and criticized in this thesis. Even the idea of an external, "wild" nature can be problematic because it plays into a nature/culture dualism: as Julia Corbett points out in *Out of the Woods*, "there is just one intertwined, vibrant nature" that humans are invariably a part of (7).

I will first examine how the rabbits of Hazel's warren are represented on a purely physical and behaviorist level and how rabbit facts are conveyed to the reader. While writing the novel, Adams drew heavily on a book by naturalist Ronald M. Lockley, *The Private Life of the Rabbit*, and its influence on *Watership Down* can be traced throughout the narrative. In this regard, it is not within my capacity nor is it my aim to judge whether Adams' and Lockley's representations of rabbits are factually accurate. Rather, I will examine how the inclusion of rabbit teachings lay the groundwork for later explorations of rabbit subjectivities and I will especially focus on the way the human narrator is foregrounded as an authority on rabbits. The next part of this thesis will explore the representation of rabbit subjectivities and how these serve to frame rabbits as agential, complex subjects. Animal subjectivities are conveyed through an emphasis on the rabbits' distinct way of inhabiting the world and through aspects that are conventionally seen as exclusively human: I will first examine their sensory navigation through the world, their worldviews and knowledge, the rabbit language Lapine, complex rabbit societies, and cultural practices with an emphasis on rabbit mythology and religion. These aspects depict the rabbits as sentient beings with thoughts and feelings and simultaneously engender a sense of otherness and kinship: depictions of human traits in animals may engender empathic responses in the reader, while representations of otherness can stimulate the reader's imagination regarding the lives and worlds of other animals, in the best case even initiating a new way of regarding animal beings as creatures with intrinsic rather than instrumental value.

Seeing the point of view of the other can be an effective means to dismantle harmful anthropocentrist notions. But while there is definitely potential in this kind of fiction that privileges animal subjectivities, it can have its pitfalls, since it is always

by necessity a human being who takes it upon her- or himself to "translate" animal others and to give them a human voice, which means that anthropocentrist tendencies are apt to sneak even into overtly anti-anthropocentrist fiction. This ambiguity mirrors the complex and oftentimes contradictory views of animals that humans tend to hold, and I will therefore aim to uncover not only *Watership Down*'s anti-anthropocentrist messages, but also its underlying speciesist notions. Notably, while the representations of rabbit subjectivities in general work against anthropocentrism, a few instances display a sense of rabbit exceptionalism and even superiority over some other animals; in this regard, I will question whether this leporine-centrism can be seen as a justification of anthropocentrism via an appeal to nature.

While the first part of the close reading focuses on the exploration of rabbit subjectivities, the second part will turn to the representation of human-animal relations in *Watership Down*. While I argue that the novel's main aim is to represent rabbits in their own right, it simultaneously constitutes a comment on humanity. By representing humans through the eyes of wild rabbits they are othered, which engenders, to use a term coined by Viktor Shklovsky, a sense of defamiliarization. Human cruelty and unnaturalness and their anthropocentrist worldviews are expressed in *Watership Down* firstly through humanity's contaminating effect on their fellow earth dwellers, i.e., on Cowslip's warren, on hutch rabbits, and on the totalitarian warren Efrafa; through their active involvement in ruthless killings of animal beings; and through ubiquitous human-made objects and noise that are consistently termed unnatural and disrupt and disfigure the rabbits' worlds. By dwelling on humanity's unnaturalness, the novel first appears to perpetuate a dualism that frames animals and humans as essentialist and contrasting categories. However, this is quickly complicated by the novel's claim that it is only "civilized" humans who have become unnatural, while so-called "primitive" human beings have not renounced or conceptualized themselves against animality. While this opposition with its racial implications is highly problematic, it simultaneously reveals permeable boundaries that challenge the Cartesian divide between animals and humans. As a tentative solution to the inequitable relationship between animal beings and "civilized" humans and as a shift from anthropocentrist humanism toward an inclusive animality, Adams offers the idea of interspecies empathy that makes possible a more harmonious and sustainable coexistence among earth's inhabitants. In this context, central works I draw upon which theorize human-animal relationships in terms of interspecies relatedness are Donna Haraway's *When Species Meet*, Barbara Smuts' exploration of intersubjectivity in "Encounters with Animals," and Lori Gruen's concept of entangled empathy in her eponymous book.

Lastly, as animals are at the center of this thesis, I will turn to a consideration and problematization of this generic term as it encompasses all creatures on earth that are not human, thus negating any kinship between humans and animals and disregarding the gulf of difference that exists between species and individuals. Derrida especially criticizes the singular form "the animal" as it nullifies the complexity and ambiguity of animal life. To him, it is "an appellation that men have instituted,

a name they have given themselves the right and the authority to give to another creature" (392). The alternative term "nonhuman animals" can of course also be construed as anthropocentrist, as again all creatures are defined in relation to humans; Marianne Dekoven, for example, shows how problematic the term can be by comparing it to "[*n*]*onwhite*, *non-European*, and *non-Western*" (363; emphasis in the original). But on the other hand, it has the potential of pointing to kinship between humans and other animals, thus dethroning human beings by emphasizing their own animality. At the moment, the term is therefore arguably the most useful in writing about our nonhuman kin.

2 Anthropocentrism, Speciesism, and Animal Subjectivities in Children's Literature

2.1 Anthropocentrism and Speciesism: An Overview

History tells us that human beings especially of Western cultures frequently choose to believe that their species is at the center of everything and that they are often indisposed to accept the alternative. Copernicus' and later Galileo's assertion that the earth, and by extension the human, does not exist at the center of the universe was decried; similarly, Darwin's theory of evolution putting human and nonhuman animals on a continuum is even today sometimes met with resistance. The pervasiveness of anthropocentrism is thus still deeply embedded in human worldviews and practices and can be defined as the idea that "Man," as Protagoras famously said, "is the measure of all things," or in other words, that humans are the center of "meaning, value, knowledge, and action" (Weitzenfeld and Joy 4). Weitzenfeld and Joy differentiate between the terms anthropocentric and anthropocentrist, a distinction that will be utilized throughout this thesis: the former denotes the "to some degree inescapable" perspective of humans that is determined by human cognition and the human body which encompasses, for example, a distinctly human sensory apparatus, whereas the latter refers to an ideological construction of human supremacy rather than to an innate quality (4). While anthropocentrist worldviews can be traced back for thousands of years, Weitzenfeld and Joy argue that the specific form of anthropocentrism as perpetuated today is the "historical outcome of a distorted humanism in which freedom is founded upon the unfreedom of human and animal others" (3). Especially in the Age of Enlightenment, humanism took on an anthropocentrist coloring as it was based on the pillars of "human exceptionalism, perfection, and dignity" (5-6): exceptionalism here relates to qualities that are deemed exclusively human, such as reason, speech, or consciousness; the notion of human perfection manifests itself in the idea of human consciousness as an autonomous entity which enables "self-realization and self-determination"; and dignity refers to the belief that those beings who possess consciousness and thus self-determination,

i.e., humans, have intrinsic worth (6). These three aspects are seen as lacking in animal others, and as a corollary, human beings were and often still are conceptualized "over and against animal beings" (5). As will be shown in the last part of this thesis, however, *Watership Down*'s concept of animality extends these fundamental principles of anthropocentrist humanism to nonhuman animals as well.

Anthropocentrism may manifest itself in different forms and to different degrees. The two most pervasive forms are firstly the idea of an animal-human dualism that creates two essentialist categories, and secondly seeing all species on a continuum which "ranks humans and animal others along a scale by the degree to which they are 'human'" (Weitzenfeld and Joy 5). The latter case is, as Bryan L. Moore terms it, a "softer" form of anthropocentrism that ascribes some, mostly instrumental, value to animals, although it is not comparable with humans' intrinsic self-worth (6). Scholars usually cite Aristotle's understanding of animals, the God-given right of human dominion over other species in Judeo-Christian belief, and René Descartes's influential idea of animals as "automata" as the main roots of anthropocentrist worldviews: the ideology can be traced to the Platonic-Aristotelian conception that came to be known as the Great Chain of Being, a hierarchy that saw animals placed firmly beneath, and existing to serve, humanity (Smith 350). Similarly, the Judeo-Christian creation story frames humans as masters over all animals, as God decrees that Man shall "have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth" (*King James Bible*, Gen. 1:26); this idea of human sovereignty, as Moore demonstrates, is consistently accentuated throughout the Bible (7-8). Further formative for contemporary Western understandings of animals have been the ideas put forth by Descartes, who insisted on the notion of an insurmountable gulf between humans and animals. Descartes maintained that, unlike animals, humans have reason and are therefore "aware of their experience" (Smith 349). His idea of animals as instinct-driven machines persists even today, and thinkers following in his footsteps employ this conception to justify any form of animal exploitation and abuse by denying animals even "such basic experiences as physical pleasure or pain" (Smith 349), thus giving "modern science, industry, and agriculture even greater license to maltreat" animal beings (Elick 18).

Even the most pervasive instances of dogmatism and oppression, however, usually incite counter-movements that question such dominant thought systems. Anthropocentrist beliefs may be omnipresent, but they have always had their opponents, and non-anthropocentrist currents have invariably attempted to move against their discriminatory opposite. Anthropocentrist dogmatism was most deeply shaken by the Copernicus revolution that decentered humans from the universe, by Darwin's theory of evolution that introduced the idea of kinship between humans and other species, and by the advent of psychoanalysis with its proposition of an unconscious "that undid the primacy of conscious processes, including the reason that comforted Man with his unique excellence" (Haraway, *Species* 11-12). Still, these

"three great historical wounds" inflicted on "the primary narcissism of the self-centered human subject" (Haraway, *Species* 11) have not been able to expunge the deeply-rooted anthropocentrist worldviews that continue to inform the acts and thoughts of many. For instance, scientific communities even today are usually disinclined to use such terminology that recognizes emotions and consciousness in animals, persisting instead in "mechanistic animal behavior" (Smith 350); although with the rise of interdisciplinary critical animal studies, the negation of animal sentience, emotions, and consciousness in the sciences is more and more questioned and criticized.

The term speciesism, an idea related to anthropocentrism, was coined by psychologist Richard Ryder in his treatise "Victims of Science," in which he criticized experimentation on animals, and became popular through Peter Singer's well-known work *Animal Liberation*. In Singer's manifesto, speciesism is defined as "a prejudice or attitude of bias toward the interests of members of one's own species and against those of members of other species" (7); it is thus understood as a form of discrimination that is likened to other types of injustice such as sexism and racism. Regarding the sometimes rather obscure correlation between speciesism and anthropocentrism, one can observe two dominant viewpoints: Weitzenfeld and Joy define anthropocentrism as a form of speciesism; although other forms are possible, anthropocentrism has proven the most pervasive and destructive one (10). On the other hand, scholars such as Tony Milligan attempt to steer the definition of speciesism, which they see as too "species-neutral," toward the idea that it is conversely "a form of anthropocentrism" so as to highlight that it is "very clearly a species-restricted fault. It is a human fault and only a human fault" (224). It thus becomes almost synonymous with anthropocentrism as it focuses on humans who posit themselves at the top of a constructed hierarchy of value, often followed by apes and other mammals, and ending with such animals as fish and insects. Although this latter definition lends itself to criticism of distorted ideas of human supremacy, in this thesis I will utilize the more traditional and "species-neutral" idea of speciesism as put forth by Weitzenfeld and Joy, as it will serve to reveal a form of speciesism in *Watership Down* that does not center on humans, namely what I will come to call leporine-centrism.

Ethologist Marc Bekoff holds that speciesism and anthropocentrism, in their conscious as well as unconscious forms, ultimately "[reinforce] the property status of non-human animals and [undermine] our collective efforts to make the world a better place for all beings" ("Speciesism" 16). They uphold dangerous and human-made dualisms, hierarchies, and boundaries between "the animal" and "the human" that disregard humanity's membership in the animal kingdom as emphasized by evolutionary theory. As a preemptive strategy to prevent anthropocentrist notions from putting down strong roots already at an early age, Bekoff stresses the significance of dismantling anthropocentrist ideologies in children's minds "by supporting programs in humane education and conservation education that stress and encourage coexistence and peaceful relationships among all beings" (25). In this regard, I argue

that children's literature with its pronounced didactic intentions is crucial in solidifying or dissolving such mindsets, and stories that actively strive toward portraying individual, agential animals and dwell on more respectful human-animal relations can become important means to combat anthropocentrist notions. Especially those narratives that represent complex animal subjectivities can challenge traditional conceptions of animals as non-subjects, an idea which the following chapter will explore more fully.

2.2 The Status of Animals and the Concept of Animal Subjectivities

Pervasive anthropocentrist worldviews have led to what is now widely referred to as the Anthropocene,[1] the current geological age marked by environmental destruction, climate change, pollution and waste, an explosion of the human population, and certainly not least, animal exploitation, extermination, and extinction. Especially the last fifty years have seen an acute alteration of animal-human relationships

> by means of farming and regimentalization at a demographic level unknown in the past, by means of genetic experimentation, the industrialization of what can be called the production for consumption of animal meat, artificial insemination on a massive scale, more and more audacious manipulations of the genome, the reduction of the animal not only to production and overactive reproduction (hormones, genetic crossbreeding, cloning, and so on) of meat for consumption but also of all sorts of other end products, and all of that in the service of a certain being and the so-called human well-being of man. (Derrida 394)

It is a violence that every human must be aware of but which is often ignored or deliberately forgotten. A technique to skirt responsibility and an excuse for continuing the systematic exploitation of animal beings is to maintain that they cannot suffer. The question of animal suffering has been an important theme that thinkers such as Aristotle, Heidegger, Descartes, and Kant have discussed for centuries (Derrida 396). At the end of the eighteenth century, philosopher Jeremy Bentham famously argued that the most crucial question regarding animal treatment is not to ask, "Can they *reason*? nor, Can they *talk*? but, Can they *suffer*?" (311; emphasis in the original). The idea that animals are not able to suffer merely because they cannot tell of their sufferings in a human language is not sustainable; and even if there were reason to doubt whether animals could feel pain, even if one possessed the ability to willfully blind oneself to all evidence that points to the fact that nonhuman animals

[1] The term also has its critics (see e.g. Jamieson's "The Anthropocene"). Alternative names for our current geological age that are geared toward "decolonizing" the overly broad concept of the Anthropocene are especially those of the Capitalocene and Plantationocene (e.g. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*), which aim to place blame where it belongs and thus raise questions of accountability. Haraway's idea of the Chthulucene further emphasizes the inextricable entanglements that make up our more-than-human world.

can and do suffer, it would seem like the only and just course of action to start from the basis that they can instead of cannot, because the implications would otherwise be unthinkable.

Just like the ability to suffer, human intelligence is often considered a central quality that elevates humankind from the rest of animality. Already in the sixteenth century, philosopher Michel de Montaigne pointedly ridiculed the human naivety of denying animals intelligence by asking: "How does he [man] know, by the force of his intelligence, the secret internal stirrings of animals? By what comparison between them and us does he infer the stupidity that he attributes to them?" (331). This crucial quote puts human-animal relations throughout history into a nutshell: humans are either granting or withholding intelligence, sentience and by extension rights from animals because of a belief in their own superior intelligence and other qualities that are seen as exclusively human. Yet these comparisons across species lines and the subsequent denial of nonhuman intelligence is problematized by scholars such as Peter Godfrey Smith; studying the complex intelligence of octopuses, he states: "When we try to compare one animal's brainpower with another's, we […] run into the fact that there is no single scale on which intelligence can be measured" (50). The best way to understand another animal's intelligence, he explains, is by observing "what they can do" (51), especially by heeding their idiosyncrasies and individualities, which, he argues, are the particular markers for intelligence.

However, even today, with the abundance of scientific facts that reveal the complex lives and individuality of animal beings, many continue to hold on to the idea that animals are valueless and without the ability to feel and think. One might wonder how such a view continues to be possible, but on the other hand, what would it say about themselves if humans acknowledged that animals are sentient, subjective beings, and about the centuries of mass murders and ill-treatment that every single day adds to and in which most humans have played and continue to play a part? It is exceedingly more comfortable and convenient to embrace ignorance, absolving oneself from guilt by adhering to the notion that humans are the only creatures on earth that matter, that have intrinsic value, that are able to feel, to think, to suffer. Fueling and upholding this mindset is to take a step back and look at the bigger picture, the widespread capitalist interest in profit maximization, which is to a great part based on the reduction of nonhuman lives to mere resources. When the accumulation of wealth and the comfort of current lifestyles are valued above the lives of our nonhuman kin and the well-being of our planet, then it cannot come as a great surprise that attitudes that perpetuate nonhumans as incapable of thought and feeling are willfully upheld or oftentimes at best tentatively questioned.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw increasing debates about animal consciousness. Mental capacities in animals as well as the possibility of their sentience challenged the Cartesian idea of animals as machines and slaves to their instincts, although the question of sentience is to an extent still debated today, for example by behaviorists and mentalists (Spencer 470). It was especially in the twen-

tieth century that exacerbation of animal exploitation went hand in hand with a gradual intensification of anti-anthropocentrist attitudes; especially the second half of the century saw different movements calling for a reconfiguration of human-animal relations, supporting the "view that animals are to be valued for what they are and not simply for what they can do for us" (Johnson 25). Richard Ryder names different reasons for this more rapid shift since the 1960s and 1970s: hippie movements with their focus on a return to nature and new ideas on compassion were influential in changing conceptions of nonhuman animals; additionally, in the wake of liberal movements against racism and sexism, heightened awareness of injustices toward human groups was also increasingly extended to animals; and furthermore, discoveries in sciences continue to generate and disseminate new ideas about animal intelligence, sentience, cultures, and languages, and "have helped to 'demystify' the human being, putting us on level with the other animals" (3-4). Especially compelling is Dekoven's argument that a renewed focus on animals and the shift of emphasis in popular culture from sensationalizing animal violence to focusing on their intelligence, resourcefulness, and meaningful relationships, is due to the realization that these animals are becoming increasingly endangered and that their habitats are in the process of being destroyed (364). The disillusionment of their own species makes many humans

> [turn] away […] in dismay at what [the human species] has wrought and [turn] toward other animals as a locus both of the other who calls us to ethics and of many of the things that, in our various modes of ethics, we value: purity of affect, unselfish altruism, absence of genocide and infrequency of random, unmotivated violence, and connection to what is for us a source of powerful spiritual experience. (367)

Kathleen Johnson sheds a somewhat less noble light on the reasons for this upsurge of anti-anthropocentrist movements, arguing that they have come into existence in such a number because "the wild animal" is no longer seen as threatening to people living in urban areas while working animals have become mostly unnecessary: "when subjugation of others is no longer viewed as necessary, it begins to lose its appeal" (25). Whatever the reasons for these new conceptions of animals, working against anthropocentrism and speciesism will remain crucial in the future. Oftentimes, one might not even be aware of one's deep-rooted and socialized anthropocentrist attitudes. By reflecting on them and recognizing that they are based on detaching, dangerous chauvinism, they may be questioned and perhaps even disappear.

In the vein of battling anthropocentrism, the concept of animal subjectivities aims to counteract harmful ideas about animal beings by focusing on their rich inner lives. *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* describes subjectivity in general as "[p]ertaining to the subject and his or her particular perspective, feelings, beliefs, and desires"; further, subjectivity "is phenomenological experience, or 'what it's like to be' a certain conscious being" (Solomon 857). It is an interdisciplinary and complex concept

that is defined differently in fields such as psychology, philosophy, and literary studies; however, the particular notion of animal subjectivity should not be confused with ideas of and discourses on human subjectivities, as its main preoccupation is to elevate animals from the status of objects or machines to that of agential subjects and to insist that animal beings have distinct and rich ways of living in and perceiving the world (Corbey and Lanjouw 6).

To understand the concept of animal subjectivities, one should examine Heidegger's and Descartes' conceptions of animals more closely, as the concept is defined in opposition and in relation to the ideas of these two thinkers who have been particularly formative for contemporary ideas about nonhuman animals (Calarco 248). Descartes, as has already been touched upon, understands animals as "automata" by conceptualizing them without soul, reason, and consciousness. He denies animals the ability to suffer, thus refusing them any moral consideration. Although his idea of animals as machines was immediately and widely contested, it is nonetheless a notion that has survived until today and has justified animal maltreatment throughout the last centuries (Allen and Trestman). Another influential figure is Martin Heidegger who conceptualizes animals primarily to define humanity. He adopts an understanding of humans and animals in which both are "[delimited by] an absolute, insuperable abyss" (Calarco 252, 248), whereby the difference between humans and nonhumans is represented as essentialist rather than as a difference of degree. In *Die Grundbegriffe der Metaphysik*, Heidegger proposes the theses that the stone is *weltlos*, the animal *weltarm*, and the human *weltbildend* (284); in this context, *welt* denotes "access to other beings," which Heidegger understands as a requirement for subjectivity (Calarco 250; Ratelle 109). While the animal as "poor in the world" does have some access to other beings, it is "impoverished" when compared to humans and their relations to others; further, the animal is limited by its "constrained, captivated behavior" and can thus never "be struck by or notice other beings as such" (Calarco 250, 251). Regarding this idea of the restricted subjectivity of animals, Amy Ratelle holds that as a corollary of Heidegger's ideas, "the bare life of animals is acknowledged in human law and philosophy, but only so that it can be explicitly excluded from a specifically human conception of subjectivity" (107). Heidegger's understanding of animals is often contested as he ignores the complexity and diversity of animal life and relationships, but his idea of reducing "animality [to function] as the definer of humanity" persists even today (Tonutti 184). In fact, it is increasingly questioned whether the category of "the human" is really a "value-neutral biological fact" or if it is not rather a "political fiction" defined stringently in opposition to the other (Weitzenfeld and Joy 8).

Jacques Derrida opposes Heidegger's notion of an exclusive human subjectivity in his influential essay "The Animal that Therefore I Am," which can be understood as the cornerstone of the concept of animal subjectivities. Derrida speaks about his experience of finding himself naked before the gaze of his cat, his shame at that moment elucidating that he feels himself in the presence of a subject rather than a passive object. Derrida is very particular that he is not generalizing, but that he is

speaking about one particular and subjective cat: "I see it as *this* irreplaceable living being" (378-79; emphasis in the original). Crucial in his essay is his differentiation between responding and reacting. Philosophers before him traditionally denied animals the ability to respond, an idea which he sees to "[bring] together *all* philosophers and all theoreticians *as such*" who write about animals (401; emphasis in the original). What is disregarded by these thinkers from the seventeenth to the end of the twentieth century is, according to Derrida, the fact that an animal "could *look* at them and [without a word] *address* them" (382; emphasis in the original). The cat's gaze that addresses Derrida thus contradicts the Cartesian notion of animals as machines that can only behave reflexively and instead reveals the cat's subjectivity. The contemplating gaze further announces that the cat is "struck by [and] notice[s]" the man standing in front of her (Calarco 251), that she is entering into a relationship with Derrida, thus repudiating Heidegger's notion that all animals are poor in the world. However, while commending Derrida's emphasis on the cat's responding gaze, Haraway criticizes that he does not imagine "an alternative form of engagement," that is, he does not discuss how to look back and shows no curiosity regarding what she calls the "intersecting gaze" (*Species* 21). To understand animals as subjects rather than objects, Haraway holds, one must return the gaze, attempt to understand and be understood, and express respect; "response-ability," the obligation to respond to our fellow earth-dwellers, is at the center of her understanding of human-animal relations, which thus moves away from Derrida's rather unilateral approach (71).

Before turning to animal subjectivities specifically in literature, one should add that in the following, the idea of the intersecting gaze out to be taken more figuratively than literally: not all animals have eyes or sight in the human sense, and one may presume that not all animals place the same emphasis on eye contact as humans do; rather, some animals might have different means of entering into relationships with others that are not based on visual cues. Therefore, to move away from a more human-centered understanding, the moment of meeting the other's gaze should be understood as the idea of entering into a relationship with another that is based on response-ability, reciprocity, and respect.

2.3 Animal Subjectivities in Children's Literature

2.3.1 Historical Overview

For thousands of years and across cultures, animals have been featured in folktales with the ability to speak human languages. Some of the earliest known animal stories are Aesopian fables in which animals mostly stand for an aspect of human behavior; it was not Aesop's intention to delve into the minds of his fictional animals to explore or imagine how they would see the world (Spencer 471). Such animal fables have, according to Margo DeMello, the potential to "[help] us to understand what it is to be human"; however, in order to understand what it is to be another animal, it

oftentimes makes sense to turn to more contemporary literary animals, which tend to be increasingly written as creatures in their own right instead of as allegorical stand-ins for human beings (1, 4). DeMello contends that this shift stems from "the human desire […] to get inside animal minds, to try to understand what they think, how they see the world, and to share, a bit, in their *umwelt*" (1). To add to this, I propose that in many cases this shift can also be ascribed to the attempt to question prominent anthropocentrist worldviews in order to find adequate responses to the age of species extinction and exploitation, or, to refer to Anna Tsing et al.'s eponymous work, to cultivate "arts of living on a damaged planet."

Catherine Elick and Jane Spencer trace the history of talking animals in children's literature from the eighteenth century onward and point out some significant changes that coincide with paradigm shifts in Western cultures' conceptions of animal beings. Stories about animals underwent a significant change in late eighteenth-century fiction with the emergence of the first novels written specifically for children. According to Spencer, children were seen as closely connected to nature and less rational than adults, which is why they were often considered to have "a special affinity with animals," an idea particularly explored during the Romantic era. It was at this time that animal stories "[shifted] from the fabular, the allegorical and the satirical to the naturalistic, the empathetic and the inwardly focused" (470). Especially the idea of empathy became important, as talking animals in eighteenth-century fiction were mostly utilized to express anti-cruelty messages and to promote children's ability to empathize. Oftentimes, however, this promoted empathy was entwined with ideas of human superiority, as young readers were encouraged to show kindness to animals as a form of responsibility toward lesser beings. Thus, the prevalent anthropocentrist belief of God-given human dominance over other species is manifest in stories such as Dorothy Kilner's *The Life and Perambulations of a Mouse* (1784) or Sarah Trimmer's *The History of the Robins* (1786), which use animal characters more as devices to teach their young readership what it is to be human rather than to represent them as agential animal subjects (Elick 7). Along with a focus on empathy, teachings about animals became an important theme in eighteenth-century texts. Novels, poems, essays, sermons, and letters had the purpose of promulgating new "observations of animals' form and habits" (Spencer 470), something that is taken up in *Watership Down* and other more contemporary animal fiction. Including naturalistic elements can, according to Spencer, promote both empathy and, especially in post-Darwinian narratives, the idea of kinship between humans and nonhuman animals (473): learning about the other may facilitate empathic responses as potential fear or misunderstanding can fall away, while these new scientific observations of animals further help to demystify animal lives and point to similarities between humans and nonhumans.

The early nineteenth century was pervaded by an abundance of animal testimonies and autobiographies, culminating in Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1877). Especially the founding of the first English animal welfare organization in 1824, the So-

ciety for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, saw a rapid upsurge of animal narratives mostly written from the first-person perspective whose animal protagonists tended to speak of their suffering caused by humans. Although these stories could appeal to the reader's compassion, Elick argues that "as literary characters most nineteenth-century talking animals remain *objects* of human cruelty or kindness rather than fully fledged *subjects* in charge of their own destinies" (8; emphasis in the original). Further, nineteenth-century animal fiction mostly did not aspire to imagine the distinct otherness of animal minds. As Craig Smith points out, Sewell's "protagonist's experiences could only have befallen a horse, but his voice and emotions are recognizably human" (348). While animal subjectivities were thus not yet fully explored, these first-person narratives could have important effects on human conceptions of animal beings and on animal rights, as the example of *Black Beauty* shows perhaps most directly in the subsequent banning of the bearing rein (Hansen 209). These autobiographical narratives thus paved a way for the exploration of animal subjectivities that were to follow in their wake.

It was only in the twentieth century with the emergence of radical animal rights societies and Singer's *Animal Liberation* that there came a shift "from viewing animals as property to viewing them as bearers of their own rights" (Elick 8). In animal fiction, this translated into the desire to give animals a voice and agency, to elevate them to subjects "whose worth and welfare are not entirely dependent upon humans and whose power relations with people are more productively unstable than hierarchical" (Elick 1). Literary representations of animals tended to be more naturalistic while anthropomorphism was increasingly denounced, partly because of its relation to sentimentality (DeMello 366). Spencer argues that sentimentality in animal fiction was especially challenged in the mid-twentieth century because many of these stories were seen as wallowing in "self-indulgent emotionalism" (476) that sometimes even aimed toward perpetuating human superiority; although one should add that the pejorative view of sentimentality can, according to Dekoven, be a product of "instrumental rationality" that equates sentimentality to "weakness," "inferiority," and "emotionalism," and that its denunciation "[forbids] empathy for other animals" (366). While anthropomorphizing techniques and representations of literary animals were and are still used, the focus in the twentieth century shifted more and more toward representing animals as actual animals (DeMello 4). Today, there is a trend in animal fiction to explore the complexity of animal lives, "showing them capable of unbalancing human hierarchies and enjoying equitable relationships with people" that may enable readers to discard ideas about animals as serving humanity and instead to adopt less discriminatory conceptions of nonhumans and human-animal relationships (Elick 6).

2.3.2 (Anti-) Anthropocentrist Themes and Conventions

Kathleen Johnson argues that our understandings of animals are human constructions that are created and dispersed through their inclusion in cultural products (12, 17). She claims that anthropocentrist ideology is traditionally reinforced in animal

stories, for instance through an "us" versus "them" dichotomy and such themes as the taming of animals and the foregrounding of pet-master relationships that are often represented as "the only or most valuable way to relate to animals" (56). Simultaneously, however, anthropocentrist ideology is oftentimes reversed, especially in narratives that are told from an animal's perspective. A single story can simultaneously reject and perpetuate anthropocentrism, as ambivalence and contradictions are likewise prevalent in our diverse relationships with animals (17).

Arbuthnot and Sutherland group animal stories into three different categories: animals that behave like humans, animals as animals but with the ability to talk, and animals as "real" animals (392). While the first category can reveal much about humanity, the last two groups have the potential to portray animals in a more "credible" manner and to focus on representations of animal subjectivities. Regarding the choice of protagonists, Johnson shows that companion animals feature predominantly in children's literature, that wild animals are a close second, but that domesticated animals are only very rarely given a voice and are mostly represented as dumb, mindless creatures, which reinforces their status as disposable objects. Further, animal protagonists tend to be mammals; a reason for this may be that it encourages identification, as mammals might not seem as alien to humans as, for example, fish or reptile protagonists (40-41).

In "Talking Animals in Children's Fiction," Elick names some themes that are shared by a majority of children's fiction featuring talking animals. An important theme is that of animal agency: in more contemporary children's stories, animals often attain subject status, sometimes even gaining "temporary authority over humans" (21). Struggles for power between animals and humans have the potential to undermine rigid boundaries and clear-cut categories as they indicate that "the species hierarchy is not as unassailable as it seems" (21). Literacy in animals, for instance, can become such a subversive tool regarding animal-human relations, as in O'Brien's *Mrs. Frisby and the Rats of NIMH*, in which the rats' acquired literacy sets them above humans (20). Elick further discusses the bond between children and animals as a recurring theme: both groups with arguably little power often "achieve authority" (18), for instance in E. B. White's *Charlotte's Web*. She also mentions an emphasis on rodents in children's fiction, perhaps, as Margaret Blount proposes, because "it is easier to imagine [mice as] members of their own hidden social systems and to think that when out of sight they might be a part of a miniature mirror world" (152), which, of course, can also be said about rabbits in *Watership Down*. Further, animal artistry is another prominent theme, as, for example, web weaving in *Charlotte's Web,* poetry in Kenneth Graham's *The Wind in the Willows*, or singing in George Selden's *The Cricket in Times Square*. Elick argues that this theme emphasizes "animal agency and empowerment" (20) and one can argue that it might foster admiration and respect in human readers. The role of art in *Watership Down*, however, is an ambiguous one, as it is often seen as evidence of rabbits transgressing species boundaries, which is consequently framed as unnatural.

The perhaps most contested theme is the practice of letting animal characters speak in a human language, which the remainder of this chapter will discuss. One might argue that human language is a vehicle for human identity, consciousness, and subjectivity; it follows that in putting animal experiences into human words, portrayals of animal characters are susceptible to misrepresentation as they are distorted by underlying human perspectives, perceptions, and frames of value; even translations of other human cultures tend to be somewhat subjective and can create power relations (DeMello 5). There is thus a danger of misrepresenting animals when putting human words into their mouths. What, however, would be the alternative? Derrida argues that

> in forbidding myself thus to assign, interpret, or project, must I conversely give in to the other violence or stupidity, […] that which would consist in suspending one's compassion and in depriving the animal of every power of manifestation, of the desire to manifest to *me* anything at all […]? (387; emphasis in the original)

Humans have always been intrigued to know what nonhuman animals think or would say if they had command over a human language. By negating this urge to imagine and interpret, Derrida argues that one dismisses the animal being's ability to respond and to address, which, as a corollary, checks all compassion toward animals. It is the capacity of human language, therefore, to represent their inner worlds to us in terms that we understand, and that can thus engender empathy and curiosity.

Yet giving literary animals a human voice is often rejected on the grounds of anthropomorphic fallacy, as the divide between humans and nonhumans is frequently based on the animal's apparent lack of language. Aristotle, for instance, saw the ability to speak and rationalize as the main elements that separate and elevate the human from animality (DeMello 5). The assumption, however, that animals have no language just because it is not like human languages is not feasible. An abundance of scientific discoveries, not to mention personal experience with animals, clearly show that communication and complex languages are by no means restricted to the human species. Already five hundred years ago, Montaigne criticized the way humans withhold the idea of speech from animals by asking,

> [F]or what is but speech, this faculty we see in them of complaining, rejoicing, calling to each other for help, inviting each other to love, as they do by the use of their voice? How could they not speak to one another? (335)

In this sense, one could even go so far as to argue that in many cases, the charge of anthropomorphism, seeing aspects like language as exclusively human, can be an act of anthropocentrism. This idea is shared by Dekoven who, to an extent, defends anthropomorphism by stating that it is sometimes used as a charge against those who dare ascribe qualities such as language, culture, intelligence, and emotions to animals (366); primatologist Frans de Waal terms this "anthropodenial," the rejection to recognize traits in animals if they are also shared by humankind (258). In

general, these different and contesting ideas about animal language can be traced back to one's definition of "language"; it can be understood as more inclusive, a way of communication via distinct, complex signs that is probably central in the lives of all animals, or as exclusive, defining it specifically so as to delimit humans from animals in a typical attempt to define humanity by that which other animals do not possess.

Further, by representing animal speech in literature through human language, animals are given subject status, as it is, according to Elick, a strategy to give animal characters a way toward self-definition: "When authors include animal utterances competing with human ones," she argues, "a novel's world becomes more equalitarian, its sense of truth more dialogic" (6, 19). This technique of representing animals as subjects, however, is complicated by the English language. As Julia Corbett points out in *Out of the Woods*, English, in contrast to some other languages, perpetuates an anthropocentrist worldview as it "shapes and disconnects us and reinforces a hierarchy of humans over nature" (123). She mentions especially the subject-object basis of the English language that robs nonhumans of animacy by seeing everything apart from humans as objects, for example, through the usage of "it" and "which" when referring to anything that is not human (129). In a refreshing attempt to demonstrate how language can influence our sense of nonhuman animacy, she writes: "the flowers who smelled so sweet, the wind who was so alive, the trees who gave me this book" (130). In the following, I, too, will attempt to make aware of and challenge such discriminatory structures that permeate the English language by utilizing designations that indicate the subject status of animals.

2.3.3 Rabbits in Children's Literature

While I have so far dwelt on literary animals in general, this section will focus specifically on rabbit characters. Talking rabbits in animal fiction are no rarity: especially Beatrix Potter's canonical *Peter Rabbit* books come to mind while further well-known stories centering on rabbits are, for instance, Margery Williams's *The Velveteen Rabbit*, Robert Lawson's *Rabbit Hill,* and Margaret Wise Brown's *Goodnight Moon* trilogy. Most of these stories overtly anthropomorphize their rabbit characters by letting them walk on their hind legs and wear human clothes, and they are generally depicted as cuddly, toy-like creatures. In contrast, in an introduction to a revised edition of Lockley's *The Private Life of the Rabbit,* Richard Adams wrote: "Far from being childishly cute, [wild rabbits] possess […] by nature great courage and resourcefulness" (qtd. in Meyer, "Myth" 142). His stance can be clearly traced in *Watership Down*, which represents rabbits less as "childishly cute" animals but rather as wild, fighting creatures struggling for their survival. Adams might thus have chosen rabbits as his protagonists in order to work against conventional, stereotypical rabbit representations in children's literature. In addition, as rabbits are ubiquitous in England, their lives intersecting with those of humans, rabbit protagonists have the potential to meet human characters frequently, thus revealing complex relationships between both species. In this regard, the common conception of rabbits as both pests and

pets lends itself not only to plot building, but also to explorations of the contrasting and illogical notions humans sometimes harbor of one and the same animal species.

Edgar L. Chapman, who sees Adams' rabbits as mere allegories for humans, holds that they are chosen as protagonists because rabbits, similar to "enlightened" humans,

> are a non-aggressive species who rise to heroism only on special occasions. […] Since enlightened moderns (for the most part) tend to distrust warriors and warrior cultures (justifiably I would say), we might be more uneasy about the heroism of a society of wolves. (7)

He likens the choice of rabbits to that of the hobbits in *The Lord of the Rings*, as it engenders identification with and compassion for the underdog. However, Chapman's claims are contentious in multiple ways: I will attempt to show in this thesis that, while the rabbits in *Watership Down* are definitely used to reveal something about human affairs, it would be too simplistic to reduce them to the role of allegorical stand-ins for humans; the careful and detailed representations of rabbit subjectivities clearly emphasize that the rabbits are first and foremost rabbits in their own right instead of humans dressed up in fur. Of course, Chapman's binary opposition between enlightened and warrior cultures is more than problematic, a contrast that is also employed in *Watership Down* and to which I will dedicate the chapter "'Primitive' and 'Civilized' Humans."

Considering its breaks with conventions of classical rabbit stories, the question arises whether one can consider *Watership Down* a children's novel. It developed out of bedtime stories for Adams' two daughters (Adams, "Interview") but its exploration of themes such as death, violence, and totalitarianism may indicate that the novel is not predominantly aimed at younger audiences. In fact, it seems as if Adams were bent upon elevating his novel from the confines of "mere" children's to "serious" literature, the most obvious example being the epigraphs that introduce every new chapter. Adams mostly chose distinctly highbrow and canonical texts for these epigraphs, such as Aeschylus' *Agamemnon,* Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Yeats's "A Woman Young and Old," Lorenzo da Ponte's *Cosi fan Tutte*, and W. H. Auden's "The Witnesses." By including epigraphs in multiple languages by ancient Greek dramatists, philosophers, and well-known British as well as international writers, Adams portrays himself as erudite and arguably aims to place his novel on the same level as these texts. Additionally, aspects such as the considerable length of the novel and the lack of pictures and drawings that are, for instance, so crucial in *Peter Rabbit* depart from the above-mentioned rabbit stories for children; and yet, *Watership Down* is consistently classified as a children's book. I argue that this is due mainly to its inclusion of animal protagonists. Animal stories are usually categorized as less serious literature, reflecting poorly on our culture's view of animals as something to amuse children with, but not as serious or important enough for much of

adult literature. This is reminiscent of the reception of Virginia Woolf's novel *Flush*, which narrates the life of a dog and about whose little scholarly attention

> there persists a faint odor of professional embarrassment. […] It is as if, in writing about a dog, Woolf were doing something not merely atypical but unworthy of a great writer. (Smith 359)

3 Animal Subjectivities in *Watership Down*

3.1 Representations of Rabbit Behavior and Appearance

The following chapters will constitute a close reading of *Watership Down* with a focus on the rabbits from Hazel's warren. This first part will examine how the narrator describes animals "from the outside," so as yet without delving into their minds, while the second part focuses on the inner lives of rabbits as based on both the authority of naturalist Lockley as well as on Adams' imagination – a combination that can be found in animal fiction since the advent of children's literature. I will repeatedly emphasize that it is the combination of sameness and otherness that makes these rabbit representations work: rabbits are depicted as similar and yet different from humans, which evokes a sense of identification while it simultaneously acknowledges the otherness of rabbit lives. However, representing animals can be a double-edged sword: Armbruster argues that if they are depicted as too similar to humans, they are bound to be criticized for anthropomorphism; if too different, they are in danger of alienating too much, which has been used as an argument for animal destruction (25). As a way out of this difficulty, Armbruster names a focus on accuracy in the representation of animals and the inclusion of contemporary research as a basis for fictional accounts of the animal's inner worlds (23). The best animal representations for her are those that

> remind the reader of the real animals that hover outside the human-created text, both inviting the reader to identify with the nonhuman animal as a fellow living being and reminding him or her of the inevitable differences between humans and other species. (24)

I will show that *Watership Down* attempts to walk this fine line: by basing representations of literary rabbits on the then-contemporary research of Lockley's *The Private Life of the Rabbit,* which, according to the book's foreword, gave "naturalists an entirely new picture of the rabbit's way of life" (Willock), *Watership Down* is able to portray rabbits both in terms of kinship and otherness in relation to their human readership.

3.1.1 Lockley's The Private Life of the Rabbit

Some animal narratives draw on scientific texts in order to teach about animals and are thus part of the genre of "scientifically oriented" stories (Bernaerts et al. 82-83).

Already before the story itself begins, *Watership Down* reveals itself to be such a scientifically guided text: in his acknowledgments, Adams voices his gratitude to Ronald M. Lockley and his book *The Private Life of the Rabbit*, published in 1964, which Adams used to learn about "rabbits and their ways." He states that

> [a]nyone who wishes to know more about the migrations of yearlings, about pressing chin glands, chewing pellets, the effects of over-crowding in warrens, the phenomenon of reabsorption of fertilized embryos, the capacity of buck rabbits to fight stoats, or any other features of Lapine life, should refer to that definitive work. [s.p.]

Lockley is mentioned and quoted a few times in the novel itself, as for instance when the narrator remarks that "[r]abbits (says Mr Lockley) are like human beings in many ways" (159), an idea that correlates with Lockley's repeated assertion throughout his book that "humans are so rabbit" (24). Lockley's influence on *Watership Down* can, in fact, be traced throughout the entire novel, as the narrative is pervaded by information and facts regarding rabbit life that aim to create a foundation of realistic behavior and habits on which the exploration of the inner lives of rabbits can rest without seeming too far-fetched.

Before examining Adams' inclusion of rabbit facts, one should first turn to Lockley's book itself. In a 1973 edition, the foreword written by wildlife documentary writer Colin Willock constitutes a perfect example of a thoroughly anthropocentrist standpoint, as he states that the "reasonable claims for people, their need for food, water, industry, housing, must, in most cases, take priority over the claims of wildlife." Just exactly why human needs are put over those of nonhuman animals is not discussed further, and when he finally speaks of the need to protect wildlife, he does not do this out of recognition of the animals' right to live, but because "people are beginning to realise that they need wildlife as much as they need many other amenities for their own pleasure and delight." Wildlife is reduced to a mere amenity and the worth of animals is based on their ability to give "pleasure" and to "delight" the human species. While the foreword already shows clear anthropocentrist ideas, Lockley himself can by no means be called an animal rights activist. In fact, he dedicates the first chapter of his book to describing how he sporadically tried to wipe out the entire rabbit population on his newly leased island in Wales, killing about 20,000 rabbits to make way for another breed that he intended to keep for its fur. Over the span of a few years, Lockley used steel traps and snares for this purpose and tried to introduce artificial myxomatosis on his island to learn more about this rabbit sickness, although this experiment failed. Following this, he allowed the Universities Federation of Animal Welfare to use calcium cyanide dust on the rabbits as a "demonstration of human rabbit control" (18), which killed about 10,000 rabbits. In his last attempt to exterminate the remaining rabbits, he used gas, something that Adams takes up in his novel. However, despite Lockley's best efforts, the rabbit population would not be eradicated, and only a few years later the island was again

populated by a large number of wild rabbits. Lockley thus gave up on trying to exterminate them and instead chose to observe their behavior over the course of five years, as a result of which he wrote *The Private Life*.

Despite his desire to kill them, Lockley professes an interest to know what goes on in rabbit minds, stating that although much is known about the anatomy of rabbits, their minds are still mostly a mystery to humans. He sees them as creatures with reason, "not just automatons," thus openly positioning himself against the Cartesian view of animals (28, 22). Just as Adams' rabbits might also be seen as metaphors for humanity, as will be discussed in a later chapter, so does Lockley employ human-rabbit parallels throughout his book by highlighting similarities between both species. Especially salient is the twist of anthropocentrist language which the last sentences of the book display: "Rabbits are so human. Or is it the other way around – humans are so rabbit?" (164). Lockley states that the difference between humans and rabbits "is rather in degree than in kind" (27) and goes on to describe the similarities between organs, nerves, and senses of rabbits and humans, stating that rabbits' perception of the world is probably "[n]ot as near as Beatrix Potter's caricatures would suggest, but perhaps nearer than the skeptics suppose" (22-23). Lockley's writing, then, is pervaded paradoxically by both the idea that rabbits' lives are far less valuable than human ones and simultaneously by the insistence that rabbits have thoughts and feelings and complex social lives, not unlike humans. He recognizes rabbits as sentient beings and yet has no inhibitions about killing them; which, one might argue, is even worse than if he exterminated rabbits while believing them to be non-sentient. One might call his attitude a soft form of anthropocentrism in which rabbits and humans are not divided by an insurmountable divide, but are on a continuum "which hierarchically ranks humans and animal others along a scale by the degree to which they are 'human,' with some human capacity – usually reason – privileged as the most essential and valuable" (Weitzenfeld and Joy 5).

Throughout his book, Lockley consistently anthropomorphizes the rabbits he observed, for instance referring to rabbit kittens as "children" (104) and to the doe as a "woman" (102). A continuous analogy he makes use of is calling the dominant buck the "king" (77), his doe a "queen" (48), the area he dominates a "royal palace" (54), and the other rabbits "subordinate subjects" (51). When speaking thus of kings and queens and rivals who "usurped [the king's] throne" (51), the book at times reads like a medieval account of the rise and fall of a kingdom, which might be an attempt to make it more accessible to wider audiences. Further, Lockley consistently uses the concept of marriage to make sense of rabbit relationships: two rabbits are "happily 'married'" (42), the doe is a "wife" (47), and the buck "[behaves] like a loyal, courteous husband" (46). In this regard, Lockley introduces the idea of male dominance over does: the buck "easily 'dominated' his two females, […] [he] possessed the two does" (99). Lockley then goes on to project his ideas of rabbit behavior on human women as well: he observes two does "who, like the majority of women the

world over, loved, lived and stayed at home" (76); further, he claims that the rabbit Bertha

> exhibited the conservatism and love of established home which proved characteristic […] of the mature female rabbit, as it is of many other animals, including man, where woman makes the home and usually does not wish to leave it unless compelled by necessity. (55)

In his discussion of does, Lockley evokes the outdated model of separate spheres which focuses on gendered difference and sees woman's place in domesticity. It is one thing to narrate one's observations regarding the behavior of does, but another, of course, to interpret it along sexist worldviews and to project it on the entirety of womankind, especially as a political means to highlight and even attempt to naturalize one's opinion of the place of women in human societies. This can be seen as an appeal to nature, as Lockley argues that, because some wild rabbits display this kind of gendered behavior, it must be natural for humans as well. Lastly, although Lockley anthropomorphizes consistently and with abundance, it is only when he portrays rabbits with feelings that he concedes that some may fault him with this fallacy, voicing his worry that "no doubt we shall be accused of anthropomorphism if we insist that rabbits can feel lonely" (54). The idea that rabbits have emotions such as loneliness seems to him more alien and far-fetched than that their lives are governed by ideas of conservative gender roles, marriage, and forms of patriarchy. All of this shows that on the one hand, Lockley recognizes the animality of humans by putting them on a continuum with other animals, thus rejecting one outdated idea, namely the notion of the Cartesian divide; while simultaneously reinforcing another, that of conservative gender roles. As later chapters will show, this is an ambiguity that is emulated in *Watership Down.*

3.1.2 The Human Narrator and Teachings on Rabbits

Already *Watership Down*'s acknowledgments, in which Adams refers the reader to *The Private Life*, shows that the novel aims to arouse the reader's interest and curiosity regarding rabbit lives. In the following, I will examine how Adams makes use of the scientific information he derived from Lockley's book. A narrative technique that is used throughout the novel is to foreground the extradiegetic human narrator who often overtly intervenes to address his human readership. The humanness of the omniscient narrator can be identified in various instances: for example, the narrator mentions the locations featured in the novel by their human names, such as Newton Common (48), Hampshire (187), and the eponymous hill Watership Down, which the rabbits simply call the hill. The narrator's identification with humankind is especially evident in passages that use such words as "us" in contrast to animal others: "The wise Mr Lockley has told us that wild rabbits live for two or three years. He knows everything about rabbits" (470); a quote that not only emphasizes Lockley's influence but also highlights both the reader and the narrator's membership in the human species.

The narrator is framed as an authority on rabbits who consistently aims to teach about rabbit lives. To name just a few instances, he informs the reader that "[r]abbits avoid close woodland, where the ground is shady, damp and grassless and they feel menaced by the undergrowth" (22); that "[l]ike all wild animals, rabbits can swim if they have to" (31), or that "[r]abbits are lively at nightfall" (89). Regarding rabbit bodies, the narrator inserts in parentheses that "a rabbit's foot has no pads" (43), and when speaking of differing behavior in does and bucks respectively, he asserts that "[b]ucks do not usually dig much […]. Real digging is done for the most part by does preparing for litters" (127). The narrator further corrects wrong assumptions about rabbits: "Some people have the idea that rabbits spend a good deal of their time running away from foxes […]. But many rabbits go all their lives without seeing a fox" (280). Finally, on rabbit movements, he explains that

> [m]any rabbits spend all their lives in the same place and never run more than a hundred yards at a stretch […]. They have two natural gaits – the gentle, lolloping, forward movement […] and the lightning dash for cover that every human has seen some time or other. (24)

This quote again emphasizes that the human narrator is speaking to a human audience by relying on the readers' experiences and observations of rabbits.

While the narrator teaches predominantly about rabbits, other animals are also touched upon; for instance: "A fox trying to catch a rabbit usually creeps upwind under cover […]. It is said that sometimes he fascinates them, as the weasel does, by rolling and playing in the open, coming closer little by little until he can make a grab" (280) – this fact, like so many others, Adams derived from Lockley who describes this behavior in *The Private Life* (159). Regarding a burying beetle, the narrator explains that "these beetles come to dead bodies […]. They will dig away the earth from under the bodies […]. and then lay their eggs on them before covering them with soil" (44). Further, concerning black-headed gulls, the narrator informs that they "are gregarious. They live in colonies […]. They move southwards in the breeding season" (183). All of this shows that Adams took care to ground the behavior of the literary characters in naturalistic facts, thus infusing the fictional plot with a note of factual objectiveness, as if an ethologist were repeatedly stepping into the story-world to instill knowledge not only about rabbits but also about other animal species that feature in the rabbits' worlds. The didactic purpose of the narrator thus aims to create a framework of authority and reliability that is geared toward making his accounts of rabbit subjectivities all the more tenable.

While mediating animal facts, the narrator, similar to Lockley, sometimes uses human parallels to explain the behavior and being-in-the-world of animals in terms that humans can more easily understand:

> A man walks upright. For him it is strenuous to climb a steep hill, because he has to keep pushing his own vertical mass upwards. […]. The rabbit is better off. His forelegs support his horizontal body and the great back legs do the work. […] Rabbits can go fast uphill. In fact,

> they have so much power behind that they find going downhill awkward, and sometimes, in flight down a steep place, they may actually go head over heels. (123)

With the help of this juxtaposition, which tries to evoke a sense of the differing physiology of both species, the reader can more readily imagine what it would be like to inhabit the body of a rabbit. The narrator then goes on to directly address the human reader: "The rabbits' anxieties and strain in climbing the down were different, therefore, from those which you, reader, will experience if you go there" (123). This sentence makes it absolutely clear that the narrator and the readership are outside of rabbit experientiality but that it is the narrator's aim to make accessible the worlds of the other, to arouse curiosity, and to stimulate the reader's imagination. The direct address in this quote contributes to this by including the readership in the storyworld, thus for a moment breaking the fourth wall which might have inhibited the reader from stepping into the world of the rabbits.

Yet the reader's submersion into rabbit lives is complicated by the overt humanness of the narrator. Although the rabbit focalizers "other" the narrative, the intervention of a human voice minimizes the effect of defamiliarization – an animal narrator would perhaps be able to immerse the reader more thoroughly in a nonhuman world. The interposition of the human narrator reminds the readers of their humanness, which creates a gulf between them and the animal worlds, yet in the next moment, they are pulled back into these worlds via the animal focalizer; it is a constant stepping in and submerging oneself, identification, and being pulled out again, alienation. In a way, one could argue that the overtly human narrator thus prevents readers from delving into the minds and bodies of literary animals and inhibits them from intensely experiencing the worlds of the animal characters. On the other hand, the human narrator is able to arouse the reader's curiosity as he can teach about rabbit lives, which enables a deeper understanding of rabbits and might invite a more curious and interested gaze in the Derridean sense. Curiosity is what Haraway calls a key component in meeting the other's gaze, wanting to know "more at the end of the day than at the beginning" (*Species* 22, 36). Thus, the teaching narrator makes possible what Haraway calls the intersecting gaze by creating the desire and curiosity to meet the animal's gaze in the first place.

The detailed descriptions of the behavior, physical appearance, and overall facts about the lives of different animals stated in an authoritative manner correlate with Armbruster's assertion that credible animal representations should "remind the reader of the real animals that hover outside the human-created text" (24). Learning scientific facts about rabbits is a first step toward understanding the other, as they emphasize the highly complex lives of rabbits, introducing them to the reader in a way that may seem familiar and yet different: the teachings emphasize that rabbits have their own, distinct rabbit ways, accentuating their otherness, while kinship is simultaneously stressed by revealing that in many cases their lives share similarities with human ones. The creation of a storyworld aimed at believability is not only manifest in these teachings about nonhuman animals, however; Adams' focus on

accuracy in his novel can also be identified in his choice of setting. In a section at the beginning of the novel called "Notes," he writes that "Nuthanger Farm is a real place, like all other places in the book," and the settings are often described in detail with a particular focus on the local flora. Further, a detailed map of the part of Hampshire through which the rabbits travel is included for the reader's orientation.

3.2 Imagining the Inner Lives of Rabbits

As has been shown, the descriptions of rabbit lives via a human narrator reveal Adams' reliance on scientific observations for creating frameworks of credibility. However, regarding the inner lives of animals, even natural sciences, which are so often framed as dominating the production of truth and knowledge, have not sufficiently been able to establish how animals experience their worlds. In his influential essay "What Is It Like to Be a Bat," philosopher Thomas Nagel famously pointed out that there can be no way of knowing the subjective experience of another. It is impossible to ever understand with certainty how animals of other species experience their lives; we might come close to knowing, perhaps, in ephemeral moments of empathy or in instances of transcending imagination. Yet at the same time, we can never know what it is like to be another member of our own species, either – although we might be able to take a more sophisticated guess, as we share the same senses and similar bodies. Yet with regard to literature, as Bernaerts et al. argue, this unknowability "is quite unproblematic, since the significance of literary practices lies elsewhere": instead of "producing new scientific knowledge" (76), these animal representations can be seen as taking off where science ends: from the imagination, crossing the apparently unbridgeable divide between human and animal, self and other, and delving into the body and world of another.

Especially forms of writing such as fiction and poetry have the advantage of going beyond conventional boundaries as they possess the potential of "thinking with animals," which Daston and Mitman define as the "yearning to transcend the confines of self and species, to understand from the inside" (7). But also other methods have been undertaken to attempt to enter the minds of animal beings: from writer Charles Foster describing his experiences of digging a burrow and eating earthworms to try to live like the badger, to ethologists like Barbara Smuts who learned the social conventions of baboons and the way they think, feel, and live by spending two years almost entirely in their midst. There is no indication that Adams also relied on first-hand observations of rabbits or that he established a personal relationship with members of the species he so intimately tried to depict. Rather, he derived his information from second-hand accounts mediated by another human being. Although Lockley's representations of rabbits are certainly detailed, these rabbits were already "translated" once and are mostly described "from above" as well as imbued with personal ideologies. In addition, as has been shown, his book reveals strong anthropocentrist mindsets, especially in his emphasis on how he relentlessly attempted to exterminate rabbits for his own gain. Although *Watership Down* relies

heavily on Lockley's information, it simultaneously criticizes such practices like gassing, snaring, or infecting rabbits with myxomatosis which Lockley espouses, and instead imagines what it would be like to be a rabbit in such a situation, thus attempting to think with animals rather than about them. Further, one might argue that while Adams perhaps did not interact with animal communities as Lockley or Smuts did, this lack of in-depth knowledge leaves room for imagination, a potential he makes the most of in his endeavors to delve into the worlds and minds of rabbits.

Instead of as mere automata or with only little access to *welt*, the rabbits in *Watership Down* display rich subjectivities that enable them to have sentience, phenomenological experience, and to form their own ideas about the world. Notably, in *Watership Down* it is not one rabbit that is elevated from her or his species or that is portrayed as exceptional as in some other children's stories; in *Charlotte's Web*, for instance, one pig attains exceptionalism and the plot follows the attempt to prevent the farmer from killing him – in all probability in expense for another unnamed farmyard animal that must be killed in his stead. In *Watership Down*, it is another matter: all rabbits are made exceptional, all are given subjectivity, unique characteristics, and individuality.[2] The rabbits are distinct subjects while simultaneously experiencing life, as Barbara Smuts terms it, as "selves-in-community" (299), which is made especially clear through Adams' description of wild rabbits as "creatures who think of themselves primarily as part of a group and only secondary, if at all, as individuals" (16). Their relatedness, which is emphasized throughout the novel, correlates with Haraway's statement that "[t]o be one is always to *become with* many" (*Species* 4; emphasis in the original), an idea that the close-knit warren life of the rabbits is able to illustrate in a very concrete way.

The belief in human exceptionalism is based on the idea that human beings can boast of features and qualities that are unique to their species, such as reason, language, and cultures. In the following chapters, I will examine how *Watership Down* goes against this dogmatism by portraying rabbits as possessing many of these apparently human traits but also by emphasizing that their being-in-the-world is different from that of humans – rabbits are, after all, more than human beings clad in fur. Collective rabbit subjectivities in *Watership Down* are revealed through their distinct ways of sensing the world, leporine worldviews and knowledge, their rabbit language, complex social structures, and cultural practices. All of these aspects aim to create representations of rabbits that reject reductive Cartesian and Heideggerian conceptions of animals and instead represent them as subjects in their own right.

[2] One should say, all *male* rabbits; does, as will be discussed in the chapter "Society," are granted very little agency or subjectivity throughout the novel.

3.2.1 Sensing the World: Smell, Sound, and Sight

Fiction that aims to convey nonhuman subjectivities often focuses on differences between how humans and animals sense the world. Virginia Woolf's *Flush* is an illustrative and well-known example, as the canine protagonist Flush's perceptions are contrasted with those of humans:

> The greatest poets in the world have smelt nothing in the world but roses on the one hand, and dung on the other. The infinite gradations that lie between are unrecorded. Yet it was in the world of smell that Flush mostly lived […]. To describe his simplest experience with a chop or biscuit is beyond our power. (86)

In this anti-anthropocentrist passage, *Flush*'s narrator recognizes the impossibility of a human writer to convey or even fully grasp the experientiality of other animals. This passage thus decenters the human, granting animals subjectivity that goes beyond what human beings can understand. The focus on the rabbits' different perception of the world is also a consistent and important way in which Adams creates distinct rabbit subjectivities in *Watership Down*. He seems to comply with Lockley's claim that "[t]o know the mind of an animal, one needs at least some knowledge of the physiology of the senses of the living creature" (22). Having read *The Private Life*, Adams must have known that rabbit anatomy especially favors smell and hearing (Lockley 24, 27); throughout the novel, therefore, the rabbits' navigation through the world occurs on an olfactory, an auditory and sometimes more secondarily on a visual level. As the rabbit Blackberry remarks, they are safe as long as they "can smell and see and hear" (129).

Smells are depicted as essential in the rabbits' day-to-day survival. Especially regarding predators, this sense is key as it is directly connected to instincts. The smell of an enemy results in an immediate impulse to act accordingly by running, hiding, or staying still: "There was no smell of ferret or weasel. No instinct told him to run" (8), although later, "a terrible miasma of dog-smell […] gripped him with fear and called 'Run! Run!' down every nerve" (432). But it is not only threatening smells that hold information for the rabbits' survival: at one point, Hazel notices "a strong, fresh, sweet fragrance […]. It was healthy enough. There was no harm in it" (39). It turns out to be a beanfield, and Hazel can immediately tell by its scent alone that these unfamiliar plants are not edible (40). The rabbits' olfactory navigation through the world further comes to their aid as it helps them avoid sickness, for example, when they can smell if there has been death or disease in an abandoned rabbit warren (126). Further, scents help them to tell the time while being underground: "some time after sunrise, by the smell of it. The scent of apple blossom was plain enough" (80). It is especially at night that they rely heavily on this particular sense: in the unfamiliar surroundings of a dark forest, it tells the rabbits of an "extraordinary, rank animal smell" that turns out to be a predator (25). They can even tell where the other has been by using their noses alone: "your feet smell of farmyard – hens' droppings and bran" (204).

Hearing seems to be of equal importance for rabbit survival and navigation through the world, and specific sounds and the meaning that they convey to Hazel's rabbits can affect their mood and well-being. In the darkness of an unfamiliar wood,

> the breeze brought distant night-sounds across the open common. A cock crowed. A dog ran barking and a man shouted at it. A little owl called "Kee-wik, kee-wik" and something – a vole or a shrew – gave a sudden squeal. There was not a noise but seemed to tell of danger. (48-9)

After this anxious night in the woods, an unexpected sound cheers Hazel up:

> At this moment, […] he suddenly realized that something had lightened his spirits. What could it be? A smell? A sound? Then he knew. Near-by, across the river, a lark had begun to twitter and climb. It was morning. (31)

The song of the lark as well as the subsequent calls of a blackbird and a wood pigeon hold information and meaning that influence Hazel even before he becomes consciously aware of them. Further, rabbit hearing is generally depicted as more sensitive than that of the human reader. From rather far away, they can identify the number of rabbits that are approaching: "I can hear only two rabbits […]. And one of them sounds exhausted" (221), and Adams sometimes uses human parallels to convey differences in human-rabbit hearing; regarding the cries of bats, the narrator states that "[a] human ear would hardly have heard them, but to the rabbits the air was full of their calls" (288). To a human readership, the representation of leporine smelling and hearing in comparison to their weaker human senses might seem like an impressive ability that alters the very fabric of one's experience in the world. The emphasis that is laid on these two senses helps to establish the distinctness of rabbit lives and encourages readers not only to imagine how different senses entail a different being-in-the-world but also to feel awe and respect in the face of such capabilities.

While the senses of smell and hearing are especially dwelt on throughout the novel, the importance of vision is less emphasized, thus moving away from the prevalent ocularcentrism of many human cultures that privilege sight over other senses. Especially because the rabbits spend so much of their time underground in the dark, "touch, smell and hearing convey as much or more to them as sight" (71). Rabbit vision is mostly mentioned to stress their different height perspectives, as objects that would seem small to humans are described as looming above the rabbits. For instance, when they find themselves in an unfamiliar area full of "peat, gorse and silver birch," the rabbits feel anxious and frightened: "They hesitated among the thick heather, unable to see more than a few feet ahead" (48). The scene goes on to explain how the ground looks to them in detail, as it is almost all that the rabbits can see in the heather: "The ground was broken by rifts and pits of naked, black peat, where water lay and sharp, white stones, some as big as a pigeon's, some as a rabbits' skull, glimmered in the moonlight" (48). One might assume that humans, with their

difference in stature, would derive a completely different picture of the same area. This quote, as the next subchapter will discuss more in detail, also shows a familiarity with death that humans may be less accustomed to, as deceased animals are, of course, not buried or cremated, but lie where the animal has died. Further, with their eyes so close to the ground, the rabbits have a completely different relation to smaller animals, as "[e]verywhere they came upon beetles, spiders and small lizards, which scurried away as they pushed through the fibrous, resistant heather" (48). The entirety of this passage conveys an unfamiliar perspective, imagining what the world would look like from less than half a meter above the ground, while the perspective of quadruped creatures is also frequently emphasized: "Hazel, like nearly all wild animals, was unaccustomed to look up at the sky. What he thought of as the sky was the horizon, usually broken by trees and hedges" (124). The rabbits' perceptions of the world are thus portrayed as distinctly different from human ones as their bodies and senses engender a thoroughly leporine being-in-the-world.

3.2.2 Leporine Worldviews: Death, Sympathy, Violence, and Romantic Love

This chapter will explore distinct leporine worldviews, specifically how the rabbits in *Watership Down* understand death, sympathy, violence, and romantic love. All in all, it is salient that both otherness and similarity are merged in rabbit worldviews, and that representations of their ways and perspectives serve to walk the fine line between excessive anthropomorphism and disconcerting alienation from the literary rabbits. In their views on death, it is especially rabbit otherness that is accentuated. The narrator states that "[r]abbits live close to death" (185), which is why they can be remarkably nonchalant when other rabbits are killed. For instance, when suspecting that one of their lot has been caught by a predator, the rabbit Dandelion remarks: "What a shame to lose him, though, […] just when we'd reached Fiver's hills without losing anyone" (125). Similarly, when a doe is killed by a fox, a variation of these words is reiterated: "Poor little beast […]. Never mind, […] these things happen" (386-87). The death of a companion is depicted as a regrettable but common occurrence in their everyday lives, not to be avoided due to the great number of predators that hunt rabbits. The threat of death is therefore seen as a part of a harsh reality, and although it is lamented, the grief for deceased companions soon makes way for the everyday claims of their lives: "Would that the dead were not dead! But there is grass that must be eaten, pellets that must be chewed, hraka [rabbit droppings] that must be passed, holes that must be dug, sleep that must be slept" (160). Further, there are no traditions as in human cultures that mark the death of another rabbit. In fact, the narrator explains that when rabbits are badly wounded or grow so old that they sense that death is upon them, they leave their warren quietly to die in solitude: in this way, a doe "had felt that she was going to die and, in the manner of animals, had slipped away" (380).

Together with this emphasis on otherness expressed through a somewhat callous view of death, similarities to humans are also evoked: after Hazel is shot by a farmer and has seemingly died, the rabbits experience their grief in a manner similar

to a child, who, when he "is told […] that a person he has known is dead, […] may well fail to comprehend it and later ask […] where the dead person is and when he is coming back" (228). Rabbit emotions are thus likened to that of a child who does not entirely grasp the idea of death, indicating a sense of innocence and naivety and thus playing into the pervasive idea in animal rights discourses that aims to place intelligent mammals on the same level as children or mentally challenged humans (Dekoven 363). In another passage that shows the rabbits as less indifferent, the rabbits find Bigwig caught in a snare and deem him dead, upon which Hazel resolves to "get the others away before the dreadful loss could drain their courage and break their spirit […] and he must do his best to see that all of them – even he himself – put what had happened out of mind, forever" (110). The more intense feelings that the rabbits experience when they believe Bigwig and later Hazel to be dead can, on the one hand, be ascribed to the fact that these two rabbits are seen as the leaders of the warren and are looked up to by the other rabbits; but the rabbits' shock and grief can further be attributed to the manner in which Hazel and Bigwig have been hurt: when rabbits are killed by other animals, it is seen as part of the natural order, but Hazel is almost killed by a shotgun and Bigwig by a snare, and such human-made death devices are seen as deeply unnatural, unpredictable, and barbarous, and thus evoke deeper reactions from the rabbit onlookers.

While the last chapter of this thesis will consider instances of empathy among different species, this part will examine sympathy among the rabbits themselves. Although sometimes used synonymously, *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* explains sympathy as the sharing of feelings while empathy refers to "understanding the feelings of another but […] not necessarily [sharing] them." As the following will show, when analyzing rabbits among themselves, one should speak of sympathy rather than empathy. While the rabbit Holly recounts how humans exterminated almost all the rabbits of Sandleford Warren, the narrator describes strong emotions and excessive sympathy in the listening rabbits:

> Hazel and his companions had suffered extremes of grief and horror during the telling of Holly's tale. Pipkin had cried and trembled piteously […] and Acorn and Speedwell had been seized with convulsive choking as Bluebell told of the poisonous gas that murdered underground […]. To themselves, they seemed to struggle in the poisoned runs. (159)

The rabbits feel the tragedies of others as if they are happening to themselves; as the narrator later states, "To watch another in danger can be almost as bad as sharing it" (376). This highlights the rabbits' collectivism, their beings so entangled with each other that they feel the other's pain and fear as their own; in these fleeting moments of sympathy, the boundaries between individual bodies and minds of rabbits almost seem to dissolve. This display of rabbit grief further goes against anthropocentrist beliefs that see humans as the only beings who are able to suffer, an idea that has been used for centuries to justify animal exploitation. Richard Ryder shows that

powerful classes often diminish or negate the suffering capability of groups they see as inferior; as an example, he remarks that African slaves were seen as devoid of this capacity, which was consequently used as an argument to uphold slavery (8). By emphasizing rabbit suffering in this as well as in other passages throughout the novel, Adams works against human chauvinism and responds to Jeremy Bentham's influential question "Can they suffer?" in the affirmative.

Even though their sympathy is strong in the moment, the rabbits quickly leave the pain behind, as "the very strength and vividness of their sympathy brought with it true release" (159). Sharing the feelings of another thus acts as a catharsis and experiencing the terror and fear of the rabbits' former warren is "their way of honouring the dead" (159); yet once the story is told, the pain becomes a thing of the past. The narrator describes that

> [t]hey have a certain quality which it would not be accurate to describe as callousness or indifference. It is, rather, a blessedly circumscribed imagination and an intuitive feeling that Life is Now […]. The story over, the demands of their own hard, rough lives began to reassert themselves in their hearts, in their nerves, their blood and appetites. (159-60)

This indicates that rabbits need to live in the moment to react instantaneously in the face of danger while the idea of a "circumscribed imagination," so the notion of limited mental functions, is taken up in the following chapter on abstract thought.

The literary rabbits, even when connected through friendship, are rougher around each other than is usual in most human circles of friends. There is a kind of violence among friendly rabbits that gives testimony to their harsh lives in the wild where toughness is a requirement for survival: "One respect in which rabbits' lives are less complicated than those of humans is that they are not ashamed to use force" (103). For example, when trying to get Pipkin on the self-fashioned boat that would bring him to safety, "Blackberry […] bullied the stupefied Pipkin to his feet and forced him to limp the few yards to the gravel pit […]. Blackberry almost drove Pipkin on to [the piece of wood] with his claws" (36). Similarly, once the badly injured Hazel returns to his warren after he was thought dead, the others welcome him joyously with rough play; Hazel defines this as "a test as well as a welcome" to see whether their leader is still physically strong enough to be Chief Rabbit, and he is sure they would throw him out of the warren if he proved too weak (250). Further, although he likes Pipkin very much, Hazel is aware that some of his other rabbits are more valuable in their fight for survival. He thus puts Pipkin right behind him when entering the unknown and potentially dangerous warren of Cowslip, thinking: "if the leaders *do* get attacked, I suppose we can spare him easier than some" (70; emphasis in the original), showing that in rabbit cultures, the survival of the warren sometimes overshadows the affection for the individual.

Lastly, love and companionship among rabbits are described differently from corresponding human conceptions. The narrator states that "the ideas that have become natural to many male human beings in thinking of females," such as romance and fidelity, are human-created constructs that are not natural to rabbits: "although rabbits certainly do form exclusive attachments, […] they are not romantic" (246). This correlates with ideas put forth by scholars who define romantic love as a social construct that changes across cultures and in different time periods (Majerhold). Further, in *The Psychology of Romantic Love*, Nathaniel Branden holds that romance is a product of Western Europe that has its roots in the courtly love of the Middle Ages and that the idea of romantic love as we know it today has been principally developed in the nineteenth century. He shows that various anthropologists and psychologists in the twentieth century, such as Morton M. Hunt and Margaret Mead, claim that this concept is or has been absent in some nonliterate societies (22, 30). Branden himself contends in a very generalizing passage that "[s]o far as we can ascertain, in primitive cultures the idea of romantic love did not exist at all" (11-12). This belief already indicates *Watership Down*'s emphasized closeness between wild rabbits and human beings who Adams terms "primitive," an idea that will inform the latter part of this thesis.

Because the rabbits in *Watership Down* lack ideas of romantic love, the narrator explains that does are often seen "simply as breeding stock for the warren" (246). This not only displays the rabbits' worldview regarding companionship between does and bucks, but it also expresses the narrator's gender bias that privileges the male point of view, which the aforementioned quote with its emphasis on "male human beings" already revealed: while the companionship between bucks is depicted as deep and meaningful and is explored in detail, does are not seen as companions but simply as objects whose worth lies in their fertility. However, some passages seem to contradict the idea that romantic love is absent in rabbit societies. The buck Strawberry, for instance, is "touchingly devoted" (81) to his mate Nildro-hain and his behavior once she is snared shows that he was exceedingly attached to her, as he is almost out of his mind with grief (115-116). So there does seem to be affection between rabbit partners that goes beyond seeing does as mere "breeding stock." The ambiguous status of does in rabbit warrens will be explored more fully in the chapter on society and gender.

3.2.3 Rabbit Knowledge and Abstract Thought

After having saved a mouse's life, Hazel ponders if he could not tell him more about the foreign place the rabbits find themselves in, but Bluebell interjects that mice can only tell them "[w]hat mice know. Not what rabbits need to know" (161). Different species are represented with different types of knowledge necessary for their survival; rabbit knowledge means, for instance, appreciating the dangers of "feeding under bushes on the windward side of a wood" where predators might easily catch them (387). Animal knowledge in general is further delimited from human knowledge: "Creatures that have neither clocks nor books are alive to all manner of

knowledge about time and the weather; and about direction too, as we know from their extraordinary migratory and homing journeys" (43-44). An example of rabbit knowledge that humans are lacking is the rabbits' distinct manner of determining the passing of time when they while away the afternoon in a beanfield:

> The changes in the warmth and dampness of the soil, the falling of the sunlight patches, the altering movement of the beans in the light wind, the direction and strength of the air currents along the ground – all these were perceived by the rabbit awake. (44)

Clocks and books are framed as objects of "civilized human beings" (43) and are an indicator of humans being out of touch with their environment, unlike rabbits, to whom these almost imperceptible factors which they sense in the beanfield hold valuable information.

While the rabbits in *Watership Down* are depicted with knowledge that humans do not necessarily possess, their cognition has its limitations. For instance, the narrator remarks that "[r]abbits can [only] count up to four" (4) or that "[r]abbits, of course, have no idea of precise time or of punctuality" (16). A recurring idea throughout the novel is that the majority of rabbits lack the ability to think abstractly, which correlates with certain views of anthropocentrist thinkers who see this as one of the elements that divides the human species from animality (Allen and Trestman). Most of the rabbits that are framed as natural have a hard time understanding the concept of art, laughter, floating matter, bridges, and the sea – anything that is unfamiliar to them or not part of what Adams depicts as their natural way of life. The narrator, for example, states that "the idea of a bridge was beyond" them (293), and when the seagull Kehaar tells them about the sea, the rabbits are puzzled: "a long way from here the earth stops and there isn't any more […]. He says there's a vast place of water, going on and on […]. Oh, I don't know – I must admit I can't altogether understand it" (184). This incapability to understand such concepts is especially emphasized when the rabbits attempt to cross a river; one of their lot is too weak to swim, and Blackberry, who is characterized as the smartest of the rabbits, finds a plank of wood in the water. Because he has seen something similar near their warren, he concludes that "[i]t must have drifted down the river. So it floats. We could put Fiver and Pipkin on it and make it float again" (36). Blackberry can thus draw a logical conclusion and use empirical knowledge to his advantage. Most of the other rabbits cannot follow, however, as is made clear through the representation of Hazel's bewildered state of mind:

> Hazel had no idea what he meant. Blackberry's flood of apparent nonsense only seemed to draw tighter the mesh of danger and bewilderment […]. [T]he cleverest rabbit among them had evidently gone out of his mind. (36)

When Fiver and Pipkin find themselves floating on this improvised raft, Dandelion exclaims: "Frith and Inlé! […] They're sitting on the water! Why don't they sink?" (36). Once all have reached dry land again, this event is immediately dismissed from

their minds: "Most of them had not understood Blackberry's discovery of the raft and at once forgot it" (37-38); this seems to be a coping mechanism, dispelling that which makes no sense to them. However, while *Watership Down* represents general species characteristics, the individuality of the rabbits is also emphasized: while most rabbits do not understand the idea of wood floating on water, Blackberry can make sense of it, as can Fiver. Thus, rabbits are not represented solely *en masse* but also on an individual basis, displaying different levels of the ability to think abstractly. Also, while in some instances the rabbits display a lack of abstract thought, in others it is detectable: architectural inventiveness, for instance, so envisioning what the burrow they are digging might look like and understanding that the vertical roots of a tree could be helpful in building a particularly large warren, is a possible thought process for them (141). But then, one might argue that planning a burrow is a more "natural" occupation for rabbits than building a raft.

Thus, while rabbits are represented as having their own rabbit knowledge, most of them are simultaneously depicted as being unable to comprehend such ideas and concepts that are not part of what Adams frames as the rabbit way of life. One should add that this difficulty in thinking abstractly only holds true as long as the rabbits lead so-called natural lives. As will be discussed later, the rabbits of Cowslip's warren have had to alter their lives in such a way that makes it possible for them to appreciate and integrate aspects like abstract art and poetry into their culture, but as a corollary, the narrator frames them as unnatural – abstract thinking thus becomes an indicator of their aberrant way of living that forfeits a central part of what it means to be a rabbit.

3.2.4 Animal Languages: Lapine and Lingua Franca

As has already been discussed, language is traditionally deemed one of the exclusively human traits that anthropocentrist thinkers consider as proof of human exceptionalism and superiority. Descartes, for instance, denied animals "meaningful communication" (Allen and Trestman), something that various studies with animals, for instance Barbara Smuts' research with baboons, continue to undermine. As Margo DeMello shows, extensive research conducted, for example, on prairie dogs, dolphins, nonhuman primates, and parrots reveal that the restriction of complex language to the human species alone is an act of ignorance (6), and it is only plausible to assume that many more species will be added to this list. However, the languages with which talking animals in literature usually communicate are human ones, and the implications of this will be discussed in the following.

Some stories that feature talking animals attempt to justify why these animal characters happen to be able to speak a human language. One might look, for example, at the rats in *Mrs. Frisby*, whose acquisition of a human language is a result of experimentation in a lab. In Saunders's *Fox 8*, the eponymous fox hero learns English by secretly listening to humans reading aloud, much like the nonhuman monster in *Frankenstein*. Other stories let animals speak in a human language without offering any reason for it whatsoever. In this case, even though both humans and animals

speak the same language, they cannot understand each other, as in *Charlotte's Web*; or they can, as in *The Wind in the Willows*. Another technique that is used is to indicate by sporadic inclusions of invented words that the human language is merely a translation of a distinct animal language that the author has taken upon her- or himself to mediate to a human readership. This strategy has the advantage of creating the illusion of an entire system of language that the handful of fictitious words indicate. In *Watership Down*, this latter technique is applied, as the narrator clarifies that the rabbits' English words are a translation from their own language Lapine. This is reminiscent of Sewell's *Black Beauty*, whose subtitle promises that it is "[t]ranslated from the Original Equine"; however, the horse's autobiography is consistently written in English, whereas *Watership Down* integrates about thirty different Lapine words and expressions in its narrative which are mostly italicized to emphasize their foreignness. The narrator's role as a translator is most notably indicated in a footnote that refers to Bigwig's usage of the word "vagabond" and which reads: "Bigwig's word was *hlessil*, which I have rendered in various places in the story as wanderers, scratchers, vagabonds" (127; emphasis in the original). Not only is this the only time the narrator foregrounds himself through the use of "I," but this passage also clearly indicates that the narrator is aware of the problems of translation. Rabbit lives and experientiality cannot be wholly captured and conveyed by a human language, and the narrator recognizes that humans cannot have complete access to the lives and worlds of other animal beings.

Most of the Lapine words used in the text are either translated into English in a footnote or in the text itself. For instance, recurring Lapine words are *elil*, referring to the entirety of the rabbits' enemies; *silflay*, which means to feed above ground (78) and is a compound noun made up of *silf* (outside) and *flay* (food); *hrududu*, a car; and to pass *hraka*, which means to defecate. The plural of a noun is formed by replacing the final vowel with -il, such as *hrududil* for *hrududu* (46), *yonil* for *yona*, a hedgehog (47).[3] Such grammatical structures reveal that Adams took care to indicate a complexity in Lapine that is traditionally seen as a characteristic feature solely of human languages. To lend further verisimilitude to the rabbits' worlds, a footnote sometimes indicates the correct pronunciation of a Lapine word: the name of the mythical rabbit trickster El-ahrairah, for example, is stressed "the same as in the phrase 'Never say die'" (23). To enrich the rabbits' language, Adams also includes some leporine sayings and proverbs. For instance, a "ribald Owsla [rabbit police] lampoon" goes as follows: "*Hoi, hoi u embleer Hrair / M'saion ulé hraka vrair*," which a footnote translates as "Hoi, Hoi, the stinking Thousand [the rabbits' predators], We meet them even when we stop to pass our droppings" (41). Rebuking a rabbit for stamping underground, Hazel declares: "My mother used to say, 'If you were a horse the ceiling would fall down'" (81). Other rabbit sayings and proverbs are: "There is a rabbit saying, 'In a warren, more stories than passages'" (90); "it can't be changed now, till

[3] For a list that includes all Lapine words featured in *Watership Down*, see McBride's "The Lapine Dictionary" (https://calrah.tripod.com/lapine.html).

acorns grow on thistles" (146); and "You're trying to eat grass that isn't there. Why don't you give it a chance to grow?" (339).

It is also rewarding to examine the rabbits' Lapine and English names. All wild rabbits have individual names that refer to some plant, such as Hazel, Acorn, Cowslip, and Dandelion; or to a rabbit idiosyncrasy, color, or trait, such as Silver and Bigwig, a name derived from a strange patch of fur on the top of his head. It is indicated that each of these names is a translation from Lapine and it seems to be for the reader's benefit that English translations of the names are used. Their names can reveal much about the rabbits' worlds, such as the importance of plants in their lives, and also about leporine perspectives; for example, Pipkin's Lapine name is Hlao, which "means any small concavity in the grass where moisture may collect, e.g., the dimple formed by a dandelion or thistle cup" (17). It is thus a word that features in a rabbit's life but for which there does not exist a single word in English, emphasizing how a different being-in-the-world can influence one's vocabulary. Regarding animal names, Sarah McFarland emphasizes that "[t]o name something is to accord it subjectivity, to recognize that it has a unique perspective on the world and meaningful relationships" (156). By being named, the rabbits are not represented via the pronoun "it," but mostly by "he" or "she" in an anti-anthropocentrist shift, similar to Corbett who, as has been shown, argues for the extension of animacy to nonhumans in the English language. However, subject status is sometimes simultaneously granted and withheld from the rabbits in *Watership Down*, as the following passage reveals: "Without Hazel, without Blackberry, […] Bigwig would have died. Without himself he would have died, for which else, of them all, would not have stopped running after such punishment?" (121). While the "himself" gives Bigwig subject status, the "which else" again reduces the rabbits to objects. Especially Kehaar, a male bird, is alternately referred to as "it" and "he." These inconsistent representations of subject status through language reveal the ambiguous standing of animal beings in our culture and further show that anti-anthropocentrist depictions of animal subjectivities are rather complicated by the English language with its tendency to dismiss all that is not human as objects.

Lapine is spoken across various warrens, although it is remarked a few times that Cowslip's warren, the hutch rabbits, and the Efrafans respectively speak in a slightly different accent. But communication across species boundaries is also possible with the help of a lingua franca. It is not indicated that animals actively learn this language, it rather seems to be innate knowledge. This lingua franca is mentioned for the first time when Hazel saves a mouse from a kestrel by offering him the protection of the rabbits' warren: "Mice do not speak Lapine, but there is a very simple, limited *lingua franca* of the hedgerow and woodland" (143). This language makes use of fragmented speech ("You stay now. Go later" 144) and indicates that among different species, there are different ways of speaking. Mice, for instance, have a stereotypically Italian sound to their speech when they attempt to speak the lingua franca: "'Go now,' said the mouse. 'No wait owl. But a what I like to say. You 'elp a mouse. One time a mouse 'elp a you. You want 'im, 'e come'" (147). The mouse omits the "h" and adds

the sound "a" apparently at random, telling the reader that the language structure of mice seems to be quite different from Lapine. The same applies to the seagull Kehaar's more guttural speech, whose usage of the lingua franca almost sounds like a German attempting to speak English. For instance, after his wing has healed, he proposes to look for female rabbits, whom the bucks need for the continued survival of their warren: "I get peeg, fine plan. I go fine now. Ving, 'e better. Vind finish, den I fly […]. Find plenty mudders, tell you vere dey are, ya?" (187-188), or: "Und here ees town of rabbits" (190). In contrast to the rabbits' sophisticated speech, he sometimes expresses himself in a more vulgar way: "Piss off!" (180), or: "You 'urt me, I 'urt you like dam"' (181), indicating different speaking habits as well as mannerisms.

As has been discussed by Elick and DeMello in the preceding chapters, letting literary animals speak is a contested practice as it is oftentimes seen pejoratively as an act of anthropomorphism. Yet, while rabbits do have a verbal speech, this is only one aspect of their communication practices:

> They did not talk. […] But this did not mean that they were not communicating; merely they were not communicating by talking. All over the burrow, [they] were accustoming themselves to each other in their own way and their own time; getting to know what the strangers smelt like, how they moved, how they breathed, how they scratched, the feel of their rhythms and pulses. These were their topics and subjects of discussion, carried on without the need of speech. (72)

Just as Smuts observed that baboons communicate, for instance, via sounds, facial expressions, body movements, and physical contact (295-96), such cues are also essential in rabbit communication. Stamping, for instance, is described as a central communicative device: "'You silly blockhead!' cried Bigwig. 'We'll all be finished! We'll –' 'Don't stamp about,' said Hazel. 'You may be heard'" (35). One might maintain that Bigwig's stamping at that moment only accompanies his verbal speech, but it is also tenable that his seemingly spoken words are translations of such rabbit communication as stamping. Another passage reveals an instance where stamping is obviously translated into English: "suddenly there was a stamping of 'Hawk! Hawk!'" (142). Lapine can thus be understood as more than spoken words, as it encompasses the entirety of subtle cues and signs the rabbits use to communicate.

The last aspect explored in this chapter is that of animal literacy. While in some stories, animal characters are represented as literate, *Watership Down* highlights the fact that rabbits cannot read or write. This is already established in the very first chapter, in which Fiver and Hazel are unable to understand the "sharp, black lines like sticks" (224) on a signpost. A notable scene in which illiteracy is represented as an aspect of differentiation between humans and animals occurs shortly after Hazel has been shot by a farmer. In a dream, Fiver encounters a man who is setting up a board and who "[turns] to Fiver with the kind of amiability that an ogre might show to a victim whom they both know that he will kill and eat as soon as it suits him to do so" (224). This already summarizes the dominant rabbit-human relations featured

throughout the novel, in which rabbits perceive humans as monsters and humans conversely see rabbits as food items. Fiver cannot understand the words on the sign, for which he is subsequently mocked by the man: "'That's where we knows what you don't. That's why we kills you when we 'as a mind to'" (225). This quote expresses the common anthropocentrist idea that qualities such as literacy indicate human exceptionalism, which, as a corollary, is seen to justify animal subjugation and destruction. Although it is a dream that is unfolding in Fiver's subconscious, as a seer who can make predictions and penetrate truths his dreams and intuition bear more weight than a dream by another rabbit. Fiver senses that humans deem themselves superior to animals based on their apparently higher intelligence, in this scene expressed through literacy. However, by using Fiver as a focalizer and by putting this idea so blandly in the mouth of a man portrayed as a rabbit killer, the reader is invited to empathize with Fiver and to question the belief that literacy sets humans above other animals. Further, rabbits are differentiated from humans through their use of language, which can be observed very clearly in this scene where both speeches are contrasted: the man resolves to hang Hazel up on the sign, "[s]ame as you'd 'ang up jay, like, or old stoat. Ah! Gon' 'ang 'im up," upon which Fiver cries: "No, you shan't!" (225). The man's grammatically incorrect speech is contrasted with Fiver's sophisticated English, in a subversive twist inverting the man's claim that humans are more intelligent beings.

3.2.5 Complex Rabbit Societies: Hierarchy and Gender

Rabbit societies in *Watership Down* are depicted as complex, as every rabbit occupies and is aware of a specific role in her or his community. For example, a "yearling and still below full weight" (4) belongs to a lower social class, as she or he is one of the "'outskirters' – that is, the rank-and-file of ordinary rabbits in their first year who, lacking […] unusual size and strength, get sat on by their elders and live as best as they can – often in the open – on the edge of the warren" (4). This idea of hierarchy based on "unusual size and strength" correlates with Lockley's observations who depicts such social structures in his book, showing that Adams took great care to model the social structures of his literary rabbits after real ones. At the top of a warren presides the Chief Rabbit, a buck who usually has the power of a king and who is addressed by adding a "-rah" to the end of his name. He has at his command a group of rabbits called Owsla, which in a footnote the narrator explains as follows:

> Nearly all warrens have an *Owsla*, or group of strong or clever rabbits – second-year or older – surrounding the Chief Rabbit and his doe and exercising authority. Owslas vary. In one warren, the Owsla may be the band of a war-lord: in another, it may consist largely of clever patrollers or garden-raiders. Sometimes a good story-teller may find a place; or a seer, or intuitive rabbit. In the Sandleford Warren at this time, the Owsla was rather military in character. (5; emphasis in the original)

In Sandleford as well as in Efrafa, the Owsla is depicted as something like a police force, executing the Chief Rabbit's laws, sometimes abusing its power by brutally controlling the other rabbits. This quotation also demonstrates the variety within the rabbit world: a warren may differ in character as much as one human civilization from another. The idea of a military warren or a warren built around a warlord challenges the tradition of cute, tame rabbits as depicted in the majority of rabbit tales. While Sandleford and especially Efrafa rely on a dictatorial regime, Hazel and his group of deserters establish a warren that is remarkably democratic in nature, even though Hazel, by showing strong leadership, intelligence, and compassion, is finally called Hazel-rah by his friends. Decisions, however, are still made by the group and the end of the novel shows them to have a "very free-and-easy Owsla" (465). The complexity of rabbit communities that Lockley, based on his observations, already argued for in *The Private Life* is thus taken up in *Watership Down* to counter reductive ideas of unsophisticated and homogeneous animal societies.

It is made clear that positions of power are exclusively held by bucks; for example, the narrator explains that the Chief Rabbit is always a male rabbit, and overall, does only play a minor role throughout the novel: of all the rabbits mentioned in Sandleford and in the early days of Hazel's warren, not one is a doe. In fact, the first time a doe is mentioned by name is only in chapter 13 in Cowslip's warren, and here her speech is reported indirectly as her partner Strawberry speaks for her (74). The first doe speaking directly is a female hutch rabbit halfway through the novel. While the friendships, character developments, and relationships among bucks are explored in depth, does are mostly represented in terms of fertility and reproduction as they are described as the warren's "asset" (228) or "breeding stock" (246). In his afterword to *Watership Down*'s 1993 Puffin edition, Nicholas Tucker criticized the negation of female agency in Adams' novel, stating that does are portrayed as "little more than passive baby-factories." This directly mirrors Lockley's representation of does in *The Private Life*, in which they are imbued with his personal gender ideology and mostly mentioned in passing while the lives of bucks constitute the main concern.

However, some aspects of *Watership Down* go against the idea that does are nothing but "baby-factories." Female rabbits do get a voice and play an important part in Efrafa, where it is a group of does that asks the Council for permission to leave and start a warren somewhere else. It is they who suffer the most in the overcrowded warren, as they reabsorb their embryos in such stressful conditions and are "under orders" to mate with any Efrafan officers that choose so (316). The group of does behaves aggressively and rebelliously against the Owsla, displaying even a kind of rabbit feminism, as when the young doe Nelthilta provocatively asks an Efrafan officer why there are no does in the Wide Patrols (315). Yet the Efrafan does' stated purpose in life is to reproduce (328) and of the ten does who are brought to Watership, only two are mentioned by name. It is further notable that, unlike bucks, the names of does are only given in Lapine, which has an exoticizing effect; an alienating

distance is maintained between readers and does while the bucks, their names translated for the readers' benefit, appear more accessible and familiar. Thus, while *Watership Down* in many aspects works against anthropocentrism, one might argue that it upholds and perpetuates a form of androcentrism in which the male perspective is privileged. As Johnson holds, even those animal stories that challenge the status quo by including subversive ideas in the next instance may espouse traditional or conservative notions (17).

3.2.6 Cultural Practices: Mythology, Religion, and Customs

Influential thinkers such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Edward Burnett Taylor, and Franz Boas understand culture as one of the exclusively human qualities that "saves humans from animality" (Tonutti 186). However, just as with language, contemporary research has made it increasingly evident that cultural behavior can be observed not only in different species but that it also differentiates in sub-groups of one and the same species, just like it does is in human societies (196). *Watership Down* rejects the idea that animal beings are without culture by especially emphasizing rabbit religion, mythology, games, and habits and customs.

Watership Down displays a leporine religion that reveals similarities to Judeo-Christian orthodoxy. For one, rabbit religion is based on binary oppositions: on the one hand, they believe in Frith who is the actual sun as well as the rabbits' god and who features as a protagonist in some rabbit myths. Inlé, on the other hand, denotes night or death, and the Black Rabbit of Inlé is understood by the rabbits as "fear and everlasting darkness" (267). He is something of a Grim Reaper who nonetheless serves Frith, keeping the balance of life and death intact: he "bring[s] about what must be. We come into the world and we have to go" (268). The rabbits sometimes even pray similar to Judeo-Christian traditions, evoking either Frith or their mythical rabbit forefather El-ahrairah in an apostrophe: "O El-ahrairah! […] Let it be the right thing that I'm doing" (68). While the rabbits thus practice a certain human-like religion, it is especially their myths that are highlighted in *Watership Down*. Of all the aspects in the novel, the invention of rabbit mythology has probably received the most scholarly attention, Charles Meyer even going so far as to call *Watership Down* "a mythologist's gold-mine" (Introduction 3). The literary rabbits have oral cultures that focus on storytelling and mythology, and the novel dedicates several whole chapters to the telling of these stories. Most center on the rabbit hero El-ahrairah and his loyal sidekick Rabscuttle, who embody the stereotypical image of rabbits as quick-witted tricksters who make it a habit to raid gardens. El-ahrairah is the prototype of leporine values, embodying the rabbits' ideals to use all of one's resources and wits to get out of a predicament. He is further made into a powerful hero with super-rabbit qualities: "Some rabbits say he controls the weather, because the wind, the damp and the dew are friends and instruments to rabbits against their enemies". (24)

The creation of myths in rabbit culture is made transparent at the end of *Watership Down* when Hazel overhears a doe telling her litter a story about El-ahrairah,

which, however, has a very familiar ring to it. The reader will recognize it is a loose telling of their own adventures that have been narrated throughout the novel, although imbued with magical elements. This shows that the myths that tell of the heroic deeds of El-ahrairah are based on true events and are embellished adventures of different rabbits. These stories are then used to teach young kittens leporine values and morals, such as the importance of being resourceful and brave. At the end of the novel, the rabbits even mention a story called "Woundwort Dismayed" (394), in which Efrafa's leader General Woundwort is turned into the cousin of Inlé:

> And mother rabbits would tell their kittens that if they did not do as they were told, the General would get them – the General who was first cousin to the Black Rabbit himself. (471)

Woundwort is made into a sort of bogeyman as used in human cultures to scare children into behaving. This happens six weeks after their fight with Woundwort, but already Hazel seems to be forgetting his adventures as he cannot rightly remember where he has heard this story before, telling of the rabbits' distinct perception of time and different memory structures. This is emphasized in the epilogue, in which Hazel, an old and almost senile rabbit now, reflects that

> sometimes, when they told tales on a sunny evening by the beech trees, he could not clearly recall whether they were about himself or about some other rabbit hero of days gone by. (470)

The past quickly becomes blurred and, to keep important events alive in the collective rabbit memory, they are turned into stories. One myth even coincides with the story of Noah's ark: "Frith had to go on a journey, leaving the whole world to be covered with rain. But a man built a great, floating hutch that held all the animals […] until Frith returned to let them out" (206). This might indicate that the rabbits' collective memory goes as far back as biblical stories; further, it draws a parallel between human and rabbit history, showing that the species have always been related while the substitution of an arc with a hutch tells of a distinct rabbit perspective that demonstrates an awareness of rabbit hutches but an unfamiliarity with boats. While this story refers to a time many centuries ago, some myths feature men with guns and cars, which shows that their stories do not make a distinction between different time epochs: everything becomes part of one long narrative of the life of El-ahrairah. Another myth addresses the does' reabsorption of embryos in crowded warrens, which Lockley observed and mentioned in his book (127). Here, the god Frith presents this ability as a gift to the rabbits so that they never have to be born dead or live a poor life in an overcrowded warren (192). It is thus mythology's main purpose to explain and make sense of the world in leporine terms.

Other cultural practices that are mentioned in the novel are, for instance, the traditional rabbit game Bob-stones, which is played during long stays underground; it is a sort of easy gambling contest played with small stones and sticks that the narrator likens to the game Odds and Evens (272). Further, as a medicinal or healing method, rabbits are shown to lick their own wounds and also, in a rather self-evident

manner without having to be asked, the wounds of others, emphasizing their close-knit fellowship (43, 140). The literary rabbits also have specific leporine habits and customs: for instance, their way of greeting each other is done by companionably nibbling grass together, and they usually spend long winter days telling stories and playing games underground (129, 462). The narrator further states that rabbits do not force artificial conversations as humans do, but that their speeches are "short by human standards" (72) whereas their discussions are usually "long, disorderly, [and] intermittent" (191). Overall, the novel displays in much detail distinctly leporine cultural practices that encourage readers to wonder whether similar practices could not to a certain extent be fact rather than fiction and part of everyday life in real animal communities.

3.3 Speciesism among Animals? Leporine-Centrism and Species Exceptionalism

The representations of rabbit subjectivities that have been explored in the preceding chapters emphasize the rabbits' distinct way of living in the world and depict them as agential subjects. However, while these representations aim to contest the idea of the human species as the measure of all things, in various instances the rabbits themselves display a centering of their own species. This leporine-centrism is firstly emphasized through the idea of the rabbit species as exceptional and secondly through instances that display the belief of their own superiority over smaller creatures. Especially the rabbits' origin myth is revealing regarding the idea of leporine exceptionalism, beginning as follows:

> Long ago, Frith made the world. He made all the stars too and the world is one of the stars. He made them by scattering his droppings over the sky and this is why the grass and the trees grow so thick on the world. […] Frith made all the animals and birds, but when he first made them, they were all the same. (25)

First of all, it is shown that Frith is male, a "Lord" (165), revealing again a rather androcentric worldview. Further, Frith's action of scattering his droppings represents him as a leporine figure, as the rabbits' excrements are also referred to as droppings throughout the novel. Just as many human religions center on a male anthropomorphized god, the rabbits, in a leporine-centrist twist, seem to envision a rabbit-like god who rules over all. However, the myth also shows a remarkably humble worldview, as the rabbits believe the earth to be a star just like any other; unlike anthropocentrist thinkers, they do not see themselves at the center of the universe. The origin myth continues to narrate how all species become who they are owing to the obstreperous El-ahrairah, as Frith bestows different qualities on different species to punish the rabbits' forefather. Voicing his belief in the rabbits' exceptional standing in the world, El-ahrairah states: "My people are the strongest in the world, for they breed faster and eat more than any of the other people" (26), and he claims that

the rabbits are "faster than any creature in the world" (28). In fact, the story is framed in a way that, were it not for Frith's intervention, rabbits would rule the world, as the god states himself: "El-ahrairah, your people cannot rule the world, for I will not have it so. All the world will be your enemy […] and whenever they catch you, they will kill you" (28). Rabbits, however, seem to have a special relationship with Frith that even borders on friendship, as they "could be impudent to Frith and get away with it," revealing "the great indestructibility of the Rabbits" (28) – note the uppercase letter "R" which emphasizes rabbit importance and distinction in the world while further evoking the idea of rabbits as the "chosen people."

Along with a belief in their own exceptionalism, the rabbits also display a sense of superiority over smaller animals. The origin myth begins with the assertion that a long time ago all animals lived together in peace: "the fox and the rabbit were both friends and both ate grass" and the birds ate "both seeds and flies. […] And there was plenty of grass and plenty of flies, because the world was new" (26). While it is indicated that carnivores and herbivores live together in harmony and do not prey on each other, flies are framed as non-animals and are equated with seeds. They are turned into food units instead of animal beings, which reveals a typical speciesist attitude toward insects. Similarly, after an initial disgust of the task, the rabbits find beetles and worms for the hungry Kehaar, indifferent to the fact that they are killing insects. A third prominent instance that reveals a speciesist attitude toward invertebrates can be detected in a rabbit saying that goes: "A rabbit who does not know when a gift has made him safe is poorer than a slug" (279). This quote evokes the Heideggerian idea of animals as poor in the world, although for rabbits this holds true only for those animals they deem inferior, namely insects and mollusks, which are also often seen by humans at the bottom of a speciesist hierarchy of value. The rabbits in *Watership Down* consider invertebrates with only little access to *welt*, thus lacking meaningful relationships and a sense of self.

Additionally, some rabbits reveal a rather condescending attitude toward small mammals. When Hazel saves a mouse's life who promises to help the rabbits should they ever need it, Bigwig vents his feelings by crying: "Frith in a pond! […] And so will all his brothers and sisters. I dare say the place'll be crawling" (147-148). Speedwell does not seem to know how to refer to the mouse, revealing a patronizing view of rodents when he informs Hazel: "your – er – visitor – your mouse. He wants to speak to you" (147). This seems to indicate that mice are unworthy to be considered a rabbit's visitor; especially the phrase "your mouse" implies ownership, as if the mouse were a mere possession without the status of a full subject. The rather prejudiced Silver even directly contends that "[t]hese small animals are more to be despised than relied upon. […] What good can they do us?" (161). Later events, however, reveal that their relationship with the mouse demonstrates parallels to the Aesopian fable of the lion and the mouse, in which the latter eventually saves the life of the lion, and in this case, that of the rabbits. While Bigwig feels himself superior to smaller animals, opining that "[t]hese little creatures say anything and change it five times a day" (407), he shows awe and something akin to envy when he befriends

Kehaar, as he is "fascinated by the strength and courage of the bird" (182). He admires Kehaar and actually comes up with an exclamation that reveals his wish to be more like him: "Oh, my wings and beak, that won't do!" (465). Kehaar, on the other hand, has a rather condescending view of rabbits, revealing a sense of seagull exceptionalism: "he could not help despising them for timid, helpless, stay-at-home creatures who could not fly" (373); and sometimes, when rabbits do not understand what he means by bridges and boats, he has a rather "short way with landlubbers" (299), growing quickly impatient because they do not know much outside of their small worlds and have not gotten about like he has (191). Lastly, all wild animals seem to feel themselves superior to pets, especially to dogs who are seen as sycophantic servants of humankind; companion animals and their relationship with humans will be examined more thoroughly in the chapter on domestication and breeding.

Watership Down thus appears to propose that it is not only humans who consider themselves exceptional and superior to other species. One might argue that this ultimately aims to justify anthropocentrism with the help of an appeal to nature: because wild rabbits and birds display this centering of their own species, it is framed as a natural practice: humans are merely doing as other animals do. However, there is an obvious difference between anthropocentrism and leporine-centrism, a difference that the novel emphasizes repeatedly: unlike rabbits, humans use the belief of their own superiority and exceptionalism to exploit, subjugate, and domesticate in order to satisfy their needs and ensure their comfort. As the following chapter will show, *Watership Down* makes it abundantly clear that humans twist and "denaturalize" their environment and their fellow earth dwellers, bending the laws of nature this way and that to benefit from them in the greatest possible way. Furthermore, the rabbits learn to overcome their condescension of small mammals once they realize that they can be useful to one another, which partly undermines the idea of leporine superiority – although insects and mollusks are never elevated from their object-status, perpetuating the speciesist assumption that negates their intrinsic value.

While rabbit superiority is partly undermined, the belief in their exceptionalism remains. However, it is emphasized that the rabbits also recognize the exceptionalism of other species, which is again expressed in their origin myth: "And when the blackbird came, he [Frith] gave him his beautiful song, and when the cow came, he gave her sharp horns and the strength to be afraid of no other creature" (26). It is noteworthy that cows are mentioned, as animal stories usually portray domesticated animals as disposable, mute objects (Johnson 40). The myth thus does not only highlight leporine exceptionalism but also celebrates that of other species who have their own unique and remarkable qualities and distinct ways of living in the world. Rabbit exceptionalism, or exceptionalism of all species for that matter, should therefore not necessarily be understood pejoratively. Rather, it is the misplaced belief of superiority that is bred from exceptionalism and coupled with arrogance and ignorance of the world that has wrought such destruction on this earth. Marc Bekoff likewise

promotes this idea, proposing that "[p]erhaps we should replace the notion of human exceptionalism with species exceptionalism" as it would dethrone the human with the recognition that all species are exceptional in their own way ("Speciesism" 26). He then goes further and argues that a focus on "individual exceptionalism" would be even more appropriate, as "it is *individuals* who matter when discussing their unrelenting abuse" (26; emphasis in the original). He holds that classifying all beings into species categories can be disadvantageous, as it undermines "individual differences within species that often are greater than the differences we observe between species" (18).

So although there does exist a form of speciesism among the rabbits in *Watership Down*, it only lends itself to a comparison with anthropocentrist speciesism to a certain degree. While the rabbits' conception of insects and mollusks is undeniably discriminatory and can be seen as most similar to anthropocentrist attitudes toward nonhumans, the rabbits are portrayed as overcoming their superiority over small mammals and further recognize the exceptionalism of other animals – although they remain deeply suspicious of humans and those animals that have become influenced by human "unnaturalness," a theme that the rest of this thesis will explore.

4 Human-Animal Relations in *Watership Down*: Unnatural Humanity and Empathic Animality

On the surface, it may seem as though the novel were chiefly concerned with animals, as human characters are only rarely featured directly. However, a closer look reveals that the theme of human influence pervades the plot like a counterpoint, turning *Watership Down*, like most animal fiction, also into a statement on humanity. I argue that even though *Watership Down* includes only a handful of human characters, human ubiquity can be identified indirectly throughout the novel, as most if not all so-called unnaturalness that is featured can be traced back to a human cause. Although, as the last chapters will show, it is not all of humanity that is deemed unnatural, and I will examine whether the novel may even propose a way toward what Bekoff terms the process of "rewilding our hearts" (*Rewilding* 5).

4.1 Rabbit Unnaturalness and Its Human Causes

The naturalness of Hazel and his friends is frequently stressed by representing their way of life as the "right" one for rabbits and by contrasting their warren with the unnatural. It is remarkable how often the word "unnatural" is used throughout the novel, especially regarding human beings and rabbit warrens that have come in contact with humans. However, the distinction between natural and unnatural rabbits is not completely antithetical. The novel seems to promote the idea of acceptable unnatural behavior in otherwise natural rabbits that rises out of necessity and unacceptable unnatural behavior that has its roots in human influence. Thus, even Hazel's

warren is represented as acting unnaturally at times: at the beginning of their journey, the narrator states that

> Hazel and his companions had spent the night doing everything that came unnaturally to them, and this for the first time. They had been moving in a group, or trying to: actually, they had straggled widely at times. They had been trying to maintain a steady pace, between hopping and running, and it had come hard. (24)

Further, to encourage the bucks to dig holes on Watership, something that is usually only done by does, Blackberry says: "I'm quite sure, myself, that if we don't change our natural ways we shan't be able to stay here very long" (131). This can be read as a form of survival of the fittest in a world that is turned upside down by humans, as it is because of human interference that they had to leave their warren and journey into the unknown in the first place. Especially Fiver's reaction is telling about the difference between acceptable and unacceptable unnatural behavior: Fiver, who as a seer is established as the moral compass of the novel, is paralyzed with fear when he comes into contact with the unnatural practices of Cowslip's warren, while his friends are first beguiled into believing that the unknown rabbits' way of life is superior to their own. On the other hand, he is the only rabbit who cheerfully agrees with Blackberry that the bucks should dig burrows, something that the other rabbits are very skeptical of at first. These instances of atypical behavior in Hazel's warren can be seen as attempts to ensure the future existence of their warren, and in the process, they do not forfeit their natural way of life like those rabbits discussed in the following for whom unnaturalness is not temporary but has become an internalized state.

4.1.1 Cowslip's Warren: Transgressing Species Boundaries

Cowslip's warren is the first group of rabbits Hazel and his friends meet after their escape from Sandleford. The rabbits of this particular warren live in an environment of fear and repressed truth: they are frequently snared by farmers for their fur and meat, but they try to suppress this knowledge as humans feed them with produce and shoot predators in the area. However, living in such a strange way has resulted in a distortion of what is framed as the rabbits' "right" way of life, as they reject typical rabbit behavior and instead integrate aspects into their lives that are not usual for their species.

Hazel's warren first encounters Cowslip on his own and his unnaturalness is emphasized throughout this meeting. Cowslip moves through the open without showing any concern for predators and meets Hazel's wary rabbits, who are prepared to fight him, with a calm politeness that they do not know how to respond to (63). His appearance and behavior already strike the rabbits as singular:

> he was a big fellow, sleek and handsome. His fur shone and his claws and teeth were in perfect condition. […] There was a curious, rather unnatural gentleness about the way in which he waited for them to come nearer. (61)

He smells "unusual," reminding Hazel "of good feeding, of health and of a certain indolence, as though the other came from some rich, prosperous country where he himself had never been," and he is described as having the air of an "aristocrat" (61-62, 98). Hazel is perplexed by his "un-rabbit-like melancholy," he finds the strange rabbits "detached, almost bored" and, above all, "terribly sad" (98, 62, 79). In this first encounter, the somewhat blunt and straightforward manner of Hazel's rabbits is contrasted with the courteous Cowslip. In this regard, Cowslip and his warren are first framed as superior and more sophisticated than the newcomers, who in comparison feel ashamed of themselves, Hazel even deeming himself "a ragged wanderer, leader of a gang of vagabonds" (64, 62). However, later revelations invert this opposition by exposing Cowslip's airs of detached superiority as performative, despairing pomposity which clashes with Hazel's rabbits' simple honesty.

Cowslip's warren repeatedly reveals a rejection of typical rabbit behavior and worldviews. While Hazel and his rabbits greet newcomers by sniffing them, the rabbits of Cowslip's warren perform dance-like movements with their heads and paws that disconcert Hazel and his band of rabbits (70). Almost strangest of all is their form of art that the rabbit Strawberry proudly presents to Hazel: they push stones into the earth which they call "a Shape" (76) and which is supposed to represent El-ahrairah. On beholding this shape, Hazel feels completely nonplussed:

> [he] had not felt so much bewildered since Blackberry had talked about the raft beside the [river]. Obviously, the stones could not possibly be anything to do with El-ahrairah. It seemed to him that Strawberry might as well have said that his tail was an oak tree. (76)

Hazel cannot make the abstract connection between the form of a real rabbit and stones artistically laid out to portray one, showing once again that he can only make sense of things that are natural to the lives of rabbits. Hazel is also deeply confused by the fact that the rabbits of Cowslip's warren sometimes exhibit an "unnatural smile" (83) and that they can even laugh: "The phenomenon of laughter is unknown to animals. […] The effect on Hazel and Bigwig was overwhelming. Hazel's first idea was that Cowslip was showing the symptom of some kind of disease" (78). *Watership Down* thus argues that so-called natural animals act as dictated by the typical behavior of their species, whereas imitating the behavior of other species is considered pejoratively as anomalous, a point highlighted by further occurrences: to make their kittens fall asleep, the does in the warren "sing like the birds," which makes the listening Blackberry "feel queer" (79), and when the rabbits of Cowslip's warren carry vegetables in their mouths, Fiver insults them by referring to them as different

animals: "Those are rabbits down there, trotting along like a lot of squirrels with nuts. How can that be right?" (86), and "Dogs – you're like dogs carrying sticks" (86).

Another art form that is employed to emphasize their move away from a natural rabbit way of life is poetry. While Hazel's rabbits sometimes come up with playful little rhymes, Silverweed's poem is much more sophisticated and structured, and a brief analysis of it will grant insight into his warren's state of mind. The poem follows a repetitive structure, three stanzas with 7 lines, the last stanza 6 lines – in comparison, the spur-of-the-moment rhymes of Hazel's warren are much simpler and shorter. The first three stanzas address the wind, the stream, and autumn leaves respectively, all natural phenomena that have in common that they are not static, but always in motion, able to leave hardship and woe behind. The poet begs: "Take me with you" or "I will go with you" (100-101), indicating the desperate urge to leave the death warren. The last stanza expresses the twisted logic of these rabbits: while first the dropping sun is implored to let the rabbit go with it, the last two lines read: "For I am ready to give you my breath, my life, / The shining circle of the sun, the sun and the rabbit" (101). This tells of their death wish and simultaneously expresses a sanctification of the snare, "The shining circle of the sun," the sun of course indicating the rabbits' god Frith. In a blasphemous attempt to cope with the frequent snaring, the murdering device becomes a divine object and Frith is equated with death. It has been shown that the theme of animals displaying artistry is often an empowering strategy that aims to give animal characters agency and points to kinship between animals and humans (Elick 20). However, in the case of *Watership Down*, art fulfills, for the most part, a different role: while it does show a parallel between Cowslip's warren and what Adams comes to call "civilized" humans, this closeness is framed as something deeply unnatural as it functions to distance the rabbits from their natural ways.

Not only do adjectives such as "unnatural" and "unusual" convey to the reader that there is something amiss about these rabbits, but especially Fiver's fear and distrust of them ("it's simply that I *know* there's something unnatural and evil twisted all round this place. […] The roof of that [burrow] is made of bones," 87; emphasis in the original) indicate how the reader is supposed to feel about the warren. Summarizing his conception of Cowslip's warren, Fiver explains:

> The rabbits became strange in many ways, different from other rabbits. […] They forgot the ways of wild rabbits. They forgot El-ahrairah, for what use had they for tricks and cunning, living in the enemy's warren and paying his price? (113)

While myths centering on El-ahrairah, as has been shown, reinforce the rabbits' exceptionalism and create a feeling of unity, the rabbits of Cowslip's warren are detached from rabbit myths, revealing a condescending attitude by calling them "traditional" and "old-fashioned" (99). Cowslip even states that "El-ahrairah doesn't really mean much to us," and when one of Hazel's rabbits interjects that rabbits will

always need tricksters like the famous rabbit hero, a member of Cowslip's warren replies that what rabbits really need is "dignity and above all, the will to accept their fate" (99). While the notion of dignity is later in the novel shown to be a positive thing that all wild animals possess, the idea of accepting their fate indicates that, instead of planning to flee, they have resigned themselves to their lives governed by constant fear and in a way have accepted human sovereignty. Thus, the example of Cowslip's warren clarifies what Adams means by his recurring differentiation of "natural" and "unnatural": the rabbits make shapes on the wall and recite poetry that terrifies Hazel's rabbits, they dance, smile, and laugh like humans, sing like birds, carry food in their mouths like dogs and squirrels, and twist and deride the rabbits' sacred myths and religion. In short, they have transgressed the rabbits' species boundaries, resulting in what Fiver calls a rabbit way of life "for El-ahrairah to cry at" (113).

Lastly, the rabbits of Cowslip's warren are conspicuously put on the same level as unnatural and violent humans. Immediately following the horrific mass extermination of Sandleford Warren by human hands, the four sole survivors happen on Cowslip's warren and, in their traumatized, hurt, and exhausted state, they are immediately attacked while one of the four is even killed: "So after all he'd been through, poor Pimpernel was killed by rabbits. What do you think about that?" (157). Especially since both of these occurrences directly follow each other, the reader is invited to equate Cowslip's warren with the cruelty of humans.

4.1.2 Hutch Rabbits: Captivity, Breeding, and Companion Animals

As Johnson shows, a majority of animal literature features companion animals, a theme that usually, if subtly, perpetuates anthropocentrist structures in its depiction of power relations between master and pet (28). While so far only wild rabbits have been characterized, this chapter will be dedicated to the representations of companion animals in *Watership Down* and how the novel engages with questions of captivity and breeding.

At one point in the novel, Hazel attempts to liberate four rabbits who live in a hutch on a farm, two "short-haired black Angoras" and two Himalayans (201). Their names are Laurel, Clover, Boxwood, and Haystack, and especially the latter two give testimony to their captivity, as they are named after things that surround them in a man-made environment. While wild rabbits have Lapine names that are translated into English, there is no indication that the hutch rabbits have any other names but the ones mentioned above. One may assume that a human being, presumably Lucy the farm girl who is later stated as their owners, has named the rabbits and that they identify with these given names. This calls to mind Derrida's discourse on name-giving practices that often indicate power relations and can become a means of subjugation. He illustrates this with the example of Genesis, in which Adam names the animals "without allowing himself to be seen or named by them" (386). Adam thus regards the animals but does not let them reciprocate his gaze, he is distanced, untouchable, and by naming them pulls himself out of, even negates relationships of

equality with animals, creating an abyss between himself and other animals. The hutch rabbits are given a name by a member of a different species, which symbolizes their status as her possession: they are named but do not name in return, they are looked at but their responding gaze is not registered.

The narrator explains that the hutch rabbits speak in "a slightly strange but perfectly intelligible Lapine" (200); Lapine is thus not like a human language that is taught and learned but rather a universal language understood by all rabbits, which supports the earlier discussed idea that Lapine does not exclusively rely on verbal speech but includes other cues such as stamping and smelling. To persuade the rather timid hutch rabbits to flee with him, Hazel enumerates the advantages of living in the wild, and the captive rabbits are "at once bewildered and fascinated" at such prospects of freedom (201). They experience their life in captivity "as dull but safe" (201) and seem incapable of making the decision to follow Hazel:

> Hazel realized that although they were glad to talk to him and welcome his visit because it brought a little excitement and change into their monotonous life, it was not within their capacity to take a decision and act on it. They did not know how to make up their minds. To him and his companions, sensing and acting were second nature; but these rabbits had never had to act to save their lives or even to find a meal. (201)

Their lives in captivity and dependence have thus stripped them of their ability to act and think on their own accord and they feel utterly overwhelmed once they have broken out of their hutch: "They did not know what to do or understand what was expected of them. […] They had no more idea of what was involved than a small child who says he will accompany the climbers up the fell" (214). They are depicted as child-like, ignorant, and undeveloped as they have been taken care of to such an extent that they never had to forage for food or ensure their survival in any way. Thus, the idea of keeping rabbits in a small hutch for all their lives is shown as denaturalizing: it alters their physical abilities, as their senses are weaker and they run slower than wild rabbits (250, 386); it influences aspects such as their breeding habits, as they do not have real breeding seasons like the wild rabbits (464); and it even affects their mental capacities, which can be seen in their inability to make decisions and think for themselves. Primatologists Birkett and McGrew make a statement against animals in captivity, although focusing predominantly on apes. They argue that humans bear responsibility for the animals' welfare when they place them into human-made environments, and that evidence of "unnatural behavior" shows that captivity is exceedingly harmful to their well-being (142):

> The chimpanzee mind – like the minds of all species, including humans – has been shaped over millions of years. Thus, when chimpanzees and other animal species are placed in environments that are so very different from their EEA [environment of evolutionary adaptedness], their minds are vulnerable to distortion, and the visible effect of this is the abnormal behavior demonstrated by the chimpanzees and many other

> captive species. As abnormality is likely to be an indicator of suffering, the abnormal behavior displayed highlights a welfare problem with unavoidable ethical implications. (155)

But it is not only captivity that has made the hutch rabbits the way they are. While the Efrafan does are also kept in similar conditions of captivity, they have not been bred and therefore, beneath their strange behavior, there is a naturalness to be found that the hutch rabbits are framed as lacking. Unlike the Efrafans, Hazel states, the hutch rabbits will

> never be quite like our kind. Clover, for instance – she'd never go far from the hole on silflay, because she knew she couldn't run as fast as we can. But these Efrafan does […] have been kept in by sentries all their lives. Yet now there aren't any, they wander about quite happily. (386)

It is thus not captivity but breeding that is portrayed as the decisive factor in the hutch rabbits' unnaturalness. The idea of breeding, of changing animals to fit human purposes and rearing fellow beings into dependence, is of course a thoroughly anthropocentrist practice based on the human desire to have ultimate control over nature and nonhumans. In a godlike move, species are created: "Based on selective breeding of individuals according to the domesticator's desired characters" and looks, nonhuman animals are altered "for human benefits" (Harel 51); rabbits like the Himalayans and Angoras are thus "creatures who are created for our pleasure" (Smith 356). Especially the mentioning of Angora rabbits emphasizes the harms of anthropocentrist breeding, as these rabbits have been bred in such a way that their fur grows incessantly so as to be exploited by the textile industry. However, Angora rabbits cannot cope with their long hair, and they often suffer and die from hairballs that their bodies are not able to regurgitate. As a result, their fur has to be harvested regularly, which entails extreme stress to these timid creatures. This is an example of *Qualzucht*, sometimes translated as torture breeding, a process in which animal bodies are deformed to gratify humans' egocentric wishes (Ullmann). Angora rabbits are an example of how beings are bred into absolute dependence and their bodies distorted in ways that are not only harmful to them but make it impossible to live independently from humans. The two Angoras mentioned in *Watership Down*, however, are short-haired, which makes their lives in freedom difficult but not impossible.

Regarding the bond between children and animals that Elick names as one of the main themes in animal stories (19), the relationship between the hutch rabbits and Lucy is not depicted as particularly deep and loving but rather as indifferent, at least on the rabbits' part. They mention that the farm girl Lucy takes care of them: "A child takes us out and puts us in a pen on the grass" (200), but there are no displays of deep affection for this child, and they do not consider her at all when they think about leaving the hutch – they are more daunted by the dangers that might await them outside of their safe environment. Johnson calls the relationship between

humans and their pets ambiguous: while on the one hand, they serve to foster empathy with animals as subjects rather than objects, these companion animals are usually not on an equal footing with their human masters, and she argues that "petkeeping functions, at least in part, as an exercise in domination" (56). Here, one might additionally argue that rabbits are often not understood as "companions" like cats and dogs, but that they are more like "[slaves], confined and forced to live with humans against [their] will" (Davis).

Along with the hutch rabbits, other companion animals, namely cats and dogs, are featured in *Watership Down*. They are deemed unnatural by the wild rabbits precisely on account of their relationship with humans. Dogs, unlike other rabbit predators, are depicted as rather obtuse, indicating the effects of breeding, for instance when Hazel uses the farm dog's stupidity to save his warren from the Efrafan rabbits. There is even a rabbit story about a dog called "Rowsby Woof and the Fairy Wogdog," in which dogs' obsequiousness toward humans is denounced. Rowsby Woof can be seen as a character standing in for all dogs as seen from the rabbits' point of view: he is "the most objectionable, malicious, disgusting brute that ever licked a man's hand" (395) and is described as "foolish," "conceited," and "ridiculous" (395). As he guards a man's vegetable garden and does not eat the vegetables himself, El-ahrairah holds that "anyone might have thought that he would be ready to let a few hungry animals have a lettuce or a carrot now and then" (395); which he is not, of course, showing him lacking in animal solidarity. El-ahrairah tricks Rowsby Woof into thinking that the magical queen of dogs will visit him soon, upon which he debases himself by crying: "What joy it will be to grovel and abase myself before the Queen! How humbly I shall roll upon the ground! How utterly shall I make myself her slave! What menial cringing will be mine! I will show myself a true dog!" (401). The rabbits thus see dogs as slaves, and even proud ones at that, whose decisive characteristic is to wallow in their subordination to humans. Cats, on the other hand, are represented as more intelligent but malicious, who take joy in playing with and torturing their victims, exemplified by a cat taunting Hazel once she has caught him (433). Unlike other predators featured in the novel, they kill for their amusement rather than to satisfy their hunger. Cats serve humans as they are bred to be "ratter[s]" (210) and kept on farms to kill "vermin," which the farmer elucidates when Lucy complains that their cat was trying to kill Hazel: "Cat was doin' 'is job then" (454). Further, cats and dogs share their lives with humans and are thus influenced by them; at one point, the narrator states that the rabbits "[do] not talk for talking's sake, in the artificial manner that human beings – and sometimes even their dogs and cats – do" (72). The artificiality of human conventions and habits seems to rub off on their companion animals, and much like Cowslip's warren, they are understood as having lost the naturalness and solidarity of wild animals.

Thus, *Watership Down* firstly criticizes the practice of keeping animals in captivity, exemplified by the case of the hutch rabbits who, by spending their lives in such a confined space, have become dull creatures with weakened senses and lacking in self-sufficiency. The notion of breeding is, from the anthropocentrist viewpoint of

the farmer, a positive thing, as cats and dogs have specific functions that benefit him while the hutch rabbits serve to entertain his daughter. However, from the wild rabbits' point of view, the idea of breeding is condemned, as it has served to denaturalize the rabbits, cats, and dogs featured in the novel, demoting them from unfettered subjects to a position of servitude. Unlike many animal stories, *Watership Down* is thus not a celebration of the bond between humans and companion animals, but it rather explores, with wild animals as the focalizers, the negative effects these processes of breeding and captivity have on various "companion" animals.

4.1.3 Efrafa: Fear, Power, and Rabbit Control

While Cowslip's warren and the hutch rabbits' lives are touched by humans and are thus represented as being influenced negatively by them, Efrafa is the only warren that has no relation to humans at all. It is precisely this, however, that can be seen as the root of their unnaturalness, as they actively avoid coming in contact with them: it is their biggest fear that men might discover them, for which reason the warren's oppressive system has been established in the first place (231).

Efrafa is a large, overcrowded warren, whose rabbits are divided into different groups called marks. The rabbits are bitten after birth and are thus given a scar at a specific place on their body that denotes to which mark they belong, e.g., the Right Flank Mark. If unknown rabbits happen to cross the path of Efrafan rabbits, they are either killed or forced to become part of Efrafa, as they are afraid that stray rabbits might "attract the attention of men" (232). Efrafa consists of a strict hierarchy: at the top presides General Woundwort who controls the Council and the Council police. These two rabbit bodies supervise the Owsla whose captains, sentries, and officers are in charge of the marks. Efrafa is thus an exceedingly hierarchical and well-managed place whose primary goal is to conceal the presence of the warren: their holes are hidden, the rabbits bury their droppings in specific places, and the marks are only allowed to go above ground taking turns at different times of night and day, under the strict supervision of the Owsla. As Holly remarks, "You can't call your life your own: and in return you have safety – if it's worth having at the price you pay" (231). Every aspect of the rabbits' lives, from feeding to breeding, is controlled by the Council, and they spend most of their lives underground. Living in such oppression "alters them very much" (232), they have become "very subdued and docile" (236), "their instincts are weakened by life in the Mark" (386), and "[m]ost of them can't do anything but what they're told" (232). In these respects, they are not unlike the hutch rabbits.

While Hazel's warren is based mostly on democratic thinking and decision-making, Efrafa displays a totalitarian regime. It is made clear that this system with its extreme precautions which aim to hide the warren's existence has been established out of fear of humans infecting them with the "white blindness" (231). Taking a look at Lockley's *The Private Life*, one may safely presume that Adams refers to myxomatosis, a rabbit sickness that plays an important part throughout Lockley's book and profoundly influenced the rabbit population in Britain in the twentieth century.

According to Lockley, myxomatosis induces blindness and deafness in rabbits and is spread via rabbit fleas; *Watership Down*'s remark that the "white blindness" "is carried by the fleas in rabbits' ears" (276) thus supports the idea that the sickness mentioned in the novel in all likelihood refers to myxomatosis. Lockley explains that until the nineteenth century, the rabbit population in Britain had been relatively small and kept in check by predators and farmers. The introduction of the Ground Game Act of 1880 allowed landowners to kill wild rabbits, which formerly had not been allowed because of game preservation, and they tended to use steel traps that killed not only rabbits but a great number of their predators as well; which, however, was seen as a positive side effect, as it ensured a greater number of rabbits to be caught by humans. As a result of the reduction of rabbit predators, the rabbit population increased excessively over the next decades, causing "intolerable damage to agricultural production of cereals, kale, roots and grass crops" (143). Myxomatosis, a rabbit sickness originating in the Americas, was artificially introduced in France in the 1950s as a means to control rabbit numbers, as well as in other countries like Australia and Chile, and it quickly spread to Britain in 1953. Lockley narrates from personal experience how British landowners and farmers traded infected rabbits to obliterate the warrens that ate away at their crops. This caused an epidemic that reduced the rabbit population to about one-tenth of its former number, as a consequence of which some rabbit predators became almost extinct (44).

It is precisely this anthropocentrist idea of "managing" and "controlling" nature that Julia Corbett criticizes in *Out of the Woods*: anthropocentrism is based on the idea that "humans can and do *control* nature," an idea in which "[n]ature is the machine and humans the engineers" (132; emphasis in the original). This notion of governing nature is prominent in much of human thought and is even part of governmental legislation; for instance, the UK's official governmental website "Rabbits: How to Control Numbers" calls it the responsibility of its citizens "to control rabbit numbers on [their] property and land"; legal means to do so are the usage of gas, traps, snares, shotguns, ferrets, and erecting fences to keep rabbits out. Lockley adds in his book that poison is not allowed, as it might risk the lives of other animals, especially domestic ones, which shows a clear division between the worth of pests and pets (169). However, humans act on this desire to control mostly without considering the extensive consequences their interference might have, as they are often ignorant of the complex interdependence that forms the basis of ecosystems. It was human laws that increased the rabbit population in Britain in the first place and human's artificial creation of an epidemic that reduced these numbers again once realization struck that the high rabbit numbers did humans more harm than good; not to speak of the near extinction of some rabbit predators and the steel trap's "bycatch" of foxes, stoats, badgers, dogs, and cats who had to die because of human whims and ignorance.

While fear of the white blindness is one reason why Efrafa has become a totalitarian regime, one might argue that the warren's abnormality emanates mostly from Woundwort and that the majority of the Efrafan rabbits are natural rabbits who had

the misfortune to be born under the eye of a powerful and unnatural rabbit; as Strawberry puts it, "[T]here are rabbits there who'd be the same as we are if they could only live naturally" (251), and an Efrafa officer holds that "[t]hey want to be natural, the anti-social little beasts. They just don't realize that everyone's good depends on everyone's cooperation" (312). Woundwort's unnaturalness even affects Hazel's warren: after they have fought Woundwort in the summer and the Efrafan does have born litters in non-mating seasons "because they'd had no natural life in Efrafa" (464), one of the rabbits remarks: "Frith never meant us to go on fighting in the high summer.[…] Everything that's happened is unnatural – the fighting, the breeding – and all on account of Woundwort. If he wasn't unnatural, who was?" (464).

To understand the character of Captain Woundwort and the reason why he is so atypical a rabbit, one has to take a look at his backstory, which *Watership Down* dedicates half a chapter to. The unfolding of his history begins with the statement that "Captain Woundwort was a singular rabbit" (301), and the chapter narrates that he was born three years ago near a cottage garden that his father frequently raided until he was consequently shot by the cottager. The man then proceeded to dig out Woundwort's mother and her litter and managed to kill all of his siblings. Woundwort and his mother were the only ones to escape, although not before the cottager wounded her with his shotgun. While through the eyes of rabbits, this event is framed as horrific and barbaric, the cottager's side is also briefly mentioned, as he only acted "[a]fter two or three weeks of spoiled lettuces and nibbled cabbage-plants" (301). From a human perspective, especially farmers and gardeners would probably agree that this would be a valid justification to make away with the tiresome creatures. However, the shift of perspective shows the traumatic and brutal effects this bloodshed has on the rabbits as sentient beings. Woundwort's bleeding mother was finally chased and caught by a weasel and her son had to watch "while his mother was killed before his eyes" (301). The weasel, having killed only to satisfy his hunger, left the young Woundwort untouched. Although two brutal scenes follow each other in Woundwort's life, this shows the contrast between animal predators and humans, a theme that is repeated throughout the novel: predators kill to survive and only when necessary while humans and their companion animals do not exclusively kill to satisfy their hunger, but out of annoyance or detached indifference.

The young Woundwort was found by "a kind old schoolmaster from Overton" who saved the rabbit by taking him home with him. However, Woundwort was not a rabbit to be kept in a cage: soon he was "big and strong and had become savage" (302) and subsequently managed to escape from his hutch. This relates to Lockley's statement in *The Private Life* that young wild rabbits who are raised by humans can seldom if ever be tamed (28). One might thus argue that the traumatizing event of the cottager killing almost his entire family is the root of Woundwort's unnaturalness and his fear of humans, which he projects on all his rabbits in Efrafa. His time in captivity probably also contributed to this, as it went against his dignity that he, a strong, fearless rabbit, had to live as a pet. Together with this humiliation, his stay

with the man may have augmented his fear of humans; he has no inhibitions about fighting cats, stoats, seagulls, and even a dog, but he knows himself powerless before so large and cunning an animal as a human being. Thus, the unnatural totalitarian regime that he imposes on his rabbits is a response to his two encounters with members of the human species. In fact, he is depicted as so unnatural, having so flagrantly transgressed the species boundaries, that he is declared more than once a non-rabbit: "He's not like a rabbit at all. […] Flight's the last thing he ever thinks of" (362), and: "Frith sees you! […] You're not fit to be called a rabbit!" (357).

So one can detect two forms of rabbit control in the analysis of Efrafa: on the one hand, the control of rabbit numbers by humans via "the white blindness," and of course General Woundwort's control of the Efrafan rabbits influenced by his history with humans. One should add, however, that to a great part, humans have become an excuse for Woundwort's totalitarian regime. He would not relinquish his power now even if he knew his rabbits completely safe from humans, as he shows when he rejects Hazel's proposition to merge both warrens, in a moment that tests "whether he was really the leader of vision and genius which he believed himself to be, or whether he was no more than a tyrant" (419); so his hunger for power is also a decisive factor in Efrafa's unnaturalness. Lastly, it is notable that the rabbits of Hazel's warren feel themselves inferior to the Efrafan rabbits, as they call themselves "a dirty little bunch of snivelling hedge-scrapers" in contrast (231), just like when encountering Cowslip they see themselves as poor and ragged (62). Before warrens that one might call more "civilized" or orderly, they feel their simplicity; yet it is this simplistic lifestyle and their faithfulness to what they perceive as the right way of living that not only lets them live self-sufficient, gregarious lives, but that also helps them survive while both the other warrens are doomed: Cowslip's warren has become nothing more than a food source for humans while Efrafa perishes together with Woundwort, the General having at last succumbed to his unnaturalness:

> He was a fighting animal – fierce as a rat or as a dog. He fought because he actually felt safer fighting than running. […] But it wasn't natural; and that's why it was bound to finish him in the end. He was trying to do something that Frith never meant any rabbit to do. I believe he'd have hunted like the elil [predators] if he could. (464)

4.2 Human Unnaturalness and the Technique of Defamiliarization

It has been shown that the misery that has befallen Cowslip's warren can be traced back to human influence, that hutch rabbits have become unnatural through the process of domestication and captivity, and that the unnatural case of Efrafa has its roots partly in the fear of humans. How, then, are humans themselves represented in the novel? The adjective "unnatural" almost always accompanies representations of human beings and man-made things, and the following two chapters will explore how both feature in the rabbits' worlds.

4.2.1 Human Cruelty and Destruction

Even before the narrative begins, *Watership Down* presents the short excerpt "Master Rabbit I Saw" from Walter de la Mare's poem commonly known as "As I Was Walking." Looking at the poem in its entirety, it is noticeable that it already establishes the tension in human-rabbit relations as represented in the novel. After depicting an idyllic evening in the English landscape, the lyrical I encounters a rabbit:

> Master Rabbit I saw
> In the shadow-rimmed mouth
> Of his sandy cavern,
> Looking out to the South.
> […]
> Lank human was I,
> And a foe, poor soul –
> Snowy flit of a scut,
> He was into his hole,
> And – stamp, stamp, stamp!
> Through dim labyrinths clear,
> The whole world darkened,
> A murderer near. (809)

The rabbit's tranquil repose is disturbed by the appearance of a human who is "a foe," even a "murderer," in the rabbit's eyes. Although the human in the poem does not seem to have bad intentions, instinct and perhaps experience seem to tell the rabbit that humans are best to be avoided. The novel's epigraph thus already introduces the clash of pastoral idyll and the threat of human cruelty and destruction that the first chapter continues. The first three paragraphs of the novel paint a picture of an idyllic evening in the countryside: in the "May sunset," the "dry slope [is] dotted with rabbits" whose safety is reinforced by the singing of a blackbird that tells them "that there [is] nothing alarming" (3); the narrator assures that "[t]he warren [is] at peace" (3). This image of tranquility, however, is disrupted once Fiver is introduced, who is emanating a nervous energy because he as a seer senses the warren's impending doom. When he perceives the sign telling of the imminent plan to turn the field into a housing estate, his foreboding culminates in a fearful outcry: "The field! It's covered with blood!" (7). Regarding this first chapter, John Pennington holds that the contrast of "the pastoral setting of the warren with the visions of Fiver" symbolizes "the invasion of man into their Arcadia" ("Peter Rabbit" 73-74).

This already introduces Holly's first-hand account of the annihilation of Sandleford Warren via gas and guns, the horror of which Fiver could sense by looking at the sign. Holly's narration is arguably the most brutal episode of the novel but also most revealing regarding *Watership Down*'s message about animal-human relations, and it will thus constitute the main focus of this chapter. A method used throughout the novel to represent humans and human-made objects is Viktor Shklovsky's technique of "defamiliarization." In his essay "Art as Technique," he explains it as a

means to make "the familiar seem strange by not naming the familiar object" and further by "[describing] an object as if […] seeing it for the first time, an event as if it were happening for the first time" (13). In *Watership Down*, this technique serves to convey a certain credibility and otherness when it comes to the representation of animal minds, and it further emphasizes the unnaturalness of human behavior and objects as perceived through the rabbits' eyes. Most notable is Holly's description of men using gas to kill the rabbits: after filling up most of the warren's holes,

> [t]hey took down some big, long things – I don't know how to describe them to you – they were made of the same sort of stuff as a hrududu [car]. […] Then, another of the men fetched some long, thin, bending things. I haven't got words for all these men-things, but they were something like lengths of very thick bramble. Each of the men took one and put it on one of the heavy things. There was a kind of hissing noise and – and – well, I know you must find this difficult to understand, but the air began to turn bad. (151-152)

Holly's awkward repetition of the word "things" expresses his helplessness in explaining these human-made objects for which there are no Lapine words; in fact, he uses the idea of a plant to clarify to the other rabbits what he means: gas hoses become "lengths of very thick bramble," a toxic death device invented by humans is described via a plant simile. As will be shown in the following, Adams' rabbits often make sense of human-made phenomena with the help of plant analogies that serve to reinforce the natural-unnatural dichotomy of rabbits and humans respectively. After all rabbits have either succumbed to the gas underground or have been shot when trying to flee the burrows, Holly describes how a large yellow *hrududu* approached, for which he also makes use of a plant simile: "It was […] as yellow as charlock," he explains, and "in front there was a great, silver, shining thing that it held in its huge front paws" (154). The rabbits cannot comprehend that something that seems to move on its own accord can be anything but alive, which is why this bulldozer must be some kind of animal and is described as having "paws." Holly tells the listening rabbits that the bulldozer blade "looked like Inlé, but it was broad and not so bright" (154). The Black Rabbit of Inlé, as has been discussed, is the rabbits' figure of death, and the black blade thus evokes the idea of death and destruction: "it buried itself in the ground and pushed great masses of earth in front of it until the field was destroyed" (154). The words "bulldozer" or "gas hose" are never mentioned: the readers must figure out for themselves what Holly is referring to in his narration, thus seeing these defamiliarized objects with new eyes, namely with those of wild rabbits.

The rabbits' focalization is central for conveying anti-anthropocentrist messages: if one of the men were to be the focalizer, the rabbits would possibly be framed as vermin, a nuisance to be taken care of to make land development possible. However, the animal perspective frames the men as ruthless and villainous, and instead of simply making way for a housing estate, they are destroying an entire rabbit world.

Defamiliarization thus compels the reader "to reconsider familiar ideas" about what it means to be human (Bernaerts et al. 73), and in this case also what a rabbit's life means to humans. The usage of gas and guns to kill rabbits, as it is described in *Watership Down*, are nowadays still legal means to make away with rabbit "pests" ("Rabbits"). However, by showing these forms of destruction from a rabbit's defamiliarizing perspective, the novel questions the human right to do so while even being encouraged by law. This scene thus invites the reader to take the side of the rabbits, evoking empathy in its detailed narration of how the rabbits suffer in their last minutes underground, how they tear over each other to get out of the poisonous runs, and how does desperately try to protect their kittens. Humans are impelled to imagine it is they who are choking in the fumes and who are trying to save themselves and their children. According to Bernaerts et al., defamiliarization and empathy, or "distancing and identification" (73-74), tend to go hand in hand in animal fiction, and in *Watership Down* they prove to be powerful techniques to represent rabbit-human relations.

The chapter on the annihilation of Sandleford can be seen as the epitome of human cruelty in the novel. Holly remembers that after having escaped the bloodbath, another survivor, Toadflax, realized why men wanted the rabbits dead:

> Bluebell had been saying that he knew the men hated us for raiding their crops and gardens and Toadflax answered, "That wasn't why they destroyed the warren. It was just because we were in their way. They killed us to suit themselves." (155)

Here, the novel overtly condemns the view that the lives and deaths of animals are mandated by the whims and anthropocentrist attitudes of humans. It seems that the rabbits could understand if humans killed out of fury, as other animals might do, but they cannot comprehend this cold, detached, and indifferent annihilation of their warren only "because [they] were in their way." Toadflax senses that rabbit lives hold little or no value in the eyes of humans, which the scene of the destruction of Sandleford makes most painfully clear. To underline the centrality of this chapter's message regarding human-animal relations, it is the only one, excepting the epilogue, that is headed by two epigraphs instead of one. The first epigraph is taken from Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* and goes: "Love the animals. God has given them the rudiments of thought and joy untroubled. Don't trouble it, don't harass them, don't deprive them of their happiness, don't work against God's intent" (148). This quote expresses the idea that by going against animals, one is going against God. It moreover emphasizes that animals have thoughts and feelings, thus indicating sameness with humans, a technique used by many contemporary animal rights activists. However, the quote also indicates a speciesist hierarchy by stating that animals only have "rudiments" of thoughts and joy; further, animals are represented as ever-joyful, which can be seen as negating their suffering, a notion which the chapter tries to work against through in-depth explorations of leporine agony and torture. The second epigraph is taken from W. H. Auden's *The Ascent of F.6*: "Acts of injustice done

/ Between the setting and the rising sun / In history lie like bones, each one" (148). Although the quote originally does not refer to animals, in the context of *Watership Down* it emphasizes the significance and atrocity of every single act of cruelty done to animals as experiencing subjects, and that these crimes can be found scattered throughout history. Of course, in the context of animal killings, the skeletons also have a literal meaning, as they refer to all animal beings who were killed unjustly by humans, like, for instance, the rabbits of Sandleford Warren. Both epigraphs thus underline the novel's condemnation of the needless killing of rabbits that is made possible through the deeply ingrained belief in the triviality of other-than-human life – so deeply ingrained, in fact, that it becomes a legitimized practice upheld by law.

4.2.2 Human-Made Objects and Noise

Human ubiquity is especially emphasized through miscellaneous human-made objects that the rabbits encounter on their journey and that are repeatedly framed as unnatural via the technique of defamiliarization. One example in which defamiliarization, a plant metaphor, and a charge of unnaturalness are combined is the rabbits' idea of "iron tree[s]" (121) that emit an "unnatural humming" (120) and that turn out to be pylons. The most frequently mentioned objects by far are cigarettes, which in most cases announce the approach of a human being. The rabbits defamiliarize cigarettes by referring to them as "little white sticks that they burn in their mouths" (59) and which are accompanied by "[a] dangerous smell, an unpleasant smell, a totally unnatural smell" (80). Its stench becomes representative of humans and mostly incites sentiments of horror and fear in the rabbits. The first chapter, which already features its first cigarette, also includes another instance of human presence that strikes the rabbits as deeply strange and ominous: the sign that foretells the calamity which is about to befall the warren and that inspires such horror and bloody visions in Fiver. Even the shape of the characters on the sign speaks of the cruelty of men: they are "sharp, hard letters that cut straight as black knives across its white surface," and the words themselves inform that "this ideally situated estate, comprising six acres of excellent building land, is to be developed with high class modern residences" (8). The field, having encompassed the rabbits' entire world for many generations, has become, in the minds of humans who have turned from nature to capitalism, merely "six acres of excellent building land" (8). Blackberry, the most intelligent rabbit of the lot, remarks "that he had always felt sure that men left these things about to act as signs or messages of some kind, in the same way that rabbits left marks on runs and gaps" (13). A sign is thus likened to a territorial marking practice whereby rabbits, for instance, use urine and scent from their chin glands to claim "ownership" of a certain area. By erecting the sign in the field of the rabbits, humans designate their ownership of this area that they later occupy by exterminating its former inhabitants and by turning the rabbits' homes into their own "high class modern residences." Thus, by defamiliarizing human writing on a sign as a

marking of territory, it is imbued with new meaning as it becomes a means of encroachment, a display of power, and a symbol that the home of the rabbits is now irrevocably possessed by humankind.

Roads and cars, or *hrududil*, also feature consistently in the rabbits' journey. When the rabbits first come upon a road, Hazel defamiliarizes it by calling it a "black, smooth and straight" river (46). Once he recognizes its "strange, strong smells of tar and oil," he comments: "But that's not natural" (46). Bigwig explains that it is man-made and that humans "put that stuff there and then the hrududil run on it – faster than we can; and what else can run faster than we?" This evokes the rabbits' origin myth in which Frith bestows on the rabbits the ability to run "faster than any creature in the world" (28). The idea that *hrududil* are even quicker than themselves tells the rabbits that cars cannot possibly be part of Frith's plan for the world, that it must therefore be a godlike move on the part of unnatural humans to defy Frith and create something even faster. Cars themselves overwhelm the rabbits' senses and fill them with terror: the passing of a car "in a flash of man-made, unnatural colour" engulfs "the whole world [in] noise and fear," and the exhaust fumes emanate "a hostile, chocking smell" (46, 47, 218). The car's lights in the night scare the rabbits almost to death as the glare paralyzes their instincts: Bigwig explains that "the hrududil have great lights, brighter than Frith himself" (48), which is again an instance of blasphemy, as humans dare to compete with Frith who, according to rabbit mythology, is also the humans' god. The danger of the cars and roads is emphasized when the rabbits find "a flattened, bloody mass of brown prickles and white fur, with small black feet and snout crushed round the edges" (47). It is a hedgehog, or *yona* in Lapine. Blackberry is appalled, because, as he puts it, "What harm does a yona do to anything but slugs and beetles? And what can eat a yona?" (47). Cars are thus seen as dangerous predators of inoffensive animals that "draw creatures towards them and if they shine on you, you can't see or think which way to go. Then the hrududu is quite likely to catch you" (48). Like with the bulldozer, the rabbits have difficulties understanding that cars can move on their own but are inanimate, as can be seen by their confusion: "See? They don't hurt you. […] As a matter of fact, I don't think they're alive at all. But I must admit I can't altogether make it out" (47).

Further, the railroad, or the "iron road" as the rabbits call it (286), is also featured a few times throughout the narrative, and again Hazel takes offense at "its unnatural smells of metal, coal-smoke and oil" (286). After a train divides Holly from the pursuing Efrafans, he recounts that it was

> as big as a thousand hrududil […] [and] full of fire and smoke and light and it roared and beat on the metal lines until the ground shook beneath it. It drove in between us and the Efrafans like a thousand thunderstorms with lightning. I tell you, I was beyond being afraid. (239)

As the train is a phenomenon that cannot be explained by the rabbits, it is regarded as something sublime and awe-inspiring, not part of the natural world but rather "a fiery, thundering angel" and one of the "great Messengers" of Frith (286, 239). Thus,

defamiliarized human-made objects are used throughout the novel as alienating strategies to imagine how wild rabbits would understand cigarettes, pylons, written signs, cars, and trains, and to underline, from the perspective of wild rabbits, humanity's unnaturalness.

Throughout the novel, Hazel and his friends search for a pastoral ideal where the effects of industrialization and urbanization cannot be felt. Their safe haven on the top of Watership Down is described as a sort of Utopia where they can finally live in peace: "a high, lonely place with dry soil, where rabbits can see and hear all round and men hardly ever come" (33). But even here, they are not entirely able to escape ubiquitous humanity: from up on Watership, they have a view of a "pylon-line stalking away" to the horizon (132), and especially noise traverses the distance that divides rabbits from the nearest human dwellings. The novel makes its position especially clear in the following quote:

> Nowadays, among fields and woods, the noise level by day is high – too high for some kinds of animal to tolerate. Few places are far from human noise – cars, buses, motorcycles, tractors, lorries. The sound of a housing estate in the morning is audible a long way off. People who record birdsong generally do it very early – before six o'clock – if they can. Soon after that, the invasion of distant noise in most woodland becomes too constant and too loud. During the last fifty years the silence of much of the country has been destroyed. But here, on Watership Down, there floated up only faint traces of the daylight noise below. (128)

This expresses an ecocritical warning, an appeal to humans to change their behavior lest silence, especially the pastoral silence of the English countryside, will disappear for good. Although human beings are mostly absent on Watership, their presence can be found everywhere, and even this safe haven has been penetrated by noise. As Pennington argues, the rabbits are ever in search of an Arcadia, but as the utopian place on the hills has been invaded by humanity, it is only in death that Hazel is able to reach "El-ahrairah's arcadian world" ("Peter Rabbit" 77).

4.3 From Anthropocentrist Humanism to Empathic Animality

4.3.1 "Primitive" and "Civilized" Humans: Overcoming Human-Animal Dualism

So far, the natural-unnatural dichotomy explored in the preceding chapters has mostly framed humans and those animals who have not been influenced by humanity as two separate and antithetical categories. However, this human-animal dualism is complicated with Adams' reference to so-called "primitive" people who are depicted as similar to wild animals and who are in turn contrasted with "civilized" human beings. The novel indicates that there does exist a gulf between animals and civilized humans, but rather than basing the distinction on human exceptionalism founded on the belief of exclusive qualities such as reason, speech, or consciousness,

the novel proposes that what differentiates animal beings from so-called civilized humans is nothing other than the unnaturalness of the latter.

Watership Down's recurring reference to "primitive" people who share similarities with animals might be traced back to Lockley's influence, as he, too, mentions similar parallels in *The Private Life,* for example when likening the rabbits' social structure to that "of a primitive community" (64). In *Watership Down*, various passages establish a closeness between animal beings and "primitive" humans. For instance, when explaining that rabbits have no concept of "precise time" and "punctuality," Adams writes:

> In this respect they are much the same as primitive people, who often take several days over assembling for some purpose and then several more to get started. Before such people can act together, a kind of telepathic feeling has to flow through them and ripen to the point when they all know that they are ready to begin. Anyone who has seen the martins and swallows in September […] – the hundreds of individual birds merging and blending […] into swarms, and these swarms coming loosely and untidily together to create a great, unorganized flock – […] anyone seeing this has seen at work the current that flows (among creatures who think of themselves primarily as part of a group and only secondary, if at all, as individuals) to fuse them together and impel them into action without conscious thought or will. (16-17)

"Primitive people" are likened to rabbits and birds through the claim that they are connected by a sort of tribal telepathic connection that creates unity and incites instinctive and synchronized reactions. Just as the narrator is fashioned as an authority on rabbits, the assertive tone of this passage indicates that this information should be taken at face value. In a next instance, the narrator states that when the rabbits encounter something unknown that they cannot comprehend, their indifferent reaction is reminiscent of

> simple African villagers, who have never left their remote homes, [and] may not be particularly surprised by their first sight of an aeroplane: it is outside their comprehension. But their first sight of a horse pulling a cart will set them pointing and laughing at the ingenuity of the fellow who thought of that one. (293)

Here, Adams elucidates that for him, the term "primitive people" at least in some cases denotes Africans: "African villagers" are portrayed as child-like and "simple," whose mental functions are represented as undeveloped, and who have never seen an airplane or even a horse pulling a cart before. Another example depicts "primitive" humans with strong feelings and sympathy as contrasted with civilized people: "Yet, as with primitive humans, the very strength and vividness of [the rabbits'] sympathy brought with it true release. Their feelings were not false or assumed. While the story was being told, they heard it without any of the reserve or detachment that the kindest of civilized humans retains as he reads his newspaper" (159). This quote

creates a sharp division between "primitive" and "civilized" humans, in which the latter have lost the ability to feel strongly for others. The mentioning of the newspaper indicates a rather detached form of empathy, as it daily supplies humans with a multitude of horrors that are received in a disconnected way and blunt the ability to sympathize with others.

Of course, the appellation "primitive people" and their demarcation from "civilized" humans is highly problematic as both categories are framed as binary oppositions and are respectively imbued with values; fundamentally generalizing and reductive, the novel's notion of and ideas about so-called primitive people represented as facts are possibly the products of Adams' imagination fed by Romantic accounts of "the noble savage" as well as of travel reports and notes from settlers and colonizers who mostly described "from above." His depiction of African villagers reflects a stereotypical image of Africans as "primitive" and "simple" and mirrors the prevalent conception that Africa is one homogeneous country instead of a continent comprised of diverse cultures. Regarding the term itself, in his article "Primitive Society," A. F. Robertson traces its usage throughout the last centuries: until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the designation "primitive" was used to simply denote "first" or "earliest"; it was only in the context of European colonization that the term was imbued with connotations like "inferior, backward, rude" and was used to contrast and celebrate Western societies that were seen as having attained civilization. In the middle of the twentieth century, influenced by postcolonial discourse, the term fell into disfavor, while the two World Wars contributed to the growing suspicion that civilized societies were not as progressive as believed (12046, 12048). Instead of "primitive," scholars began to adopt terms such as "preliterate" and "nonliterate" that are still in usage today (12049). However, the 1970s saw a revived interest in the term, as "the primitive social structure supposedly set up antibodies for the development of inequality, leadership, capitalism, the state, and the other vices of modern civilization," and it came to be seen by many as something ideal rather than backward (12048). According to Robertson, the main reason why the term continues to persist even today is due to nostalgia which is produced by contrasting "the noble savage" with "the vices of civilization," and which is based on the idea that one can find in nonliterate societies "redemption" and "moral [virtues] lacking in so-called civilized societies" (2049).

Watership Down, written at a time when interest in the term was rekindled, partakes in the trend of nostalgia as it espouses the "image of our natural selves before we were corrupted by the rise of capitalism" (Robertson 12050). The novel proposes consistently that there is a natural way of living for each species, and that transgressions of these boundaries result in unnaturalness. By placing primitive humans on the same level as "natural" animals and by insisting that civilized human beings lack the ability to sympathize with others and are excluded from unifying and meaningful relationships with each other and their environment, *Watership Down* indicates that the "right" way of life for humans is that of nonliterate societies. Adams' stance regarding the degeneration of civilization and the ideal "primitive state" is not a new

thought as it can be traced especially to ideas put forth by Jean Jacques Rousseau, who understood civilization as the source for moral corruption. Rousseau saw so-called "savages" as leading the most natural lives, holding that

> [t]he example of savages, most of whom have been found in this [primitive] state, seems to prove that men were meant to remain in it, that it is the real youth of the world, and that all subsequent advances have been apparently so many steps towards the perfection of the individual, but in reality towards the decrepitude of the species.

Thus, following in Rousseau's footsteps, *Watership Down* emphasizes that by leaving this "primitive state," humans have fallen out of their deep and rich relationships with the earth and with fellow earth dwellers and have become "civilized" and unnatural.

Insisting on parallels between groups of human beings and animals plays into racist ideas that aim to establish these groups as "sub-human"; it is offensive as it is implied that animals are subordinate to humans. In *Watership Down*, however, this is complicated as it repeatedly emphasizes that wild animals are in some ways superior to civilized humans; further, that "primitive people" are even living an ideal state of being that civilized humans have forfeited and slowly eroded via factors such as urbanization, industrialization, capitalism, individualism, and rationalism. In a way, *Watership Down* attempts to invert the discriminatory duality that sees nonliterate societies as inferior by depicting civilized people as having lost an essential part of what it means to be human. However, this does not change that the conceptions of "African villagers" or "primitive people," which in themselves are already excessively vague and generalized terms, are of a deeply patronizing and stereotypical nature. The novel thus paradoxically expresses a condescending view of nonliterate societies while simultaneously arguing that their way of life is ideal for the human species. I contend that this contradiction reveals that *Watership Down* does not really argue for a return to this model "primitive" state: the novel revels in a certain kind of nostalgia, but it is nostalgia for something that is portrayed as irreversibly gone for civilized humans, and racist implications illustrate that a return to this state would not be desirable now. As an alternative, I argue in the next chapter that the novel proposes that there is another way to regain access to a state of interspecies respect and response-ability by becoming aware of one's relatedness with other beings and living in a network of empathy.

With all its racist overtones, the proposition that "primitive" people are similar to nonhuman animals depicts permeable boundaries between humans and animals and thus challenges the Cartesian and Heideggerian divide. The novel argues that humans are much more "animal" than they are aware of themselves and that it is under layers of civilization that one can find one's animality. This idea is emphasized in a central passage of the novel, in which the rabbit Strawberry explains:

> Animals don't behave like men. […] If they have to fight, they fight; and if they have to kill, they kill. But they don't sit down and set their wits to work to devise ways of spoiling other creatures' lives and hurting them. They have dignity and animality. (235)

Adams additionally accentuates the importance of this idea by emphasizing animals' "dignity and 'animality'" in an introduction to a revised edition of *The Private Life* (qtd. in Meyer, "Myth" 142). The recurring contrast between primitive and civilized humans throughout the novel elucidates that with "men," Strawberry refers here particularly to those human beings who have rejected their equitable relationships with other species. Parallels between rabbits and "primitive people" indicate that the latter are part of this animality like any other species, as they lead lives in harmony with the earth and with nonhumans; civilized human beings, on the other hand, have, through the process of changing nature to suit themselves, changed themselves, and have become detached from their animality by conceptualizing themselves as non-animals. However, *Watership Down* argues that they should and could be part of animality if they abandoned the idea of anthropocentrist humanism that puts them into a different category from all other species on earth.

This concept of animality can thus be seen as a move away from anthropocentrist humanism, which Weitzenfeld and Joy define as the roots of anthropocentrism as we know it today (3). Unlike humanism, the idea of animality is of course much more inclusive, as it encompasses all animal species instead of elevating a single one. As has already been mentioned earlier, Weitzenfeld and Joy contend that anthropocentrist humanism is based on the ideas of human exceptionalism, perfection, and dignity, which are withheld from nonhumans, and in *Watership Down*, these three fundamental principles are extended to all of animality: human exceptionalism with its insistence that only humans possess such qualities as reason, consciousness, culture, and speech is made to include nonhumans by emphasizing animal subjectivities which encompass these qualities as well; similarly, human perfection, the idea that "human consciousness is conceptualized as an individual and autonomous entity capable of […] self-realization and self-determination" (6), is likewise opened up to all animality: the rabbits are themselves actors rather than "objects of human cruelty or kindness" (Elick 8) as they actively seek their Arcadia in the form of Watership hill – although the idea of autonomous entities will be questioned in the following chapter. Thirdly, human dignity, the notion that those beings who have self-determination possess intrinsic value, is also expanded to encompass all of animality. This is made clear through Strawberry's emphasis that animals have dignity, and especially through *Watership Down*'s constant insistence that animals are agential subjects who do not possess merely instrumental value or no value at all, but rather intrinsic self-worth. Thus, *Watership Down* overcomes the human-animal dualism so central to "hard" anthropocentrist ideology by emphasizing an inclusive animality to which all humans could belong if only they accepted their animalness and relinquished the destructive ideas of exclusive exceptionalism and superiority. As Marc Bekoff holds,

"We are animals and we should be proud and aware of our membership in the animal kingdom" ("Speciesism" 16).

Lastly, within the context of the novel's proposed similarity between "primitive" humans and rabbits, I will turn to the question of whether the rabbits in *Watership Down* can be read as allegories. By reexamining the preceding chapters on rabbit subjectivities, one can assume that some aspects of the literary rabbits are partly modeled after ideas of nonliterate societies, such as the rabbits' oral culture, their rejection of Western ideas like ocularcentrism and social constructs of romantic love, and a strong focus on collectivism. In a next step, one can read Cowslip's warren as an analogy of civilized humans. To Hazel, Cowslip smells "of health and of a certain indolence, as though the other came from some rich, prosperous country where he himself had never been" (61-62). Cowslip's politeness and his stated aristocracy further remind of the polite society especially of eighteenth-century England and can be interpreted as a criticism of such a way of life; like Cowslip's warren, "civilized" people can be seen as having turned from lives centering on close relationships with the earth to performative, detached courteousness. According to Fiver, this creates an emptiness that the rabbits of Cowslip's warren attempt to fill with practices and behavior that generate condescending attitudes toward "primitive" rabbits and erroneous notions of their own exclusive exceptionalism:

> They found out other marvellous arts to take the place of tricks and old stories. They danced in ceremonious greetings. They sang songs like the birds and made shapes on the walls; and though these could help them not at all, yet they passed the time and enabled them to tell themselves that they were splendid fellows, the very flower of Rabbitry. (113)

Both "civilized" rabbits and "civilized" humans are shown to have distanced themselves from their species' natural way of life: the rabbits reveal their own chauvinism by deeming themselves "the very flower of Rabbitry," which is a thinly-veiled criticism of anthropocentrism, the belief that the human species is the very flower of all life on earth. Civilized humans, like Cowslip's warren, can thus be seen as transgressing their species boundaries by conceptualizing themselves as the apex of evolution. While the compartmentalizing and generalizing nature of the primitive/civilized dichotomy employed throughout the novel and especially reductive representations of the "primitive" cannot but be discredited by contemporary readers, this allegorical reading at least has the potential to point toward a criticism of Western cultures which not only place themselves above other cultures, but which essentially understand themselves as the self-proclaimed rulers of planet earth.

Are the rabbits in *Watership Down* thus allegorical devices used to show humans of Western cultures what they have lost and how they ought to live? How to solve the question of rabbits either as allegories or as actual rabbits? I argue that it is not a question of either/or, but rather a fusion of the two: to use Charles Meyer's words,

"Watching Adams's rabbits […] means simultaneously watching dignified wild animals *and* ourselves" ("Myth" 140; emphasis in the original). This combination does not only have the potential to represent complex animal subjectivities and to portray rabbits as animals in their own right, but the rabbits can further embody messages about humanity and about man-made and constructed human-animal dualism, thus working against anthropocentrism in multiple ways.

4.3.2 Interspecies Empathy: A Hopeful Outlook?

Joseph Krutch proposes that animal stories are not only about the animals themselves but

> also about the [people] who have been moved, for one reason or another, to write on that subject. Sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously (but always inevitably) the writer implies an answer to one or more of the questions which any concern with an animal must raise. (Qtd. in Arbuthnot and Sutherland 393)

One major question that the novel puts forth is how species relations can be ameliorated, so what humans can do to move toward a healthier relationship with their nonhuman kin. *Watership Down*, I argue, proposes that the first step toward a more respectful, less anthropocentrist world lies in interspecies empathy. *Watership Down* is far from the first animal story that encourages compassion toward animal beings; it is, in fact, a theme as old as the genre itself. Interesting in *Watership Down* in particular, however, is that Adams not only takes care to depict empathy between different human characters and rabbits but also among different species of nonhuman animals, which serves to illustrate all the more clearly the webs of interdependence that define the world. The first part of this chapter will therefore focus on human-animal empathy while the second part will explore the other multiple instances of interspecies empathy as portrayed in the novel.

Watership Down features three human beings who feel empathy with animals: the "kind old schoolmaster" who saves Woundwort's life (302) and farm-girl Lucy and Doctor Adams who set Hazel free. The schoolmaster is only mentioned in passing: when he finds the young Woundwort next to his dead mother, he nurses him back to health in his own kitchen, "feeding him with milk from a nasal dropper until he was old enough to eat bran and greenstuff" (302). Although Wordsworth is far from thankful as this incident has fueled his fear of and aversion for humans, it still shows that the schoolmaster has good intentions. Much more productive for the current analysis is the case of Lucy and Doctor Adams: their empathy is especially explored in a later chapter that breaks unexpectedly with the rest of the novel. Generally, the focalizers in *Watership Down* are rabbits, which means that the readers are invited to judge humanity from the rabbit perspective. Chapter 48, however, shocks the reader into a human-centered perspective as it is suddenly told from the point of view of the farmer's daughter Lucy. The chapter portrays a strikingly human consciousness

that differs from that of the rabbit focalizers; for example, while the rabbits repeatedly use plant similes to make sense of the world, the first paragraph of the chapter tells that Lucy's dream drains "like water out of a wash-basin" and that the morning sounds seem to her "like the first strokes of a paint-brush on a big sheet of paper" (452). These similes illustrate a difference in being-in-the-world as they highlight the way humans are surrounded and their consciousness influenced by human-made objects.

After Lucy saves Hazel from the cat's claws, which the chapter's title calls an act of *deus ex machina*, she first intends to keep him. It is her father the farmer who informs her that a wild rabbit in a hutch would quickly die, although he does not tell her this out of empathy for Hazel; instead, he holds that Lucy should have let the cat finish the rabbit and contemplates killing Hazel himself. He sees Hazel as vermin because the rabbit has no utilitarian value for him while on a farm, a loose rabbit could "do all manner o' bloomin' 'arm" (454). Lucy, however, begins to cry as she is "upset by the idea of killing the rabbit in cold blood" (454): unlike most of the human characters featured in the novel, she does not think unnecessary killing right. Lucy presents the rabbit to Doctor Adams, a gentle and slightly eccentric man who shows kindness to children as well as to animals and who shares her father's opinion that wild animals cannot live in cages: "he wouldn't live shut up in a box. If he couldn't get out he'd soon die." However, instead of proposing to kill him, he declares: "I should let the poor chap go" (456). Doctor Adams shares the same last name as the author and might be seen as speaking for him. This is emphasized by the "Note" at the beginning of the book, in which it says that "Mr. and Mrs. Cane, their little girl Lucy and their farmhands are fictitious and bear no intentional resemblance to any person known to me." It is noticeable that the name of Doctor Adams is excluded from this list, the only other human character with a name. In a way, Doctor Adams is the only person who acknowledges Hazel as a creature with the right to live in freedom rather than as vermin or a food item, and he devises the plan to drive Hazel some distance away from the farm and set him free.

Lucy, on the other hand, initially sees Hazel as a potential pet, an animal to be held in a cage for her own amusement, like the hutch rabbits she "owned" until most of them were able to escape. It is only after Doctor Adams teaches her that Hazel as a wild animal would not survive in captivity that she agrees to set him free. However, although she first saves him from the cat and then from her father, one could argue that she does not acknowledge Hazel, or other animals for that matter, as fully-fledged subjects with the unconditional right to liberty, or even as individuals. Barbara Smuts shows that before she traveled with baboons and chimps in Africa, she mostly did not recognize the individuality of animal beings, either; when encountering a squirrel, "I would enjoy its presence, but I would experience it as a member of a class, 'squirrel,'" and Smuts had to learn to become aware "of the individuality of each animal" (301). This experience of species generalization is probably shared by many, yet spending time with a particular animal – as anyone finding themselves in a relationship with a companion animal can probably assert – will reveal this animal

as a distinct, idiosyncratic individual. Lucy's ambiguous understanding of nonhumans is made clear when she mentions her collection of "things she has found": she lists a bird's egg, "a Painted Lady fluttering in a jam jar," and a fungus (454). Putting the captured butterfly, and also the fungus, on the same level as an egg and calling them "things" demotes them to mere objects. Further, she describes Hazel as "a damaged rabbit" (454), the adjective representing Hazel more as a broken thing than an injured being. Lucy would probably not have called a wounded human "damaged." At least, Lucy seems to credit Hazel with limited subjectivity: Hazel's squeal conveys to her that he is "frightened" and "desperate" (453), implying that he is not perceived as an emotionless machine in the Cartesian sense, and Lucy seems to think she can communicate with him to a certain degree, saying: "'Old still! […] I ain't gon' 'urtcher!'" (453). This conflicting perception of Hazel as both a thing and a subject as well as the varying conceptions of him as displayed by the farmer and Doctor Adams tell of the complex and oftentimes contradictory view of animals that pervades many human cultures, in which an animal can be deemed sentient, even a companion, while in different situations this same animal being is conceptualized as vermin whose life holds no value.

The two empathic human beings Lucy and Doctor Adams thus suddenly break with the depiction of cruel and ruthless humanity upheld so far. *Watership Down* promotes the idea that it is especially male adults who have lost the ability to feel empathy, as it is consistently human men who hunt and kill rabbits throughout the novel, while Lucy is shown to have retained an empathic connection to nonhumans. This can be read as a legacy of Romanticism, in which children were seen as especially close to nature. The figure of Doctor Adams, however, may aim to demonstrate that grown men can also remain empathic; the novel thus attempts to instruct not only its young readers to show empathy to animals, like most animal stories throughout the centuries, but also addresses its adult readers to become aware of the disconnection that characterizes much of human's relationship with other-than-human life, stressing that this connection can be regained if, similar to Doctor Adams, one keeps an open mind and heart. Bekoff as well emphasizes the importance of empathy, yet he holds that "[p]eople who care about animals and nature are often made to feel they must apologize for their views. They are disparaged for 'romanticizing' animals or being sentimental" (*Rewilding* 5). *Watership Down* aims to contradict this idea with the introduction of the empathic doctor who demonstrates that there is no disgrace in feeling for animal beings. Empathy thus becomes the key to more respectful and sustainable relationships, as it is the first step toward questioning the deep-seated belief of the centrality of humankind.

Although human empathy is an important theme in *Watership Down*, it is salient that both of these instances of empathy are unilateral: the human characters in the novel choose to bestow compassion on animals just as they bestow pain and death; to a certain degree, they recognize that animals can respond, but they do not really attempt to reciprocate the animal's gaze. The following examples show that among other animal species, reciprocal empathy exists and that it can become a necessary

means for survival. One instance of interspecies empathy within the narrative is Hazel's compassion for the mouse that prompts him to save his life from a kestrel. Bigwig, perhaps the most callous and prejudiced of the rabbits, asks: "I know you're not stupid, but what did we get out of that? Are you going in for protecting every mole and shrew that can't get underground?" (144), reflecting the opinion that it is not the rabbits' duty to save other animals, especially in the world of predator and prey where being eaten is not out of the ordinary. Hazel explains that, even though he did not save the mouse with an ulterior motive, he might be of help to them:

> We're in a strange place we don't know much about and we need friends. Now elil can't do us good, obviously, but there are many creatures that aren't elil. […] Rabbits don't usually have much to do with them, but their enemies are our enemies for the most part. (161)

He encourages the others to help any non-predatory animals in need as they might be able to help the rabbit community in the long run. While the quote expresses the idea that species mostly stay among themselves, Hazel recognizes that what connects the rabbits with other prey species is their fear of predators and that working together could therefore prove crucial for their survival. Hazel's moment of kindness is repaid, as the mouse later warns the rabbits of the approaching Efrafan rabbits bent on attacking the warren on Watership, arguably saving the entire warren from destruction. The information reaches the rabbits via a network of mice and yellowhammers (407), showing that interspecies exchange of information can be a significant means for survival. Another instance of empathy occurs when the rabbits happen upon the injured and starving seagull Kehaar. Again, it is Bigwig who criticizes the idea of helping the bird: "That's a savage brute. You can't make a friend out of that" (181), although it turns out that it is Bigwig himself who grows closest to Kehaar: "Bigwig made himself his companion, […] making no secret of his admiration" (183). Again, this act of kindness inspires a reciprocation: Kehaar plays a crucial part in the finding and liberation of the Efrafan does, helping to secure the continued existence of Hazel's warren.

The animals thus create a life-sustaining network of compassion and empathy, one act of kindness exciting a reciprocal one, ensuring the survival of other animals as well as of themselves. This relates to ethicist Lori Gruen's idea of entangled empathy that emphasizes the interwoven relatedness between beings. She describes it as

> a type of caring perception focused on attending to another's experience of wellbeing. An experiential process involving a blend of emotion and cognition in which we recognize we are in relationships with others and are called upon to be responsive and responsible in these relationships by attending to another's needs, interests, desires, vulnerabilities, hopes, and sensitivities. (3)

This central idea of being "responsive and responsible" recalls Haraway's notion of the intersecting gaze that acknowledges and returns the animal's responding gaze in

the Derridean sense. The animals in *Watership Down* are represented as existing in this entangled empathy in which they "recognize [they] are in relationships with others"; contrary to Heidegger's thesis, they are depicted as "rich in the world," i.e. with access to *welt*, which means that they enjoy meaningful relationships with each other that ensure their mutual survival. In this regard, while the concept of animal subjectivities aims to elevate animal beings from objects to subjects, in this entangled empathy in which the animals find themselves, one might go one step further and speak of "inter-subjects": not subjects existing in a vacuum, but touching, influencing, and shaping the lives of others while being influenced and shaped in return. Donna Haraway emphasizes this relatedness in *When Species Meet*, in which she states that the continuous process of "becoming with," so the idea that "I am who I become with companion species,"[4] shapes the subject as "all the actors become who they are *in the dance of relating*" (19, 25; emphasis in the original). Similarly, Barbara Smuts proposes the idea of "intersubjectivity" which ensues when beings recognize the subjectivity and individuality of the other and experience profound relationships among each other. Intersubjectivity means meeting in "mutuality" and centers on the recognition that "inside this other body, there is 'someone home,'" which means becoming aware of a presence that, for Smuts, goes beyond scientific ideas of "self-awareness" or "consciousness" (307-08). I thus argue that the concept of animal subjectivities could benefit from Gruen's entangled empathy, Haraway's idea of becoming with, and Smuts' notion of intersubjectivity, as these theories problematize the conception of autonomous, independent subjects that remain untouched by fellow earth dwellers and their environment; a conception that, if the current age of the Anthropocene has taught us anything, is a deeply dangerous one, as it becomes an instrument of detachment that negates the repercussions of human actions and diminishes notions of responsibility. This idea of intersubjectivity is reinforced in the novel's final passages, in which Hazel, in his old age, is visited by El-ahrairah and leaves his body behind to follow the mythical rabbit hero into death. While pausing a moment to watch the rabbits of his thriving warren, he notes "the extraordinary feeling that strength and speed were flowing inexhaustibly out of him and into their sleek young bodies and healthy senses" (472). The spirits of the dead thus nourish the living in an endless cycle, and Hazel literally becomes part of his rabbits. Incidentally, this quote also goes against Descartes's idea of animals as soulless (Allen and Trestman), as Hazel leaves his body behind but does not cease to be. There is something, be it soul, spirit, or consciousness, that exists independently from rabbit bodies.

It is thus notable that *Watership Down* does not only argue for one-sided human-animal empathy but that various passages emphasize the importance of reciprocal empathy among different animal species. The reason for the unilateralism of human

[4] Note that for Haraway, companion species are not synonymous with companion animals; instead of denoting only such animals like dogs and cats, the idea of companion species should be understood "less [as] a category than a pointer to an ongoing 'becoming with'" which encompasses "species of all kinds, living or not" (*Species* 16, 4).

empathy and the apparent negation of interdependence between humans and animals as depicted in *Watership Down* can be traced to the anthropocentrist belief that the human species exists outside of the connectedness of all other animals: as Haraway asserts, human beings think themselves separate from "a spatial and temporal web of interspecies dependencies" (*Species* 11). Instead of becoming part of the web of interconnection, the three humans who are shown to act kindly toward animals are represented as (and in one instance even directly called) *dei ex machina*, descending godlike into the worlds of the animals and wielding power over Hazel and the young Woundwort. They may be kind, but they are kind from an elevated position, allocating life and death however it suits them. Further, most humans in *Watership Down* do not even show unilateral empathy, similar to some rabbits who do not comprehend why Hazel chooses to save the mouse's and Kehaar's lives, but the novel justifies Hazel's behavior through a narrative of reward: mice, as well as the seagull, end up playing crucial roles in the survival of Hazel's warren. This learning process is most overt in Bigwig's case and could also be a message for human readers, showing that if humans overcame their insistence on their own superiority and acknowledged their entanglement with other species, reciprocal empathy could be a means to work against the bleak future that the Anthropocene holds in store for all earth dwellers. One might also argue that humans are excluded from the webs of interdependence due to the language barrier as all the above-mentioned animals could communicate, if brokenly, in Lapine or the lingua franca. Taking into consideration my earlier argument that Lapine goes beyond verbal signs and partly refers to communication via bodily and behavioral cues, one might contend that empathy is a lingua franca in itself, understanding the needs, feelings, and desires of other animals. This lingua franca of empathy is something that humans are not lacking; as Smuts states,

> Until recent times, all humans possessed profound familiarity with other creatures. […] Our ancestors' survival depended on exquisite sensitivity to subtle movements and nuanced communication of predators, prey, competitors. […] Each of us has inherited this capacity to feel our way into the being of another, but our fast-paced, urban lifestyle rarely encourages us to do so. (294-95)

Living with the baboons made her realize that, "plunged back into the wild world from which we emerged, ancient skills come alive, and once again human and animal minds meet on equal ground" (295). In *Watership Down*, this ideal form of communication between humans and animals does not exist; in fact, it is shown that both species do not understand each other: the humans featured in the novel almost never attempt to comprehend rabbit desires and needs while Bigwig once asks: "Who knows why men do anything?" (59).

The main reason, one could argue, why humans do not take part in this web of interdependence and empathy is because they are the rabbits' predators, and it is made clear that all *elil* are excluded from it. But the novel shows a crucial difference

between humans and all other predators that can be seen as the novel's main message regarding human behavior: just like the weasel who spares young Woundwort's life because his stomach is already full, or the fox who does not kill the rabbits as he is "obviously not hunting" (281), the novel argues that for humans to (again) become part of the web of interdependence, they need to take only what is needed. In a central passage, Holly states that "[t]here's terrible evil in the world" and continues that this evil comes from humans, who, unlike animal predators, destroy and kill not out of necessity: "All other elil do what they have to do and Frith moves them as he moves us. They live on the earth and they need food. Men will never rest till they've spoiled the earth and destroyed the animals" (149). Animal predators are seen as part of the food chain as upheld by the god Frith, but humans have fallen out of this natural cycle on account of the needless and systematic destruction of their fellow species and the earth, their own home. In the age of the mechanization of animal mass slaughters, waste on a massive scale, and widespread conceptions of animals as nothing but disposable commodities, this message becomes all the more crucial. Marc Bekoff argues that to combat these destructive practices, we must begin by "rewilding our hearts," an idea that understands caring as the first step toward compassionate coexistence and entails "becoming reenchanted with nature. It is about nurturing our sense of wonder" (*Rewilding* 5). This idea of rewilding correlates with Adams' plea to rediscover one's empathic animality and to overcome the self-made gulf dividing humans from the rest of animality. Further, Bekoff argues that to bring about actual change in our relations with nonhuman animals and to heal, if still possible, the anthropogenic harms inflicted on earth, "we need a mindset and social movement that centers on compassion and being proactive" ("Speciesism" 24). While *Watership Down*'s proposition that the world would become a better place if we as individuals only showed empathy might be considered somewhat simplistic – especially given the systematic and historically entrenched practices by large corporations geared toward profit maximization, agricultural branches such as factory farming, and, as preceding chapters have shown, even laws that continue to uphold widespread ideas of animals as inferior and valueless – it is nonetheless still individual human beings and their decisions that enable the reduction of animals to resources and that can consequently make a change. As long as the recognition of the subjectivity of other animals has not become a firm and dominant idea within society, there can be only little incentive or pressure to change such systems. Thus, a reorientation in the world, of what it means to be human, and a reconceptualization of our nonhuman kin is a powerful and necessary means toward more sustainable and respectful relationships within the Anthropocene. Vague suppositions of the possible intrinsic value of other animals are not enough: it is a knowledge that must be internalized, become a conviction born out of, and engendering, empathy.

5 Conclusion

For almost fifty years, *Watership Down* has been able to introduce readers of all ages to a conception of nonhuman animals that goes against reductive notions of mechanistic, purely instinct-driven, and valueless creatures. To examine how the novel contributes to anti-anthropocentrist discourse, I have combined two analyses of *Watership Down*: a close reading of animal subjectivities and an exploration of humans in relation to other animals. In the first part, I have argued that in its representation of rabbits, *Watership Down* repudiates anthropocentrist ideas about nonhuman animals, especially those promoted by the formative thinkers Heidegger and Descartes: animal beings in *Watership Down* are not unfeeling automata or poor in the world but are represented as agential subjects in their own right. Naturalistic teachings about rabbits arouse curiosity and the desire to meet the rabbit's gaze while paving the way for explorations of rabbit subjectivities that focus on their distinct sensory perceptions, leporine worldviews and knowledge, the language Lapine, the rabbits' complex and diverse societies, and a variety of cultural practices. These aspects aim to show that other ways of thinking, feeling, and being-in-the-world are possible, even though the representations of rabbits are of course always restricted by the limits of the human imagination and the necessity of a human language to convey the minds of animal others to a human readership. While a tendency toward leporine-centrism could be seen as a justification of anthropocentrism, the rabbits' speciesist beliefs are mostly overcome at the end of the novel while the exceptionalism of other species is celebrated. The evocations of rabbit subjectivities thus effectively dismantle the belief that sees humanity at the center of all things by emphasizing that human beings are not the only species on earth with sentience, reason, cultures, languages, and other aspects conventionally seen as exclusively human properties.

The idea of superiority over animals, in fact, the idea of superiority of any group over another, is mostly rooted in the perceived difference of the other and the consequential conclusion of one's own preeminence. Therefore, animal rights movements often focus on similarities between nonhuman animals and humans and eschew discussions of otherness (Ryder 6; DeMello 9): to elevate them from automata, animals must usually "'show' how they are – at least a little – 'human,'" and "if they fail, that is taken as a 'lack' in some ability" (Tonutti 197). Yet in this regard, the crucial question that must be asked is why otherness has to become an indicator of inferiority. I argue that it is essential to learn to embrace otherness rather than to use similarities between nonhuman species and humans as measurements of worth. A species lacking human characteristics is not wanting or inferior, but very probably possesses other characteristics that make up for this apparent lack or that humans,

in turn, are without.[5] As I have shown throughout this thesis, *Watership Down* negotiates between emphasis on kinship and otherness in its portrayal of rabbits and is thus able to walk the fine line between representing the rabbits as too similar to or too different from humans. This is achieved, to use Bernaerts et al.'s words, through "strategies of distancing and identification" (73-74), so becoming aware that animal beings have unique ways of inhabiting the world but also recognizing that differences between nonhuman animals and humans are, as Darwin famously asserted, of degree rather than of kind.

The second part of this thesis has examined the novel's criticism of humanity's harmful and destructive influence on fellow earth dwellers. I have focused on three cases in which humans have interfered in the lives of wild rabbits, albeit to differing degrees, and have altered them to a point where they have forgotten the ways of the wild rabbit. Another method that humans in *Watership Down* use to serve their own ends is to simply annihilate an entire warren – in a sense, the novel seems to convey the message that everything humans touch either becomes unnatural or is destroyed. In this regard, anti-anthropocentrist animal stories have the potential to question the ethical implications of our actions, and in *Watership Down*, the questions are posed whether it is ethical to keep animal beings in hutches for all their lives, to deform animal bodies for personal gain, or to destroy rabbit warrens to make way for housing developments. Depicting the world from the perspective of the other can be a productive and provocative means of conveying defamiliarizing perspectives of human beings and their relations to other animals, possibly even inspiring more responsible and caring ways of relating and living. The emphasized unnaturalness of much of humanity is shown to be a corollary of humans conceptualizing themselves against and above all nonhumans, yet *Watership Down* promotes the idea that "civilized" humans are different from all other animal species not because of their superiority, but because they have forgotten what it means to live on a planet of which they are not the only or principal inhabitants, but which they share with an immeasurable number of kin. Within this rather pessimistic depiction of humanity, *Watership Down* underlines the deep-seated but forgotten animality in civilized human beings by using the example of "primitive people" who have not renounced their membership in "animality," a concept that, as opposed to anthropocentrist humanism, centers on inclusivity. While dividing the world into primitive/civilized dualism is a compartmentalizing and discriminatory practice, the novel uses this idea to dissolve human-animal duality so central in anthropocentrist ideology, thus again espousing an ambiguous stance that upholds one reductive idea while dismantling another. In a last part, I have argued that *Watership Down* expresses the conviction that all creatures on earth are part of life-sustaining webs of interdependence which could and should include civilized humans if they only acknowledged their inherent animality

[5] An interesting nonhuman (although non-animal) example is Michael Pollan's text "The Intelligent Plant" which points out that the absence of neurons in plants does not indicate a lack of intelligence, but that a brain would not be of advantage to them due to their "sessile life style"; instead of neurons, one might say that plants rely on internal networks.

by meeting the other in instances of entangled empathy; as Julia Corbett puts it, "We live in a circle of animals, one community of countless beating hearts, whose fates are far more intertwined and synchronous than we can fathom" (30).

In its representation of rabbits, *Watership Down* crystallizes the ambiguous and inconsistent ways members of this species are perceived by most humans: if domesticated and bred, they are regarded as pets and have the equivocal standing of both companion and slave. All other rabbits are either vermin or exploitable units bred for their fur or meat. I argue that this mirrors the complex and ambiguous conceptions not just of rabbits but of all nonhuman animals that can be found in many human cultures. The smallest number of animals are seemingly granted subject status, yet in relationships with their human "masters," they find themselves in a perpetual position of inferiority so that it seems more like a variation of the well-known slogan in Orwell's *Animal Farm,* "all are subjects but some are more subject than others." All other countless animals are only granted utilitarian value or become pests, an emotive word employed by speciesists to check compassion for animals (Ryder 9). It is in a way ironic to see humans categorizing certain animals as pests when, objectively speaking, the ultimate and most destructive pest on earth for centuries now has been the human species itself. As eminent biologist Edward O. Wilson states – also notably addressing the speciesist hierarchy positing insects at the bottom, which *Watership Down* lamentably upholds –, "If all mankind were to disappear, the world would regenerate back to the rich state of equilibrium that existed ten thousand years ago. If insects were to vanish, the environment would collapse into chaos" (qtd. in Bekoff, "Speciesism" 22). The insensibility of the grave effects the human presence has on earth, the practice of even elevating the human species to the top of a self-constructed, speciesist hierarchy, shows how out of touch many human animals have become with the world around them. Boundaries are erected to bring clear-cut and comforting frontiers and order into a world that thrives on diversity and difference: animals are categorized as "good" or "bad," usually depending on whether they can benefit humanity in some way, nature is sharply delimited from culture, and humans from animals. Yet these divides are constructions: they disregard that all animal beings are subjects with inherent value and that even humans themselves are part of nature, just as they are of animality. This distancing mechanism, seeing human beings outside of the realm of animals, of the natural world, and of webs of entanglement, has led to the idea that eradication of abstract, "exterior" nature and of animals who apparently have no relation to humans does not affect humanity, while in reality, destruction of the earth and animal beings ultimately means the gradual destruction of humans.

Humanity's habit to strip fellow earth dwellers of their inviolable and unconditional subject status is largely upheld and disseminated by cultural products, which is why I argue that nowadays the emphasis on animal subjectivities is so crucial. In this regard, *Watership Down* is able to introduce a perspective of rabbits that to a great part transcends the pet-pest dualism by portraying rabbits as subjects in their own right. Considering the cultural context of *Watership Down*'s publication, the novel

came at a time when awareness of animal mistreatment in Britain was reaching a new peak. *Watership Down* manifests some crucial ideas of that decade and has contributed to informing many minds, young and old, of rabbit lives and their mistreatment by reversing perspectives, representing distinct rabbit subjectivities, and also by exposing discriminatory human-animal relationships. The novel can be seen as marking a period in time in which the British mindset turned more toward the possibility of animal sentience and subjectivities, toward a desire to explore the minds of animal others, a shift culminating in Singer's animal rights manifesto published only three years later. Regarding the development of animal subjectivities in children's literature, earlier stories such as *The Life and Perambulations of a Mouse* or *Black Beauty* are less concerned with representing the minds of animals and instead focus on teaching human readers a lesson of empathy; they do not, or only to a small extent, convey the wish to know the other, and animal characters rarely achieve subject status. In *Watership Down*, however, the rabbits are not merely objects "of human cruelty or kindness" as Elick puts it (8), but instead take their destinies into their own paws and act as self-sufficient agents. Of course, human kindness and cruelty do play crucial roles in their lives: it is human kindness that intervenes when the cat is about to kill Hazel, saving the warren's leader, and it is human cruelty that initiates the story, as Fiver and Hazel leave Sandleford Warren because of it. Yet the rabbits are portrayed not as passive creatures that lie down before the inevitable, but as agential subjects who actively journey into the unknown to find their utopia in the form of Watership hill.

In the context of the rabbits' subject status, it would make sense to further develop the concept of animal subjectivities, which is as of yet woefully undertheorized. I believe the concept to be crucial in the rethinking and reconfiguration of our conceptions of nonhuman animals that are still largely infused with vestiges of Descartes and Heidegger's pervasive ideas. I argue that it can especially benefit from theories that emphasize the relatedness of subjects, such as Haraway's, Gruen's, and Smuts' ideas which center on interrelations: animals are not only subjects but intersubjects, they do not live in detached isolation but share the world and are shaped by their relations. This idea of relatedness is becoming more and more crucial as the Anthropocene progresses and humans are gradually coming to realize that their acts do indeed affect the nonhuman world, which, of course, is also the human world – as Corbett points out, this chasm between "their" and "our" world is another human construction that is based on the idea that they "are somehow two separate places and not one in the same" (26). Within this idea of interrelations, it would further be compelling to examine how animal stories portray human inclusion in webs of interdependence. *Watership Down*'s message in this regard is comparatively weak: it does show instances of human-animal empathy, but, as has been discussed, they are unilateral, and humans are mostly represented as existing outside of networks of entanglement. This kind of thinking is at the roots of anthropocentrist belief, and it would be interesting to explore whether and how more contemporary fiction emphasizes human dependencies on nonhumans in an attempt to raise awareness of

the intricate and entangled interrelations in which humans find themselves; we live, after all, in a more-than-human world.

I would like to close with a turn to the resigned outlook that some people might share in the face of the daunting future that the Anthropocene appears to hold in store for us, an attitude of surrendered acceptance that sees "the state of the world as inevitable, that nothing can be done to make changes for the better" (Gruen 7). How, especially, to ameliorate the seemingly irreparable relations to animal others of whose exploitation and extermination there does not seem to be an end in sight? Anthropocentrist worldviews linger on even though all evidence points to the obvious conclusion that human beings are not, after all, the godlike rulers of all life on earth. In a way, the species divide makes it even more difficult to fight for nonhuman animals – one might argue that if in large parts of the world, respect and equal standing are not even achieved among humans, how rights and equality can be extended to nonhumans. However, just as the struggle for all marginalized human groups will hopefully not cease until true equality is established, so, I trust, the struggle for the rights of our nonhuman kin will continue. There will always be those people who recognize animals for what they are, namely as beings with the right not only to live, but to live in dignity, with claims to unconditional freedom, and especially as fully-fledged subjects in their own right – because anyone who has ever gotten to know another animal being as an individual; anyone who has ever reciprocated the gaze of another animal must be struck by the unquestionable truth that one is indeed in the presence of a being who experiences life in the fullness of their subjectivity.

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Values

Text and Picture in Three Pairs of William Blake's Companion Pieces in *The Song of Innocence and of Experience* (Copy T)

Wiebke Katharina Schäfer

1 Introduction

The notion of Blake as a social critic has been established amongst Blake scholars for several decades. Since the 1950s, critics like Erdman and Glen, and more recently Makdisi and Michael, have analysed the socially critical character of Blake's work in regard to the historical and social developments of his time, mainly on the textual level. In my research paper, I will expand on these existing studies of the socially critical content in Blake's works by looking at the visual level of his publications and how it relates to the textual level. I will add the text-image relationship as a significant thematic and methodological element for the understanding of Blake's works in general and the socio-critical element of his publications more specifically. For this purpose, I concentrate on three of the *Songs of Innocence* and their companion pieces in the *Songs of Experience*. The *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* is "the work that is generally regarded as the 'gateway drug' to the world of Blake's illuminated books since it is both accessible and widely available" and that is one of the reasons why I chose to work with it (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 5). Another reason for the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* is the presence of their companion pieces. The companion pieces present an interesting dynamic because of their obvious connection, on the one hand, and their ability to stand for themselves, on the other. In choosing the companion pieces for analysis, I can make sure to not make arbitrary connections or comparisons but follow the predefined path of relatedness. "It is as though in

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reading any one of Blake's works, we are always being reminded of the links – repetitions that change – tying it to others" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 14). In contrast to the deliberate approach in picking the companion pieces, I have chosen the three pairs of *Songs* for my analysis arbitrarily. Due to the limited capacities of my research paper, it was necessary to narrow down the selection of *Songs* and there is no pair that a priori qualifies for an analysis more than the other. The plates that I concentrate on are all from Copy T of the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience,* published in 1789/1794 in London by William Blake[1]. Blake printed and hand coloured all of the different copies of his illuminated books himself. Therefore, not two of the copies are identical. The great variations between the different copies are first and foremost in regard to the hand colouring. Since Blake printed the different copies from the same engraved copper plates, text and image contours are generally the same in all copies, except for a few details, frame lines and printing ink colour. I have accessed the prints online via the *William Blake Archive*. Though Blake is known today, and has been for the longest time, primarily as a poet, he had many other roles that contributed directly to the production of his work. The *William Blake Archive* presents him as "William Blake: author, inventor, delineator, etcher, printer, colorist" (*The William Blake Archive*). With the method of analysing text-image relations I will not be able to take all of these professions into account. But by paying attention to the visual elements, I can treat Blake's work as the "composite art" that it truly is and honour his self-proclaimed originality: "I find more & more that my Style of Designing is a Species by itself" (Adams 85). My method primarily follows the works of W.J.T. Mitchell and James A.W. Heffernan. Mitchell is a pioneer in the study of text and image relations in Blake and coined the term "composite art". In his book *Picturacy,* Heffernan proposes the concept of visual literacy in order to properly read Blake's work:

> In the composite art of his illuminated poems, pictures surround and interpenetrate the words of his texts, and we cannot fully comprehend any of those texts without the graphic context in which he quite literally designed them to be read. (Heffernan 83)

In addition to Mitchell's and Heffernan's works, which have a background of literary studies, I will make use of the work of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen which is located in the field of semiotics and offers a very practical approach to the analysis of text-image relationships.

My research paper is structured to account for the different aspects of Blake's work that are relevant to my research question. In the first chapter, I give an overview of the literary studies of Blake and show that the socially critical aspects of Blake's work have been studied and confirmed by various scholars. In order to keep

[1] Copy T: 54 plates on 52 leaves. Plates printed variously in orange, green, yellow ochre and raw sienna inks. Hand coloured in watercolour, except for 12 plates that are colour printed. Watermark: RUSE & [TU]RNERS [181]5. Presently located in the British Museum, department of Prints and Drawings. (cf. *The William Blake Archive*).

the overview relevant to my research question, I have concentrated on the studies of Blake's *Songs* and on the fields of study that remain key aspects in the study of Blake until today and contribute to the aspects I examine in my research paper. The second chapter is dedicated to the method of analysis of text-image relations. Here I present the works of Mitchell, Heffernan and Kress and van Leeuwen, as well as their relevance to my analysis in detail. The third and final chapter, which constitutes the main part of my research paper, contains my analysis of the three pairs of companion pieces. Here, I bring the aspects of the preceding chapters together and combine them to form a theoretical and methodological basis for my new approach to reading Blake's *Songs*. I examine the three pairs of *Songs* one after the other, in each case starting with the piece of *Innocence* followed by its companion piece of *Experience*. The analysis of each *Song* is structured in two parts. The methodological aspect of text-image analysis is an important factor in the first part of my analysis structure, which is description and detail analysis of the plates. In the second part of that structure, I combine the findings of the first part with the aspects of socially critical content on the plate to come to a concluding interpretation of the *Songs*.

2 A Short Overview of Blake Studies with a Focus on the *Songs*

Blake's work has been commented on, criticised and studied since his first collection of writings *Poetical Sketches* was published in 1783. Some of his contemporaries, among them Henry Crabb Robinson and Charles Lamb, famously referred to him as a mad man, an accusation that has persevered a long time. However, there were other voices as well, commenting on the power of simplicity of *Songs*, seeing traits of geniality in his works and linking him to Swedenborgianism. During the time period shortly after Blake's death (1820s-1830s), a "reviving of Blake" was taking place, through praising obituaries, biographies and the first republishing of *Songs* (Haggarty and Mee 42). In the 1860s and 1870s, there was an "explosion of interest in Blake" set in motion by two key works of criticism (Haggarty and Mee 56). The first was the *Life of William Blake: 'Pictor Ignotus'* by Alexander Gilchrist (edited by Anne Gilchrist, with the assistance of D.G. and W.M. Rossetti), published in 1863,. the second, Algernon Charles Swinburne's *William Blake: A Critical Essay*, published in 1868, which not only discussed the *Songs* but Blake's later writings as well. Even though Gilchrist's and Swinburne's works were not the only publications on Blake, they had the greatest impact insofar as they provoked the most hostile criticism for using Blake "to reinforce the solidarity of a coterie position" of their self-proclaimed "Culture of Opposition" (Haggarty and Mee 57). In their "counter-attack", their critics wrote not only against Swinburne and the Rossetti brothers, but also against Blake.

With the beginning of the twentieth century, Blake's *Songs* and the hymn "Jerusalem" (the first verses of *Milton*) reached a canonical status in Britain. His prophetic

books, however, were not as reputable with the masses. But since Swinburne had first touched ground on the prophetic writings, other critics followed in the pursuit, most notably Edwin Ellis and W. B. Yeats in the 1890s, and, more successfully in terms of public reputation, S. Foster Damon and Geoffrey Keynes in the 1920s (cf. Haggarty and Mee 82). This focus on the prophecies, however, led to a tendency to interpret the *Songs* "almost exclusively – and sometimes awkwardly – in the light of Blake's later writings" (Haggarty and Mee 82). Thereby, an "abstruse, learned, and increasingly scholarly criticism" that focused mainly on Blake's philosophy and symbolism was established, which, according to Haggarty and Mee shows, that "the critics' Blake is not the same as the public's Blake" (Haggarty and Mee 82). With S. Foster Damon's *William Blake, Philosophy and Symbols*, published in 1924, a "major turning point in Blake criticism" was reached (Haggarty and Mee 104). Damon's systematic approach to Blake was influential on post-war criticism, for Northrop Frye's *Fearful Symmetry* (1947), and for another major development, namely the "emergence of a historical school of criticism, concerned especially with placing Blake in the context of the reaction to the French Revolution," represented by Jacob Bronowski, Mark Schorer, and later David V. Erdman (Haggarty and Mee 104).

Northrop Frye's *Fearful Symmetry* (1947) has not lost its importance in Blake criticism, as it remains a "key text on any reading list for *Songs*" (Haggarty and Mee 104). This is due not only to Frye's analytical work on Blake but also to "the scandal of choosing to make an outsider like Blake the key to the fundamental processes of the human imagination" (Haggarty and Mee 114). Since *Fearful Symmetry* was very influential, not only on Blake criticism but also on literary criticism and poetry more generally, the scandal seems to have paid off. In his work, Frye conducts a systematic study of Blake and comes to the conclusion that the poems are not the "expression of a singular hermetic imagination" but "manifestations of a patterning fundamental to literature and myth as general human categories" (Haggarty and Mee 111). Coming from a religious background, Frye puts much focus on the literary tradition and competence of being familiar with Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and, especially, the Bible – a point of view that might be taken as an "elite and geographically limited 'literary' system of knowledge" (Haggarty and Mee 112). Regarding *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, "Frye focuses on Blake's linkage between the categories of Innocence and Experience with the Biblical narrative of the Fall […] as an early statement of a fundamental insight of the human imagination": "The universal perception of the particular is the 'divine image' of the *Songs of Innocence;* the egocentric perception of the general is the 'human abstract' of the *Songs of Experience"* (Haggarty and Mee 112). Frye associated the idealistic qualities he found in *Innocence* with the pastoral genre, an assumption that proved persistent and influential for later critics (cf. Michael).

A crucial point in Frye's analysis of Blake is "his incorporation of these individual poems and the states of Innocence and Experience into the larger structure of Blake's myth" (Haggarty and Mee 113). This implies, that an informed reading of the *Songs* is impossible without the knowledge of Blake's later prophecies and their

underlying myths. Although Frye's work is none of the theories that I base my analysis on, it is important to mention as it is one of the key texts in Blake criticism and provided a basis for following Blake criticism. While Frye's focus on the literary tradition and his assumption that in order to understand Blake readers need to be familiar with Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible is elitist and has been rightfully challenged by many critics since, it draws attention to the many intertextual and intervisual links and connections that can be found in Blake's work. Frye points out the links between Blake and the work of other authors, but there are further links between his own works, between passages of a single work, or between different Songs in *Innocence* and *Experience,* some of which I will analyse in chapter three.

David V. Erdman is another post-war critic whose work *Blake: Prophet Against Empire* (1954) remains a key text for Blake studies until today. Erdman thoroughly researched the historical context in which Blake wrote. By laying focus on "specific historical, social, and political material to provide larger cultural structures upon which to build his readings of the texts," Erdman differs greatly from Frye's focus on universal myth (Haggarty and Mee 119). Although there are overlapping aspects and readings in Frye's and Erdman's work, Erdman's criticism leaves behind the realms of universal myth and instead focuses on the harsh facts of historical and social context of Blake's time: "Erdman believed that the poems [of *Innocence*] were deeply engaged with the pain and suffering of the world around them, and conceived from the very beginning with their contrary in mind" (Haggarty and Mee 119). Furthermore, Erdman understands the French Revolution as a catalyst for Blake's radicalism, a trait that can be detected in the "tone and temper of Blake's outlook, rather than any practical affiliation" (Haggarty and Mee 121). Erdman is an essential pioneer in the classification of Blake as a social critic. The focus on the historical and social context of Blake's work grounded the way of reading the *Songs* in the harsh reality in which they were written. This approach is still very relevant in recent Blake criticism: "Certainly it would be a grievous error to discuss Blake's cities as though they were pure products of imagination. 'I write in South Molton Street, what I both see and hear'" (Michael 23). The notion of Blake as a socially critical artist is fundamental for my analysis.

While Frye's and Erdman's work remained the key texts of orientation for most of the Blake criticism in the following decades, the "attention shifted from the larger focus of studies" to works devoted to *Songs* and other lyrics in particular (Haggarty and Mee 126). Critics' works like Hazard Adams' *William Blake: A Reading of the Shorter Poems* (1963), E.D. Hirsch's *Innocence and Experience: An Introduction to Blake* (1964) and John Holloway's *Blake: The Lyric Poetry* (1968) are representatives of this new approach that did not read *Songs* and other lyrics as a statement of the overall Blakean philosophy, but in a smaller more direct context of his poetry (cf. Haggarty and Mee 126). A key figure, and one of the first to dedicate an entire book just to the study of *Songs,* was Robert F. Gleckner with *The Piper and the Bard* (1959). In his works, Gleckner explores symbolic patterns and frames, speaker and perspective, and the relationship of language and mental state through distinctively attributed

semantic fields in the *Songs* (cf. Haggarty and Mee 128). Although focused on *Songs*, Gleckner is still mainly concerned with the "All" in Blake's work and it is the powerful rhetoric of Romantic transcendence, which few Blake critics in the 1960s could resist, that links his work to Frye's (cf. Haggarty and Mee 128). An approach with attention to detail, rather than transcendence of meaning, is that of Alicia Ostriker who, in her work *Vision and Verse in William Blake* (1965), extensively studied versification and patterns of sound in Blake's poems (Haggarty and Mee 129-30). For Ostriker, "Significance […] is generated in *Songs* through metrical variations within and between the poems, but also in their variation from traditions of eighteenth-century versification more generally" (Haggarty and Mee 130). What T.S. Eliot called Blake's "peculiar honesty," which according to him derived from "great technical accomplishment," Ostriker refers to as Blake's "temerity," for which she identifies two key components: First, he wrote "serious poetry with the basic rhythmical and linguistic tools of a prattling child" (Ostriker 77). Second, "he dared to think thoughts and hear melodies whose precise expression required breaking some universally accepted metrical conventions" (Ostriker 77). Ostriker examines Blake's *Songs* in comparison to Isaac Watts's children's verse, whose influence on Blake has been recognised by many critics, and finds a "daring innovativeness" in his adaption of Watts's metrical simplicity and a "readiness to dispense with decorum," which leads to the common association with popular nursery rhymes (Haggarty and Mee 130-31). What Ostriker identifies as the "most striking" of the sound effects in *Songs* is "their extraordinary use of repetition and parallel phrasing," of which she conducted a quantitative examination that showed that Blake repeated a number of words (e.g. bird, child, mother, father, joy, etc.) over twenty times in *Innocence* (Ostriker 56; cf. Haggarty and Mee 131). The functions of Blake's repetitions and parallel phrasing are several, among them the furnishing of a "primitive esthetic pleasure comparable to that produced by a regular beat" and the intensifying and creating of emotion (Ostriker 81). Although patterns of sound are not in the focus of my analysis, Ostriker's findings of Blake's extraordinary use of repetition and parallel phrasing have influenced my view on the connections and repetitions that can be found in the *Songs* and their companion pieces. This is especially the case for my analysis of "Infant Joy" of *Innocence*.

While several critics have treated the different points of view explored in *Songs* as traits of the pastoral tradition, many others principally saw them as questions about ideology. This approach was initiated by the works of Marxist historian E.P. Thompson, especially by the essay on Blake's "London" in which he made a thorough analysis of the ideologies behind the term "charter'd" and focused on the way "language controlled perception" (cf. Haggarty and Mee 133). Thompson's approach of not only regarding the historical context but also the relations between language and ideology in *Songs*, influenced books like Heather Glen's *Vision and Disenchantment* (1983) and Steward Crehan's *Blake in Context* (1984). Glen combines the analysis of ideology with the different points of view presented in *Songs* and, as a result, identifies Blake's use of a distinctive sociolect in "London" that is placed

"within and emergent drama of [changing] points of view" (Haggarty and Mee 134). Other poems of *Innocence* (e.g. "Infant Joy", "Nurse's Song") she reads as "a portrait of a society organized in ways characteristic of Innocence", whereas in her understanding this aspect of Innocence is "committed to rousing its readers to the creation of values that are not already given, but future-oriented and 'collectively created' out of the world of experience" (Glen 218-19; Haggarty and Mee 135). Glen acknowledges the connection of *Songs* to Isaac Watts's children's verse, but makes her point in that Blake's poems play with the readers' expectations of the tradition initiated by Watts: "And in frustrating those expectations, Blake is thrusting his readers' tendency towards simplistic moral categorizing before them as a problem" (Glen 18). This notion of the "complex interplay between the utopian promise of *Innocence* and the ideological critique of *Experience"* was further examined by John Brenkman in his book *Culture and Domination* (1987), who claims that "casting himself in the double role of visionary and voice of condemnation, he [Blake] attributed both a utopian and a negative power to poetic writing" (Haggarty and Mee 136). Glen's and Brenkman's works on ideology in Blake contribute to the findings that lead to the categorisation of Blake as a social critic. The display of different voices and the risk of simplistic moral categorising in Blake's *Songs* form important aspects in my analysis.

While for many critics of the 1970s it was common to use Freudian accounts to psychoanalyse Blake, Diana Hume George's book *Blake and Freud* (1980) did not only explore the topics of desire and repression in Blake in a more subtle way, but also laid the groundwork for the on-going debate of the issues of gender and sexual identity in Blake criticism (cf. Haggarty and Mee 139, 144).

Another critical movement of the 1970s that influenced literary criticism was deconstruction. The collection of essays *Unnam'd Forms: Blake and Textuality* (1986) edited by Nelson Hilton and Thomas A. Vogler was the result of a conference on Blake and deconstruction at the University of Santa Cruz in 1982 and includes several of the key texts on the topic. Nelson Hilton is an analyst of textuality in Blake who, in his book *Literal Imagination: Blake's Visions of Words* (1983), "took up the pursuit of the playful signifier in *Songs* with particular infectious glee" (Haggarty and Mee 149). Hilton explores the range of semantic possibilities in Blake's poems as opposed to "translating difficult words into some prior symbolic or abstract meaning" (Haggarty and Mee 149). Hilton's method, at times, leads to a point where stability of meaning dissolves. This, however, does not trouble him as it would traditional critics who tend to "close up these possibilities in order to deliver a coherent meaning" (Haggarty and Mee 149). Opening up all the semantic possibilities in the text, although at the cost of coherent meaning, gives exceptional attention to the words as Blake engraved them on the plate. Deconstructive criticism paved the way for new ways of reading Blake and thus inspired the study of text-image relations in his works. Another aspect of Hilton's approach to Blake that has inspired me in my analysis is his focus on the joy of exploring the possibilities of meaning without restraint. To read the *Songs* with an open mind for infinite possibilities of meaning

has made it possible to explore new insights that I would have otherwise dismissed. Reading Blake's work in this way, furthermore, makes it a joyful task.

Deconstructive readings of Blake and the exploring of new possibilities of meaning inspired critics to rethink the relations between text and picture in the illuminated books. As a result, Blake's pictures were not regarded anymore as the mere visual illustration added to a verbal text, but as part of Blake's *Songs* equal, in terms of rank and significance, to the text. Under the term "composite art," the complex relations between the visual and the verbal in Blake's illuminated books were analysed. The term was first used by Jean Hagstrum in *William Blake: Poet and Painter* (1964) and later appropriated by W.J.T. Mitchell for his study *Blake's Composite Art* (1978), in which he took a position contradictory to Hagstrum's. It was in their essays in David Erdman and John E. Grant's collection *Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic* (1970) that Hagstrum and Mitchell first voiced their very different takes on text and image in Blake. In the essay "Blake and the Sister Arts Tradition" Hagstrum identifies Blake as representative of the "sister arts" or rather the "ut pictora poesis" [as is painting so is poetry] tradition, as he claims that Blake uses the "combined forces" of the visual and verbal in his composite art "in order to bring us to what his predecessors called 'ideal' reality and what he himself called the 'Intellectual or Mental'" (Hagstrum 90). Mitchell, in his essay "Blake's Composite Art", refutes the idea of the cooperation of the visual and verbal to represent an "invisible, abstract, transcendent reality" and shows instead that the relationship of the two media is not a "natural complimentarity" but far more complex (Mitchell, *Illuminated Poetry* 38). He takes the frontispiece of *Experience* ("an illustration which do[es] not illustrate") as a prominent example to demonstrate that the relationship between text and picture is more complex than "simple matching or translation of visual signs into verbal," but instead "must be arrived at by a series of associations, transformations, and creative inferences" (Mitchell, *Illuminated Poetry* 4, 6). As Mitchell's ideas form one of the theoretical bases for my research paper, they will be discussed in depth in the following chapter. For now, a short outline shall suffice. In contrast to other scholars who find a "balance" in Blake's "interplay of the verbal and visual", Mitchell argues that both art forms are "equally compelling" and furthermore are "clamoring for primary attention" and analyses where Blake's work differs greatly from the major tendencies of eighteenth-century pictorialism (Mitchell, *Illuminated Poetry* 13; Haggarty and Mee 156). Mitchell's claims go hand in hand with the ideas of deconstructive Blake critics for the most part, but differ when "the notion of a higher unity is ultimately smuggled into [his] analysis" as Blake's alleged desire to "dramaticize the interaction of the apparent dualities in our experience of the world and to embody the strivings of those dualities for unification" (Haggarty and Mee 157; Mitchell, *Illuminated Poetry* 33). The approach to the verbal and visual elements of Blake's "composite art" sparked an interest in the material processes and "the question of how Blake produced his illuminated books has been one of the liveliest area of debate in recent years" (Haggarty and Mee 158). Until 1980, when Robert Essick's *William Blake Printmaker* was published, critics had assumed that the creation of text and picture were

two separated processes in the creation of Blake's printing plates. Essick argued, that Blake wrote and drew directly onto the plate, "a method that would have resisted the division between the verbal and the visual arts by making the two aspects of the illuminated books part of a single process" (Haggarty and Mee 158). This theory was further elaborated in *Blake and the Idea of the Book* (1990) by J. Viscomi who "insisted that Blake's techniques resisted any division between conception and execution" (Haggarty and Mee 158). Viscomi also refuted the idea that variations between copies were made intentionally. According to him, they were "accidental results of the process of reproduction that could not be understood in terms of Blake's intentions" (Haggarty and Mee 158). Essick's and Viscomi's views on Blake's production processes are not shared by all critics. In his book *William Blake: the Creation of the Songs* (2000), Michael Phillips shares a different approach, arguing that Blake "often ran into difficulty and only rarely was satisfied to leave fair copy unaltered" in the process of production, and that those processes were far more "laborious and difficult than Viscomi's printing in editions seems to allow" (Phillips 111; Haggarty and Mee 159). Other critics, even those who were not as opposed to Viscomi's ideas, agreed with Phillips' point of criticism. Even if variations between copies occurred due to irregularities in the initial printing process, as Viscomi claims, this could not explain the variations in the colouring or the order of the individual *Songs* in different copies. Some critics argue that those variations might have happened because the individual copies of Blake's books could have been "tailored to particular buyers" and it remains important to take account of the "personal nature of Blake's relationship with those we know obtained copies from him" (Phillips 111; Haggarty and Mee 161). Others draw different conclusions. According to Saree Makdisi, "any copy of *Songs* is the product of a process in which variability is immanent rather than a logic derived from the idea of a determining prototype" (Haggarty and Mee 160; cf. Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 45-46).

In recent years, the most important developments in the field of Blake criticism have been the issue of gender, identity and the body in Blake, eco-criticism and post-colonialism. With the exception of post-colonialism, these studies are not relevant for my analysis and will therefore not be presented in detail. Publications on the issue of gender, identity and the body in Blake include Tristanne J. Connolly's *William Blake and the Body* (2002), Helen P. Bruder's *Women Reading William Blake* (2006), Christopher Hobson's *Blake and Homosexuality* (2000), as well as Bruder and Connolly's *Queer Blake* (2010) (cf. Haggarty and Mee 165-69). Publications on eco-criticism include Kevin Hutching's *Imagining Nature: Blake's Environmental Poetics* (2002) and Ashton Nichols' *Beyond Romantic Ecocriticism: Towards Urbanatural Roosting* (2011) (cf. Haggarty and Mee 170-73).

In the developments of Blake criticism in the field of post-colonialism, Saree Makdisi departs from scholars like Erdman who focused mainly on "Blake's attacks on Empire" and instead "sees in Blake a more fundamental rejection of the modes of thinking that made imperialism possible, a rejection with consequences for political conceptions of self and other that still persists today" (Haggarty and Mee 173).

Blake offers different modes of thinking throughout his work. One of the key elements for Makdisi in his reading of Blake is the complexity or "indeterminacy" that stands in great contrast to the "rhetorical and linguistic stability" and cherishment of facts, clear structure and controlled emotions that was common in Wordsworth and other Romantics (Haggarty and Mee 173; Makdisi, *Impossible History* 240). The "indeterminacy" of Blake's works "encourages multiple and even contradictory readings of the same passage" and in that process opens up a "gap" between the paradox of two different readings of the same poem (Makdisi, *Impossible History* 160). This "gap" is especially prominent in Makdisi's idea of Blake in the "tracing and retracing different interpretative paths through the gap between words and image" (Makdisi, *Impossible History* 163). However, the gap does not stop there on the same plate. For Makdisi, the "interpretative paths" lead the reader through the whole of Blake's illuminated works, "the wide virtual network of traces among different plates, different copies, different illuminated books" (Makdisi, *Impossible History* 168). Here, a connection between Makdisi's ideas and the approaches to the play of textuality and relations between the visual and verbal can be seen. What makes Makdisi's ideas unique, though, is that he never loses focus of Blake's historical and social background and his relationship to it. Before the background of the industrial revolution, Makdisi identifies a "resistance to forms of reproduction associated with work-time discipline" in Blake, whose kind of repetition works very differently: "It multiplies the text and amplifies its significance rather than merely replicating it" (Haggarty and Mee 175; Makdisi, *Impossible History* 168). For Makdisi, "Blakean repetition dislodges a logic of original and copy fundamental to the rhetoric of European superiority that legitimated imperialism" (Haggarty and Mee 175). Furthermore, Blake's notion of humanity "being in common" in *heterogeneity* is a clearly opposing concept to the highly dualistic worldview that dominated Western culture and supported the "political aesthetic of empire" (Makdisi, *Impossible History* 246; Haggarty and Mee 175). Whereas the contemporary discourse assumed a fundamental otherness between the West and the East, Blake claimed that "As all men are alike (tho' infinitely various) so all Religions" (Makdisi, "Immortal Joy" 31).

Makdisi also briefly touches upon the topic of the visual elements in Blake's work and their political aesthetic. He claims that Blake "offered a series of 'open' texts, suggestive of a kind of reading that would open out from the text, rather than trying to seduce the reader into its hidden confines" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 110). This model of reading can be regarded as political, and even "revolutional", because it is "better suited to the uninitiated and the uneducated, and hence to 'the People,' than to the servants of power" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 110). Paying attention to both the visual and textual elements is essential to the reading of Blake's open texts. Makdisi argues, however, that the openness should be taken even further: "mediating between words and images on different plates of the same book, and even between words and images in altogether different books" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetics" 112). Reading like this, then, involves a constant back and forth between

different plates, pages and books. It is "really an ongoing re-reading", which is "essentially incompatible with the straightforward linear sense of time" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 112-113). Another reason for Makdisi to read Blake's work in this open way are the many repetitions that can be found: "we seem to keep stumbling across words, lines of text, characters, figures, images, or even poems that we have seen before in other works by Blake" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 113). According to him, this shows that the "process of tracing and retracing interpretative paths […] can hardly ever be confined to a single text or book" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 113). Reading Blake's works in mediation with his other works furthermore generates different meanings, as opposed to reading the works in isolation. When applied to the companion pieces of *Innocence* and *Experience,* "this is by no means to suggest that one 'version' alone is somehow less 'complete' than the two together, but rather that to read both alters our reading of each" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 113). For Makdisi, the repetitions in Blake's work, which contribute to its "characteristic flavour," stem from his work as a reproductive engraver: "The logic of copying through repetition was essential to the reproductive engraving business […] but also to the modern industrial form of production as a whole" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 115). Blake's use of repetition, however, can of course not be equated with modern industrial production. While the "industrially produced commodity represents a kind of 'image,' a copy, of a prior prototype," Blake's kind of repetition breaks down "any possible distinction between 'original' and 'copy'" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 115; 117). This happens because in Blake's illuminated books, the copying ("reiteration") of the "same" text or picture "between and among several different contexts changes the meaning not only of the reiterated text itself, but of the contexts in which it appears in each of its iterations" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 116). Therefore, the meaning of the "same" text or picture is amplified and transformed "as it is channelled through a number of different circuits of signification" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 116).

> Thus the kind of repetition we see in the illuminated books is quite distinct from repetition in any ordinary sense. It multiplies the text and amplifies its significance rather than merely replicating it. What might look like a process of reproductive copying or printing […] turns into one of transformation. (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 117)

Critique of industrial production in Blake, Makdisi argues, is not only voiced directly in his "relatively late and resentful work" like the *Public Address*, but can also be found "in the very method by which he distorted the relationship of copy and original" which was said to be the "conceptual heart of industrial production" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 130). Thus, Blake's critique of industrial production is "simultaneously philosophical and materialist, aesthetic and political" (Makdisi, "Political Aesthetic" 130). Makdisi is possibly the most relevant current Blake critic in the field of social critical content in Blake and therefore one of the most important sources for

this aspect of my research paper. The focus on post-colonialism and on Blake's refusal of imperialist modes of thinking, which gave him a unique position amongst his contemporary fellow poets, shines a light on new and relevant aspects of the social critical content in Blake's work.

3 Theories of Text-Image Relations

Studies of Blake's work with the focus on the relationship of text and picture form only a small part in the whole range of Blake scholarship. As seen in the previous chapter, W.J.T. Mitchell's work was pivotal for the emergence of text-image relations as a field of study of Blake. Mitchell's works form an important part in the methodological and theoretical foundation of my analysis. While Mitchell's work is closely connected to the literary study of Blake, Gunther Kress's and Theo van Leeuwen's work is located in the field of semiotics, and has therefore no direct connection to Blake. They outline a very pragmatic approach to the analysis of compositions of text and picture, which is applicable to every field where compositions of text and picture occur (e.g. advertisements, textbooks, websites, classical art, et cetera). Their work forms an important role in the first part in my analysis, which is concerned with description and detail analysis of the plates. James A.W. Heffernan's work connects Mitchell's and Kress and van Leeuwen's fields of study. In his book *Picturacy* (2006), which is dedicated to Mitchell, he combines the field of text-image relations, from which he departs, with aspects of the field of semiotics to propose a way of "visual literacy" that can be applicable to all branches of visual art.

3.1 W.J.T. Mitchell and Blake's "Composite Art"

As seen in the previous chapter, the combined analysis of text and picture in Blake has started with Mitchell's and Hagstrum's disagreement concerning the "sister arts" tradition where the term "composite art" was coined. From there on, Mitchell has continued his work in the field of text-image relations. Several of his works contribute to the theoretic framework that I use to analyse Blake's *Songs* in this research paper.

While for a long time scholars have put their focus on Blake's texts, Mitchell not only pulls the pictures into focus as well, but claims the need to see text and picture in Blake in a whole new light. For him, they are not complimentary but "a single unified aesthetic phenomenon" which he calls "composite art" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 57). He takes this stand especially against the idea to align Blake's work with the sister arts tradition of the eighteenth century.[2] According to Mitchell, there are two basic premises of the sister arts tradition and the "doctrine *ut pictura poesis*",

[2] Mitchell first voiced his ideas of Blake's composite art in opposition to Jean Hagstrum who claimed Blake's work to be representative of the 'sister arts' tradition (cf. chapter 1).

first, that all art is an imitation of nature and second, "that the reality which is to be imitated is essentially dualistic" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 60; emphasis in the original). The use of the term "sister arts" for poetry and painting expressed succinctly the eighteenth century's conviction that "the two arts were daughters of the Nature which they imitated, and that they provided complementary representations of a dualistic world of space and time, body and soul, *dulce et utile,* sense and intellect" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 60; emphasis in the original). Blake was certainly no representative of the sister arts tradition, since he refused the very idea of "Nature" on which the sister arts tradition was based on: "For Blake, the dualistic world of mind and body, time and space, is an illusion which must not be imitated, but which must be dispelled by the process of his art" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 61). Blake's intentions for his composite art were to invalidate the highly dualistic concept of reality ("the incontingent views of time and space") and replacing it with visions of eternity and infinity:

> But first the notion that a man has a body distinct from his soul, is to be expunged; this I shall do by printing in the infernal method, by corrosives, melting apparent surfaces away, and displaying the infinite which was hid. (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 60-62).

The combination of poetry and painting is desirable for Blake, not to "create a fuller range of imitation", but "because it can dramatize the interaction of the apparent dualities in experience, and because it can embody the strivings of those dualities for unification" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 62). Mitchell's conviction of Blake's refusal of the contemporary highly dualistic concept of reality goes hand in hand with his critique of the interartistic comparative method (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 87). He lists three basic limitations of the comparative method, first, "the presumption of the unifying, homogeneous concept and its associated 'science' that makes comparative/differentiating [sic] propositions possible, even inevitable" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 87). The sister arts tradition can be identified as such a "scientific" concept, whose presumption of the duality of reality makes comparison inevitable. The second limitation is the approach of systematic comparison/contrast that "ignores other forms of relationship, eliminating the possibility of metonymic juxtapositions, of incommensurability, and of unmediated or non-negotiable forms of alterity" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 87). Here too, the sister arts tradition can be mentioned for which other forms of relationship besides the contrast of picture and poetry are unthinkable. The third limitation of the comparative method that Mitchell points out is "ritualistic historicism, which always confirms a dominant sequence of historical periods," in short, a "canonical master-narrative" which is stated as the norm and "seems incapable of registering alternate histories, counter-memories, or resistant practices" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 87). Since Blake was long seen as an outsider to the dominant voices of Romanticism and his work therefore falls out of the "canonical master narrative" and the dualistic worldview of *ut pictora poesis*, the comparative method seems questionable for the analysis of his works. Although, as Mitchell admits, the

use of the comparative method might at first glance be tempting for the analysis of Blake's illuminated books, he claims that "*comparison itself is not a necessary procedure in the study of image-text*[3] *relations*" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 89; emphasis in the original). It is rather the "whole ensemble of relations between media", which can be "many other things besides similarity, resemblance and analogy", that matters for Mitchell in the analysis of text-image relations: "Difference is just as important as similarity, antagonism as crucial as collaboration, dissonance and division of labor as interesting as harmony and blending of function" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 89). At a closer look at Blake's illuminated books, it seems that they are "designed to elicit the full range of relations between visual and verbal literacy," as there are text-image combinations that "range from the absolutely disjunctive ('illustrations' that have no textual reference) to the absolutely synthetic identification of verbal and visual codes (marks that collapse the distinction between writing and drawing)" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 91). Looking closely at Blake's style of writing and painting, his refusal of the ideas of *ut pictora poesis* can be seen here as well. Within the sister arts tradition, "poetry was to become pictorial by evoking a flood of images which could be reconstituted in the reader's mind into a detailed scene" and "painting was to become poetical by imitating a significant action, […] not just a fleeting moment, and by representing not only the surfaces of things but also the interior passions and characters of men" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 66). Blake, however, favoured "visual paradoxes" over "painterly," descriptive poetry and also avoided "poetical," literary paintings by a general refusal of the techniques of three-dimensional illusionism (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 66-68.) For example, there are no architectural backgrounds in Blake's pictures, but instead symmetrically arranged foreground images. There is also no representation of the interior life of its human subjects but rather an allegorical anonymity of the figures, which can be seen as types instead of portraits. This does not lead to the absence of emotion or passion, however. Blake does not present emotion and passion "as residing *within* particular human figures; he presents them *as* human figures. His portraits are not of men with minds, but of the mind itself" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 68; emphasis in the original). For Blake, the attempt to make poetry more visual (spatial) and painting more verbal (temporal), "was bound to fail because it presumed the independent reality of space and time and treated them as the irreducible foundations of existence" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 69). For Blake, the reconciliation of the contraries of space and time occur not when they assimilate but when they cease to function as categories: "In the simplest possible terms, his poetry exists to invalidate the idea of objective time, his painting to invalidate the idea of objective space" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 69). Or in other

[3] Mitchell uses different variations of the word image-text: "I will employ the typographic convention of the slash to designate the 'image/text' as a problematic gap, cleavage, or rupture in representation. The term 'imagetext,' designates composite, synthetic works (or concepts) that combine image and text. 'Image-text,' with a hyphen, designates *relations* of the visual and verbal" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 89).

words: "his poetry affirms the power of the human imagination to create and organize time in its own image, and his painting affirms the centrality of the human body as the structural principle of space" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 69). Blake's conception of time can best be seen in his prophecies which, according to Mitchell, "go nowhere in time because time, as a linear, homogeneous phenomenon, has no place in their structure" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 70). The incompatibility of Blake's sense of time with the linear sense of time is reflected in my approach of analysis. By moving back and forth between the companion pieces and the textual and visual elements in my reading, the habitual linear structure of reading will be unsettled. Similar to Blake's particular conception of time and space, Blake's art is very much his own and cannot be categorised into a specific style, even though affinities with Michelangelo or Raphael can be detected. Mitchell describes Blake's art as a "curious compound of the representational and the abstract, the picture that imitates natural forms and the design that delights in form for its own sake" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 70-71). Mitchell makes a distinction here between "picture" and "design", the latter referring mostly to the embellishments on the margins of the plates, a distinctly Blakean feature, and a very interesting element for analysis. One of the typical elements "which are so ubiquitous in his margins" are the "flame-flowers" that "serve as a prime example of the interplay between representation and abstraction that informs all his work" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 70-71). In Blake's art, pictorial form, viz. objects and figures, is not required to accurately represent "any idea of nature" but instead functions to illustrate that "the appearances of natural objects are arbitrary and subject to transformation by the imagination" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 71). There is also no "real natural background" required in Blake's pictures, because "pictorial space [viz. background and scenery] does not exist independently as a uniform, objective container of forms; it exists to provide contrast and reinforcement to the human figures it contains" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 71). Although Blake's art cannot be categorised as representationalism, it can neither be defined as allegory because Blake refuses to "settle for the fixed, the emblematic, and the abstract," in other words, any categorisation, and decides to "concentrate instead upon dramaticizing the activity of the imagination in its encounter with reality" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 72).

There are some specific aspects of Blake's art that Mitchell analyses in his work. One of them is the use of colour and light, and outline and form. According to Mitchell, colour and light stand for the external world, while outline and form stand for the individual (cf. Mitchell, "Composite Art" 75). For him, the individual and its imagination are often threatened by the external world. Translated to the concept of colour and outline this means that "color freed from outline and obscuring it is the visual equivalent of nature's obfuscating the imagination" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 76). An example for "colour obscuring outline" are veils or garments: "Blake clothes many of his figures to exhibit their immersion into the fallen world of space

and time[4]" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 76). This, however, should not lead to the conclusion that "Blake's art is constructed simply on the principle that outline is 'good' and the color or drapery which obscures it is 'bad,'" because the dialectic of colour and light exists on a scale that ranges from antagonism ("when color becomes 'An outside shadowy surface' obscuring outline") to unity ("when light serves as an aureole or halo around form") and all the "stages of this dialectic are integral to the total vision" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 76). Mitchell defines the two limits on the scale of the use of form and light as opacity and contraction versus expansion and translucence. As it is the case with all concepts in Blake, opacity and contraction, expansion and translucence cannot, however, be simply seen as "good" versus "evil," because "Blake always had a 'contrary vision' in mind, in which any given symbolic organization could reverse its meaning" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 78). In *Innocence*, a positive aspect of contraption is displayed as a mother creating a "womblike space to protect the child," which is visually expressed by "embracing" compositions: "The space of the design is generally circled in vines, or framed by an overarching arbor" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 79). Mitchell describes how the protective functions of contraction and opacity in *Innocence* are transformed in *Experience*: "The tranquil, angel-guarded darkness of *Night* gives way to the threatening opacity of the 'forests of the night' in Experience" and "the protective contraction of the arbor becomes the stark frame of a dead tree, the encircling vines become choking briars" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 79). The "contrary vision" also applies to expansion and translucence that are not indisputably good, which can be seen in the figures of warfare or revolution that Blake often presents as "bright, expansive nudes" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 79). Here, Mitchell refers to the representation of Orc in *America* that shows a strong resemblance to the portrayal of Urizen, and describes it as a visual representation of the "Orc-Cycle": the cyclical repetition of tyrannical repression and rebellious action. According to him, "this essential identity of the rebel and his oppressor becomes the basis of Blake's critique of his own historical time, and in the later prophetic books a structural metaphor for time in the fallen world" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 79).

Another specific aspect of Blake's composite art that Mitchell analyses in his work is the motif of the "book" and the "scroll". To put it briefly, the "book" is to be seen as a symbol of modern rationalist writing and cultural economy of mechanical reproduction, while the "scroll" functions as an emblem of ancient, revealed wisdom, imagination and the cultural economy of handcrafted, individually expressive artifacts. They portray, in a nutshell, the difference between print culture and manuscript culture (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 132). On a pictorial level, the "book" in Blake's composite art is often a symbol for "writing as *law*", associated with patriarchal figures like Urizen or Jehovah, whose shapes (the rectangular shape of the

[4] "the fallen world of space and time": Mitchell and many other critics claim that the metaphor of the fall plays a major role in Blake's work. Especially in the analysis of *Songs,* this topic surfaces repeatedly. For Mitchell, the "fallen world of space and time" signifies a reality in which the dualistic worldview suppresses the imagination of the individuals and the prophetic ideas of eternity.

closed book and the double-vaulted arch of the open book) are used "to suggest formal rhymes with textual objects like gravestones, altars, gateways, and tablets, 'books,' as it were, of stone and metal" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 132; emphasis in the original). In contrast, the "scroll" is writing as prophecy, associated with youthful figures of energy, imagination and rebellion, "and its spiraling shape associates it formally with the vortex, the Blakean form of transformation and dialectic" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 132). This iconographic code includes a whole list of dialectics such as:

Book	Scroll
Mechanical	Handcrafted
Reason	Energy, Imagination
Judgement	Forgiveness
Law	Prophecy
Modern	Ancient
Science	Art
Death	Life
Sleep	Wakefulness
Literal	Spiritual
Writing	Speech/Song

(Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 135)

However, Blake would not be Blake if the interesting thing about his use of iconographic code were its symmetrical clarity, and not instead "the way it disrupts the very certainties it seems to offer" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 135). Mitchell claims that the motif of book and scroll, on the one hand, forms a "fairly consistent iconographic code", expressing in emblematic form the "basic contradictions – voice versus print, ancient versus modern textuality, and imaginative versus rational authority – that wreaked the romantic ideology of writing" while on the other hand Blake uses this code "in ways that unsettle its authority and frustrate the straightforward judgements it seems to offer" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 143). This is the case because for Blake "writing does not move in a straight line toward a single version (or vision) of the story," it rather

> traces the clash of contraries and subverts the tendency to settle into the fixed oppositions he calls "Negations," whether these are the moral antitheses of law and prophecy, the sensory divide between eye and ear, or the aesthetic gulf between word and image (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 143).

The constant unsettling of Blake's own iconographic code can be seen in describing his books, where the distinction of "mechanical" versus "handcrafted" can hardly be applied: "If Blake's book and scroll symbolize this difference between mechanically reproduced and hand-inscribed texts, it seems clear that his own texts are both book and scroll – or neither" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 146). Mitchell draws parallels here, between the unsettling of the distinction of handwritten versus mechanic and

text versus image in Blake's work. He claims that in Blake's work, "poem and picture" are united in a radical sense: "Blake's images are riddled with ideas, making them a visible language – that is, a kind of writing" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 147).

Mitchell sees another exhibit of the constant unsettling of Blake's own symbolism in the typography on the title pages to *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. Here, the word "EXPERIENCE" is presented "in the stiff mathematical precision of Roman type" and "Innocence" in "flowing calligraphy" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 147). The typography of the poems in *Songs*, however, does not match this symbolic pattern, since most of the *Songs of Innocence* are printed in Roman, while the *Songs of Experience* are printed in italics, "a form meant to recall the flowing, slanted lines of the calligraphers running hand" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 147). As an explanation of the continual neglect of his own patterns, Mitchell speculates that "perhaps Blake is simply resolved to be a 'contrary fellow' and wants to keep us off balance (as he does with the emblems of book and scroll), to both invite and prevent codification of his lettering style" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 147).

In his works, Mitchell provides ways of reading text and picture in Blake as equal components of a "Composite Art." Additionally to pointing out patterns and general structure of text-image relations, Mitchell also pays attention to several specific aspects of Blake's work, such as the use of colour and light, and outline and form. Both the general and the specific observations provide important input for my analysis of the *Songs,* as well as Mitchell's conclusion that Blake liked to constantly unsettle his own patterns and symbolism.

3.2 James A. W. Heffernan and *Picturacy*

In his book, Heffernan aims to develop a method of reading pictures, an attempt to cultivate picturacy "the capacity to interpret pictures" as a parallel concept to literacy (Heffernan 1). According to him, the concept of picturacy does not exist in the English language "because the ability to read pictures is commonly thought to be – so to speak – written into the eye at birth, a product of instinct rather than education" (Heffernan 12). This assumption carries on to the process of acquiring literacy: children commonly learn to read through the aid of picture books, where they learn to make "the arbitrary, conventional link between the picture and the word, but at the same time to see the picture – to recognize the picture – as virtually identical with what it represents" (Heffernan 12). Thereby they begin to develop one of the most fundamental assumptions about the difference between pictures and words: "that words are arbitrary and pictures natural, that words represent things by convention alone while pictures represent them by natural resemblance" (Heffernan 12). Regarding "natural resemblance," Heffernan raises the question "whether it is truly natural or merely naturalized by inculcation or habit" (Heffernan 12). The answer to that question can be found in the example of the picture book, where, for instance, the word "home" is usually visually represented by a picture of a cute, little cottage – "a picture that does not represent the reality of what a home is to most children"

(Heffernan 13). Historically, however, there has always been a clear distinction between images and words: "Lessing argues that painting is fundamentally spatial and literature fundamentally temporal" (Heffernan 15). For Lessing, the temporal qualities of literature allow meaning, expression and narration, while painting is ruled by the "law of beauty" which requires total silence to fulfil its only duty to "represent beauty in space" (Heffernan 16). The idea that pictures are silent tallies with the idea that they are "windows through which we see a reality that speaks for itself without words," this leads to the belief that pictures give us "direct, unmediated access to what they represent instead of requiring that we decode and interpret them as graphic signs, cultural constructions of meaning" (Heffernan 16). The idea that painting, or today photography, speak "the tongue of ev'ry land" has proved to be very persistent, when in fact, they do not "which is why most photographs are printed with captions that determine their meaning" (Heffernan 16). As a different approach to understanding pictures, Heffernan cites Gombrich's theory of "pictorial competence," which sees pictures not as a "facsimile of nature" but as a "'relational model' which stimulates mental activities similar to those aroused by natural objects" (Heffernan 20-21). This means, in short, that when looking at pictures, the viewer recognises the signs for natural objects. In this approach, painting must be seen as an "act of encoding": "Its images are not replicas of natural objects but signals that must be decoded before their meaning as representations can be understood" (Heffernan 21). Heffernan claims that to successfully decode (or read) pictures means "cracking the mirror and breaking the windowpane paradigm[5]", as René Magritte did in his paintings (Heffernan 22). In *Ceci n'est pas une pipe*, Magritte parodies und undermines the idea of pictures as "natural representation". The painting is not a pipe, not a picture of a pipe, but "a picture of depiction, a picture of the way pipes are commonly represented in advertisements and textbooks: isolated, radically decontextualized, and labelled 'pipe'" (Heffernan 24). Another interesting aspect of the painting is the included text, the label "*Ceci n'est pas une pipe*" that parodies the textbook labelling of picture books and that possesses qualities of pictures and text at the same time: "*Ceci* is at once a sliding signifier and a graphic sign, the carefully drawn picture of a written word" (Heffernan 24; emphasis in the original). This is interesting in regard to the titles in Blake's *Songs,* which in addition to their textual properties possess visual qualities as well. In his painting *The False Mirror* (1928), Magritte undermines the paradigm of the viewer of traditional art history "gazing objectively and unilaterally at a painting from one fixed point," because the huge eye filled with a cloudscape stares directly out of the canvas and thereby the "viewer becomes an object of sight, and the traditional opposition between subject and object breaks down" (Heffernan 25). Magritte's painting supports the idea that "works of art are not simply passive recipients of the spectator's univocal gaze, but agents of scrutiny that can look back at us," a concept that may not be traditional in art

[5] This is the assumption that pictures are "a mirror of reality" or a "window to the world".

history, but can be found in various paintings throughout the ages, like in Velazquez's *Las Meninas* (1656), where the painter portrays himself in the background of the painting looking directly at the viewer (Heffernan 25). "Learning to read pictures," concludes Heffernan,

> then means learning to heed the often ambiguous or contradictory messages they convey as well as grappling with their indeterminacy, their refusal to be categorically identified with either material objects or words, verbal articulations of their meaning. (Heffernan 25)

For him, most approaches of analysis fall short in doing justice to the complexity of pictures. Even Panofsky's theory of pictorial meaning, which Heffernan introduces as an approach to "move beyond the windowpane paradigm for painting, to construe pictured objects as graphic signs, and to see how those signs work together to generate visual meaning" can "too easily become formulaic and reductive" and therefore fails to do justice to the indeterminacy and ambiguity of pictures (Heffernan 27). Heffernan's method to acquiring picturacy, then, is in fact to unlearn and question everything that we have been conditioned to think of pictures: "that a picture is a window or mirror, that it offers a perfectly transparent view of what it represents, that it constitutes a record of perception, that it cannot show more than what can be seen from a single vantage point at one point in time" (Heffernan 38). Heffernan concludes that "pictures are not records of momentary perception but deliberate constructions, compositions made of graphic signs" (Heffernan 38). This different approach towards the characteristics of pictures seems to resonate with Blake, as he "makes words and images cooperate in ways that radically change [the traditional] definition of painting" (Heffernan 83). In the composite art of Blake's *Songs,* "pictures surround and interpenetrate the words of his texts" and Heffernan claims that "we cannot fully comprehend any of those texts without the graphic context in which [Blake] quite literally designed them to be read" (Heffernan 83). To read the texts in their "illuminated context", however, presents a certain difficulty, and Heffernan "mean[s] this quite literally" (Heffernan 84). The difficulty of reading the text might present itself in the most literal way on the plates where text and design are interwoven to a high degree (for example in "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence*) but generally, the difficulty of reading Blake's illuminated poems is of a less tangible nature, namely that "the design often does not so much illustrate the text as to demand further explanation" (Heffernan 84). As an approach to analysing Blake's composite art, Heffernan raises the question of what text and design contribute to each other. Although he mentions earlier in his book, that Blake's texts cannot be fully comprehended without their "graphic context", he concedes that text and design are not inseparable, when it comes to analysis. The interesting aspect in his approach is to show how text and design interact in the *Songs* and "what we can learn from the study of this interaction" (Heffernan 85). A possible approach to reading the *Songs* might be to "inscribe them in the system of contraries which permeates the *Songs* as a whole", thus reading the designs as "pictures of Innocence" and the

texts as "articulations of experience" (Heffernan 86). In the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence*, the text records "the experience of abandonment, misery and filth" in the very first stanza, while the picture on the bottom of the plate depicts "Tom Dacre's innocent dream of salvation" (Heffernan 86). Although this approach works for the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence*, the relation between pictures and text cannot be defined "simply in terms of the contrast between innocence and experience, or energy and repression, or joy and sorrow", as can be seen in the poem's companion piece in *Experience*, where the picture of the "barefoot boy lugging a sack of soot through snowy streets" reveals the "misery of experience" just as much as the text of the poem (Heffernan 87). Heffernan uses a few more examples to show that the relation between text and design in the *Songs* ranges from "radically antithetical to mutually corroborative" and is thus far too complex for its components to be assigned a "consistent value" (Heffernan 87). He argues that the relation between text and picture can be best understood by comparing Blake's treatment of it in *Innocence* with his treatment of it in *Experience.* To show this, Heffernan uses the analysis of the title pages of the two sets of *Songs* because they "reveal the contrariety of innocence and experience as vividly as any two pages could" (Heffernan 88). On the title page of the *Songs of Innocence*, the words of the title "fully participate in the pictorial design of the plate as a whole," the whole design synthesizes "the activities of piping, writing and depicting", as well as "the activities of reading words, viewing pictures, and directly experiencing a pastoral world," in short: text and picture "work together in *Innocence* to reveal a world of radical integration" and to "signify ascend" (Heffernan 88-90). On the title page of the *Songs of Experience*, some of the features of the title page of *Innocence* are mirrored (the sprouting of leaves from the word "SONGS", the presence of two children) but only to "sharpen our sense to what differentiates them": The word "EXPERIENCE" is completely isolated from the pictorial design of the plate and serves as a line of separation between the flowing design of the words "SONGS OF" and the picture of the children at the bottom of the plate, it even "presses down on the bending children like a weight", in short: Text and picture "work together in *Experience* to signify radical disintegration" and to "frustrate ascend" (Heffernan 90-91). This shows that "as we move from *Innocence* to *Experience,* what changes is not the fact of collaboration between text and design but the nature of it" (Heffernan 91).

Heffernan uses the companion pieces "Infant Joy" and "Infant Sorrow" to show that "only when we read the pictures in light of the texts do they yield up definite meanings" (Heffernan 91). By itself, the picture of the child with outstretched arms and the outstretched arms of the bending woman in "Infant Sorrow" could be interpreted as joyous. It is only when read in light of the text that the nuances of oppression and frustration can be recognised in the picture as well. "Thus Blake fully exploits the opposition between text and design to show how the world of experience distorts the images of Innocence, suppresses its vitality, and breaks up the innocent communion of all living things" (Heffernan 96). Heffernan's method to un-

derstanding Blake's composite art is, thus, "to read both text and design continuously in light of each other" (Heffernan 96). For him, this means not only dissecting the interaction of text and design in a single poem, but "using one picture to explain another just as we commonly use one text to gloss another" (Heffernan 96). In my analysis, I will use this method for the companion pieces of *Innocence* and *Experience*. To conclude, Heffernan states that in his work he tried to show that "a continuing concentration on the interplay between text and design in the *Songs* reveals aspects of their meaning – and of the contrariety between innocence and experience – that we can learn in no other way" (Heffernan 99).

3.3 Kress and van Leeuwen and the Technicalities of Multimodal Texts

When it comes to the composition of a multimodal text, Kress and van Leeuwen introduce three interrelated systems through which the representational and interactive meanings of composition are related. The first is information value. "The placement of elements […] endows them with specific informational values attached to the various 'zones' of the image: left and right, top and bottom, centre and margin" (Kress and van Leeuwen 177). The second is salience. "The elements […] are made to attract the viewer's attention to different degrees, as realized by such factors as placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tonal value (or colour), differences in sharpness, etc." (Kress and van Leeuwen 177). The third system is framing.

> The presence or absence of framing devices (realized by elements which create dividing lines, or by actual frame lines) disconnects or connects elements of the image, signifying that they belong or do not belong together in some sense (Kress and van Leeuwen 177).

These principles of composition are applicable not only to pictures in one semiotic mode, but also to composite visuals and multimodal texts. Kress and van Leeuwen analyse the products of the various modes in multimodal texts in an integrated way, not separately. This means that the various modes are "looked upon as interacting with and affecting one another," an approach similar to Mitchell's and Heffernan's to analysing Blake's illuminated books (Kress and van Leeuwen 177).

In the first mentioned system, information value is attributed the different "zones" of the page (or image). In the case of left and right, the left is attributed with the "Given" information, while the information on the right is marked as "New". The Given is a piece of information that is "presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar and agreed-upon point of departure for the message," something New, therefore, is "presented as something which is not yet known, or perhaps not yet agreed upon by the viewer, hence as something to the viewer must pay special attention" (Kress and van Leeuwen 181). This pattern can be observed in visual layouts and pictures, and also in verbal patterns of speech in spoken English, where the Given and New are established by intonation. "Intonation creates

two peaks of salience within each 'tone group' – one at the beginning of the group, and another, the major one […], as the culmination of the New, at the end" (Kress and van Leeuwen 181). This shows that sequential information in language and the horizontal information in visual composition are very similarly structured. While the elements of horizontal composition are closely connected (as shown above) there is usually less connection and interactive movement between the elements of vertical compositions and more of a sense of contrast and opposition between the top and bottom parts. "The upper section tends to make some kind of emotive appeal and to show us 'what might be'; the lower section tends to be more informative and practical, showing us 'what is'" (Kress and van Leeuwen 186). In short, the elements in the top are presented as the "Ideal," the elements in the bottom as the "Real". The Ideal is described as the "[i]dealized or generalized essence of the information," which makes it also the most salient part of the composition, in opposition, the Real "presents more specific information (e.g. details), more 'down-to-earth' information, or more practical information" (Kress and van Leeuwen 186). Applied to text-image relations, this means that if the top part is occupied by text and the bottom part by one or more pictures, the text plays, ideologically, the lead role and the pictures a subservient role. If the roles are reversed, then the Ideal is communicated visually, and the text serves to elaborate on it (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 186-87). The informational values of Left-Right and Top-Bottom can be combined with each other, as well as with the structure of Centre and Margin, a composition typically found in Byzantine art. There, the divine ruler or emperor holds the central position which gives him a "sense of permanence" as well as detachment from his surroundings (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 194). Although the compositional structure along the dimensions of centre and margin is rather unusual in Western designs, combining it with the structures of Given-New and Ideal-Real to divide visual space "results in the figure of the Cross, a fundamental spatial symbol in Western culture" (Kress and van Leeuwen 197). The size and salience of the centre determines "just how marginal the margins are," and even if the Centre is empty, "it still exists *in absentia"* (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 197; emphasis in the original). The authors suggest that the rarity of centred composition in Western depictions may signify that the traditional meaning of the centre is no longer relevant in many areas of modern-day society (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 197). A common method of combining Given-New with Centre and Margin is the triptych. Though historically the informational value of religious triptychs did not follow this compositional structure, modern (horizontal) triptychs usually follow the structure Given – Mediator – New, and vertical triptychs follow the structure (from top to bottom) Ideal – Mediator – Real (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 198). Examples for common modern triptychs are websites where text and pictures are often structured in three columns, each containing a different kind of informational value. They can follow the polarized structures mentioned above, but can also have a "simple and symmetrical Margin-Centre-Margin structure" (Kress and van Leeuwen 199).

The second of the three key elements of compositions is salience. In every composition there are different degrees of salience to its elements, which create a "hierarchy of importance" among the elements irrespective of their placement; "selecting some as more important, more worthy of attention than the others" (Kress and van Leeuwen 201). Salience in temporally integrated (verbalised) texts is a part of its rhythm. Kress and van Leeuwen explain rhythm as an arrangement of repeating equal-timed cycles which "consist of an alternation between successive sensations of salience (stressed syllables, accented notes, etc.) and non-salience (unstressed syllables, unaccented notes)" (Kress and van Leeuwen 201). In spatially integrated (written) texts, salience is perceived by the degree of "visual weight" of its elements, the "heaviest" elements being the most salient. Kress and van Leeuwen stress that "this salience […] is not objectively measurable, but results from complex interaction, a complex trading-off relationship between a number of factors," among them size, sharpness of focus, contrast in tone and/or colour (high contrast; high salience), placement in the visual field (elements that cause an asymmetry have high salience), perspective (foreground objects are more salient than background objects), and also certain cultural factors, for instance the presence of a human figure or a potent cultural symbol (Kress and van Leeuwen 202). So, as it is the case with rhythm in temporally integrated texts, "visual weight creates a hierarchy of importance among the elements of spatially integrated texts, causing some to draw more attention to themselves than others" (Kress and van Leeuwen 202). Visual weight is very closely related to balance. Kress and van Leeuwen employ Arnheim's mobile metaphor, where the elements are arranged around a balancing centre from which the whole mobile is suspended (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 202). This centre is not necessarily the centre of the composition in spatial terms but it is the centre of balance in terms of visual weight and often becomes the "space of the central message" (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 202). Rhythm and balance not only serve to indicate salience in texts, they are also the place where the intellectual becomes palpable; the "interface between our physical and semiotic selves," that first makes coordination in time and space possible (Kress and van Leeuwen 203).

In temporally integrated texts, rhythm plays a key role not only in salience but in framing as well, which is the third of the interrelating systems of composition. The repeating cycles of rhythm are "momentarily interrupted by a pause, a *rallentando*, a change of gait," and thereby framed as distinct units, disconnected among themselves by a greater or lesser degree (Kress and van Leeuwen 203; emphasis in the original). The same is true for spatially integrated texts. Their elements are disconnected or connected to a certain degree by strong or weak visual framing. The degree of framing influences meaning: "The absence of framing stresses group identity, its presence signifies individuality and differentiation" (Kress and van Leeuwen 203). While temporal framing is achieved by junctures in rhythm, visual framing is realised by various methods: "By actual frame lines, by white space between elements, by discontinuities of colour, and so on" (Kress and van Leeuwen 204). Connection between the elements of a composition, however, is not only achieved by the mere

absence of visual framing, but also through the employment of various connection devices such as eye-leading vectors or other abstract graphic elements, visual "rhymes", the repetition of colours and shapes in different elements of the composition, et cetera (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 204). Framing plays a role in visual arts as well, realised in different ways in the different styles of drawing and painting: the outlines of objects in line drawings firmly separate them from their environment, while in certain styles of painting (e.g. Impressionism) framing is achieved in much subtler ways, like soft transitions of colour, for instance (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 204).

In regard to the analysis of Blake's *Songs,* the next important aspect, after composition, is colour. Colour in Blake is a remarkable topic, as every single copy of his books was coloured individually by hand by Blake himself. As a result, not even two copies of the same book are coloured in the same way. This means, that when analysing colour in Blake, assumptions can always only be made for poems or *Songs* of the one particular copy at hand. This circumstance, however, also leads to the possibility of contrasting analyses of different copies, a field of research that various Blake scholars have treated (cf. Glazer-Schotz and Norvig; Glazer; Miner).

Kress and van Leeuwen consider colour a semiotic mode, even though there is no semiotically unified system of colour. Yet, what we see can be represented by the mode of colour, for example in an impressionist painting, just like it could be represented by the mode of the written word (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 232). Colour qualifies as a communicational system because it fulfils the three metafunctions of Halliday's metafunctional semiotic theory simultaneously. First, there is the ideational function, which is the function of constructing representations of the world. In maps, for example, colour is used to identify water, land, mountains, and deserts; in uniforms, colour is used to identify rank. Second, there is the interpersonal function, which is the function of enacting or helping to enact interactions characterized by specific social purposes and specific social relations. Here, colour is used to calm or energize people, for example in the choice of colour schemes in interior design in hospitals, prisons or schools, or to warn them; colour schemes of danger-indicating signs. There is thirdly the textual function, which is the function of marshalling communicative acts into larger wholes, into the communicative events or texts that realise specific social practices. Example are textbooks where colour is used to indicate textual coherence (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 228). The fact that colour does fulfil all three functions does not mean that it fulfils them equally at all times: "colour does what people do with it, in making a sign and in remaking the sign in its reception" (Kress and van Leeuwen 230). For the semiotics of colour it is important to note that colour is a signifier, not a sign. Signifiers "carry a set of affordances from which sign-makers and interpreters select according to their communicative needs and interests in a given context" (Kress and van Leeuwen 232). There are two types of affordances in colour, the first is association or provenance – "the question of 'where the colour comes from', 'where we have seen it before'" (Kress and van

Leeuwen 232-33). The second source for making meaning with colour are the distinctive features of colour, namely value, saturation, purity, modulation, differentiation and hue. The scale of value is the scale from extremely light (white) to extremely dark (black), or the grey scale. Light and dark are "fundamental experiences" in all cultures (though their interpretation may be culturally different) and possess symbolic meanings and value systems (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 233). Saturation is the scale from the most intensely saturated expression of a colour to its softest, most "pale" or "pastel," or dull and dark expressions and finally to complete desaturation (black and white). Through saturation, emotive "temperatures" can be expressed, the "maximum intensity of feeling to maximally subdued, maximally toned-down, indeed neutrally feeling," which, "in context, […] allows many different more precise and strongly value-laden meanings" (Kress and van Leeuwen 233). High saturation can be positive, exuberant, adventurous, but also vulgar or garish. Low saturation can be subtle and tender, but also cold and repressed, or brooding and moody.

Purity describes the scale from maximum "purity" to maximum "hybridity," or the differentiation of primary and mixed colours. Although a generally accepted system of the meaning of purity does not exist, bright primary colours are widely accepted as "key signifiers of the ideologies of modernity," while "pale, anaemic cyans and mauves" (mixed colours) stand for the "ideologies of post-modernism, in which the idea of hybridity is positively valued" (Kress and van Leeuwen 234). Modularity is the scale that runs from fully modulated colour to flat colour. The first would be the expression of a colour "textured with different tints and shades, as in paintings by Cézanne," the second would be a flat and even patch of colour "as in comic strips, or paintings by Matisse" (Kress and van Leeuwen 234). As it is the case with saturation, modulation has numerous and strongly value-laden affordances: Flat colour may be experienced as simple and bold in a positive sense, or as exceedingly basic and simplified. Comparably, modulated colour can be seen as subtle and "doing justice to the rich texture of real colour," or as overly "fussy and detailed" (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 234). Differentiation is the scale from monochrome colour to the use of an extremely varied palette, and its "very diversity or exuberance is one of its key semiotic affordances, as is the restraint involved in its opposite, lack of differentiation" (Kress and van Leeuwen 234). Finally, hue describes the scale from blue to red, which is generally perceived as the temperature of a colour. On this scale, a red hue indicates warmth, energy, salience, and foregrounding, while a blue hue stands for cold, calm, distance, and backgrounding (Kress and van Leeuwen 235).

Kress and van Leeuwen's pragmatic concepts of the meanings of composition and colour in (multimodal) texts will form an important part in the description and detail analysis of Blake's *Songs* and their companion pieces.

4 Blake's Companion Pieces Analysed (Copy T)

As a means of structuring my analysis, I will employ a checklist that Myra Glazer-Schotz and Gerda Norvig have designed for their analysis in "Blake's Book of Changes: On Viewing Three Copies of the Songs of Innocence and of Experience" (Glazer-Schotz and Norvig 101). The checklist provides the structure for the first part of my analysis, which is concerned with description and detail analysis of the plates.

1. **Style of Illustration.** What is the predominant mode of the illustration of a particular plate? Is it naturalistic or emblematic? Does the scene depicted illustrate the text by expanding a literal reference, or does it allude to a parallel, symbolic reality?
2. **Visual Relationship of Text and Design.** Is the plate divided along a horizontal or vertical axis? If horizontal, which part, upper or lower, is reserved for the text? Which for the design? Is there a visual balance between picture and word and, if so, how is it achieved? […] What proportion of the plate is occupied by the word? Is the calligraphy productive of flourishes that become visual motifs or are word and design, in this sense, kept apart?[6]
   [As an addition to Glazer-Schotz and Norvig, I have added **movement** to the second point of analysis on the list. With "movement" I refer to the, as Eben Bass calls it, "thrust of design" on the plate, which means the movement indicated by lines or shapes, as well as of the figures (cf. Bass).]
3. **Stances of Principal Figures,** and the way in which they relate to similar figures in other plates […]. Do the figures face forward or backward, […] left or […] right? What are their postures, and what scale are they drawn in? How much of the plate do they occupy? What position do they take on the plate layout?
4. **Colo[u]r.** What elements of a single design are related by identical colo[u]r, and what elements of sequential designs are so related? How is the ink colo[u]r blended with or contrasted to the washes? Does the plate carry a background wash, and does this wash (or lack of it) function as part of a naturalistic setting […]?[7]
5. **Sequence.** What is the *lex operandi* of the movement from one plate to the next? Is the governor of change predominantly evolution or contrast? Does the song take account of its predecessor by the principle of reversal of the formal elements enunciated above, or does it

6 Kress and van Leeuwen's observations on composition will play an important part of the analysis here.

7 Here too, Kress and van Leeuwen's notes on the semiotics of colour will be a major focus in my analysis.

> make its connection by the repeating or expansion of previous motifs?
> (Glazer-Schotz and Norvig 101; emphasis in the original)

Since I put the focus only on the connection between the companion pieces, I will adapt this last point on the checklist for the analysis of sequence regarding the change from the piece of *Innocence* to its companion piece in *Experience*. Therefore, the topic of sequence will only come up in the analyses of the pieces of *Experience*. To also cover a textual element of the plates in the first part of my analysis, I have added a sixth point to Glazer-Schotz and Norvig's checklist:

6. **Voices.** What is the style of narration in the song? Who is speaking? Is there a connection between the voices in the text and the figures in the plate?

In the second part of my analysis, I will further elaborate on my findings from the detail analysis of the plate and put them into relation to the socio-political elements of the *Songs*. Thereby, I will formulate my concluding interpretation of the textual and visual elements of the *Songs* and their respective companion pieces.

4.1 "The Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence*[8]

4.1.1 Style of Illustration

The style of illustration is naturalistic although it illustrates the dream sequence of the text with the supernatural figure of the angel and the dancing children (13-20). There is an abstract natural background of hills or forests, a tree at the bottom right of the plate and a river (16) in the foreground. The figures are in movement, occupying the whole length of the bottom of the page. They are kept abstract as well, as they display no facial features.

4.1.2 Visual Relationship of Text and Design and Movement

The roman print text fills almost the entire plate. The picture is placed at the bottom of it and occupies as much space as each stanza of the text. According to the system of information value in composition by Kress and van Leeuwen, the fact that the text is placed on the top part of the plate means that it presents the Ideal and plays the lead role in the composition, while the picture, which is presented as the Real, has a subservient role (Kress and van Leeuwen 186-87). The great spatial imbalance of text and picture further enhances the subservience of the picture. Visually, however, the picture stands out from the text, as the white figures on the bottom right[9] form the place of highest contrast, and therefore most salient part of the plate. This

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8 All text of the *Song* is quoted from Erdman and Bloom 10, all description of visual elements is based on *The William Blake Archive*.

9 Left/right directions concerning the plates are given from the observer's point of view, if not indicated otherwise.

contradiction in the compositional meaning of the plate will be further analysed later in this chapter. In addition to the picture of the figures and the tree on the bottom of the plate there are branches, tendrils and curved leaf designs twining up the margins and above the title. Here the design could also be interpreted as curling smoke. Smaller curved tendrils reach across the plate between stanzas. The tendrils on the plate assume the task of framing devices (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 204). They frame the text vertically on both sides and frame each stanza horizontally (with the exception of the last). The presence of framing on the plate signifies "individuality and differentiation" (Kress and van Leeuwen 203). What this means for the interpretation of the plate will be further analysed later in this chapter. The movement of the illustration is upwards, mainly upward left, which is initiated by the arm movement of the figures on the bottom of the page and mirrored by the branches and tendrils in the margin decorations. This ties in with Heffernan's observation that *Innocence* in Blake can be connected to ascend (cf. Heffernan 88-90).

4.1.3 Figures

There are eleven child figures and one taller figure in the picture on the bottom of the plate. The child figures on the left are in movement "leaping, laughing they run" (15), most of them moving towards the left of the plate with their arms raised. There are two embracing couples and a side-by-side couple holding raised hands, which shows the connectedness between the children. At the bottom right of the plate, near the foot of the tree, a taller figure, which can be identified as the angel of the dream sequence of the poem (13), is bending down to the left extending his hands toward – and apparently helping up – a small child figure which is sitting on the ground in a "coffin of black" (12) facing him. The absence of facial features leads to an absence of individuality in the figures. According to Mitchell, "allegorical anonymity of the figures" is not unusual for Blake. Although the anonymity reduces individuality, it does, however, not reduce the representation of emotion: "Blake certainly expresses the passions on his painting: but he does not present them as residing *within* particular human figures; he presents them *as* human figures" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 68; emphasis in the original). This holds true for the figures of the children in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence*. Their joy and freedom stated in the text (15) may not be detectible in their faces but in their posture and indicated movement, as well as in their relationship to each other (the embracing and holding hands). All this combined with the lack of individuality emphasises the group identity of the children. They are Tom Dacre and "Dick, Joe, Ned & Jack" (11), but first and foremost they are little boys who share their fate with thousands of other little boys: "these four stand in for the 'thousands' rather than as ends in themselves because they are part of a collective existence that far exceeds their own limited individuality" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 51). Picture and text work together here to focus on the individual children and the group identity of the chimney sweepers at once. This shows that Blake was very aware of the fate of the chimney sweepers of London

during his lifetime. He saw them as individual children, with individual names, and at the same time was aware of the social injustice that they experienced as a group. At a closer look several other figures of miniature size can be found in the title. Sitting astride the curved branch above the word "Sweeper" as if it were a roof ridge, there are three abstract, red-brown small chimney sweeper figures, one of them with a brush. In the "C" of "Chimney" there is a bent forward little figure in mid stride, facing to the right and carrying a bag (of soot) on its back. Its posture mirrors the figure in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Experience*[10]. The figures are printed in the same red-brown ink as the text and are not further coloured. Kathleen Lundeen describes these "microscopic figures" as "part design, part text," since they "have the appearance of full-scale figures on the page, but the size and posture of alphabet characters" (Lundeen 27). The intimacy between these little figures and the text, spatially and semantically (tiny chimney sweepers being placed on and inside the word "Chimney Sweeper"), shows how interwoven text and picture are in Blake's works. As the little figures become part of the text, the text becomes part of the picture. It is like Mitchell says: "we have to say that Blake's text unites poem and picture in a more radical sense than simply placing them in proximity to one another" (Mitchell, *Picture Theory* 147).

4.1.4 Colour

The text and outlines of the plate are printed in red-brown ink. The angel and the small boy are white with red-brown and subtle dark lines. The light colour, or, to be precise, the absence of colour, as that is how the white colour is achieved here, makes these two figures pop against the dark green-blue background. As mentioned above, they form the place of highest salience on the plate. The rest of the children are a shade darker, parchment-coloured to red-brown with dark lines, like the foliage designs at the sides of the text and the background of the picture. Some of the figures are partly covered by the green-blue background wash. The title is embellished with flowing, curvy lines and volutes that resemble branches or curling smoke with traces of the same dark green colour of the branches of the tree at the bottom right of the page and the margin decorations at the right side of the text. Behind the text the entire plate is coloured in a pastel wash of hues of blue, purple and yellow, like a picturesque sky at dawn. The patch of yellow around the word "Sun" (16) is another subtle hint at the close connection between picture and text in Blake.

4.1.5 Voices

The narrator of the poem is a chimney sweeper who is not mentioned by name. In the first stanza he speaks about his own life and how he became a chimney sweeper in the first person. In the second stanza he introduces the reader to "little Tom Dacre" (5) and how he comforted him when he cried at the beginning of his life as

[10] The connection to the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Experience* will be further examined in the following chapter.

a chimney sweeper "Hush, Tom! never mind it, for when your head's bare, / You know that the soot cannot spoil your white hair." (7,8). This gives the impression that the narrator is an older boy who is already experienced in the chimney-sweeping life. In the next three stanzas, the narrator describes Tom Dacre's "innocent dream of salvation" (Heffernan 86) in detail. What is interesting is that when describing the dream the narrator refers to the "thousands of sweepers" (11) in the third person plural and includes himself with the other sweepers only in the last stanza "and we rose in the dark / And got with our bags & our brushes to work" (21, 22). This gives the impression that the narrator cannot share the innocence and hopefulness of the younger chimney sweepers that is described in the dream but can only relate to them when their work and daily routine is concerned. In the last line of the poem the narrator excludes himself once again: "So if all do their duty, they need not fear harm" (24).

4.1.6 Concluding Interpretation of Text and Picture

When first reading the poem, it is easy to follow Tom Dacre's example and take comfort in the consoling effect of the dream. One is relieved to see that – despite of the cold – Tom Dacre feels "happy & warm" (23) and that the hope he gains from the dream gives him the strength to endure his lot. The reader, too, is consoled by the "traditional mainstream Protestant view that our reward for suffering in this life will be in the happy expectations of the life hereafter" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 83). To read the poem this way which is "so easy, so tempting, so obvious" means reading it in a "strictly conventional sense" of asserting the idea that the prospect of having "God for a father" can justify the children's suffering; "that they can accept bodily harm (like that inflicted by sweeping chimneys and living encrusted in carcinogenic soot) in the here and now by being supposedly relieved of harm in a deferred future" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 83). It is indeed only because of this "hope and expectation" that makes it possible for the children to go on with their work, the fulfilling of their "'duty' is made possible by a removal of fear" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 83). Damrosch agrees with that point and adds that "Little Tom's dream is likewise a desperately needed refuge from too much reality" (Damrosch 65). According to Makdisi, for "the attentive Blakean […] alarm bells should be going off by now" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 83). "Duty" is a concept that is usually not regarded in a positive way in Blake's work, it is demanded by slavers (Bromion in *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*) and taskmasters (Urizen) and associated with war and destruction: "a dystopian condition in which we can imagine that 'all Love is lost,' […] and that 'terror succeeds & Hatred instead of Love / And stern demands of Right & Duty instead of Liberty'" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 83-84). In addition to "duty," the parental figures are another red flag for Makdisi. The children are promised to have "God as a father" by the angel in the dream, who acts as a parental figure itself. But what is the worth of a parent in Blake's work, where parents generally do not perform well? In this poem alone, the child is left and betrayed by both of his parents. The mother died when he was an infant, which was

arguably not her fault, but it would still feel like a betrayal to the child, and the father sold him into the miserable life of servitude and "almost inevitable crippling or cancerous death" and did so knowingly, as Makdisi remarks, since by the end of the eighteenth century there was a "widespread humanitarian discussion of the state and condition of chimney sweepers" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 84). The prospects offered by the new father figures are equally miserable, as they are nothing "but the confirmation and consolidation of that virtual death sentence" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 84). Authority figures, here and elsewhere in Blake, Makdisi claims, are not trustworthy since they generally aim to "trap, control, regulate, or exploit us, to bind with briars our joys and desires" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 84). For Makdisi, the most important feature in the text is the uniting of the "dangerously entrapping narrative of future redemption as a justification for adhering to 'duty' and suffering in the present" which is presented by the angel, one of the authority figures, and the conventional reading that leads the readers to accept this narrative unquestioningly "unless we are on our guard" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 84). This is the trick the text plays on the reader who, only in retrospect or on further reflection, realises that the presented narrative is intended to "enable the continuing brutalization and exploitation of children – and that that enablement is in effect condoned by our own careless reading of the text" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 84). Makdisi identifies this way of reading as careless because it can only occur "by losing sight of the consistent critique of authority figures and their narratives of power that runs all through Blake's work" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 84-85). Therefore, a careful reading of Blake's texts means reading them in light of each other, just as Heffernan suggests for the reading of Blake's composite art (cf. Heffernan 69). I agree with Makdisi's reading of the text and will now find out whether the analysis of text and image supports his interpretation.

As described in the first part of the analysis, there is an imbalance between text and picture, not only in terms of total occupied space, but also in thematic terms. While the first three stanzas elaborate on the hardships of the chimney sweepers' lives, only the second half of the text, which focuses on Tom Dacre's dream and its inspirational power, is represented in the picture at the bottom of the plate. According to the system of information value by Kress and van Leeuwen, the text presents the Ideal and the picture at the bottom presents the Real and plays a subservient role. As remarked above, this notion is supported by the spatial imbalance on the plate, but challenged by the high salience of the figure of the angel. The identification of the picture as the Real is furthermore puzzling because it depicts the most unreal part of the poem – the dream sequence. When applying the information value attributed to left and right, the results are of a similar contrary nature. The elements on the left of the composition, according to Kress and van Leeuwen, present the Given, while the elements on the right present the New. This means accordingly that the running figures of the children are the Given and the figures of the sitting boy and the angel are the New. At first glance this seems logical since the children have been living their lives together as chimney sweepers for quite some time and

the new development in Tom Dacre's dream is the appearance of the angel who sets them free. Thus, the angel can easily be interpreted as a new hope for the children, as the expectation of a brighter future. This would tie in with the "traditional mainstream Protestant view" of redemption in the afterlife (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 83). This, however, means that the angel is in fact the bringer of death and that the brighter future only happens in death. To frame this as a form of new hope is just cynical. Also, the figures that present the Real are not a faithful representation of reality. The real chimney sweepers do not dance in the sun, on the contrary, they toil in the dark and the dirt. The circumstance that there are several inconsistencies when trying to apply the systems to the poem shows that there is much more to it than what can be seen at first glance. The trick that Makdisi claims is played on the reader by the text is also performed by the picture. Thus, there must be another pattern to the plate than the one suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen. Other than the angel, who would (according to the system of information value) be presenting the Real, the miniscule figures in and above the letters of the title are an illustration of the actual reality of the chimney sweepers' every day life. They are shown at work, carrying bags of soot, or sitting on a roof, brushes in hand. The text and the main picture may focus on the dream of an individual chimney sweeper but by illustrating the title "The Chimney Sweeper" with working little figures Blake "inserts" its definition directly into the title, thus making it very clear what really constitutes everyday life of chimney sweepers. To reconcile these inconsistencies in text and picture, I suggest a way of reading that differs from Kress and van Leeuwen and focuses more on Heffernan's approach of reading text and picture "continuously in light of each other" (Heffernan 96). The starting point for my way of reading here is the movement on the plate. In the main picture the movement is upwards left, which is initiated by the arm movement of the figures on the bottom of the page and mirrored by the branches and tendrils in the margin decorations.

All this is in accordance with Heffernan who states that in *Innocence* text and picture work together to signify "ascend" (cf. Heffernan 90). 'Ascend' can be found in the text, too, precisely in the second last stanza: "Then naked & white, all their bags left behind / They rise upon clouds, and sport in the wind" (17-18). Following the ascending movement, there are several things to encounter. For one, the further up on the plate they are, the more the margin decorations look like rising smoke (as opposed to the foliage design further down), most notably on the left margin of the plate. This coincides with the content of the text next to it: the first stanzas, which are furthest up on the plate, elaborate on the hardships of the chimney sweepers' life, so here an embellishment of smoke instead of foliage is thematically fitting. Amongst the curling smoke in the margin and textual content, the hardships of the chimney sweepers' life appear to be the dominant topic on the upper part of the plate. This can be seen as well in the illustration of the title, where the little figures are depicted doing typical chimney sweeper's work. Thus, the movement of ascend that, ideologically, is supposed to be leading the figures of the children to Heaven (cf. 17-18), actually spatially leads them back to the harsh reality of their lives as

chimney sweepers. The movement on the plate, then, is not (only) upwards but forms a circle when picture and text are read in light of each other. Assuming the reader's eye is caught first by the most salient point on the plate, the figures of the angel and the sitting boy are the starting point of the movement. From there the reader's eye follows the figures of the dancing children to the bottom left of the plate and then, following the direction indicated by their lifted arms, moves up the margins where the foliage design turns into smoke. Once at the top of the plate, the reader's eye reads the title with the embedded tiny figures of working chimney sweepers. After that, the reader's eye moves down through the text while reading, and finally reaches the picture on the bottom of the plate and thus re-starts the circular movement.

This way of reading would mean that the feeling of hope is not the "happy ending" that a "careless" reading would suggest, but this does not mean that hope and innocence have no place in the poem. Although they do not prevail, their presence in Tom Dacre's dream is not mocked or regarded as foolish. Even the narrator, although he excludes himself from it, does not begrudge Tom and the other boys their innocent dream of salvation – probably because he knows from experience that only this hope makes it possible to continue on with their work (cf. Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 83). The innocent dream of salvation is clearly not a real prospect for the future, but it is real for Tom. Jennifer Davis Michael claims that "'Tom's duty, according to the angel, is to 'be a good boy,'" and continues to clarify that "'Tom and his friends *are* 'good boys,'" by their very nature, not because they climb chimneys or wash in the river. They reveal their innate goodness through their words and their dreams" and because "the illustration makes space for the children's imagination," it can be seen that Blake acknowledges and values the children's innocence and innate goodness (Michael 55, 57; emphasis in the original). Mitchell's concept of colour and light, and outline and form can be applied here, too. The figures of the children are clear in form and outline, their contour is printed in red-brown ink and drawn on again in a dark colour. This shows a focus on their individuality, since, according to Mitchell, outline and form stand for the individual, as opposed to colour and light which stand for the external world (cf. Mitchell, "Composite Art" 75). Mitchell's concept is based on the assumption that the individual and its imagination are often threatened by the external world. This threat is shown visually when outline is obscured by colour, which stands for the idea of the individual's imagination being clouded by the external world. In the text the children are described as "naked & white" (17) which means that they are freed from their work clothes and the dirt, so there is nothing left to obscure their form. The figure of the angel, however, is depicted wearing a long garment with a wide skirt. According to Mitchell, "Blake clothes many of his figures to exhibit their immersion into the fallen world of space and time" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 76). This means, then, that the children's individuality and imagination is not, as the careless reading of the poem suggests, saved by the angel but on the contrary threatened by him and what he stands for.

The circular movement on the plate indicated by text and picture shows that the hope stemming from the dream does not prevail and much less leads to salvation. The inherent contradictions of the poem also reveal that the reader can easily be tricked into accepting the "dangerously entrapping narrative of future redemption as a justification for adhering to 'duty' and suffering in the present" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 84). Only a careful reading in light of Blake's other works and his opinions reveals the gruesome exploitation of children that the narrative of future redemption tries to justify. While all this shows that innocence, or rather carelessness, in the reader is not valued, innocence itself, however, is a valued concept. The fact that there is a substantial amount of space (textually and spatially) allotted to Tom Dacre's dream shows that Blake valued the chimney sweepers and recognised them as human beings with hopes and dreams. Michael claims that the poem's "overwhelming effect, then, is to humanize the sweeps in the eyes of readers, especially the London readers who encountered them regularly" (Michael 55).

4.2 "The Chimney Sweeper" of *Experience*[11]

4.2.1 Style of Illustration

The style of illustration is naturalistic and shows a realistic dark scene in an urban setting. A dark figure is depicted against a scant background showing a street and houses with falling snow.

4.2.2 Visual Relationship of Text and Design and Movement

The spatial distribution of text and picture is well balanced on the plate. The text takes up the top half of the plate and the picture occupies the bottom half. It shows the figure of a chimney sweeper who can be identified as the "little black thing among the snow" (1) and thus the protagonist of the text, carrying a bag.

At the right margin in the upper half of the plate there are a few flowing curvy lines as embellishment. The text is in italics with a few flowing embellishments, mainly in the title. The "THE" of the title is capitalised. The clear separation between text and picture, where the dark background of the bottom half of the plate and the much lighter background wash of the upper half meet in sharp contrast, acts as a strong framing device. According to Kress and van Leeuwen's system of framing, the presence of framing devices signifies individuality and differentiation (Kress and van Leeuwen 203). Kress and van Leeuwen's system of information value identifies the text as the representation of the Ideal and as the lead role in the composition, since it occupies the upper part of the plate. Therefore, the picture, which is placed at the bottom of the plate, represents the Real and acts subservient to the text. The categorisation into Ideal and Real fits the content in the way that the text elaborates

[11] All text of the *Song* is quoted from Erdman and Bloom 22-23, all description of visual elements is based on *The William Blake Archive*.

on the chimney sweeper's idea of the world and the picture shows a realistic scene of his every day life. The even spatial division of text and picture on the plate, however, does not support the notion of the picture's subservience to the text. Furthermore, the point of highest salience can be found in the picture, in the dark figure of the chimney sweeper which stands in stark contrast to its much lighter immediate surrounding.

The "thrust of design" in the picture is primarily a diagonal movement from top left to bottom right which is put forward mainly by the direction of the falling snow (Bass). The margin decorations on the right side of the text mirror the downwards movement and also point to the bottom right of the plate (except for one branch that points to the left of the plate, dividing stanzas two and three). The alignment of the curb of the street and the house next to the figure also follow the top-left to bottom-right movement and so does the stride of the figure of the chimney sweeper by following the direction of the street. All this confirms Heffernan's notion that in *Experience* text and picture work together to "frustrate ascend" (Heffernan 90-91). Only the figure's head, predominantly its line of sight, contrasts with the general top-left to bottom-right movement by going the opposite way. As this disruption of the general movement on the plate happens at the point of highest salience and in the face of the only figure in it, it is clearly of special interest for the analysis of the poem.

4.2.3 Figures

As mentioned above, there is only one figure pictured on the plate. "A little black thing among the snow" (1), the dark figure of the chimney sweeper, who is the protagonist of the text. The figure is pictured in midstride facing forward, the body is bent under the weight of the bag of soot it is carrying on its back. The head, however, is lifted with its face looking upward left. The figure's left hand is holding the bag over its left shoulder, the right arm is hanging down its side holding a brush (or a similar tool). The stance of the figure is mirrored by the tiny figure inside the "C" of the title in this *Song's* companion piece in *Innocence*. The connection between the two pieces will be further analysed later in this chapter in the subsection "Sequence".

In the picture, which occupies the bottom half of the plate, the figure is placed in the foreground, just slightly off centre to the right. Compared to the houses in the background and on the right side of the plate, the figure appears quite bigger in scale (the chimney sweeper is supposedly a child, and yet is pictured as almost as tall as the walls of the house next to it). To draw the figure as unproportionally large in reference to its surroundings highlights its importance in the composition. In combination with the high contrast the larger scale adds to the reasons why the figure of the chimney sweeper is the point of highest salience on the plate.

4.2.4 Colour

The text is printed in red-brown ink against a background of light grey wash. The lines of the illustration are red-brown as well, but they are mostly overdrawn with dark-grey and black. The same is true for the embellishing flowing lines in the right

margin and the falling snow, which, incidentally, can only be identified as snow through the text since in the picture it rather looks like rain due to the dark colour. The picture has an uneven grey wash with a dark grey portion of colour at the top, which sharply separates the text from the picture in a slightly curved line. The space behind the figure of the chimney sweeper is left uncoloured, which, in combination with the dark figure, creates the highest contrast on the plate and therefore the point of highest salience. Although there is no street lamp pictured on the plate, the shape of the uncoloured background that follows the alignment of the roof of the house at the right side of the picture reminds of the cone of light emitted by one. This would explain the different shades of grey of the background wash. Furthermore, it would put the figure of the chimney sweeper in an actual spotlight to highlight its importance. The houses and the figure are coloured in varying shades of grey but overall very dark. The darkest part of the plate (apart from the background wash at the very top of the picture) is the figure. The darkest part of the figure is the bag of soot on its back. Mitchell's theories of the use of colour and light, and outline and form can be twice applied here. First, the dark colour on the figure – which represents the soot in which the chimney sweeper is covered due to his work – is an example of the threat that is imposed on the individual and its imagination (and its innocence) by the external world (cf. Mitchell, "Composite Art" 76). The dark colour here clearly stands for the reality of exploitation and brutalisation that threatens the boy's innocence, his health and, quite frankly, his life. In this example colour acts as an antagonist to the outline of the figure's limbs ("colour obscuring outline"). The second possibility of applying Mitchell's ideas concerns the "spotlight" that illuminates the figure of the chimney sweeper on the plate. Here, colour and light do not act as an antagonist to the form of the chimney sweeper but rather highlight the figure by serving as an "aureole or halo around form" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 76). This would mean, according to Mitchell, that the individuality, imagination and innocence of the chimney sweeper are at once obscured by the external world and highlighted at the same time. This apparent contradiction will be further analysed later in this chapter.

4.2.5 Sequence

When moving from the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence* to the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Experience*, one moves from the light and colourful to the dark and monochrome. The focus from a small white figure (the angel) switches to a larger dark figure (the chimney sweeper). In spatial terms, however, the point of highest salience remains in the bottom right area of the plate. Although the colour and spatial distribution of text and picture on the plate differ greatly, there are several connecting elements between the companion pieces. First, they have the same title. In the poem of *Experience*, however, the "THE" is capitalised. A common – though modern and colloquial – interpretation of a capitalised "THE," could be "the one and only" or "the real thing". Without doubt, though, the capitalisation of the "THE" puts a certain emphasis on the title of the piece of *Experience* which the title of the piece of *Innocence*

lacks. Another connection between the two companion pieces is the figure of the forward bent chimney sweeper carrying a bag which appears in both pieces. The repetition of shapes is a typical connection device in compositions (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 204). In *Innocence* it is shown in a minuscule scale inhabiting the "C" of the title, in *Experience* it is the only figure in the picture drawn large in scale compared to its surroundings. The movement from the piece of *Innocence* to the piece of *Experience* can thus be interpreted as a "zooming in" on the tiny figure of the chimney sweeper. A third element of connection is the "weep, weep" in the text which is repeated in both poems. In *Innocence* it serves as a means to emphasise how very young the chimney sweeper was when he was sold into servitude (so young that he could not yet pronounce the chimney sweepers' street cry "sweep"): "And my father sold me while yet my tongue / Could scarcely cry 'weep! 'weep! 'weep! 'weep!" (2, 3). In the companion piece in *Experience*, it is used in a similar way: "A little black thing among the snow, / Crying 'weep! weep!' in notes of woe!" (1, 2). When reading both pieces, however, the repetition of these words has a strong effect of connection and therefore rather serves as a bridge from the *Song* of *Innocence* to its companion piece in *Experience*. The same effect can be found in the rhyme scheme. The couplets of the poem of *Innocence* persist throughout first stanza of *Experience*, acting like a bridge that connects the companion pieces. After the first stanza, the rhyme scheme of the poem of *Experience* changes to an alternate rhyme.

4.2.6 Voices

There are two narrators in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Experience*. In the first stanza, an undefined outside voice is speaking, voicing its observations on the chimney sweeper and asking him a question: "A little black thing among the snow, / Crying 'weep! weep!' in notes of woe! / 'Where are thy father and mother? say?'" (1-3). Then the narrator switches to the chimney sweeper who answers the question and goes on to tell about himself and his life in the first person. As seen in the subsection above, the lines of the outside narrator serve as a means of connection between the companion pieces of *Innocence* and *Experience*. This is supported by the fact that the voices change when the rhyme scheme change occurs. Furthermore, the outside narrator's lines function as a means of exposition for the tale of the chimney sweeper. He tells the reader his origin story and his ideas of the world he lives in. The fact that the chimney sweeper is the narrator of most of the text while the outside narrator only narrates three lines attests a high value to the chimney sweeper's voice and self-expression. In openly valuing the chimney sweeper's experiences – and by giving him a voice – Blake recognises his humanity. This stands in stark contrast to the general standing of chimney sweepers in society which treated them rather as a commodity than as humans. But in Blake's *Songs* "the unprivileged – the chimney sweeper, the black boy, the charity children – have their own distinctive voices: they are not the objects of sympathetic or protesting comment – of any comment at all" (Glen 31).

4.2.7 Concluding Interpretation of Text and Picture

The general tone of this *Song* differs massively from its counterpart in *Innocence* – a fact that shows most prominently in the last lines. While in *Innocence* the text ends with the narrative of heavenly redemption for earthly suffering, "So if all do their duty, they need not fear harm" (24), here, the end of the text displays a completely opposite view of the world: "God and his Priest and King, / Who make up a heaven of our misery" (11-12). As Makdisi puts it, the chimney sweeping narrator of *Experience* has "nothing but contempt for the narrative of redemption through suffering and hard work that […] guides us on the path of salvation" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 85). As seen above, there are several elements that connect the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Experience* to its companion piece in *Innocence*. Additionally to the ones already mentioned above, the topics of authority figures and the way of coping with the hard life of a chimney sweeper stand out as recurring themes on the textual level. While the chimney sweepers in both pieces have been failed by their parents or alternative parental figures, it is only the chimney sweeper of *Experience* who is acutely aware of that. This awareness has two parts. First, the awareness of the "state and extent of his own brutalization and degradation": "They clothed me in the clothes of death, / And taught me to sing the notes of woe" (7-8), and second, the awareness that the source of this are the "wider structures of authority and power, extending through the family and on to Church and State": "And are gone to praise God and his Priest and King, / Who make up a heaven of our misery" (11-12) (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 85). The lumping together of Church and State here is not an oversight, since in Blake's time "religion and politics [were] the same thing because the Church of England [was] a tool of the repressive state" (Damrosch 91). Although the Church promoted charity and the narrative of hope and salvation, as seen in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence*, this narrative was also used to justify exploitation and child labour. Blake despised state religion because he held it responsible for many of the injustices in his time: "Even when the churches promoted charity, Blake saw it as hypocritical evasion of responsibility for the injustice that makes charity necessary" (Damrosch 85). This hypocrisy is pertinent to the Church's teaching at that time. For example, the Church "taught that child labor of every kind was a moral obligation" but, "Chimney Sweepers, owing to their filthy appearance, were forbidden even to enter a church" (Damrosch 85-87). In his analysis, Makdisi focuses not only on the connection between the exploitation of the chimney sweeper and the wider structures of authority but on the nature of this connection. He argues that this relationship is sustained "not merely by subservience to power, but more specifically by the faith in the textual narratives of power" and instances the child's parents' praying as an example of "engaging in a textual relationship with the guarantors of order and power" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 86). Although the parents here are not actively betraying their child, as are the parents in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence* by selling it into a life of servitude, they are "more subtly complicit" by partaking in the textual structures of power: "it is the praise they offer to

God and priest and king that creates the made-up heaven sustaining the ongoing exploitation of their child and other children" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 86). Without intend of excusing the parents' actions, I have to argue in their favour insofar as to point out that they only form a small part in the whole machinery of exploitation that was imposed by Church and State to favour the already wealthy and powerful. Blake was aware of the social structures of his time and knew where the responsibility lay. As much as Tom Dacre and his friends need the narrative of redemption to be able to get on with their miserable life, the chimney sweeper's parents might need it too, combined with the small income of their working son. But, as seen in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence*, the narrative does not break the cycle of misery but much rather feeds into it. So although Tom Dacre's dream and its visual representation in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence* may stand for resilience and the valuation of his imagination, they are no means of challenging the cycle of exploitation. The chimney sweeper in *Experience*, however, has found his way of resistance to power. Although he has been clothed in the "clothes of death" and was taught to sing the "notes of woe," he still is happy and dances and sings (9). This happiness is, as the narrator makes perfectly clear, not a sign that he has not suffered injuries or forgives those who have harmed him.

> This suggests not merely a kind of resilience on his part, a capacity to endure exploitation, but also an investment in forms and currents of resistance to the logic of power, and even in forms of textuality, including songs, that defy power even if they don't ultimately succeed in overturning it. (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 86)

The chimney sweeper's ability to find happiness in himself and not only in the narrative of redemption put forward by authority figures (which is the case for Tom Dacre in *Innocence*) is an act that truly breaks the cycle of misery. The narrator in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Experience* is insofar experienced as he is aware of the wider structures of authority and sees through their hypocritical fairy tales of redemption that only function to preserve the status quo. This awareness, however, does not lead to the complete loss of hope. Even though "these larger social forces operate […] at the level of the individual self," "hence they can also be contested, questioned, resisted" on the individual level (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 90). So it is only through the awareness of those social forces and their effect on him and by noticing that he can only rely on himself, that the chimney sweeper can access the power of his innocence, a pure innocence that has no ulterior motive. "The self can be thought of as a site contested by larger social forces either as they attempt to squeeze and restrict our energies and desires, or, alternatively, as they are beaten back and joy and desire are allowed to flourish" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 90). The chimney sweeper's power is the joy and innocence of being a child, to be "happy and dance and sing," and it is an act of resistance because it is completely detached from the cycle of power and misery.

In the picture, this act of defiance can be seen in the figure's upward look. The expression on its face is rather stern, with slightly narrowed eyes and pursed lips. This is not a look of hopefulness, as one might assume at first glance, but a look of resistance. As mentioned above, the figure's head – in combination with its line of sight – is the only element on the plate that deviates from the general top-left to bottom-right movement. The chimney sweeper's upward look, then, directly challenges the general movement which I have identified earlier as representation of the external world, or, to use Makdisi's words, the "wider structures of power." The fact that these forms of defying power "don't ultimately succeed in overturning it," is presented in the picture as well (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 86). The figure's head is turned up and goes against the general downward movement of the plate but the rest of his body is moving along it, walking down the street that serves as one of the main alignment lines on the plate (cf. Heffernan 90-91). The fact that the figure is coloured in the same shades of grey as its surroundings ("the external world") is another indicator of this. As described in more detail above, this shows that the figure is threatened by the outside world, and furthermore unable to escape this threat. The dark colour that the figure is covered in stands for "the clothes of death" (7) that the chimney sweeper has been dressed in, clothes that "exhibit [his] immersion into the fallen world of space and time" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 76). This supports the notion that the chimney sweeper's resistance does not lead to the overturning of the "wider structures of power." But Mitchell's approach of analysis emphasises another aspect in the figure as well. As shown above, the figure, although covered in dark colours, is also in a sort of spotlight that highlights its form and with it the chimney sweeper's individuality and imagination. What has seemed like a contradiction in Mitchell's approach to analysing colour and form at first, now contributes perfectly to Makdisi's reading of the plate. The chimney sweeper is immersed into the "fallen world of space and time," or rather has been immersed by the wider structures of power, and is unable to overturn this. However, by preserving his happiness and imagination, he has found a way of resisting that relies solely on his individuality, which is therefore rightly highlighted in the picture. The replacement of hope of salvation with the relying on individuality seems to be supported by the fact that the angel in *Innocence* and the chimney sweeper in *Experience* occupy almost the same position on the plate, namely the bottom right area (although they are presented in different scales). According to Kress and van Leeuwen's tools of analysis, in regards to the information value both of the figures present the New. In *Innocence* the angel really represents a false hope of salvation, which operates to maintain the children's exploitation. In *Experience,* the exploitation will equally not cease, the street will continue into the same direction as the general movement on the plate and the structures of power will not be overturned. But what is truly *New* here, especially in comparison to *Innocence,* is the act of resistance – or in visual terms – the figure's upward look.

4.3 "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence*[12]

4.3.1 Style of Illustration

The picture has a naturalistic style. It is a literal reference to the first stanza of the text, which describes the procession of charity school children to St. Paul's Cathedral on Ascension Day ("The children walking two & two in red & blue & green / Grey-headed beadles walk'd before with wands as white as snow," 2-3).

4.3.2 Visual Relationship of Text and Design and Movement

The text takes up the majority of the space on the plate in the form of a big block in the centre with lots of decorations consisting of "small flourishes of tendrils, leaves, an occasional bird" (Bass 206). The picture takes a framing function, depicting a procession of boys led by two "beadles" at the top and a procession of girls led by one "beadle" at the bottom. There is a visual imbalance between text and picture due to the different amount of space that they occupy on the plate. This imbalance is further implied by the decorating function that the picture seems to have: "On the plate, we see the children before we hear the words of the spectator, whose voice pushes its way into the scene and into the center of the page" (Michael 57). The calligraphy is Roman print with an almost overwhelming multitude of embellishments. The title is capitalised and in "heavier and darker letters than are the titles of any other of the *Songs*" (Bass 206). Around the title there are a lot of embellishments. Even though the embellishments are reminding of a foliage design (with curling vines, twining leaves and branches), they have an abstract aspect as well. The embellishments seem reminiscent of the "flame flowers" that Mitchell describes as "representational and abstract" at the same time (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 71-71). The emblematic and somewhat abstract style of the decorations on the plate provokes the eye to see other objects, animalistic shapes and figures, as well as human forms in the design (cf. Bass 206). Text and picture in "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence* are at once integrated and separated. On the one hand, the masses of embellishments in and around the block of text and the text itself are closely interwoven; the text is "interpenetrated" by the embellishments to a degree that makes it "quite literally" very difficult to read (cf. Heffernan 84). On the other hand, there is a clear separation between the embellished block of text and the figures at the top and bottom margins. This separation is shown first and foremost by the embellishments that are exclusively tied to the block of text and do not reach the pictures at the bottom and the top of the plate. Additionally, a horizontal line separates the picture of the boy's procession from the block of text and an uncoloured space separates the girl's procession from the text. All of these examples fall under the category of framing devices in Kress and van Leeuwen's analysis tools and stress the differentiation between the elements of the composition (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 204). According

[12] All text of the *Song* is quoted from Erdman and Bloom 13, all description of visual elements is based on *The William Blake Archive*.

to Michael, "Blake calls attention to the mental frames through which we see our surroundings" (Michael 59). The separation into three parts (picture – text – picture) turns the plate into a vertical triptych, that usually follows the structure (from top to bottom) Ideal – Mediator – Real (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 198). Since the top and bottom picture are almost identical, the Ideal and the Real are presented as more or less the same. This gives the plate a strange dynamic – or rather a lack of dynamic – which is also reflected in terms of movement. Due to the threefold separation on the plate, there is no general movement, since every single element has its own movement that differs from the others. The procession of the boys on the top of the plate moves horizontally from left to right whereas the procession of the girls at the bottom moves in the opposite direction from right to left. The results of Kress and van Leeuwen's system of information value of Given and New seem to cancel each other out here due to the reversal of the procession's direction at the top and the bottom. In the centre of the plate, although there is a lot of movement in the flowing embellishments in and around the block of text, the overall effect of the embellishments is the encircling of the block of text and thereby the marking it off from its surroundings. Therefore, there is actually no movement in the centre of the plate but a standstill instead.

4.3.3 Figures

There are many figures pictured on the plate that slightly differ in posture but nonetheless seem like one type of figure reproduced. At the top of the plate there are nine pairs of the boy figure in profile walking towards the right of the plate. They are printed almost completely without any recognisable facial features, and are all clad in the same sort of coats and trousers, some of them with an additional hat. Leading the procession, at the top right of the plate, there is a pair of "beadles," taller than the boy figures, with long coats and headpieces. One of them is carrying a "wand" (3). At the bottom of the plate there are seven pairs of the girl figure in profile walking towards the left of the plate. As the boy figures above, they are depicted with almost no recognisable facial features. All of them are wearing the same sort of clothing; a long skirt and a bonnet. They are following a taller figure in long robes and a bonnet, who is possibly a nun or another beadle. The lack of individuality strengthens the group identity of the children but at the same time shows them as "types" and, as an overall effect, distances them from the onlookers of the Ascension Day procession (cf. Mitchell, "Composite Art" 68). As mentioned above, there are several other shapes and figures that can be found in the multitude of embellishments in and around the block of text, for example "one figure leaping up from 'voice of song'(9)" (Michael 59). One figure that deserves closer attention is the serpent curling around the lines of the "H" of the title. A serpent – especially when combined with the word "Holy" – triggers associations with the serpent in the tree of knowledge, the devil and sin. Judith Wardle furthermore suggests, that Blake uses the serpent as both a negative and a positive symbol: in the first case as the embodiment of the devil and sin and in the second case as the embodiment of sexual

energy (cf. Wardle 35-36). In "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence*, both possible qualities of the serpent symbol would undermine the celebration of religious pity in the text, since both sin and sexual energy are contradictory to the Church's teachings. As seen in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence,* Blake adds meaning to his titles by including little figures in them, so the presence of the serpent must function to add meaning to the word "Holy".

4.3.4 Colour

There is very little colour on the plate, since it carries no background wash. The text and outlines are printed in red-brown ink. The clothes of the boy figures at the top of the page are coloured in a greyish-blue wash, as are parts of the beadles' clothes. Some of the girl figures are scarcely coloured by a streak of a darker greyish-blue at the back of their dresses and trains. This colouring reminds of a shadow rather than the actual colour of their clothing. The nun (or beadle) at the bottom left is wearing a red-brown coat or dress. Colour is a peculiar topic in "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence* because the lack of colour in the picture stands in contrast to the range of colours (and colourful objects) mentioned in the text: "red & blue & green" (2), "Grey-headed" (3), "white as snow" (3), "flowers" (5). This shows, once again, that Blake's visual art is not a literal translation of words into pictures, not a loyal illustration of the text but an addition to it that carries its own part of the meaning of his works (cf. Heffernan 84-85). The point with the highest contrast, and therefore of highest salience, is the procession of boys at the top of the plate that stands against an uncoloured background. But although the figures catch the reader's eye first, the boldly printed title with its decorations almost immediately diverts the attention and pulls the reader's eye towards the text.

4.3.5 Voices

"On the plate, we see the children before we hear the words of the spectator, whose voice pushes its way into the scene and into the center of the page" (Michael 57). As mentioned above, the reader's eye is quickly drawn away from the figures of the children at the top and pulled towards the text of the poem. The narrator is a spectator of the Holy Thursday procession and acts like a commentator of the ceremony. The narration takes a central position in the poem. On the one hand, it occupies most of the space and takes the central position on the plate, on the other hand, it is the mediator giving the reader all the information about the children who are the protagonists of the text. In "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence* the children do not have their own voice, but are commented on by a "not-quite-innocent voice" that "insists rather too much on the 'innocence' of the children" (Michael 57). According to Michael, the children's "'clean' faces, like the chimney sweepers' 'naked & white' bodies, are remarked upon as departures from the usual and as the only conditions under which polite people will recognize them as human" (Michael 57).

4.3.6 Concluding Interpretation of Text and Picture

"Holy Thursday" of *Innocence* "grants an 'ambiguous visibility' of the charity school children as it describes their annual procession into St. Paul's Cathedral" (Michael 57). Although the procession of the boys at the top of the plate is the point of highest salience, the reader's eye and attention are immediately drawn away from them by the big block of decorated text that "pushes its way into the scene and into the center of the page" (Michael 57). The children, as in reality where "their humanity is obscured by their social position and their physical appearance," exist only in the margins (Michael 52). Although they are the protagonists of the poem they are only made visible through the comments of the speaker "by virtue of official sanction, through wealth of pastoral imagery: Thames waters, Flowers of London town, multitudes of lambs, like a mighty wind" (Michael 57). The description of the children focuses on their innocence and their identity as a group ("innocent faces", "innocent hands", "multitudes" of "flowers", "seated in companies", "multitudes of lambs"). Although the charity school children are clearly representatives of urban poverty, the pastoral imagery that the speaker uses to describe them transports them out of reality and instead places them inside a utopian pastoral setting that only exists in the mind of the speaker and the listeners. The speaker, then, is not only speaking for the children but also actively creating them for the ears and eyes of the spectators of the Holy Thursday ceremony. All these ways of speaking about the children are methods of othering. Londoners were confronted with urban poverty daily since chimney sweepers, beggars, and charity school children were an undeniable part of the urban landscape. However, the poor were still "invisible" as human beings, because "their humanity [was] obscured by their social position and their physical appearance" (Michael 52-53). Granting the charity children visibility, then, was only possible by creating them anew far away from the spectators' and their own reality. This "reflects an institutional effort to conceal, rather than expose, the truth about urban poverty" (Michael 59). The pushing to the fore of the block of text with its unrealistic pastoral decorations (curling vines, figures of birds, floral shapes) and its clear separation from the figures in the margins show the effort to conceal poverty and the act of othering on the visual level. The pastoral imagery that is used in the text to describe the children is repeated in the picture by the decorations. This new creation of the children in a pastoral setting romanticises poverty and goes hand in hand with the concept of charity put forth by the "wider structures of authority" (cf. Makdisi, *Reading William Blake*). Although the Church promoted charity and the narrative of hope and salvation, as seen in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence*, this narrative was also used to justify exploitation and child labour and to keep the poor in their place: "Charity thus became primarily a means, not of relieving suffering, but of instilling proper behaviour and respect toward one's superiors" (Michael 61). In "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence* the beadles' "wands" (3) hint at the ways of enforcing this proper behaviour and respect in the charity schools. For the celebration of charity, however, the beadles' "wands" are "white as snow," just as much as the children's

innocent faces are "clean" to be presented as a "pastoral myth" in a "public spectacle organized by and for the institutions of authority" (Michael 58). The way that the charity children are presented visually (with clean faces) and textually is far off from their day-to-day reality. As argued above, they are usually made invisible by their poverty. Only on this day and after special preparations "do they 'appear' publicly, under the official sanction of the church, with 'innocent faces clean,' singing angelic anthems" (Michael 58). But this appearance itself misrepresents their poverty and the conditions under which they receive charity, as "the public appearance is intended to comfort the benefactors and to uplift the spectators more than the children themselves" (Michael 58). This can, again, be seen in the picture by the focus on the decorated block of text and the positioning of the children in the margins.

Furthermore, the figures of the beadles who lead the children's procession show that the children are under the rule of the institutions of authority and that those institutions determine their movement. The beadles are drawn wearing long cloaks and headpieces, which, according to Mitchell, shows their immersion into the "fallen world" that threatens individuality and imagination (cf. Mitchell, "Composite Art" 76). They are a representation of Blake's type of authority figures that, as Makdisi claims, are not trustworthy as they generally aim to "trap, control, regulate, or exploit us, to bind with briars our joys and desires" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 84). So are the "aged men wise guardians of the poor" (11) who sit in the pew with the charity children during the ceremony. Their authority stems from their guardianship over the charity children but also from their significant participation and facilitation of the Ascension Day ceremony. The whole ceremony is an expression of textual structures of authority where the children are forced to take part in with their singing. As seen in the analysis of the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Experience,* the act of praying in the world of Blake's work is a way of "engaging in a textual relationship with the guarantors of order and power" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 86). The "public spectacle" of the Ascension Day ceremony and its textual elements (singing, praying, praising) are organised, overseen and spoken of "by and for the institutions of authority" (Michael 58). How the charity children are spoken of is not only a strategy of othering but also participation in textual structures of power, where pastoral images are "coerced by the institutions of church, state, and charity school" and their use "reflects an institutional effort to conceal, rather than expose, the truth about urban poverty" (Michael 59). In this poem about charity children, one sees the children not as they really are but how the wider structures of power present them to the public. This shows, again, that the structures of power do not only control the children who are dependent on their charity but also how the onlookers of the ceremony and the readers see them. As the pastoral imagery in the description of the children conceals the reality of urban poverty, so do the embellishments on the plate: "Trying to read the text through the vines and tendrils becomes a metaphor for reading the Holy Thursday procession, in which the flowery language temporarily obscures the children's suffering" (Michael 59). In "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence* the reader is running the risk of taking the speaker's description of the children at face

value by a careless reading of the poem, when he loses sight of the "consistent critique of authority figures and their narratives of power that runs all through Blake's work" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 84-85).

4.4 "Holy Thursday" of *Experience*[13]

4.4.1 Style of Illustration

The style of illustration is naturalistic. The picture shows a realistic natural background with several figures. It illustrates the general topic of the text but is not a literal reference. It is rather a supplement or a visual expansion of the text and alludes to a symbolic reality.

4.4.2 Visual Relationship of Text and Design and Movement

The spatial division of the plate between text and picture is, all in all, balanced. The picture takes up a horizontal third of the plate (the upper part), and an additional vertical third (the part at the right) of the remaining space. At the bottom of the plate there is another small space that is occupied by the picture, therefore the text is framed at three sides by the picture. All in all, the layout of the plate, although not symmetrical, gives a balanced impression of the distribution of space. When it comes to salience, however, the focus is clearly on the picture. Next to the colourful picture, the text looks pale with low saturation and low contrast to the background. Although text and picture are separated by their degree of salience, there are several connecting elements between them. The lines that separate the title and individual stanzas act as framing devices but also have a connecting character since they originate in the picture and embrace the text. This connecting character can be seen in the soft transition of colour along the framing lines, from the darker shades of green of the picture to the red-brown colour of the text (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 204). The calligraphy is in italics, the title is capitalised and printed in tall but slender letters in red-brown ink. In regards to the system of information value, the picture at the top of the plate presents the Ideal and the text presents the Real. This seems fitting, since the picture shows an unreal scene and the text comments on a very real problem of society. Furthermore, due to its lower position on the plate, the text is defined as subservient to the picture. This seems appropriate, since the first line of the text "Is this a holy thing to see" apparently comments directly on the picture of the dead child above the title.

4.4.3 Figures

The picture in the upper third of the plate depicts a meadow at a lakeshore with mountains in the far background. In the foreground at the right side of the plate, a

[13] All text of the *Song* is quoted from Erdman and Bloom 19–20, all description of visual elements is based on *The William Blake Archive*.

part of a thick tree is visible whose trunk and branches frame the right side and the top of the plate. Under the tree there is the tall figure of a woman in frontal wearing a long dress, her arms at her side with her hands raised parallel to the ground. Her posture seems tense. Her head is in profile to the left of the plate, looking down at the ground to the figure's right. Lying on the ground in full body profile is a small naked child with its head bent slightly backwards. The child is depicted without facial features and appears to be dead. At the right side of the plate there is another group of figures that is visually divided from the figures at the upper part of the plate by a gap in the background colouring. A mother is sitting on the ground, her head tilted in sorrow to the right side of the plate and propped up on her left arm. On her lap sits a naked infant without facial features facing the mother and clinging its arms around her neck. Left to the mother figure, facing her, there is an older child standing in profile with its face buried in its hands appearing to be crying. Further down on the plate, but connected to the other figures by the background colouring, lies another naked infant that also appears to be dead. With spread arms it is lying on its back with its head bent backwards and its face directed outward. By looking directly outward of the plate, the "posture of innocent objectivity a reader may have adopted" is challenged here (Glazer-Schotz and Norvig 105).

4.4.4 Colour

"Holy Thursday" of *Experience* is very colourful. The pictures are thoroughly coloured with no blank spaces in the background. The mountain and lake scene in the upper part of the plate is drawn in naturalistic colours; the mountain on the left of the plate is in a dark grey, the mountain on the right in a light brown with grey shadows, and in a dark green at its foot. The lake is coloured in a grey-blue, the lakeshore in different shades of green with a few yellow to orange specks. The part on which the dead infant is lying is coloured in a light blue. The tree at the right side of the plate is coloured in browns and greens. The naked child has white skin and light hair, which is formed by the absence of colour. The female figure has the same skin tone, light brown hair and is wearing a white dress with off-white shadowing. In the picture at the right side of the plate the mother is draped in a red cloak with shades of pink. Her hair and the hair of the older child is straw coloured. Her skin tone and the skin tone of the naked infant on her lap have the same light shade as the figures above and as the naked infant at the bottom right of the plate. The standing child is coloured in a medium blue wash. The colours of the mother's and child's garments are modulated, which shows complexity in a "subtle" way (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 234). The background of grass and other vegetation is coloured in shades of green and brown. It is of the same colour as the lakeshore in the picture on the upper side of the plate. Many of the colours on the plate have a high saturation which conveys a high "emotive temperature" (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 233). This shows especially in the figure of the mother and her children on the right of the plate. The high saturation of the mother's red cloak and the standing child's blue

dress convey a high "intensity of feeling", while the low saturation of the dead infants has subtle and tender qualities (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 233). In combination with the light background, and the thereby achieved high contrast, the high saturation makes the mother and her children the point of highest salience on the plate.

4.4.5 Sequence

When moving from "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence* to "Holy Thursday" of *Experience,* the first thing to notice is contrast. The reader moves from a very pale and lowly saturated plate to a colourful and highly saturated plate. One moves from focus on the central and massive block of text with multitudes of embellishments to a pale text with almost no embellishments, which is framed by a colourful picture and clearly not in the main focus on the plate. One moves from anonymous figures to mourning individuals. Aside from the depiction of children, the connecting elements are few and primarily in the text. The most obvious connecting element between the companion pieces is the title. Really, it is only through the same title that the two pieces are bound together. The title, like the title in the companion pieces of the "Chimney Sweeper," functions as a bridge between the songs of *Innocence* and *Experience*. Pastoral imagery is another connecting element that is used in both pieces. The difference here, however, is that in "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence* pastoral imagery is used to describe the children and other them, while in *Experience* it is used to describe the circumstances of poverty in a pastoral metaphor:

> And their sun does never shine.
> And their fields are bleak & bare.
> And their ways are fill'd with thorns.
> It is eternal winter there. (9-12)

The use of this metaphor does not have the effect of othering. Quite on the contrary, it makes the circumstances of poverty explicit by using a metaphor that is easy to understand. As seen above, text and picture in "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence* work together to signify distance and separation. This shows in the composition of the plate and in the use of pastoral imagery as a means of othering the charity school children and placing them in an unrealistic setting. In "Holy Thursday" of *Experience,* however, text and picture work together to signify proximity and connection. Here too, this shows in the composition of the plate, in the connecting elements between text and picture, in the properties of the figures on the plate and as well in the use of pastoral imagery to describe the circumstances of poverty. Furthermore, distance and separation in the poem of *Innocence* are also conveyed through the use of the past tense in the poem, which places it in a past time and thereby separates it from the reader. In "Holy Thursday" of *Experience* the present tense is used throughout the text which emphasises the proximity and connection that the poem conveys: "'Holy

Thursday' never once uses the past tense, so that while the bleak fields imply their contrary in a fruitful land, that land is not relegated to an irrecoverable past" (Michael 51).

4.4.6 Voices

The narrator in "Holy Thursday" of *Experience* is an unknown speaker who narrates in the third person. As in its companion piece in *Innocence,* the people that are pictured on the plate do not speak for themselves but are spoken about. Here, however, the speaker does not overshadow the figures on the plate (like the speaker in *Innocence*) but takes a supporting role. In fact, the speaker of *Experience* seems to critically scrutinise the narration of the speaker of *Innocence,* since the question in the first stanza "Is this a holy thing to see" comments "ironically on the title," which is the primary link to the poem's companion piece (Michael 50). At the same time, the question is "sharpened" by the "sight of a child lying apparently dead above the title" (Michael 49). This shows that the speaker is aware of the reality of poverty and does not romanticise it. While the speaker in "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence* uses a great deal of pastoral imagery in order to obscure the reality of the charity children's suffering, the speaker in *Experience* deliberately rejects a "celebration of the landscape's appearance because that appearance falsifies the suffering within it" (Michael 49-50). Effectively, the use of pastoral imagery in "Holy Thursday" of *Experience* is used to illustrate the gravity of poverty: "Even if the soil is fertile and the rural economy thrives, the nation as a whole is 'reduced' by the suffering of its children […] because for them the landscape of pastoral cliché has become a wasteland" (Michael 49).

4.4.7 Concluding Interpretation of Text and Picture

"Through their critique of the pastoral mode and their manipulation of space, Blake's *Songs* confront the privileged with those on whom their privilege rests" (Michael 51). "Holy Thursday" of *Experience* unites the two worlds of rich and poor in one picture, though not in an urban scene where rich and poor would usually meet, but in a pastoral landscape where the dead infants seem completely out of place. The rich colours and beautiful landscape convey a harmonic impression of the picture, however, what is actually depicted (families mourning their dead children) drastically disrupts the harmony. The grief and despair of the figures in the picture seems incompatible with the scenic nature, and yet this dissonant combination perfectly reflects the text: "In a rich and fruitful land / Babes reduced to misery" (2,3). The title, too, seems out of place in "Holy Thursday" of *Experience* since the actual event is not mentioned in the text. Only in combination with the companion piece in *Innocence* does the title generate meaning for the *Song.* The title, and therefore the ceremony it refers to, acts as a point of departure to show two different ways of seeing and speaking of the poor from a privileged point of view. In "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence,* as we have seen in the subsection above, the way of speaking of the charity children consists mainly in othering them and using pastoral imagery to obscure their suffering. Here, however, the way of speaking of the poor shows acknowledgement

of their suffering and a reflection of society. The concept of charity that is put forward by the institutions of authority is directly questioned ("is this a holy thing to see" 1) and critically described ("fed with cold usurous hand" 4). The use of the word "usurious" in combination with charity shows that the institutions of authority are not trustworthy, as Makdisi claims, and that their concept of charity is designed to mainly benefit themselves. The use of pastoral imagery in the text is used as a metaphor to emphasise the suffering of the poor and the shortcomings of society:

> Blake's poem implies […] a community of plenitude, mutual care, and shared pleasures that has been sacrificed to the larger society's material concerns. The "bleak and bare" fields, in other words, represent a failure not of nature but of human society to support its members. (Michael 50)

Pastoral imagery is not only prominent in the text but also in the picture. There is rarely so much detail in naturalistic pastoral backgrounds on Blake's plates as there is here. However, there is no room for celebration of the landscape's appearance in the text because it has a different function: "Pictorial space […] exists to provide contrast and reinforcement to the human figures it contains" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 71). The relationship between the pictorial space and the figures in "Holy Thursday" of *Experience* is characterised by contrast and connection at once. The plentifulness and pastoral beauty of the background seems incompatible with the depiction of suffering families and dead children. However, the naturalistic and detailed style connects the elements in such a harmonious way that at a first glance the suffering that is depicted on the plate might be overlooked. But this harmonious style of illustration is a literal reference to the text: "in a rich and fruitful land / babes reducd to misery" (2-3). Plentifulness and misery are not mutually exclusive but exist simultaneously in the world – first and foremost in the confined space of the city. By placing them in a pastoral setting Blake forces a disruption of the romanticised view of pastoral imagery and thereby emphasises the contradictory nature of the distribution of wealth in society. The text reflects the use of pastoral imagery in the picture and in the companion piece of *Innocence.* The use of pastoral imagery in the text is consistent throughout, as is the use of pastoral style in the picture. To emphasise the struggle of poverty, the text uses pastoral imagery as a metaphor: "It is eternal winter there" (12). The use of contradictory elements of the same motif ("rich and fruitful land" vs. "fields are bleak & bare") reflects the combination of plentifulness, death and suffering which is displayed in the picture and shows the co-existence of wealth and poverty. For Blake, however, there is no justification for this co-existence, because in his opinion if a land cannot keep a child alive "it is a land of poverty" (8). By arguing like this, Blake puts the focus on the poor that are usually overlooked in society, for he sees the fate of the poor as an indicator for the fate of a whole nation which is only as rich as its poorest person is. "Even if the soil is fertile and the rural economy thrives, the nation as a whole is 'reduced' by the suffering of

its children" (Michael 49). This conversely means that the acceptance of the co-existence of wealth and poverty is only possible by deliberately accepting the suffering of the poor. This is exactly what the institutions of authority are promoting in their usurious concept of charity. As opposed to its companion piece in *Innocence,* where the reader runs the risk of taking the speaker's description of the children at face value by a careless reading, "Holy Thursday" of *Experience* is so realistic in its portrayal of poverty and so explicit in its critique of the institutions of authority's concept of charity that a careless reading seems almost impossible. Elements, such as pastoral imagery, which have been used to obscure the suffering of the charity children in the companion piece in *Innocence,* are used here to bring about the opposite effect.

This is also true for the narrator who is an outsider in both *Innocence* and *Experience* speaking of the poor and addressing the public. To the narrator of the poem of *Experience* poor people are very visible – just as they were to Blake, who grew up in close vicinity to a charity school which his father provided with haberdashery: "It is clear that from childhood Blake was confronted daily with the pressing needs of the destitute and the community's successes and failures in meeting those needs" (Michael 30). It is therefore not unlikely that the narrator of "Holy Thursday" of *Experience* speaks in Blake's voice. The last stanza uses pastoral imagery to illustrate the way that wealth is perceived as an eternal summer where there is no poverty to think about. The earnest tone of the narration changes in the last line to an ironic undertone (Michael 50). It is through the sincerity of the narrator that the irony is made clear in the last line. The type of narrator who the reader has gotten to know in the first stanzas of the poem would never, in earnest, describe poverty as something that does nothing but "appall the mind" (16): "The sun and rain obviously fall on the poor, to no avail, but the pastoral illusion of abundance conceals poverty so thoroughly that it cannot 'appal' the wealthy" (Michael 50). So, the last line is really an echo of the way that the Ascension Day ceremony is commented on by the narrator in the companion piece of *Innocence.* Nevertheless, the focus of the final stanza of "Holy Thursday" of *Experience* remains the utopian idea of an ideal landscape that supports human life ("Babe can never hunger there" 15): "Through his insistent use of the present tense in imagining a truly fruitful landscape, Blake combines his outraged indictment of present wrongs with an apocalyptic glimpse of their correction" (Michael 51).

4.5 "Infant Joy" of *Innocence*[14]

4.5.1 Style of Illustration

The style of illustration is emblematic. The picture shows three figures – a mother, a baby and a winged figure – in a "visionary or otherworldly" setting, namely inside

[14] All text of the *Song* is quoted from Erdman and Bloom 16, all description of visual elements is based on *The William Blake Archive.*

the blossom of a red flower (Heffernan 91). Two of the depicted figures can be identified as the narrators of the poem. At first glance, however, the only direct connection between the picture and the text is the depiction of an infant.

4.5.2 Visual Relationship of Text and Design and Movement

There is no clear-cut division of the plate. The top part is mainly occupied by the most salient element of the picture which is the big flower holding the figures. The viewer's eye is drawn to the big flower because of its visual weight which is increased by the flower's holding of the figures and its position on the plate. It forms the visual centre of the composition (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 202). According to the system of information value, the picture of the flower presents the Ideal whereas the text in the lower part of the picture presents the Real and elaborates on the picture. This is fitting in so far as the text supplies the dialogue to the scene presented in the picture, and therefore elaborates on it. The flower sprouts on the bottom right of the picture and has two curved stems; the left one holds the blossomed flower which contains the figures; the stem on the right holds a closed flower bud. This fits well into the system of information value of Given on the left side in a composition and New on the right side, because it attributes Given to the opened flower and New to the closed flower bud (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 181). The text is placed in the lower part of the plate and is framed on all sides by elements of the picture, such as the stems and leaves of the flower and the smaller flower bud at the right side. The text is "enclosed within" the "pictorial design" (Heffernan 93). Framing plays an interesting part in "Infant Joy" of *Innocence*. Apart from the actual double frame lines around the plate, there are several other framing devices. The petals of the big flower frame the figures and the stems and leaves frame the text. However, these various types of framing do not have a separating effect on the elements of the composition. The effect is quite the contrary: connection. Even though the petals of the flower are thick and of high saturation, they do not primarily separate the figures from the surrounding elements but much rather enhance the connection between the figures and the flower. Mitchell describes this effect as "contraction," which can be positive "when the mother creates a womblike space to protect the child" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 79). According to him, in *Innocence* this aspect of contraction is often visually realised by "embracing" compositions: "The space of the design is generally circled in vines, or framed by an overarching arbor" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 79). In "Infant Joy", elements like the mother holding her baby and the flower petals holding the figures can be seen as "embracing" compositions and further the overall feeling of connection on the plate. The curling stems and leaves that frame the text display a similar "embracing composition," although with much daintier lines (which slightly softens the effect in comparison to the big flower). Instead of being separated from its surroundings, the text seems to be wrapped by the plant and "enclosed within" the flower design. The perceived connectedness of text and picture is additionally furthered by visual rhymes (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 204). The lower curves of the letters y in the text mirror the curved design of the leaves and tendrils

around the text and thus form a "graphic rhyme" (cf. Heffernan 92). The curved design of the letters y furthermore stands out, because the text is in Roman print and therefore not inherently curved or flowing. Therefore, the graphic rhyme is not merely a by-product of the general font of the text but must be intentional. The title's calligraphy is in italics and the exaggerated curving of the lines of the "I" forms a visual rhyme with the tendrils of the flower. The connectedness of text and image is additionally furthered by the fact that text and flower stems are printed in the same red-brown ink.

4.5.3 Figures

There are three figures on the plate which are placed inside the big flower. On the left is a mother figure in profile facing the right side of the plate. Her head is lowered and she is looking at her lap where she is holding a baby. The baby is pictured in frontal view resting on the mother's lap with its eyes raised toward her. On the right, facing mother and baby, stands a child-like butterfly-winged figure with its head slightly lowered, looking at the infant. Its forearms are raised at an angle of ninety degrees gesturing towards the child. Wardle and Damrosch see this figure as a clear reference to the Cupid and Psyche myth which, according to Wardle, Blake uses as a symbol for his "ideas about the connection of earthly and heavenly delights" (Wardle 25; cf. Damrosch 58). All three figures are pictured in a state of contentment and calmness. The physical closeness of the figures and their "embracing" composition, as well as their looks to each other, have the effect of creating connection between them.

4.5.4 Colour

"Infant Joy" of *Innocence* displays a very harmonious colourfulness. The background is coloured in patches of modulated blue and yellow wash of lighter value that vary in the degree of saturation. The mother's dress is coloured in the same modulated blue of a softer saturation. The infant and the butterfly-winged figure are mostly uncoloured. Only in their cheeks and the infant's legs there is a hint of a light pink blush of colour, a little lighter than the colour of the mother's cheeks and neck. The wings of the butterfly-winged figure have a dash of the blue wash of the background. The blue hue of the figures stands in contrast to the highly saturated and modulated red of the flower around them. The high saturation of the flower expresses a high emotive temperature which correlates with the suggestion of warmth by its red hue (Kress and van Leeuwen 235). According to Damrosch, the flowers are anemones that are "sacred in classical lore to Venus, supposedly stained red by the blood of the dying Adonis" (Damrosch 56). This, like the reference to the myth of Cupid and Psyche, brings up the connection between "earthly and heavenly delights," but also introduces the very physical elements of blood and death. Indeed, the colour of the flower is a blood-red shade, which supports the interpretation of the flower as womb-like. It is the darkest and most intense patch of colour on the plate and can be easily identified as the place of highest salience.

4.5.5 Voices

Again, Blake gives a voice to the voiceless in "Infant Joy" of *Innocence* – literally in this case because the literal meaning of "infant" from Latin *infans* (nom.) is "not able to speak." In "Infant Joy" of *Innocence,* however, the two-day-old infant can speak and is indeed one of the narrators of the poem. The other narrator, who is in dialogue with the infant, is an older person and often identified as the mother. Although the infant narrator states its innocence and ignorance ("I have no name / I am but two days old" 1-2), when asked what it would like to be called, it relates a certain sense of identity and names itself accordingly: "I happy am / Joy is my name" (5-6). The second narrator accepts the infant's answer and chosen identity whole-heartedly by repeatedly calling it by its chosen name, wishing it well and singing for it. The harmonious and loving dialogue between the two narrators mirrors the calm and contentment that is portrayed in the visual depiction of the figures. Looking only at the text, the second narrator is likely to be the mother of the infant wondering what name to give to it. However, considering the visual elements on the plate as well, the second narrator could just as likely be the butterfly-winged figure, as it – more so than the mother – seems to be addressing the infant. Furthermore, a supernatural figure as narrator would be coherent with the "otherworldliness" of the visual elements on the plate (cf. Heffernan 91).

4.5.6 Concluding Interpretation of Text and Picture

"Infant Joy" of *Innocence* pairs the topics of birth and identity with the overly present topic of joy. The fantastic and "otherworldly" picture "prepares us to suspend our disbelief in the articulatory powers of the infant […] who also precociously preempts the traditional prerogative of its parent" (Heffernan 92). Instead of waiting to be given a name, it names itself, "identifying itself as the embodiment of an innate joy" (Heffernan 92). The second narrator accepts the infant's answer and identity wholeheartedly: "Sweet joy I call thee" (9). By turning around the traditional process of naming an infant and by giving the infant an innate sense of self, Blake emphasises his belief that "coming into being" does not "involve generation from out of nothing;" on the contrary, "coming into being" is to be singled out of an infinite unity, "specifically, a process of restricting what had been greater, possibly infinite, capacities, into more limited ones" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 61). The idea that the "infinity of being" can be narrowed down to form a life means that "being" is quantifiable in Blake's world. Meaningfully, the infant in "Infant Joy" chooses the maximum of being for itself. Because in Blake's work "desire is tied up with being: the more bound and restricted my desires, the less being I have; whereas the more expansive my desires and my connections to others, the more I exist" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 67). And joy, the feeling after which the infants names itself, "is the pursuit of being in precisely this sense, an expansive flourishing of being and desire," "to be merry, to be joyful, is to *be* – to have being – in the fullest sense" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 71, 74; emphasis in the original). Joy is everywhere in the text

– the word alone is repeated six times in the twelve lines of the *Song*. Repetitions like these "serve to intensify emotion, and often help to create it" (Ostriker 80). In addition to the word "joy," the text is filled with other joyful adjectives ("happy", "sweet", "pretty") and verbs (smiling, singing). Smiling and singing as well as conversing with one another – which is the activity that shapes the whole dialogue-formed text – are activities that form and strengthen connection between people. It is the connection to others, as Makdisi claims, which creates joy and "more being." The infant named Joy, then, exists in joy because it exists in connection to others. It can feel happiness and give itself the name "Joy" because it has experienced connection to others – and thus joy – before. This is relayed by the dialogue form of the text which makes clear that the infant is not alone in the world but in connection to the other narrator. This connection between the two is of a loving nature which is shown by the accepting and assuring affirmations that the adult narrator says to the infant ("Sweet joy befall thee!" 6, "Pretty joy!" 7).

In this moment of the infant's life there is nothing else required of it but to exist and to, furthermore, exist in desire and joy and all the actions of the second narrator are in support of this. This stands in great contrast to the social reality and teachings of Church and State that favour self-restraint and regulation of desires over all ("binding with briars, my joys & desires" (cf. Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 65). As seen in "The Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence* and *Experience,* "God & his priest & King" "make up a heaven of our misery" because they benefit from forced labour and the exploitation of working class people (and even children) (Erdman and Bloom 22). Thus, they teach self-restraint and regulation and combine those values with an innate hope for reward in the afterlife. These teachings of Church and State aim to keep the poor in their place and ensure the resource of cheap labour, which is, after all, the basis for their own comfortable life. These teachings, however, have no place in "Infant Joy" of *Innocence*. The infant can name itself "Joy" precisely because it is free from restraint through the wider structures of authority and even encouraged to "be in desire" and to "have more being" through the connection to others. In the picture, the freedom from the wider structures of authority is shown by the framing function of the big flower, which acts as protection of the figures from the outside world and at the same time as a means of creating connection among the figures and between the figures and the flower. The "womblike" qualities, which several critics have assigned to the big flower, quite aptly sum up the effects of protection and connection that the flower has on the figures (Damrosch 57). The connection between the figures is created by their postures and their sightlines, which Mitchell refers to as an "'embracing' composition" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 79). The infant is the centre of attention in the little group as both of the other figures are looking at it while the mother figure is holding it on her lap and the winged figure is facing it, gesturing towards it: "You and I are bound up with each other, and with others in turn, and with all of life" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 74). The presence of the winged figure is interesting here because usually in Blake's work portrayals of children are either with a mother or an angel but not with both

at the same time.[15] By portraying the infant in the company of two other affectionate figures, Blake departs from the stereotypically romanticised depiction of the connection between mother and child to the focus on human connection in general. Several scholars identify the winged figure in "Infant Joy" as a reference to the myth of Psyche through which, Wardle suggests, "Blake unites divine and earthly love" (Wardle 33). I agree with the notion that the presence of the winged figure functions as a means of bringing in another dimension; but rather than identifying this dimension as "divine love," I would argue that, following Makdisi, the winged figure is a representation of the infinite and of imagination, of the "greater, possibly infinite, capacities" that are usually limited in the process of creation (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 61). The reference of the myth of Cupid and Psyche, and the reference to the flowers as the anemones of Venus stained red by her lover's blood in addition to divine and earthly love, also represent the element of sexual love. Marriage, and therefore sexual reproduction, in Blake's time were highly regulated and sanctioned by Church and State and thus not defined by love, but rather by a sort of duty.[16] In "Infant Joy," however, the "wider structures of authority" have no power, so sexual, earthly and infinite love can all thrive.

As seen above, the ideas promoted in "Infant Joy" of "being in desire" and in connection to others starkly contrast with the promoted self-restraint and self-regulation in the teachings of the Church. The winged figure in "Infant Joy" stands for the break with the Church's teaching simply by being present and offering love and support at the beginning of the infant's life and not only appearing after death as is the case in the "Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence*. "Infant Joy", then, is the formulation of a utopian idea as an alternative to the teachings of Church and State. An example of what life could be outside of the grip of the wider structures of authority.

4.6 "Infant Sorrow" of *Experience*[17]

4.6.1 Style of Illustration

The style of illustration is "naturalistic, or – one might say – novelistic" (Heffernan 91). The plate shows an indoor environment with a heavily draped bed in the background and a small bed in the front, which is covered by a sheet. The pattern on the floor suggests a rug. The picture portrays a situation between child and mother that matches the relationship between the mother and child described in the text. Though the picture does not illustrate a particular moment of the text, it aptly relays the

[15] In the small selection of *Songs* discussed in this research paper, this is the only plate where a mother and a winged figure appear together. There is an Angel in "The Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence* and there are mothers in "Holy Thursday" of *Experience* and "Infant Sorrow", but they never appear in combination.

[16] The link between sexual reproduction and labour will be further explored in the analysis of "Infant Sorrow" of *Experience*.

[17] All text of the *Song* is quoted from Erdman and Bloom 28, all description of visual elements is based on *The William Blake Archive*.

prevailing mood of the text, and some visual details can be directly referred to particular lines of the text. For example, the child's representation and body movement refer to its being "helpless, naked, piping loud" (3) and the "struggling" (5), the mother's expression corresponds to her "groan" of the first line.

4.6.2 Visual Relationship of Text and Design and Movement

In "Infant Sorrow," the roman print text is set in the upper part of the plate and occupies about a third of the total space of the plate. The picture occupies two thirds of the plate and is placed below the text. Following the system of information value in composition by Kress and van Leeuwen, this means that the text is presented as the Ideal and plays the lead role, while the picture, which is presented as the Real, has a subservient role (Kress and van Leeuwen 186-87). This holds true as the text gives the "generalized essence of the information," which is the whole story of the relationship between the child and its parents, and the picture presents one particular situation between the child and the mother, hence "more specific information (e.g. details)" (Kress and van Leeuwen 186). In theory, the Real is the most salient part of a composition. High salience is often achieved by a stark contrast or a popping colour, which is not the case here as there is only subdued colour on the entire plate. Therefore, the point of highest salience cannot be clearly identified. The points on the plate to which my eyes are drawn, are the figure of the mother (especially the dark part of her dress in the abdominal area) and the capitalised and underlined title against the light background. The title and its underlining are also the starting point for the general downward movement on the plate, since some of the lines of the folds of the heavy drapes are the extension of the underlining and the "W" of "Sorrow." The downward movement is not only put forth by the folds of the drapes around the bed but also by the folds of the sheet on the small bed and the folds in the mother's long dress. The mother's bending complements the overall downward movement. Only the child does not follow this movement pattern, instead it reaches and looks upward. The direct connection of the downward lines with the title leads to the obvious assumption that the downward movement stands for sorrowfulness, distress and burden. This direct connection between the title and the downward lines also shows how – even visually – text and picture work together to signify descend (cf. Heffernan 90).

4.6.3 Figures

There are two figures on the plate, the infant from the title and the mother. The father, although twice mentioned in the text (once more than the mother), is not pictured. The naked child is positioned on a small bed with its back half-turned towards the viewer. With flailing legs and raised arms the child is reaching directly upwards, its eyes are directed straight upwards, as well, ignoring its mother's outstretched arms on the right. The figure of the mother is placed on the right side of the plate, standing at the child's bed. The mother's body is slightly bent, her outstretched arms are reaching down to the child who she is directly looking at with a

"sternly determined, perhaps irritated" expression (Damrosch 71). She is wearing a long simple dress and a bonnet. Although there is a physical closeness of mother and child, the scene does not read as intimate or harmonious because there is no connection between them. The figure of the mother is depicted in the act of picking up her baby, but the child does not reach for the mother. On the contrary, it is rather looking and reaching away from her. There is no "embracing" composition which portrays the positive aspects of contraction, instead, the child's portrayal is reminiscent of Blake's "bright, expansive nudes" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 79). The movement of the figure of the child does not only frustrate a connection to the figure of the mother, but furthermore goes against the general downward movement on the plate. Thus, the figure of the child is disconnected from the other elements on the plate. In the text, the infant's disconnection from its surroundings is shown in the description of its "struggling" and "striving" against its environment (5, 6).

4.6.4 Colour

The colours in "Infant Sorrow" are of a darker value with a low saturation and a lower purity, which makes the picture seem mottled and dull. The low saturation expresses a subdued "emotive temperature," which allows a "broody and moody" meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen 233). The dress of the mother is coloured in a mottled dark green, the infant's bed is in a light blue-grey. The drapes in the background are coloured in a modulated mottled pink. The purest pops of a red colour are found in the pattern on the rug on the floor.[18] The background wash – a light grey with a blue hue – of the text is the biggest light patch on the plate. All in all there is little differentiation of colour on the plate, which indicates restraint (Kress and van Leeuwen 234). The restraint and the broody and moody meaning of the subdued colours is consistent with the analysed meaning of sorrowfulness, distress and burden of the downward movement on the plate. The "Sorrow" of the title is found everywhere on the plate. The overbearing presence of drapes and curtains on the plate bring to mind Mitchell's concept of colour and light, and outline and form. He argues that drapery and veils or garments on Blake's figures "exhibit their immersion into the fallen world of space and time" (Mitchell, "Composite Art" 76). The mother's garments seem to fall into that category but I think that the same is true for the drapes and curtains. Therefore, it is not only the mother who is immersed into the external "fallen world" where the imagination is obscured, but it is the whole room, the general situation of the family, as well. The only notable exception here is, again, the child. It is portrayed in the nude with clear outlines that are not obscured by any garment and is therefore not immersed in the "fallen world".

[18] In a wild guess for an explanation for this unexpected pop of colour on the mottled plate, I suggest that the rug has a floral pattern because the arrangement of red, green and blue colours could hint at a nature scenery. This mirrors the plate design of "Infant Joy" of *Innocence* since the two red spots on the rug could then stand for the flower and the flower bud and would therefore be a further connection between the companion pieces.

4.6.5 Voices

The narrator's voice of "Infant Sorrow" of *Experience* is that of the infant whom the song is named after. It tells the story of its short life in the form of an interior monologue in the first person. Nevertheless, even though the – usually voiceless – infant is given a voice, it is not heard. The child's efforts to communicate with its parents by loud "piping" (3) fail miserably. The parents are unable to understand – and much less satisfy – the child's needs. The miscommunication continues throughout the poem and the child struggles to no avail against the father and the swaddling bands (5, 6). Until finally, it gives up the struggle and wearily accepts that its voice will not be heard and ensues to "sulk at [its] mother's breast" (8). That the only reflections of the parents' voices in the child's monologue are their groans and weeps (1), makes the miscommunication and struggle between child and parents furthermore apparent. The miscommunication supports the notion of disconnection between the child and the mother that I have identified in the plate's composition.

4.6.6 Sequence

There is great contrast between the companion pieces of *Innocence* and *Experience,* which can be seen in every aspect of analysis. The first thing to notice here are the different titles of the pieces with very contrasting attributes: "Infant Joy" and "Infant Sorrow". Thus, contrast is established from the outset. This is also true for the stark contrast between the fantastical nature of the depiction in "Infant Joy" and the realistic nature of "Infant Sorrow". Further contrasting features in the companion pieces can be found in the relation between text and picture. In "Infant Joy" picture and text are integrated while in "Infant Sorrow" disintegration is dominant. The colours of "Infant Joy" are bright and highly saturated, while the colours in "Infant Sorrow" are mottled and dull. "Infant Joy" is an outdoor scene set in a natural background, contrasted with the urban interior pictured in "Infant Sorrow". In the former, the picture is filled with dainty living things, in the latter, there are heavy inanimate objects in the picture. These contrasts continue on the textual level. As seen above, "Infant Joy" is full of joyous words (joy, happy, sweet, pretty) and activities (smiling, singing). "Infant Sorrow," in contrast, is full of sorrowful sounds (groans, weeps), activities (struggling, piping loud) and feelings (helpless, weary).

4.6.7 Concluding Interpretation of Text and Picture

As seen above, "Infant Sorrow" of *Experience* stands in great contrast to its companion piece "Infant Joy" of *Innocence*. Several of the issues that I have already identified in "Infant Joy" are raised again in "Infant Sorrow" but manifest in a contrasting way. Both poems tell the story of the beginning of life, of "being in the world," from the infant's point of view. However, the children's experiences could not be any more different. This is made clear from the very titles of the companion pieces that set the expectations for the underlying mood of each *Song* from the outset. In "Infant Sorrow" the underlying emotion is, clearly, sorrow, accompanied by disconnection and

restraint that I have identified in the subsections of the analysis of "Figures" and "Colour". For Makdisi, restraint or "restriction" is inseparable from birth because "*restriction* into the self and *creation* of the self as a self are, for Blake, one and the same thing" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 62; emphases in the original). This is the case, because in Blake's understanding creation "does not involve generation from out of nothing, but rather, much more specifically, a process of restricting what had been greater, possibly infinite, capacities, into more limited ones" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 61). The limited capacities of the infant are clearly stated in the text: after "leaping" into the "dangerous world" (2) of limited possibilities it is "helpless, naked, piping loud" (3) and not happy about it. Unlike the child in "Infant Joy" of *Innocence* who is able to communicate and connect with others in spite of its limited capacities, which is, inter alia, shown by the dialogue form of the text, the infant of *Experience's* loud piping is not answered and the text remains the child's interior monologue (cf. Heffernan 94).

Besides the lack of verbal connection, the child is unable to form a physical connection to its parents either. The moments of physical touch with the parents are shaped by struggle and, finally, surrender: the child struggles in its father's hands (5) and against the clothes it has been dressed in by its parents (6), and finally sulks at its mother's breast (8). In the picture this lack of connection is shown by the different directions that the figures of the child and the mother are reaching to. Makdisi argues that for Blake "being in desire" and being in connection to others equals "more being," this means in reverse "that the more bound and restricted my desires, the less being I have" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 68). The child of "Infant Sorrow" then, whose desires are not met by its parents and who is literally "bound and weary," has not only limited capacities but limited "being," because to limit desire "is to limit our existence; to cut it off is to cut off our being" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 67). In the picture there is also limited "being" in comparison to "Infant Joy". In the companion piece in *Innocence* there are three figures – among them the winged figure that I see as a representation of the infinite. In addition to the figures, the plate is filled with vines and leaves of the flower, which is also a living thing. On the plate of "Infant Sorrow," there are not only merely two figures (none of which represent the infinite) but also no other living things as the rest of the plate is crowded with heavy drapes and furniture, i.e. inanimate objects. We know that Blake does not deal in the currency of simple binaries, so the contrast between a natural and an urban setting is clearly not just romanticising the pastoral and demonising the industrial. It is much rather the connection between living things – or the lack thereof – that are featured in Blake's contrasting settings.

As seen in the preceding analysis, connection between the elements on the plate is the dominating feature in "Infant Joy". The use of the natural setting with the flower as the connecting element makes the visual connection of the elements on the plate a representation of the connection between living things – it shows "more being." In the case of "Infant Sorrow," the background elements function to indicate a downward movement and the line which links the "W" of the title to the

drapes on the right side of the plate is the only connection between the otherwise separated text and picture. There is no connection between the figures on the plate, either, as I have argued above. Instead of using human physical connection to tend to the child's desires in "Infant Sorrow" the parents bind the child in "swaddling bands" (6) in order to train it to self-regulate. The outcome of this attempt is the defeated child, "bound and weary" (7) of its struggle for connection, who finally "sulks" (8) when nursing at the breast of its mother, which is the only physical connection it has. The words "weary" and "to sulk" support the notion of defeat in the child in the last lines of the text. Especially "weary" calls for attention here because it implies the passing of time, and would therefore be much more adequate to describe an older person and not, as it is the case here, a newborn baby. Having read about the child's struggle, the "weariness" can easily be seen as a result of that struggle, however, since "access to or the denial of joy runs in parallel with the flourishing or the restriction of desire and of being more generally" the expression of being "weary of life" is apparent, too (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 74).

The analysis of contrasts between "Infant Joy" and "Infant Sorrow" shows clearly that for Blake "to be merry, to be joyful, is to *be* – to have being – in the fullest sense, whereas a certain kind of mournfulness attends the situation of being bound or restricted" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 74; emphasis in the original). It has to be noted, though, that it is not only the child that appears to be mournful in "Infant Sorrow." The first line of the text "My mother groand! my father wept" – along with the title – sets the mournful tone for the whole poem. In combination with the "sternly determined, perhaps irritated" expression in the mother's face that Damrosch notices in the picture, it is clear that the parents of the sorrowful child are not happy with the situation either (Damrosch 71). According to Tristanne J. Connolly, "Infant Sorrow" "seems a tangle of unfathomable motivations, secret desires, and frustrations" (Connolly 126). Therefore, it is not clearly discernible who is causing pain to whom: "Are the parents restricting the child who should be free, or is the child torturing the parents? Is the child really a fiend or does it only appear so to its parents?" (Connolly 126). What shows clearly, however, is that the lack of connection, which enables the mournfulness and hinders the feeling of joy, is not only felt by the child but by the parents as well. The enigmatic line that describes the newborn child as "a fiend hid in a cloud" (4) illustrates the disconnection between child and parents very well. The expression "hid in a cloud" suggests that the child and its needs and desires are not only *not* visible or understandable for the parents ("hid") but that they are not accessible for them either since they seem to be located in a different and far away realm ("cloud"). The description of the child as a "fiend" insinuates that the disconnection culminates in a feeling of antagonism – a notion that raises the child's "struggling in [its] father's hands" (5) to a more personal level. This description, in combination with the several other clues on the plate, shows that it is not only the child who struggles, but also the parents. They are unable to understand and fulfil their child's needs and desires and they perceive the child as an enemy to the order of their lives. Support for this notion can be found in the picture,

where the figure of the child is the only element on the plate that disturbs the overall downward movement.

Another interesting aspect to consider here is sexual love and reproduction. Just as the children in "Infant Joy" and "Infant Sorrow," who experience contrary modes of "being in the world," there are very contrary modes of sexual reproduction. In *Visions of the Daughters of Albinon*, Blake contrasts the "frozen marriage bed" (22) with love "free as the mountain wind" (16) (Erdman and Bloom 50; cf. Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 79). Makdisi argues that "if, after all, 'spells of law' bind a woman to a man in conventional state sanctioned marriage", the ties that exist between the "institution of marriage […] and the wider structures of power, authority, and the exploitation of labour" are no surprise (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 80; cf. Erdman and Bloom 49).

> Sexual reproduction that takes place in the "frozen marriage bed" is just another form of labor, just as entrapping, just as exploitative, as other forms of exploitation that sustain the wider economy of extraction and abuse of power that is ruled by over by kings and priests in their castles and high spires. (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 80; cf. Erdman and Bloom 49, 50)

What can be seen here is that in the economic sense sexual reproduction in state sanctioned marriage is exploitative, as it aims to produce new workers that can, in turn, be exploited in different forms of physical labour.[19] But there is also a connection between reproduction – the "creation of the self" – and the "regulation of the self" in social terms which is promoted as the ideal mode of "being" in educational settings such as schools and churches, for it is exactly in those social contexts that the ideas about marriage and sexual production are taught (cf. Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 61). People that are raised in a social context where their "joys and desires" are "bound, regulated and formed from the outside by 'God & his Priest and King / Who make up a heaven of our misery'" not surprisingly end up reproducing in a "frozen marriage bed" and having difficulties to connect with their children (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 65). Indeed, the text could be read as describing the early days of an upbringing like this resulting in a "weary" child, "sulk[ing] at [its] mother's breast," whose joys and desires have successfully been bound and who will grow up to treat its children exactly the same. The combination between the disconnection that I have identified in the text and the notion of sexual reproduction as a form of labour is a little harder to spot in the picture. In my opinion though, the picture shows this in absentia. As stated above, the father is mentioned twice in the text but not shown in the picture. This emphasises the disconnection between the child and the father. The reason for the father's absence is very likely his work. With the notion of sexual reproduction as a form of labour in mind, I would argue that

[19] The economic factor shows clearly in 'London' in *Songs of Experience*, where the "marriage hearse" is directly tied to "the grinding radium of factory labor, that produces a stream of identical, fixed, static, closed, interchangeable products" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 80; cf. Erdman 26-27).

the picture is indeed a depiction of labour. It depicts the father's labour in absentia, and the mother's unhappy labour of caring for the child. Furthermore, it suggests that the child will follow in the same dynamic of exploitation that is the life of its parents. Blake's ideas about love and marriage do not operate merely on the economic and social factors, they boil down to his notion of "being". As seen above, for Blake the creation of the self is, indeed, equal to the restriction of the self. It is only through desire, "in whose infinitude we can see the infinitude of our own being" that human beings can regain some of the "greater, possibly infinite, capacities" that were narrowed down in their creation (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 67, 61). "For if we exist in our desires, rather than separately from them, desire marks the limits of our being; to limit it is to limit our existence; to cut it off is to cut off our being" (Makdisi, *Reading William Blake* 67). "Infant Sorrow," then, is not only about the struggles of a child but of the struggles of people in a world where the regulation of the self, the contraction of "being," is what social and economic norms are built on.

5 Conclusion

The analysis of the three *Songs* and their companion pieces has shown that reading text and picture "in light of each other" expands the possibilities of meaning in Blake's work (cf. Heffernan). Furthermore, my findings have revealed different patterns of relation between the companion pieces. In the case of "The Chimney Sweeper" and "Holy Thursday" the general pattern is very similar. The detail analyses of the *Songs* reveal an entrapping religious narrative in the pieces of *Innocence,* which the reader risks to take at face value through a "careless reading". In the pieces of *Experience,* there is no such risk, because they are much more explicit and directly comment on the entrapping narratives of their companion pieces in *Innocence.* Another similarity between the "Chimney Sweeper" and "Holy Thursday" is the abundance of decoration and the large number of figures in the pieces of *Innocence*, which are contrasted by the scarceness of decorations and fewer figures in the pieces of *Experience.* In both cases, it is a motion of "zooming in" from the abundance in *Innocence* to the details in *Experience.* The entrapping religious narratives and the abundance in decorations and figures in *Innocence* function to conceal poverty and exploitation of children in both "The Chimney Sweeper" and "Holy Thursday". The textual and visual elements in their companion pieces in *Experience,* however, reveal poverty and exploitation. The pattern for the companion pieces of "The Chimney Sweeper" and "Holy Thursday," then, is the breaking of the narrative of power, which conceals poverty and exploitation in *Innocence* and is revealed in *Experience.* It has to be added, however, that although the overall pattern of the pieces of *Innocence* is concealment, a "careless reading" is not inevitable. Certain key words and the composition of the visual elements on the plate function as hints and help to reveal the entrapping religious narrative even when read in isolation from their companion

pieces in *Experience.* "Infant Joy" of *Innocence* and its companion piece "Infant Sorrow" of *Experience* do not follow the concealing/revealing pattern. The contrast between "Joy" and "Sorrow" in their titles is the first hint at a very different dynamic. In the piece of *Innocence*, the textual and visual elements represent the ideal form of "being" through connection to others. It is a representation of integration on all levels. In *Experience,* "being" is represented in a harsh and – in Blake's time – realistic way. It is a representation of disintegration. Their dynamic, then, is the breaking of the "utopia" of connection of *Innocence* by contrasting it with the harsh reality of disintegration of *Experience.*

My aim for this research paper was to put a methodological and thematic focus on the relationship between the visual and textual elements in the *Songs* and to use this focus to expand on the existing studies of the socially critical content in Blake's works. In my analyses I have found the relationship between text and picture to be significant in creating meaning. Although, as critics have conceded, Blake's texts can stand alone, the visual elements add new possibilities of meaning and contribute to the textual level far more than mere illustrations. The findings in my analyses show that the visual elements form a significant part of the socio-critical content that can be detected on the plate. For instance, in the case of "The Chimney Sweeper" of *Innocence,* the circular movement on the plate, which is significant to unmask the entrapping religious narrative, could not be detected without the contribution of the visual elements such as the decorations on the plate and the miniscule figures in the title. Furthermore, one of these little figures is a significant link between the companion pieces and their socio-critical content. In "The Chimney Sweeper" of *Experience*, the visual elements create the downward movement on the plate and the upsetting of this movement by the upward look of the figure. Thereby, they directly contribute to the social and political criticism, which is inherent to this *Song.* In "Holy Thursday" of *Innocence*, the risk of a "careless reading" would be significantly higher without the visual elements. The fact that the charity children exist only in the margins is conveyed by the visual composition of the plate and contributes significantly to the act of othering, which is one of the main elements of the *Song.* In "Holy Thursday" of *Experience,* the disruption of the pastoral myth and the romanticising of poverty are mediated significantly by the visual elements on the plate. In "Infant Joy," it is only in combining the textual und visual elements that connection between all living things as the ideal way of "being" can be portrayed. In "Infant Sorrow," the visual elements make up the downward movement on the plate that contribute significantly to the portrayal of sorrow and oppression. These are just a few isolated examples to show that the visual elements of the plates, especially in interaction with the textual elements, make a significant contribution to the generation of meaning in general and to the generation of socio-critical content in the *Songs* which I have analysed.

Due to the limited capacities of my research paper, I could only analyse three pairs of companion pieces of the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience.* Regarding further research on the topic, it would be interesting to examine the remaining companion

pieces of the *Songs,* such as the "Introduction" to *Innocence* and respectively *Experience,* "Nurse's Song," and "The Lamb" and "The Tyger." This would show whether the pattern of concealing/revealing, which I have identified for "The Chimney Sweeper" and "Holy Thursday," and the dynamic of contrast, which I have identified in the case of "Infant Joy" and "Infant Sorrow," can be defined as reoccurring patterns of the companion pieces of *Innocence* and *Experience.* Additionally, the significance of the text-image relationship for the understanding of the socio-critical content of Blake's works could be examined on a larger scale. Since the visual elements of Blake's works differ from copy to copy, an analysis of different copies would be interesting as well. To analyse whether different visual elements produce different meanings in the *Songs,* would contribute to the validation of the visual elements in Blake. Studies like this have been done on a small scale, for example by Glazer-Schotz and Norvig (1980), who have found out that different copies generate different meanings in Blake. However, it would be interesting to analyse different copies and their different meanings on a larger scale, especially concerning the socio-critical content. Some critics argue that the variations in colouring and assembly between the different copies of Blake's books have been introduced deliberately because Blake could have tailored the individual copies to particular buyers. Phillips claims that it remains important to take into account the "personal nature of Blake's relationship with those we know obtained copies from him" (Phillips 111). Regarding the variations between the different copies as tailored to the particular buyers, it would be an interesting approach to examine whether the socio-critical content of the visual elements has also been tailored to fit the specific buyer.

What can be concluded, and what I have shown in my analyses, in any case, is that taking into account the text-image relationship as a significant thematic and methodological element for the understanding of Blake's works opens up various possibilities for further research.

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A Comparative Study of World Heritage Universal Values and National-Local Values of Selected Tangible World Heritage Cultural Properties in the UK and the Africa Region

Doris Dokua Sasu

1 UNESCO World Heritage and Outstanding Universal Value: Introduction

1.1 Brief Background and Research Questions

Cultural heritage, according to the UNESCO 1972 World Heritage Convention (Article 1), covers not only a wide range of monuments and groups of buildings, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science, but also sites of outstanding universal value from aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view. This definition of cultural heritage, for the purposes of cultural diversity, has been expanded in the UNESCO World Heritage *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. In the Operational Guidelines, some World Heritage properties are identified as satisfying conditions belonging to both natural and cultural heritage, and these properties have been referred to as mixed properties (par. 46 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). Additionally, World Heritage cultural landscapes have been defined in the Operational Guidelines as World Heritage properties which are a combination of "works of nature and of man", and which are "illustrative of the evolution of human society and

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settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal" (par. 47 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). As of 27 March 2020, there were 869 World Heritage Cultural Properties listed on the UNESCO World Heritage Centre website out of a total number of 1121 properties; of which 53 are from the Africa region and 453 are from the Europe and North America region. Cultural heritage can be tangible or intangible. World Heritage Properties are, on the one hand, places and the "physical fabric" of properties that convey their outstanding universal value; what points to tangible heritage. On the other hand, properties of cultural value may refer to "intangible qualities such as social structure, economic needs and political context, in space as well as in time. Cultural heritage may relate to famous events, persons or works of art, literature, science or music" (Gamini, Wijesuriya, et al. 37); what points to intangible heritage.

The concept of Outstanding Universal Value is one that was first discussed and interpreted at the UNESCO Expert Meeting in 1976. For World Heritage properties to be inscribed on the World Heritage List, this meant, according to the outcomes of the meeting, that it "should represent or symbolise a set of ideas or values which are universally recognized as important, or as having influenced the evolution of mankind as a whole at one time or another". As much as the concept of Outstanding Universal Value has evolved over time, it has also received several criticisms. These criticisms have often been based on the criteria used to evaluate properties that are seen as possessing universal characteristics.

Outstanding Universal Value aims at creating a common place where people from all over the world can have a sense of familiarity with and connection to a World Heritage property. Therefore, Outstanding Universal Value in itself is not against the interests of nations and local communities which hold the World Heritage property. Nonetheless, it can be opined that the value of a heritage property as locally represented or interpreted should neither be overlooked nor re-interpreted within the boundaries of Outstanding Universal Value. Given this, for the international front, it is essential to look at how the value of a property can be nationally and locally represented and/or interpreted along its own lines, and how this value can be clearly separated from the parameters of Outstanding Universal Value, which aim at "all humanity". In order to delve into this, I have raised the following questions, which I hope to treat in this study: What is Outstanding Universal Value, and how is it transcribed by States Parties of World Heritage Sites? What are the values held by nations and local communities on their World Heritage Properties? Are there any significant similarities or contrasting interests between Outstanding Universal Values presented by States Parties and values held by local communities with regard to their World Heritage properties? How can the gap between the Outstanding Universal Value nomination parameters and local representation of values be bridged?

1.2 Methodology

In an attempt to answer the questions posed above, the present research will first look at some theoretical approaches that study Outstanding Universal Value in order to assess the scope of identification and application of Outstanding Universal Value within the 1972 World Heritage Convention. Following this, it will look at Outstanding Universal Value and how it is expressed in nomination and evaluation dossiers of the selected World Heritage properties. For the analysis of nomination dossiers and their corresponding Advisory Body evaluation in this study, World Heritage tangible cultural properties are selected. Within the context of my Master's degree in English Philology, tangible cultural properties from the State Party of Great Britain (from the UNESCO "Europe and North America region") are more fitting to be studied. In addition to this, an analysis of other nomination dossiers, for the purposes of World Heritage trans-regional diversity, is carried out, whereby World Heritage tangible cultural properties are selected from Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Ethiopia – all States Parties of the UNESCO Africa region. Another reason besides the trans-regional quality of the selected dossiers from the Africa region is the quest to develop an in-depth knowledge on the World Heritage properties from Africa, myself an African. Following the analysis of dossiers, the national and local values and contexts of all the selected properties will be studied. Lastly, based on what would have been previously studied, insights will be shared on how similar or different Outstanding Universal Value and national-local values are to or from each other respectively, and how the gaps between them can be bridged. A qualitative method of analysis has been employed in this research, whereby all the studied literature, World Heritage nomination and evaluation dossiers as well as national values outside of the World Heritage Convention, have been analysed, criticised and/or interpreted against the research questions and aim of thesis.

2 Theoretical Survey

In this section, I will look at some works of literature that touch on the principles, theories and interpretations of Outstanding Universal Values and, where applicable, how they relate to national and local values of properties. First, I will look at the main concept of Outstanding Universal Value as presented by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee and its Advisory Bodies, in particular, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS[1]). I will do this by using as main references the World Heritage Centre's 2017 *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* and the second edition of the World Heritage resource manual *Preparing World Heritage Nominations* (Marshal, Duncan, et al.). Second, I will study Labadi and her "value-based analyses" of conventions on World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage, in order to see how value is applied at both the World

1 For a list of abbreviations, see the bibliography to the paper.

Heritage universal and State Party levels. Lastly, I will look at Schmutz and Elliott's *World Heritage and the Scientific Consecration of "Outstanding Universal Value"* to understand the scientific dimensions of World Heritage nominations and evaluations.

2.1 Outstanding Universal Value

Outstanding Universal Value has been interpreted as "cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity" (par. 49 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). The World Heritage List is a compilation of all properties that have been recognised as World Heritage properties. The World Heritage Convention is an international treaty for the identification, protection, conservation, preservation and transmission of cultural and natural heritage that are of outstanding universal value. Inscription on the World Heritage List is thus limited to States Parties that have signed this treaty, and Outstanding Universal Value is what is said to "underpin" the World Heritage Convention in its totality. Outstanding Universal Value is, as explained in *Preparing World Heritage Nominations*, "the value agreed by the World Heritage Committee as reflecting why a property is seen to have international significance – *it is not about national or local value*" (56; emphasis mine). Nonetheless, the manual also states that local and national values are to be understood since they form a part of the "natural and cultural richness of the property", and that "the harmonious protection, conservation and management of all values is an objective of good conservation practice" (58). Additionally, it states that understanding local values means that the local people are consulted since they represent a core source of information on all local values. To an extent, the above-explained perspective on Outstanding Universal Value delineates national and local values from Outstanding Universal Values, in such a way that the only relation that national values would have with World Heritage Outstanding Universal Values and their processes of identification, is an understanding of them (national values) and not their inclusion in any part of World Heritage representations.

Identifying and justifying the outstanding universal value of a property is the first and most essential step without which further aspects of the nomination process (such as the definition of boundaries, the protection, conservation, management and promotion of attributes of the Outstanding Universal Value of the property) cannot be developed. Defining the value of a proposed property represents a fraction of the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value[2] needed for its nomination; some research frameworks (thematic, chronological-regional, typological, in that order) may

[2] The Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (SOUV) includes "a summary of the Committee's determination that the property has outstanding universal value, identifying the criteria under which the property was inscribed, including the assessments of the conditions of integrity or authenticity, and of the requirements for protection and management in force" (par. 155 of the 2005 Operational Guidelines).

also be needed in understanding the values of the property. A property is first accepted on the World Heritage Tentative List while the State Party constitutes a dossier on that property within its jurisdiction that is considered to have the potential of Outstanding Universal Value. To move from the Tentative List and be recognised as a World Heritage property or be inscribed on the World Heritage List, a cultural property has to be considered to be of outstanding universal value. This means that it has to meet at least one of the selection criteria stipulated in paragraph 77 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines. For nominated properties, there is one set of ten criteria for the selection of both cultural and natural properties, out of which six are for the inscription of cultural properties. A cultural property, according to the set of criteria, must:

> (i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
>
> (ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
>
> (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
>
> (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
>
> (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
>
> (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria) (par. 77, 2017 Operational Guidelines).

It is worth noting here that, it was not until the end of 2004 that these ten criteria were applied; before then, there were only six.

A State Party needs to establish a connection between the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value and the selected criteria, since the absence of a connection may mean that the selected criteria are not appropriate for the property, and that they need to be reconsidered in order to pave way for a successful evaluation and a consequent inscription of the property. Nonetheless, *Preparing World Heritage Nominations* advises that the number of criteria used to support a property should be checked since the more the criteria used, the more the need for scientific research to support the process of nomination. The use of scientific research and scopes to

assess World Heritage properties has been criticised by some researchers, and this will be studied further later on with the work of Schmutz and Elliott.

All World Heritage Cultural Properties also have to meet the "conditions of integrity and/or authenticity and must have an adequate protection and management system to ensure its safeguarding" (par. 78 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines), "which must specify how the Outstanding Universal Value of a property should be preserved" (par. 108 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994)[3] acknowledges the World Heritage Committee's wish to "apply the test of authenticity in ways which accord full respect to the social and cultural values of all societies, in examining the outstanding universal value of cultural properties proposed for the World Heritage List" (par. 2). It also affirms that understanding authenticity is essential in all scientific studies of cultural heritage and within the framework of inscribing properties under the World Heritage Convention (par. 10). In addition, it posits that values and authenticity should not be judged based on fixed criteria, but rather, all heritage properties should be judged in accordance with their cultural contexts (par. 11). The cultural values assigned to properties, depending on the type of cultural heritage, may meet the conditions of authenticity if they are "truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes", which can be tangible or intangible, and which include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions, techniques and management systems, location and setting, language and other forms of intangible heritage, spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors (par. 82 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). The Operational Guidelines explain that attributes such as spirit and feeling "do not lend themselves easily to practical applications of the conditions of authenticity"; nevertheless, "they are important indicators of character and sense of place, for example, in communities maintaining tradition and cultural continuity" (par. 83 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). A statement of authenticity, therefore, assesses the extent to which attributes of properties express and present authenticity.

All nominated cultural properties are to fulfil the condition of integrity, which is the "measure of the wholeness and intactness" of cultural heritage and its attributes. Paragraph 88 of the Operational Guidelines (2017) states the need to assess the property to measure the degree at which the property: a) includes all elements necessary to express its Outstanding Universal Value; b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance; and c) suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect. In addition to these, "the physical fabric of the property and/or its significant features should be in good condition, and the impact of deterioration processes controlled" (par. 89 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines).

[3] "The Nara Document on Authenticity was drafted by the 45 participants of the Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention, held at Nara, Japan, from 1-6 November 1994 […]. [It was organised] in cooperation with UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS." (The Nara Document on Authenticity, Appendix 2).

The protection and management of World Heritage properties ensure that the "Outstanding Universal Value [of properties], including the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity at the time of inscription, are sustained or enhanced over time" (par. 96 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). In addition, "all properties inscribed on the World Heritage List must have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and management to ensure their safeguarding. Property protection is to include adequately delineated boundaries" (par. 97 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). Also, in the protection of Outstanding Universal Value:

> 98. Legislative and regulatory measures at national and local levels should assure the protection of the property from social, economic and other pressures or changes that might negatively impact the Outstanding Universal Value, including the integrity and/or authenticity of the property. […];
>
> 99. The delineation of boundaries is an essential requirement in the establishment of effective protection of nominated properties. Boundaries should be drawn to incorporate all the attributes that convey the Outstanding Universal Value and to ensure the integrity and/or authenticity of the property. (2017 Operational Guidelines).

Another important aspect of the identification of Outstanding Universal Value is the "buffer zone". Buffer zones are "clearly delineated areas" that are outside a World Heritage Property, adjacent to its boundaries, and contribute to the protection, conservation, management, integrity, authenticity and sustainability of the Outstanding Universal Value of the property. This means that buffer zones are also evaluated together with the property at the time of its inscription, although they are not considered part of it. It also means that they are not included in the assessment of the Outstanding Universal Value of the property. Similar to "buffer zone" is the "wider setting" of the property. This is the area further outside the property and its buffer zone, sometimes equal to the buffer zone, which may be essential for "visual characteristics or attributes of the property" (Marshall, Duncan, et al. 85). For a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List, in order to identify and fill the gaps that lie in the World Heritage List, and to ensure that the World Heritage List is a reflection of the world's cultural and natural diversity of outstanding universal value, the Global Strategy was launched by the World Heritage Committee in 1994. This is aimed at encouraging more State Party adherence to the *Convention* and under-represented regions to have more World Heritage inscribed properties.

A nomination dossier of a cultural property outside the category of cultural landscapes has to go through an independent evaluation by the global non-governmental Advisory Body to the World Heritage Centre, which works on the conservation and protection of cultural heritage sites – ICOMOS –, after the World Heritage Centre has checked for its completeness. Within ICOMOS, two groups of experts are selected for the evaluation of properties (Ibid. 128). First are the ones who advise on

the Outstanding Universal Value of the nominated property, and who are sometimes non-ICOMOS member experts. Second are those who have practical experience in the management, conservation and authenticity of individual properties and who would carry out "site-missions" and be able to make "informed assessments" of matters of concern to the property. ICOMOS has a policy of choosing the experts of the second group from the region in which the nominated property is located, for the obvious reason of the possession of the knowledge and expertise needed to assess that region's property. From these two groups emerge two reports: a cultural assessment and a site mission report, from which a draft evaluation is prepared. The draft evaluation then passes through the ICOMOS World Heritage Panel for final evaluations. Once the dossier has been evaluated, it is submitted to the annual intergovernmental World Heritage Committee to finalise decisions to inscribe the property in the World Heritage List as well as notify States Parties on the Committee's decisions.

In preparing nominations, States Parties are encouraged to seek the participation of stakeholders to the World Heritage Convention, "and to demonstrate, as appropriate, that the free, prior and informed consent of indigenous peoples has been obtained, through inter alia, making the nominations publicly available in appropriate languages and public consultations and hearings" (par. 123 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). The involvement of communities in World Heritage nominations are further highlighted later in this study, in order to see the extent to which States Parties apply it when preparing their nomination dossiers.

The "Executive Summary" is a first and crucial part of all nomination dossiers. It sets out the key message that a dossier aims to transmit, and ensures that in the main text of the dossier, a certain comprehensiveness is achieved while avoiding wordiness. States Parties are however informed that, the complexity and lengthiness of a dossier does not determine its quality and acceptability. The nomination format for the preparation of States Parties' dossiers, as defined in the 2017 Operational Guidelines is:

1. Identification of the Property
2. Description of the Property
3. Justification for Inscription
4. State of conservation and factors affecting the property
5. Protection and Management
6. Monitoring
7. Documentation
8. Contact Information of responsible authorities
9. Signature on behalf of the State Party(ies). (par. 130)

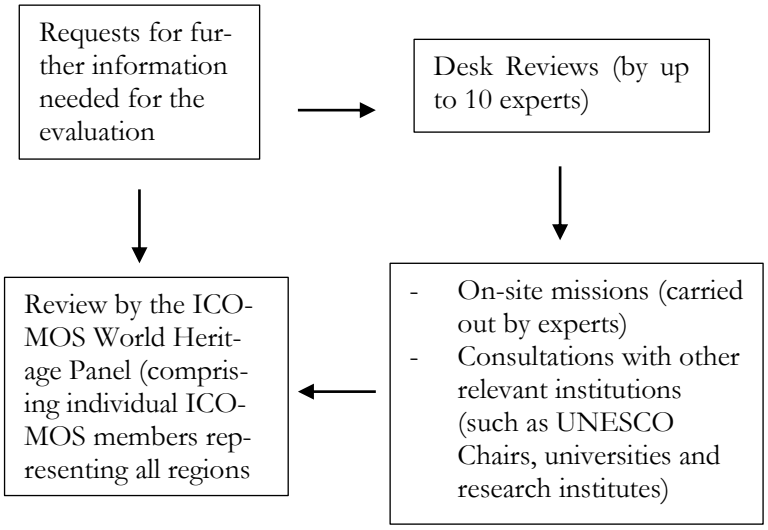
Important to note here are the revisions made on the Operational Guidelines over the years. One of these revisions has been on the "nomination format" used when

preparing nominations. For example, some nomination dossiers, especially those prepared in the 80s, had a given four-bulletined format, namely "name of the property; the geographical location of the property; a brief description of the property; a brief justification of the outstanding universal value of the property […] (including a comparative assessment of similar properties inside and outside State boundaries)"[4]. On the other hand, as with the above 2017 format given in the Operational Guidelines, later formats contained more information.

With regard to the submission of dossiers, paragraph 127 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines states that States Parties "may submit draft nominations to the Secretariat for comment and review at any time during the year. However, States Parties are strongly encouraged to transmit to the Secretariat by the 30th of September of the preceding year […], the draft nominations that they wish to submit" before the deadline for the submission of nomination dossiers (which is as of 2019, every 1 February). The evaluation period for Advisory Bodies spans from March of year 1 to May of year 2. The regional, global or thematic context of properties are to be considered in the thematic studies carried out by ICOMOS in the evaluation of proposed World Heritage properties. After evaluations are carried out by ICOMOS, final recommendations are grouped into these three categories, with much emphasis on Outstanding Universal Value:

a) Properties which are recommended for inscription without reservation;
b) Properties which are not recommended for inscription;
c) Nominations which are recommended for referral or deferral.

Overall, the process of evaluation undertaken by ICOMOS and its group of experts goes through these main stages:



4 *Operational Guidelines* 1984 and 1987, par. I.B.7.

Thus, stakeholders of World Heritage ensure that statutory measures are put in place as guidelines for the identification of World Heritage cultural properties.

2.2 Universal and State Party Value-based Analyses

As mentioned early on, the concept of World Heritage Outstanding Universal Value has attracted several studies on the subject. One of the predominant researchers in this field is Sophia Labadi. In her book *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value*: *Value-based Analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions*, she explores both the statutory and international frameworks within which UNESCO identifies and protects World Heritage, and how it implements these frameworks at the State Party and universal levels.

Labadi explains that, per UNESCO's concepts surrounding heritage, World Heritage sites are to be equally valued by all people "regardless of their socio-economic status, geographic origin or cultural frame of reference", which infers that they "should share the same values concerning specific, extraordinary places and appreciate them in an identical manner" (11). Elaborating on the "intrinsic" and "objective" values that underlie cultural properties according to some key UNESCO documents, she explains that a property considered as having an "intrinsic and unquestionable outstanding universal value" may be so "because they have constantly been referenced and lauded over the centuries" (13) as against those sites which "nobody knows about". Those sites considered as having objective values, she says, refer to the "immutable characteristics related to the fabric or history of a particular property" (13), that may be identified by a group of "experts". She argues that if "values are not intrinsic to cultural heritage but rather are produced through a process undertaken and influenced by diverse individuals, then the heritage professional's point of view must make room for the interests and beliefs of other, equally invested stakeholders", since intrinsic value otherwise grants ""experts" the authority to identify the "true" significance of properties" (13). This notwithstanding, De la Torre posits that values of heritage are not "simply found and fixed and unchanging, but are produced out of the interaction of an artifact and its contexts […], and can only be understood with reference to social, historical, and even spatial contexts" (8). She explains that the fact that "the fundamental contingency of heritage values" can be recognised "does not preclude the possibility of some values that are universally held (or nearly so)" (ibid). Reconciling her thought with that of Labadi's will mean that, heritage values are indeed interpreted to be either intrinsic or objective, however, there is the need for clear lines to be drawn between the two if a value is to be seen as universal, since one is often based on widely-held values and the other on unchanging values (intrinsic). This also means that, in an attempt to fit an intrinsic value into a universal discourse, it is important to obtain the authority of, and wholly include stakeholders like, the local community of the heritage site concerned.

Per the conditions of authenticity described in the Operational Guidelines, Labadi explains that it calls for the need to preserve sites in their original, historical

state. To her, this is to say, "the closer a site is to its original form, design, workmanship and material, the more authentic it will be" (14). However, she sees this as defying the framework of non-Western sites, which, to her, do not confine authenticity of cultural sites to the originality of their form, design, workmanship and material. She develops the fact that the concept of outstanding universal value has been "primarily understood and interpreted by the [World Heritage] committee according to European conservation and management theories" (19). Similar to this thought is Handler's anthropological notion of authenticity. He takes authenticity to be a "cultural construct of the modern Western world", and argues that even the fact that authenticity is an implicit but central idea in "much anthropological enquiry" gives it the function of "a Western ontology rather than of anything in the non-Western cultures" (2). He also sees "discrepancies of social status, as well as cultural and language barriers" as those that "further complicate the communication of authenticity", adding on to it "overlapping layers of meaning" (340). Arguing for the impossibility of a universal definition of authenticity, he cites Steiner's story about a Western tourist (the buyer) and an African art trader (the seller) who exchange a Seiko watch for an African mask:

> Several times during the bargaining the buyer asked the seller, "Is it really old?" and "Has it been worn?" While the tourist questioned the trader about the authenticity of the mask, the trader, in turn, questioned the tourist about the authenticity of his watch. "Is this the real kind of Seiko," he asked, "or is it a copy?" As the tourist examined the mask-turning it over and over again looking for the worn and weathered effects of time- the trader scrutinized the watch, passing it to other traders to get their opinion on its authenticity (341).

Steiner (129) himself believes, "While European western notions about the authenticity of African art are constructed by privileging aesthetic forms imagined to have existed in the past – worlds that never were but might have been –, African beliefs about Western authenticity are projected into the future – worlds that aren't yet but someday could be".

Labadi argues that, from a relativist point of view, values assigned to properties are dynamic, thus they evolve "over time according to the different groups of people who hold them, their frame of mind, their culture and their geographical location" (15). Similar to this is the existing concept of reiterative universalism, which she projects as encapsulating both the understanding of the universal approach applied to World Heritage properties within the framework of the World Heritage Convention, and interpretations emanating from diverse cultures and "frames of reference". She explains that the assumption that the universalistic framework of the World Heritage Convention is understood in a like manner by all persons responsible for implementing it is inaccurate. By this, she suggests that studies on the interpretations and understandings of the framework as they stand in specific cultural contexts are

needed to better assess things. Referring to Benhabib, and to support a universalistic approach that makes room for national values, she states:

> reiterative universalism recognizes that any concept needs to be interpreted and translated into one's own culture and frame of reference to make sense (Benhabib 2002, 384; Benhabib 2006). This leads to a variety of possible understandings, interpretations, representations of and responses to a universal framework that can be considered to fit into the individual's own worldview (19).

Düttmann (68) posits that reiterative universalism is supposed to recognise the "local intensities", the "particular forms", "the pluralizing tendencies", the difference which marks cultural contexts, and the difference which exists between such contexts, without otherness and heterogeneity. He explains:

> It is impossible to establish a balancing relationship between the relation to another history, another culture, another context and the unrelatedness which interrupts this relationship. Thus the relationship which exists between cultures cannot be described as a relationship which creates a universal culture, a unified teleological history, a meta-context, or which legitimates the presupposition of such a culture, such a history, such a meta-context (70).

Therefore, reiterative universalism, according to Labadi and through the lens of Düttmann, as exposed above, pushes forth possibilities for "common understandings" of the World Heritage Convention through analyses of both universal and relative values of World Heritage properties.

Within the scope of the theoretical framework used by Labadi in her book presently under study, she selects a number of nomination dossiers for analysis of sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List "with an eye to how these documents have shaped their presentation of the nation, cultural diversity, sustainability and authenticity" (2). The nomination dossiers she selects and analyses are from a range of European and non-European traditional heritage sites, including religious and industrial sites. She considers these dossiers as "contact zones", explaining that they serve as an anonymous and only source of information on which the evaluation and selection of World Heritage properties are based. She posits that, non-European States Parties "copy" the European ways of "representing and interpreting the framework" of the 1972 Convention (21), thus seeing themselves through the lens of others' representation of them, even in their "auto-ethnographic" representation of themselves. She adds that, by doing so, non-European nomination dossiers can contain purposefully used "stereotyping and dominating discourses". She backs her concept of reiterative universalism and adds other dimensions to it to say that, it is not only cultural diversity that influences interpretations of World Heritage properties but also existing dominating European World Heritage discourses. Schmid distinguishes autoethnography from traditional ethnography, describing the latter as

done by a "neutral observer" who interprets the behaviours and interactions of communities through "long-term immersion" (266). This description defies States Parties' use of the World Heritage Convention in the preparation of nomination dossiers, since these dossiers are prepared by States Parties themselves – non-neutral observers. Autoethnography, to Schmid, "studies cultural and social life, specifically the researcher's unique historical, social and political context" (267). It also "uses individual reflexive narratives to creatively highlight undisclosed, untold and potentially subversive texts", which link identity and culture, individual and social, and offers critical "counter-narratives" which allow those who have been subordinated to represent themselves (266). In this regard, it will be accurate to say that, although States Parties are to be "autoethnographers" of their cultural properties, the narratives they produce become some sort of traditional ethnography, as they are for universal purposes and are prepared by experts within the context of the World Heritage Convention.

In an aim to see how States Parties understand Outstanding Universal Value, Labadi examines the architectural, aesthetic, historical and monumental values of nominated World Heritage properties that are of outstanding universal value. She also examines the extent to which "notions of tradition, continuity and the linear presentation of history" (59) influence nomination dossiers. She finds that, majority of dossiers analysed reveal a focus on outstanding values linked to the architecture, aesthetics and history of the property, and explains that this focus opposes, for example, the 1994 text of the Global Strategy which advocates for States Parties to desist from conceptions of cultural heritage that is architectural and monumental and instead move towards a conception that is "more anthropological", in order that heritage will be perceived as "holistic and pluri-disciplinary" (60). In this manner, she adds, there is a transition from properties that are of "a unique artistic achievement" to properties that represent "a masterpiece of human creative genius" (criterion i, par. 77 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). She therefore underlines that, not only before but also after the 1994 text of the Global Strategy, criterion (i) has been associated with "the description of the architectural and aesthetic beauty of the proposed sites" (60), which means that there is a "monumental and biased understanding" in States Parties' application of the recommendations of the Convention, the decisions of the World Heritage Committee and the text of the Global Strategy. In Brusaporci's definition of key terms, he interprets architectural heritage as an "artifact", whose "elements are witnesses of the cultures, actors, and of events [that] occurred during the life of the building" (124). Indeed, one must clearly distinguish the architectural features, which are nonetheless part of cultural heritage, from the whole make-up of a cultural property. This will prevent one from reducing cultural heritage to what may just be architectural heritage.

Labadi further explains the focus that is on the aesthetics of monuments from a political point of view, saying that States Parties materialise "nation", which is an "abstract concept", and that monuments are made to act as "emotional symbols of collective self-expression and self-identification" that seek to bind people as an act

of "national heroism" (60). She underlines that nomination dossiers from industrial heritage sites and non-European countries copy the dossier styles of religious sites from Europe. She attributes this to the Europe-majority inscription of properties on the World Heritage List and the desire of non-European countries to be equal with European countries on the level of World Heritage inscription. This opinion re-joins her other opinion that non-European States Parties copy and represent European World Heritage conventional frameworks. However, instead of merely or firmly ascertaining that non-European nomination dossiers are copied in style from European nomination dossiers, further studies can be made to ascertain possibilities of dossiers of non-European States Parties directly being influenced by the mandates of the 1972 Convention and other UNESCO texts and guidelines on World Heritage inscriptions, which may have the same influential capacity as European nomination dossiers. The reasoning behind the relevance of this study approach is that, as European States Parties refer to ultimate fixed sources in preparing their nomination dossiers, it infers that, if these sources were sources other than the binding text of the World Heritage Convention and other accompanying World Heritage texts (such as the Operational Guidelines), the success rate of European World Heritage property inscriptions would be low, even impossible. Therefore, in the optic that non-European States Parties refer to the same World Heritage sources in preparing their dossiers, it is expected that styles used in non-European dossiers will be very similar not only to European styles but also to styles required by the World Heritage Convention, the *Operational Guidelines*, and other World Heritage texts. Doing this type of study could eliminate the notion of dependency of dossiers of non-European States Parties on styles of European States Parties.

With regard to tradition and continuity of World Heritage properties, Labadi posits that most of the nomination dossiers she analysed in her work "convey a sense of the continuous importance of the site, and, in particular, of the traditions continuously upheld there over the centuries" (63). She joins this idea to that of national heroism to say that continuity and tradition are important to the "construction and justification" of a nation in a way that they present the nation as a "stable and continuous entity over time". For a State Party property, this means that it is one that existed in ages past, that exists today, and that will exist in ages to come. Labadi thus identifies four main types of continuous traditions and continuity (64-65). First are those sites that "detail architectural and political traditions held at site", some of which, she says, are being "invented". This type, she explains, deliberately selects building styles that represent continuity in time.

Second are the "invented traditions" that refer to the "mythical origin of the nation and help support claims that its creation was the will of God" (64). She explains this type with the example of the nomination dossiers of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Former Abbey of Saint-Remi and Palace of Tau, Reims, and shows how these dossiers explain the myths and symbols surrounding the coronation of French kings. Considering this thought, however, one may ask where the often-unverifiable myths, held by local communities of World Heritage sites, will be placed:

as part of the local community's whole tradition which they consider and accept as their true history and culture, or as foreign to the "scientifically" accepted verifiable but time-limited history and culture of the community? One may also wonder at what point World Heritage experts accept myths and legends to be part of universal narratives, and at what point they do not.

The third type of continuous traditions and continuity Labadi identifies are with sites that emphasise religious features, which add to their belief in the continuity of the nation. This type was seen transcribed on World Heritage properties, which portray themselves as "active religious" centres or places of pilgrimage which have been in existence for at least four centuries. She cites an example with the French and Spanish Routes of *Santiago de Compostela,* which has served as a place of pilgrimage since the Middle Ages, and has identified itself with a sense of continuity. The fourth type she identifies is with Mexico and Bolivia, which are post-colonial countries, which, she says, have attempted to "create a hybrid, inclusive, national identity through invented traditions and a sense of continuity with their pre-Hispanic past" (65).

Hobsbawm disambiguates tradition and custom, saying that the latter allows innovation and change up to a point albeit it is expected to be compatible with what preceded it (2). On the other hand, he refers to tradition (invented tradition) as the "wig, robe, and other formal paraphernalia and ritualised practices" which surround the substantial actions of customs; this means that when custom declines, the tradition, which intertwines itself with it, is inevitably changed (4). He further explains invented tradition as "a process of formalisation and ritualisation characterised by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" (5). He emphasises that many political institutions, ideological movements and groups, in their very unprecedented state, invented historic continuity by creating an ancient past either by semi-fiction or by forgery, which is "beyond effective historical continuity" (7). These notions of continuity pertaining to culture, history and tradition, whether they are absolute or not, are worth examining. Wilkinson et al. (192) write on the reproduction of institutions and posit that, once institutions are established, there are "asset-specific" investments that are made to which their actors become committed "on the basis that institutions will always exist". Extending the notion of continuity to the idea of a continuously existing institution, one can say that indeed if institutions aim at existing for a long or even an indefinite period of time, then they will make the kind of "investment" that connotes continuity. Thus, it will be common to find, for example, a cultural heritage institution that strongly emphasises attributes of continuity, which it identifies as inherent to its cultural properties. The same will apply to a State Party that deeply embeds the idea of continuity into its cultural heritage.

Concerning the role that the presentation of a property's history plays in highlighting its Outstanding Universal Value, Labadi argues that it is through descriptions of history and development of properties that have been nominated that a sense of continuity is conveyed. States Parties she studies present "linear and sequential narrations" that chronologically explain how a property is constructed (66).

She explains that nomination dossiers present the history of properties in a "linear, continuous and unilateral" way, and in a way that will better bring it (the history) out as an "outstanding universal value". In doing this, she posits that States Parties are encouraged by the concept of Outstanding Universal Value, and this makes them concentrate on the part of history that is "safe and positive", instead of bringing together both the safe and the tensions associated with the property.

Labadi describes Outstanding Universal Value as a way of sacrificing particularities, origins and interests of properties in the name of achieving an "assumed universal equality" (68). In talking about sustainable tourism and development, she addresses the issue of possible conflicts that exist between national and universal values of World Heritage properties. This is the case with tourism, where, based on the nomination dossiers she treats, she explains that some tourists have "views on and uses of" sites that differ from the views on and uses of sites that come from the community within which the site is located. She cites an example with a religious site that has a community of faithful on one side and tourists on the other side. Tourists may want to visit this site at times when it should be accessible to only the community of faithful. She goes further to explain how there may be tension on the "carrying capacity"[5] of a nominated site. She also points out that an increasing carrying capacity over time inaccurately translates to States Parties that their World Heritage property is and remains of outstanding universal value. The conflict that emerges in an attempt to "universalise" heritage, issues on carrying capacity and differing views notwithstanding, has an impact not only on the community that holds the local heritage but also on the inherent connection that exists between its members and the local heritage. In line with threats on properties deemed universal, Harrison (298) underlines that heritage threats affect the "social body that holds that tradition, object, place or practice to be a part of its inheritance". He adds that, claims of threatened heritage have increased enormously throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries due to the "erosion of the traditional connection between heritage and the nation-state" caused by the universalism of heritage. Jelincic also argues that globalisation has resulted in "standardization, uniformity, [and] (emphasis mine) disappearance of local values". She pinpoints that, tourists appreciate "universal civilization" and achieve "some degree of human unity" when they visit international heritage sites, adding however that there are some heritage elements that draw only those who have emotional connections with it, which often exclude "foreigners". Nwegbu et al., in their conclusion, cite the example of Nigeria, opining that:

> The instability of personality, family, community and other activities are largely due to the *rapid erosion of our absolute traditional values* and *not* due to the advancement of information technology. Instead, technology has come to accelerate our cultural heritage (8-9; emphases mine).

[5] Labadi refers this to the "maximum number of visitors that can be accommodated at one site at the same time" (103).

Indeed, if World Heritage heritage properties are viewed as emotional symbols of collective self-expression and self-identification, as opines Labadi, then the contrasting idea of a dominating local development of a unique emotional connection with national heritage, as opines Nwegbu et al., becomes valid. The above-explained tension on visiting times joins the universalistic nature of Outstanding Universal Value, something Labadi seeks to resolve with the concept of reiterative universalism explained above. She exposes another dimension of tensions that arise between the community and tourists at the World Heritage property, that is the interpretations, views and values the local population hold of the World Heritage property, and which they transmit to tourists. Apart from the benefits tourists get from the transmission of values, the act of transmission interferes with the strict sense of Outstanding Universal Value and takes sides with reiterative universalism, whereby the tourist's worldview of the visited property is through the window of the local population.

On authenticity-related tensions with Outstanding Universal Value, Labadi refers to the report of Heike and Hazen (61) on Germany's Rothenburg, and says that conservators and heritage managers see this site as "unauthentic" whereas the local population sees it as an authentic medieval site. This, she says:

> illustrates that authenticity is always relative and not fixed and that it is always negotiated between the different stakeholders who can ascribe values to a property. It also means that the authenticity of a property can be lost, as it is its outstanding universal value (123).

An example she gives to this is the delisting of the Dresden Elbe Valley from the World Heritage List because of the construction of a bridge across the Elbe River. This re-joins Handler's thoughts on authenticity (cf. 13). Bruner (400) identifies some forms of authenticity, one of which he says merges authenticity with authority. By this, he explains, focus is shifted from the authenticity of the site to "who" has authority to authenticate it (or the right to tell the story of the site), that which denotes "power". By extension, what is deemed authentic is what has been approved and certified by an expert and officially presented to the public (Rickly-Boyd, 11). This raises questions on the use of expert advice and authority in deciding which heritage sites are authentic and which ones are not, or in fact, which sites are generally eligible for inscription on the World Heritage List.

Finally, Labadi concludes that the World Heritage community of experts have left certain key issues unanswered; something that she thinks obstructs States Parties from fully understanding and implementing the concept of Outstanding Universal Value. These key issues, for her, include the notion of "value" which, oftentimes in official documents, is considered intrinsic to heritage properties. By this, she means that values of properties are only seen in their whole "physical fabric" that do not change in time, and that incites its appreciation by all humanity in an equal manner irrespective of one's background or "geographical location". She, in fact, sees the long-standing understanding of values as being intrinsic to be an indication that the

World Heritage Committee fears to lose the "veneer of objectivity that the World Heritage Convention claims to have" (148). The notion of value with regard to properties can indeed be extended beyond the intrinsic value of the property's physical fabric to what the local community or nation hold of it (the property). This, however, would go against the World Heritage Convention as it stands, as it is "not directly linked to national or local values".

2.3 Scientific Dimensions of World Heritage Nominations and Evaluations

ICOMOS explains that there is a scientific committee that is attached to the whole "management authority" of World Heritage properties. The scientific committee, it explains further, is responsible to define a conservation policy for a property, checks that the defined policy is implemented, and makes sure that the conservation process is well monitored. In addition to this, it has to be made up of "a higher echelon of scientific evaluation for tourism and cultural development projects and for the management of the property" (ICOMOS 2010, 91). Along with the management authority that is related to the scientific committee is the assessment of properties for inscription on the World Heritage List. One of the research works on the subject of Outstanding Universal Value, which further treats the role of the scientific committee in the compilation of the World Heritage List, is Schmutz and Elliott's work, *World Heritage and the Scientific Consecration of 'Outstanding Universal Value'*.

In their research, they set out to explain what it means for a property to have Outstanding Universal Value and how its assessment and verification is carried out. They posit that verifying and "articulating" Outstanding Universal Value is not a straightforward process and that it "leaves room for a variety of interpretations" (141). They detail the role of international nongovernmental organisations (INGOs) in developing continuous scientific criteria to the identification of sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List. The designation of legitimate criteria, which are overseen by "culturally authoritative institutions", is the scope within which they see the evaluation of sites for World Heritage inscription; something they see as a further claim to wealth culture scholars' argument that a nation's status is based on its symbolic capital endowment (141). ICOMOS and IUCN are the main world institutions they refer to in their work[6], and they analyse 811 Advisory Body evaluations to support their claim that the "highly rationalized process" behind the certification of the Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage Sites is overlooked and underexplored as compared to the recognition placed on the inscription of properties.

They argue that INGOs and their team of experts have no executive authority which ensures compliance, and that when they create global standards, it results in "highly rationalized and scientized emphases with universal applicability", to an extent that various standards are "adopted worldwide without violent opposition and with little contentious debate" (142). They identify two ways (142) in which INGOs

6 For the purposes of this present study, I will focus on their research on ICOMOS.

exercise legitimate authority. First, they explain that INGOs are "carriers of world culture who espouse universal values that are universally embraced". Second, they identify that INGOs are "expert lobbyists with extensive knowledge and specialized information that participate in major world conferences alongside state and industry leaders". Indeed, ICOMOS, for example, provides the World Heritage Committee with scientific and professional expertise on issues of cultural heritage – such as property evaluation, state of conservation, monitoring, advisory services to States Parties, and reflection on the World Heritage Convention (ICOMOS, "Our Work"). However, Schmutz and Elliott see this as something that makes the World Heritage Advisory Bodies influential in world affairs and standardisations, as opposed to the influence that comes from "nation-states". Adding to this thought are Boli and Thomas, who explain *culture* as a global concept in two ways: first, that its definitions, principles and purposes are cognitively constructed in similar ways throughout the world; and second, that it is held to be applicable everywhere in the world, where "world-cultural models are presumed to be universally valid, usually by functional-imperative reasoning" (18-19). They (Boli and Thomas) recognise INGOs as trans-national bodies that exercise a special form of authority they call "rational voluntarism" (14). They also argue that INGOs "employ limited resources to make rules, set standards, propagate principles and broadly represent 'humanity' vis-à-vis states and other actors", and that by doing this, they "shape the frames that orient other actors including states" (14-15). Certainly, the role of INGOs and their team of "scientific experts" in shaping and regulating national cultural heritage around the world cannot be left unrecognised. As will be seen later with World Heritage State Party site evaluation dossiers, ICOMOS chiefly examines the dossiers that have been presented by States Parties to the World Heritage Convention.

Schmutz and Elliott emphasise that ICOMOS works to promote "the application of theory, methodology and *scientific techniques* to the conservation of architectural and archaeological heritage" (143; emphasis mine). To show how ICOMOS (and IUCN) evaluations "reflect the expanding authority of science in world society" (143), they explore what they call the "scientific consecration of OUV [Outstanding Universal Value]". They support that ICOMOS is an organization increasingly called to "set and implement standards for assessing OUV" of cultural properties, in such a way that it would "participate in a global trend toward the 'rationalization of virtue and virtuosity'" (144). They point out that an initial ambiguity with Outstanding Universal Value concerned both cultural and natural site evaluators, whereas the standardization-related challenge was acute only for professionals of cultural sites. The first reason they give to explain this difficult standardization challenge is that:

> the scientific basis for assessing and preserving cultural heritage sites was less developed and less widespread than the moral justification […]. Furthermore, no single mode of evaluation prevailed among the diverse array of relevant cultural heritage professionals (144).

The second reason they identify is the ambiguous and broad nature of the criteria used to inscribe cultural sites on the World Heritage List. These criteria, they argue, are "relatively abstract and leave considerable room for experts at ICOMOS to interpret and articulate what constitutes OUV" (144), since the presence of ambiguity when assessing value in cultural fields leads to "pressures" that call for a conformity to the judgement of experts (145). Both of the reasons given above, they say, are in line with the observation that the World Heritage Committee is less straightforward, more time consuming and controversial in its deliberations about cultural sites. In one of their findings regarding ambiguity with the concept of Outstanding Universal Value (153), they explain that, at one point in time ICOMOS questioned whether the Historic Centre of Warsaw met the requirements of authenticity, owing to the fact that it had been rebuilt after the Second World War, and it (ICOMOS) stated that "further expert opinion" was required. They further underline how ICOMOS had concluded that "the criterion of authenticity may not be applied in its strictest sense", and how it recommended that Warsaw be inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of it satisfying both the "general conditions" for inscription on the World Heritage List and the universally recognised nature of exceptional value. The point for them here is that, compared to evaluations of later years which include "details about the property, history and description, management and protection efforts, reports on conservation and authenticity, and more", the evaluation of the Historic Centre provides "relatively little formal evaluation of the site". That evaluation, to them, like that of Kremlin and Red Square in Moscow[7], was rather geared toward the enhancement of the legitimacy of the World Heritage List by making reference to "the 'obvious' quality and importance of the property" (153).

Schmutz and Elliott also assess the cultural authority of science in world society as a contribution to their research on organizational evaluators of Outstanding Universal Value. They explain that there is an increase in the "volume and cultural authority of scientific knowledge in world society". This increase, they say, facilitates:

> the extension of formal organization across a growing range of activities […] which leads rationalized, scientific approaches to displace other rationales […] as the legitimate basis by which all organizations, including non-profits and INGOs, are expected to address an array of global social problems (145).

The increase is also seen in a "scientific ontology" that seeks to promote standards that are universally applicable in socially related circles across countries and cultures. Relating this to World Heritage means to them that the "cultural model of science" is what seeks to resolve problems related to the objective and standardised evaluation of cultural sites. In the end, ICOMOS is expected to use a scientific approach

7 "The proposal to include the Kremlin and Red Square […] allows us to fill in one of the most notable gaps. Indeed, the World Heritage List will lack full credibility as long as it does not include cultural properties whose aesthetic quality and historic importance are so obvious." (ICOMOS, 1990).

to assess Outstanding Universal Value due to "normative commitments to the cultural model of science and […] pressures to secure […] [its] own legitimacy" (145). Pushing forth the idea of Barthel-Bouchier (qtd. in Schmutz and Elliott 145) that argues that ICOMOS adopted, in past years, a discourse of sustainability, they explain that heritage professionals have expanded their repertoire with scientific discourse by handling concerns of environmental sustainability, and as this discourse spread from domestic to international levels, it became glued to the mission of ICOMOS and its evaluation procedures. This underlines ICOMOS' contribution and commitment to the universalistic identification and characterisation of World Heritage cultural properties and its commitment to selecting experts with "technical expertise over heritage practitioners with local cultural knowledge" (146). Furthermore, it calls into question who precisely these "experts" are: whether they are "heritage practitioners qualified to take rational objective views on the basis of experience and regional and national context", or "the local people who know the place and its capacity for change […], experts at living where they do" (Schofield and Szymanski, 3). This question, to a larger extent, mirrors the essence of what was explained earlier in relation to world heritage universal values not being about national or local values – according to the World Heritage manual (cf. 4). However, contrary to the World Heritage Convention's call for local values to be "understood" as its only contribution to Outstanding Universal Value, Schofield and Szymanski resolve that "local perspectives do matter" in all cases – of evaluation of value –, as they maintain strong (and unfound) emotional connections to the heritage place.

With the 648 Advisory Body evaluations of all World Heritage Cultural Properties inscribed on the List between 1980 and 2010, Schmutz and Elliott detail how the process of evaluation expanded over time. They use word count to measure the length of the selected evaluations, as an indicator of the "increasing expansiveness" of evaluations, and to serve as a "control for changes in scientific discourse over time" (147). They stress that other cultural fields have also measured "intellectual rigor" and the complexity of evaluations with word count, which is to say that their method of data analysis has previously been successfully used. They also measure how scientific discourse has been used over time by building up a dictionary of scientific terms while paying attention to the context of words extracted from selected evaluations. Another scope of analysis they apply is allowing a simultaneous study of related dependent variables, of which they explain:

> To determine whether changes in evaluation length and prevalence of scientific discourse are statistically significant over time, we ran a multivariate analysis of variance […] that tested the effects of time on the number of words in […] cultural […] site evaluations as well as the number of scientific terms used. (147)

By means of example with four historic centres inscribed on the World Heritage List, namely Warsaw (1980), St Petersburg (1990), Arequipa (2000), and Hanoi (2010), they find that:

> While some basic site information, assessment of OUV, and a formal recommendation are evident across decades, evaluations expand to include a comparative analysis to other inscribed sites, [an] assessment of authenticity and integrity of sites, detailed histories, expert consultations, detailed preservation issues and monitoring plans, and bibliographic references. (149)

By comparing the above finding to selected World Heritage natural site evaluations, which they found were more consistent with the concerns they (the evaluations) addressed, Schmutz and Elliott conclude that cultural site evaluations seem to adopt some concerns which have already been identified in natural site evaluations, and that this tendency shifts cultural site evaluations toward scientific approaches by which the Outstanding Universal Value of cultural properties is verified. They add that cultural site evaluations, by 2009-2010, contained 36 scientific terms[8] per 1000 words (that of natural site evaluations being 40 scientific terms per 1000 words), which makes it clear that cultural site evaluators use, to a greater extent, "scientific assessment" as criteria for the nomination of sites. Further analyses also make them suggest that, "The expanding authority of science as the legitimate basis for evaluating cultural sites applies across different types of sites and likely among different types of heritage experts" (152).

Comparing early evaluations of World Heritage properties to later ones, as previously mentioned, Schmutz and Elliott identify that later evaluations also include reports on conservation measures of properties. Additionally, they note that evaluations of World Heritage Sites which are famous and the ones which are "relatively unknown" have striking similarities with their "length, format, and in the items of concern they address" (153). They observe that conditions, such as the following, needed for a site to be of Outstanding Universal Value, have enlarged over the years: (a) "Comparative analysis"[9] has become necessary for sites to establish their universal value. (b) Further scientific research and scientific standards of evaluation – the archaeological study of a site, for example – have been demanded for certain site evaluations.

As mentioned early on, they posit that not only is a scientific committee needed to define conservation policies for properties, but also, for ICOMOS to approve a site, the management of the latter must "represent a high standard of scientific evaluation" (154). Overall, Schmutz and Elliott stress on:

> how the broader authoritative structure and cultural trends of world society define the legitimate criteria, procedures, and actors that bestow

[8] Some of the scientific terms they used to measure the prevalence of scientific discourse include data, analys*, examin*, classif*, method, indicator, calculat*, and science.

[9] This refers to linking a nominated site's significant value or attribute to similar sites, whether on the World Heritage List or not, and stating why it stands out as a property.

> value and status […], which highlights the role of technical experts and consultants in shaping conceptions of what is acceptable or desirable (155).

They indeed see the World Heritage Convention as directly seeking to identify and establish a world heritage that emanates from different cultures and times and social domains. To them, future works could: first, shift focus from the implementation of standards to the consequences of a standardised process of site evaluation, and second, look at the possibility of unsuccessful nominations inadequately defining Outstanding Universal Value as per the authority of scientific discourse which is valued in world society.

3 Outstanding Universal Value in Nomination and Evaluation Dossiers

As previously exposed in the methodological approach for this study, the nomination dossiers to be examined here, in that order, are City of Bath, Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey including Saint Margaret's Church, Tower of London (United Kingdom of Great Britain), Fort Jesus (Mombasa, Kenya), Khami Ruins National Monument (Zimbabwe), and Konso Cultural Landscape (Ethiopia). Following the presentation of nomination dossiers will be a study of their corresponding Advisory Body evaluations, in order to see the extent to which the World Heritage Committee and "scientific experts" look at nomination dossiers presented by States Parties. Nomination dossiers form a single document, which describes a property's Outstanding Universal Value and attributes. I would like to reiterate here that the World Heritage Centre publicly puts the "unfiltered" nomination files of States Parties on its website; however, mostly for properties inscribed until the year 2000, the nomination files – or nomination dossiers – of some properties are not found. Information on the Outstanding Universal Value of the inscribed property such as the criteria for inscription, conditions of authenticity and integrity, as well as protection and management requirements, are found under the "description" category on each property's webpage, a category which also contains a "brief synthesis" on the property. Therefore, whenever a nomination file – which is normally more detailed than the information given under the description category – is found for a property, it is what is studied here; otherwise, the information on Outstanding Universal Value given under the description category on the property's webpage is what is studied.

3.1 City of Bath (United Kingdom of Great Britain)

Inscribed in 1987, City of Bath is a World Heritage property located in the United Kingdom of Great Britain. In the compilation of information on the inscription of

the property (UNESCO, "City of Bath")[10], the State Party gives details about the property, including the criteria for its selection and the conditions of integrity and authenticity against which it was inscribed. It states that the property was founded in the first century AD by the Romans as a thermal spa, was important for the wool industry in the Middle Ages, and became a great spa city in the eighteenth century as popularised in literature and art. For the purposes of inscription, the State Party lists the cultural attributes that account for the Outstanding Universal Value of the property. First is the evidence of Roman remains, which are famous in the north of the Alps. It adds the evidence of the Georgian architectural and landscape vision of John Wood Senior (1704-1754), Ralph Allen (1693-1764) and Richard "Beau" Nash (1674-1761), which centred on making Bath both the most beautiful city in Europe and an enjoyable city for the cure-takers of the spa. It also states that the property includes public buildings which are of neo-classical style and which, in a collective manner, reflect "the ambitions, particularly social, of the spa city in the eighteenth century" (par. 4).

The criteria upon which City of Bath is inscribed are (i), (ii), and (iv). To justify criterion (i), which points to properties that are a "masterpiece of human creative genius", the State Party mentions that the City, evidenced by its architectural and visual design and its visual homogeneity, is a "deliberate creation". It also emphasises the efforts of the architects who "created" the city, and how they went against all odds to shape it, stating:

> That the architects who were working over the course of a century, *with no master plan or single patron, did not prevent them* from contriving to relate each individual development to those around it and to the wider landscape, creating a city that is harmonious and logical, in concord with its natural environment and extremely beautiful (par. 6; emphasis mine).

Indeed, as criterion (i) demands it, the attributes of the property which are emphasised by the State Party are first, its development as a result of an "unfound" and "deliberate" human creation, and second, its extreme visual beauty and blend. It can therefore be said that, with the demands of the World Heritage criterion in mind, the State Party is able to look for and find proof that the property is fit for inscription based on that criterion.

Criterion (ii), as mentioned early on, demands that the property of architectural and landscape design exhibits an interchange of human values over a period of time or within a world cultural area. To justify this criterion, the State Party states that City of Bath represented a shift from what it terms an "inward-looking uniform street layouts of Renaissance cities" towards the idea of "planting buildings and cities in the landscape to achieve picturesque views and forms". It adds that this was the

[10] The nomination information for this property was retrieved from the description category on the property's webpage, as against the original nomination file.

norm in nineteenth-century Europe. Here again, time span, architecture and landscape design are emphasised by the State Party in order to achieve an alignment with the requirements of the criterion.

Criterion (iv) requests that the property be an outstanding representation of an important stage(s) in human history. The State Party's justification for this criterion as regards the property is that the city is a representative of "two great eras in *human history*: Roman and Georgian" (emphasis mine), adding that it is of great importance to the understanding of Roman social and religious lives. Moreover, it states that City of Bath is an "18th century re-development" which is "a unique combination of outstanding urban architecture, spatial arrangement and *social history*" (par. 9; emphasis mine). It also underlines the nature of continuity of the City with regard to the eigh-teenth century and the Modern era, explaining that it "reflects a continuous development over two millennia" (par. 9); and this is written in particular reference to the medieval Abbey Church that is beside the Roman temple and baths. Once again, it is seen that the State Party, in response to the demands of the criterion, places emphasis on architecture, time span and continuity as elements that make up the outstanding universal value of the property. The additional emphasis on continuity re-joins the notion of continuity discussed earlier in this study (cf. 16-18).

As explained before, the conditions of integrity that lead to the inscription of a property must include all the elements that are necessary to express the Outstanding Universal Value of the property. To justify these integrity conditions, the State Party explains that the property and its wider setting, including the remains of the Roman baths, the Temple of Sulis Minerva, and the "areas of Georgian town planning and architecture", are well preserved. It further explains that the property, in the face of modernity, is vulnerable to "large-scale development" and "transport pressures" which could affect its view and wider green setting. On the other hand, to justify the conditions of authenticity for the inscription of City of Bath, which should show the credibility or truthfulness of the attributes of the property that reflect its Outstanding Universal Value, the State Party emphasises "originality" (par. 11). It does this with reference to the existing hot springs, Roman baths and remains as well as some Georgian buildings. Indeed, the bigger question to be asked here, with regard to these two conditions, and taking into consideration the type of property this is (i.e., an urban town), is: whether, for the sake of its inscription on the World Heritage list, the property should exist with an absence of "large-scale development" and transportation improvements – as this could be the present need of the city and of course could aid in its general 'development'. The view of a local community on the authenticity of the property it holds, for example, could be different from the view that is held by stakeholders of that property; and if that is the case, then authenticity is no longer static but relative and changing, and can be lost. Also, if authenticity and/or integrity can be lost in the face of modernity, in other words, if national or community-level modifications outside the principles of the World Heritage Convention are performed on properties, that could be interpreted as a loss of Outstanding Universal Value, which would lead to the delisting of the property concerned.

Worth highlighting here is paragraph 14.ii of the 2017 revision of the Operational Guidelines (also par. 24.ii of the 1987 revision of the Operational Guidelines), which defines one of the three main categories of urban buildings eligible for inscription on the List as:

> historic towns which are still inhabited and which, by their very nature, have developed and will continue to develop under the influence of socio-economic and cultural change, a situation that renders the assessment of their authenticity more difficult and any conservation policy more problematical. (82)

This is surely a thought-provoking description, since, in fact, there seems to be not only an acceptance of continuity with regard to "socio-economic and cultural change" but also an acceptance of the complexity involved in the analysis of authenticity in fast-changing societies. Could this then be a self-created loophole of the World Heritage Committee and its working groups of experts? City of Bath is one of such "historic towns" identified under this category; thus, its vulnerability to "large-scale development" and "transport pressure" may be inevitable or foreseen. This notwithstanding, the Operational Guidelines advocate for the subsequent deletion of World Heritage properties which suffer threats and deteriorations (including development related modifications) which will take away the Outstanding Universal Value for which the property was inscribed in the first place.

Lastly, and following the conditions of integrity and authenticity, the State Party provides information on the management and conservation plans for the property – as these are to be included in the dossier evaluated for inscription.

The summary of the October 1987 Advisory Body Evaluation of the nomination dossier of City of Bath covers two pages, therein ICOMOS identifies the property and recommends that it should be inscribed on the World Heritage List provided that the UK's Draft City Plan[11] of 1984 is officially approved. In December 1987, at the eleventh session of the World Heritage Committee, the property was inscribed having supposedly satisfied the preconditions meted out earlier by ICOMOS. In the session report, the World Heritage Committee stated that they had "examined 61 nominations to the World Heritage List, taking account of the recommendations of ICOMOS and IUCN for each nomination" (par. 9).

In the evaluation dossier, ICOMOS also justifies the reasons for selecting the property for inscription. In this justification, it identifies the City's hot baths with other Roman-built hot baths in Europe and shows how these bath-cities had become major historic cities. City of Bath is part of the inscribed sites, which do not have their State Party nomination file available on the World Heritage Centre website; consequently, the information available for study is from what is displayed under the "brief description" category on the website. However, based on the quasi-limited

[11] This is usually a World Heritage site map added to the dossier to indicate the precise boundaries of the property and its buffer zone.

information retrieved from this category, it is seen that the comparison, which ICOMOS makes between City of Bath and baths in other European countries, is done not only as a response to the State Party's "comparative study" on the property but also with the aim of adding a universal touch to the inscription of the property. This comes out as interesting, as it gives the impression that indeed, the universalism of the property is primordial to the World Heritage Committee as to the State Party to the World Heritage Convention and the Advisory Body evaluating the nomination dossier.

Furthermore, ICOMOS highlights some major historical events and foundations that surround the property, including the construction of *Aquae Sulis* (a temple built by the Romans, dedicated to their "local divinity" Sulis), the Saxon conquest of Bath in 577, and Bath as a commercial (wool), health and religious centre. Clearly, this can be seen as an attempt to underline the outstanding universal value of Bath from a historical point of view. Another specificity of the site underlined by ICOMOS is how Bath's "rebirth" was spearheaded by the three "figures" mentioned earlier, with emphasis on their architectural and landscape design. Here also, it is seen that ICOMOS very positively responds to the "groups of urban buildings" criteria-call about landscape and architectural homogeneity, placed by the State Party. This kind of repeated emphasis demonstrates that both the State Party and the Advisory Body are working within a particular framework – the World Heritage Convention – that points them to the selection of particular properties and without which the proposed property cannot be inscribed.

In the end, ICOMOS attributes its acceptance of City of Bath as a World Heritage site to the "exceptional value" of its "historic and monumental ensemble". Aside the precondition stated above, it adds that the "general protection situation of the 4,900 classified or listed monuments of Bath" needed to be provided by the State Party. As stated early on, the property was inscribed, pre-supposedly after these conditions had been met – since there is, at the time of this research, no available document on the property's webpage that contains the new information that was provided by the State Party to allow for the inscription of the property.

3.2 Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church (United Kingdom of Great Britain)

Located in the City of Westminster, London, in England, this property ensemble was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987. As with City of Bath, the ensemble has no "nomination file" available on the World Heritage Centre website, therefore, the information analysed here is what is retrieved from the description category on the property's webpage (UNESCO, "Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey including Saint Margaret's Church"). The State Party gives a brief synthesis on the site, underlining its important symbolism in religion, monarchy and power (state), and how it journeyed through feudal society and modern democracy over the centuries. It also mentions the property's internationally recognised attribute as "Big

Ben", that which indeed exposes the universal quality for which it aims. Moreover, as part of the brief synthesis (pars. 2-8), itIt projects the site further as being:

- a place of national memorial (the tomb of the Unknown Warrior, for example);
- a place of worship spanning from over a thousand years;
- a seat of parliament and a place for national and cultural events;
- an example of English Gothic and neo-Gothic art and architecture.

The State Party identifies the criteria upon which its proposal of the property was based, which are (i), (ii) and (iv). To justify criterion (i), it mentions Westminster Abbey's "unique artistic construction" that is symbolic of the "sequence of the successive phases of English Gothic art". The State Party presents this fact as an explanation to why the property is considered a "masterpiece of human creative genius". It is thus evident that it combines both history and art to put the property into a perspective that would allow for its inclusion on the List. As a justification for criterion (ii) (cf. 5), the dossier mentions the Abbey's influence on eighteenth-century English architecture. It also mentions the Abbey's influence on the work of the architects, Charles Barry and Augustus Welby Pugin, on Westminster Palace, which is deemed a form of nineteenth-century "Gothic Revival". Here again, the focus has been put on architecture and history, which can be seen as a means used to tailor the property to meet the universal criteria set for World Heritage property inscriptions. The dossier's justification for criterion (iv) (cf. 8) is the nine-century-long symbolism of the property ensemble, in that they make reference to specific periods of the English parliamentary monarchy. In addition to this, the State Party mentions the presence of a vast number of art in the ensemble, referring to it as a "veritable history museum" of the United Kingdom. History is changing and the architectural properties of buildings may change along with history. This goes without saying that continuity (when seen as a continuous existence of the wholeness or part of a thing) is indeed not static, but constantly changing along with history and new events. As will be seen later in the present study, Westminster Palace falls into the category of a changing history and architectural make-up.

As per the conditions of integrity that account for the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, the State Party emphasises the importance of the location and setting of the property ("next to River Thames", with a "distinctive skyline"), its architecture, history, and religion and governance (i.e. since King Edwards the Confessor, between 1042 and 1066). It, however, also identifies certain threats that surround the property, such as its predominant "skyline" (par. 16) view that may be doomed by the construction of tall buildings around the property that obstruct this view, and the "heavy volume of traffic" (par. 18) that affects the coherence and integrity of the property.

With regard to the conditions of authenticity, the dossier maintains that the property ensemble is authentic in its location, as well as in the "materials and substance" and "form and design" of the buildings (par. 19). It also emphasises on con-

tinuity in the use and function of each building of the property ensemble, as previously listed. The continuity of the property is here embedded in its uses, and this could be interpreted as an element that has been put in place to ensure the sustainability and continuous existence of not only the World Heritage Institution but also elements that help recognise the property as outstanding and universal.

Lastly, the State Party explains the management plan of the property. One of the most important things it explains in this section of the dossier is the visitor traffic on the property. As visitor traffic has some recognisable effects on and implications for the property, it (the State Party) calls for a "proactive management" to reduce congestion and visitor management that will "protect the fabric and setting of the property" (par. 27).

In the Advisory Body evaluation dossier of "Westminster Palace (1987)", retrieved from the webpage of the property, ICOMOS identifies the property (Westminster Palace) and recommends that its inscription on the World Heritage List be deferred. This first time evaluation in May 1987 did not include Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church, as they had not been included by the State Party when they submitted the first nomination dossier in December 1986. To justify possibilities of inscription of Westminster Palace on the World Heritage List, ICOMOS describes, for example, how the palace was a major place of residence for kings of England, from Edward the Confessor to Henry VIII, before the fire in 1834 that almost wholly destroyed it. It also mentions the deliberate English historical and political references that informed the choices of Barry and Welby Pugin in their reconstruction of the palace in 1835, enumerating at the same time the size specificities of the "enormous site". It adds:

> In and of itself and in spite of repairs to some parts (notably the House of Commons) following damage during World War II the new Westminster Palace is an outstanding, coherent and complete example of Neo-Gothic style (May 1987 Evaluation file, 2).

ICOMOS, nonetheless, raises concerns about the "very restrictive delimitations" of the site in relation to the definition of the property, and "regrets" that some worthy buildings and ensembles in the surrounding of the property ensemble are not proposed for inscription together with it. It therefore suggests that the State Party should work on regrouping these other buildings with the palace in order to meet the requirements for inscription of the site. To support this, it mentions, for instance, the parliamentary history linked to the neighbouring Westminster Abbey and how it is a place where the kings of England have been crowned since the year 1066. It can be projected that, by this, ICOMOS would support the idea of a history that is not only safe, positive and sequentially narrated, as exposed earlier, but also one that is the result of the quest for historical continuity. It can also be seen that, here, the definition of heritage boundaries is done by ICOMOS rather than left in the sole hands of the State Party, and failure to add the proposed new boundaries would mean that the property will not be inscribed as a World Heritage property.

After the first evaluation had been made, and before the property was inscribed in 1987, the United Kingdom proposed Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church together with Westminster Palace; ICOMOS then cancelled the previously decided deferment of inscription. Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church were thus inscribed on the World Heritage List, recognised as two separate monumental parts deemed to be exceptional having met the three criteria[12] for inscription (as pointed out above). In 2008, ICOMOS undertook another evaluation of the property due to a boundary modification that was carried out on the property by the State Party. The evaluation summary (which includes a property map) is divided into three parts[13]. The first part, "Basic Data", recalls basic information about the property, including its date of inscription and location. The second part, "Issues Raised", gives a background information on the boundaries of the property, its buffer zone, as well as the visual integrity, which had to do with projects for large buildings that were underway in the south of London[14]. This part also explains a proposal of the United Kingdom that would not only increase the surface area of the property by 0.85 ha. but also make the territory more coherent and strengthen its outstanding universal value. The proposal sought to "combine the two existing parts of the property into a single ensemble, by including the portion of the avenue which separates them, that is part of St. Margaret's Street to the north and the start of Abingdon Street to the south" (2008 Evaluation file, 1).

In the third and last part of this evaluation, ICOMOS approves the modification to be carried out and urges the State Party to create a buffer zone by which the visual integrity of the property will be protected. In doing this, the two separate monumental parts comprising the three buildings became a "single ensemble", thereby achieving the requirements and standards of the World Heritage Convention and its group of evaluation experts. Obviously, without this modification, which met World Heritage standards, the property would not have been inscribed; and this could translate the sacrificing of local and national perceptions and particularities in World Heritage inscriptions.

3.3 Tower of London (United Kingdom of Great Britain)

In the brief synthesis presented by the State Party (UNESCO, "Tower of London"), the Tower of London is identified as an "internationally famous monument" symbolic of royalty, and a "rare survival of a continuously developing ensemble of royal buildings from the 11th to 16th centuries" (par. 2). The State Party highlights that, in European history, the Tower Green (part of the property complex) is also recognised as the place of execution of three English queens: Anne Boleyn, Catherine

12 Criteria (i), (ii), and (iv).

13 By this time, in 2008, the format for ICOMOS evaluations of nomination dossiers had been revised.

14 These large buildings, as mentioned earlier, were said to have interfered with the visual integrity of the property.

Howard and Jane Grey. To explain the cultural qualities that account for the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, it states that the Tower was a gateway not only to the capital (London) but also to the new Norman kingdom. The Tower, it adds, has also been an important point that delimits the power between "the developing City of London" (par. 4) and that of the monarchy, and has defensively protected the city between the eleventh and the nineteenth century. The dossier further explains that the Tower is a representative of the last military conquest of England – with regard to the eleventh century Norman Conquest – that "fostered" closer ties with Europe as well as had an impact on language, culture and the creation of "one of the most powerful monarchies in Europe" (par. 5). Another cultural quality of Outstanding Universal Value mentioned by the State Party is the property's representation as a "late 11th century innovative Norman military architecture"; and the White Tower at the middle of the property complex as a representation of "the most complete survival of an 11th-century fortress palace remaining in Europe" (par. 6). The property is also described as being a repository of official documents and precious belongings of the Crown such as the Crown Jewels. The State Party additionally states that the Tower has contributed to shaping Reformation in England, wherein Catholic and Protestant prisoners[15] who had survived helped to recognise the Tower as "a place of torture and execution" (par. 9).

The identified criteria for selection of the property are (ii) and (iv). As a justification for criterion (ii), the property is said to be an outstanding symbol of royal power starting from the time of William the Conqueror. To justify criterion (iv), the dossier reiterates that the Tower of London is an "example par excellence of the royal Norman castle from the late 11th century", and that its ensemble is a "major reference for the history of medieval military architecture" (par. 10).

To describe the conditions of integrity that account for the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, the State Party highlights the buildings, wall and moat that are within the boundary of the property as well as the physical relationship of the property to River Thames and the city of London. It also mentions the "erosion" of the visual attributes of the property, a physical threat caused by some tall buildings in its surroundings. The conditions of authenticity accounting for the Outstanding Universal Value of the property are also described. For these authenticity conditions, the State Party highlights the symbolism of the White Tower in relation to Norman power as well as how it serves as a "model example of a concentric medieval fortress in the 13th and early 14th centuries" (par. 15). It also mentions that the association of the Tower with the development of State institutions has been maintained through elements such as documentary records and artefacts like weaponry. Additionally, it states that the form, design and materials of the property have remained intact and legible as it was at the time of inscription, although there had been some restoration works in the nineteenth century by Anthony Salvin, who sought to make it as medieval as it was before.

15 The property used to be a place of imprisonment.

Indeed, one can remark that there are many expanded repetitions of elements that are used as a construct of Outstanding Universal Value, so that one is made to think that the State Party's mainline justifications for Outstanding Universal Value (criteria and conditions) still embody architecture, history and times in history (Medieval, Norman Conquest, Reformation, etc.). This mode of property presentation has a higher tendency to redirect an audience to the universal framework of the World Heritage Convention rather than the property itself. Additionally, the recognition of the property as being "internationally famous" and the representation of this phrase on the first line of the "brief synthesis" on the property's webpage cannot be ignored. When one meets this property for the first time, one is immediately ushered into the line of thinking of the World Heritage Convention: the universalism of properties.

Lastly, the State Party states that the management plan of the property is such that the UK government protects the property through Acts and stipulated guidelines for conservation and site promotion. These management plans are regularly reviewed by independent authorities who further work on issues that concern the Tower in order to maintain the Outstanding Universal Value of the property and its wider setting.

In the July 1988 evaluation summary of the property's nomination dossier, ICOMOS justifies the inscription of the property on the World Heritage List. It describes the property from the time of William the Conqueror's inception of the Tower as a city-fortification keep on a mound made of earth and timber to the time of its replacement with stone in the 1080s, adding other later significant modifications. It emphasises that, among the other elements of the property ensemble, the White Tower is undeniably the most significant of them because of its material, size and symbolism (of power), and that it is a representation of both medieval and post-medieval architecture. It can be noted here that, for ICOMOS to throw that much light on the White Tower on the basis of what has been exposed above, it implicitly under-represents the make-up and use of the other elements of the property ensemble. This certainly attempts to highlight the important elements of the property that would portray it as universal and outstanding. Meanwhile, the make-up and use of the other elements of the ensemble could equally be of great importance as is the White Tower, when studied at the national or local level.

To support the inscription of the property under the two criteria (ii) and (iv), the evaluation dossier re-states the justifications explained in the State Party nomination dossier, which pointed to its royal symbolism and importance as an outstanding and historic model of construction. ICOMOS finally observes the visual threats to the Tower and urges the World Heritage Committee to urge the State Party to take action on protecting the "monumental value" and "urban landscape" (92) of the property. This re-joins Harrison's notion of increased claims of threatened heritage (cf. 19), which, as mentioned before, erodes the connection between the nation or community and heritage while highlighting universal heritage.

3.4 Fort Jesus (Kenya)

In the nomination dossier of this property (UNESCO, "Fort Jesus"), submitted first in 2010 and then in 2011 for re-examination upon the recommendation of ICOMOS, the property is first identified, its year of inscription being 2011. The 2011 dossier describes the property, mentioning that it was once a trade port to Asia. It explains that in order to exercise control over these trade routes, "powers" (12) built a fort at Mombasa. Constructed in the 16th century, the Fort was designed in a human form by Giovanni Battista Cairati, an Italian architect and engineer. The State Party also notes:

> It was designed in such a way that it was virtually impregnable during any siege and it included basic facilities such as chapel, cistern, well and Captain's house all covering an area of two acres (ibid).

According to the nomination dossier, most of the building was destroyed in the eighteenth century and it survives in ruins, the original building materials being coral, lime, sand and clay. It transitioned from its use as a trade site into an administrative centre during the colonial period, then into a prison, and now into a museum and a monument (made accessible to the public since 1960). The dossier also indicates that the property attracts "hundreds of thousands of both local and foreign tourists annually", and also "serves as the Regional Headquarters for coastal museums and sites" (14). Other noted present uses for which the site is are social functions, sports, and community relaxation and trade. The dossier also presents the history and development of the property, from the earliest settlement in the region of the property to the trade carried out in gold, silk, ivory and skins, and conflicts that arose there because of trading activities. It details the construction phases of the Fort, stretching from 1593, when construction began, until the end of the Great siege in 1698. It further describes the settlement of the Portuguese in Mombasa in 1593 – which led to the building of the Fort –, until their expulsion from the region by the Omanis in 1698 amidst external rivalry from the English and Dutch, who also sought to exercise control over the trade area. It adds that the Portuguese managed to recapture the area in 1728 but for less than two years before they were again thrown out by the Arab Omanis, who were in turn overthrown by the British who colonised the area in 1885. The Fort under British rule was used as a government prison, but it later became a National Park (1958), and to date it is being used as a national monument and a museum.

The dossier underlines that the name of the fort, Fort Jesus, resulted from the Portuguese quest to cease Muslim domination in the region by using the "Military Order of Christ" (16), whereby the Christian faith was enforced on the people through Kings that ruled the state.

To justify the inscription of the property on the World Heritage List, the State Party states, among others, that the property deviates from, but was an improved form of, the "existing fortress design" (21). This is because of, it explains, the height

of the Fort and its "two symmetrical bastions" (ibid.) that were incorporated to protect each other and to serve as a source of strong cross-fire. This goes without saying that, here, there is an implicit desire for a continuous existence of the property (sense of continuity) when reference is made to an old existing form of it. The State Party also presents the Fort as "one of the best preserved and conserved Portuguese fortresses in Africa and which has had its general design unchanged throughout the various periods of occupation and use" (ibid.). As properties proposed for World Heritage inscription require States Parties to demonstrate how outstanding these properties are, compared to other heritage properties, it is common to find States Parties rating their properties above other properties they deem similar or different, in nomination dossiers.

The criteria under which Fort Jesus is justified and inscribed are (ii) and (iv). To justify criterion (ii), which refers to important interchange of human values, the dossier mentions the 16th century architectural design of the property and shows how the property served as a place that safeguarded Portuguese interests on the East African Coast and in the trade on the trans-Indian Ocean. It also justifies the property as a present landmark of "social cohesion". To justify criterion (iv), which seeks that the property illustrates a significant stage in human history, the State Party describes the property as the "best surviving 16th-century Portuguese military fortification in the world" (22). It also links its human form to the Renaissance architectural idea of the relationship between the human body and "geometrical perfection".

In its Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, the State Party underlines that Fort Jesus is:

> an exceptional symbol of the interchange of cultural values and influences between and among peoples of African, Arab, Asian, Turkish, Persian and European origin, whose lives have been touched by the presence and role of this imposing structure (Nomination file, 23).

The dossier also refers to the Fort as the "centre of the then emerging political, commercial and cultural globalization" (21). To describe the outstanding universal value of the property further, the State Party draws from already expressed contexts and representations of the property, sometimes almost resulting in wordiness. Nonetheless, State Party-used Outstanding Universal Value cues underlined until here include exceptionalism, architectural and inter-national/continental history, and globalisation.

Regarding the Comparative analysis on the property, the State Party compares Fort Jesus to other heritage sites that they deemed similar, while underlining their differing characteristics. Among the sites with which Fort Jesus is compared, all bastion fortification fortresses, are Fortress of Mazagan (Morocco), Fortress Kambambe (Angola), Red Fort (India), Elmina Castle (Ghana) and City of Valletta (Malta). These sites are compared with Fort Jesus within the parameters of their history, architecture, geographical location, original use and function, among others.

Describing the conditions of authenticity that account for the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, the State Party emphasises the originality of the property, adding that its "position and layout" (31) have remained untouched. It also states that although the property has undergone some modifications befitting its current function, its "aesthetic form and value" (ibid.) have been maintained. Early on, it was seen that Labadi views the Operational Guidelines as calling for the preservation of sites in their original form, something clearly seen with Fort Jesus. However, contrary to her thought that non-Western sites do not limit authenticity of cultural sites to the originality of their form, design, workmanship and material, it is seen here that the State Party of Kenya defines authenticity in terms of the originality of form, aesthetics, position and layout. The implication for this can especially be found in the prevalence of the World Heritage Convention and the Operational Guidelines, in that their dictates are meant to transcend cultural and regional boundaries. In that regard, there would be no strong differing claims on Western and non-Western dossiers, but rather common claims on "dossiers of all regions" that are based on the Operational Guidelines and the World Heritage Convention.

Regarding the conditions of integrity of Fort Jesus, the State Party underlines its work and commitment toward maintaining a non-compromised visual and functional state of the property. This includes the existence of a Kenya-government heritage legislation that protects the site. As part of the whole dossier, the State Party continues to present the state of conservation of the property and factors affecting it, as well as its protection, management and monitoring procedures.

In a thirteen-page two-column text-based assessment (ICOMOS, "Fort Jesus, Mombasa"), ICOMOS evaluates Fort Jesus, Mombasa, proposed for inscription on the World Heritage List.[16] It identifies the property and recalls the basic information surrounding its nomination. It explains that Fort Jesus was included on the World Heritage Tentative List in June 1997, and was first examined at the 34th session of the World Heritage Committee in 2010, although this examination was "referred" by the Committee (UNESCO, Decision 34 COM 8B.12). The 2010 World Heritage Committee adopted a decision that would allow Kenya to improve its demonstration and presentation of the property's Outstanding Universal Value, buffer zone and conservation area, comparative analysis, management plan, visual and functional integrity and authenticity, among others. In February 2011, therefore, the State Party provided new information on the property based on the previous recommendations, which included the expansion of its comparative analysis. The 2011 evaluation dossier gives a description of the property as well as its history and development. Once again, the comparative analysis carried out for the property was rejected by ICOMOS, given that it did not "support the values that are claimed for the nominated property" (20). ICOMOS adds that the new comparative study "has limited its scope to one set of values claimed for the property, overlooking the cultural interchange

[16] The difference between this evaluation file of 2011 (and the nomination file for that matter) and those of the 1980s lies also in their length: whereas those in 1987 and 1988 cover about three pages only, this file (2011) covers about 13 pages, site maps and plans excluded.

dimension of Fort Jesus, Mombasa" (ibid.). The importance attached to the comparative analysis for this property is worth underlining, in that the need for "universalism" is emphasised by ICOMOS. That is to say that, for Fort Jesus to be accepted as a universal property, it must indeed be connected to other cultures, and if connected to other cultures then the dimensions of cultural exchange must be well demonstrated by the State Party.

In evaluating Kenya's justification of Outstanding Universal Value, ICOMOS recognises the intercultural relations and civilisations that were present in the region, but states that this is a fact that has merely been given by the State Party without establishing any relation between the property and its buffer zone, Mombasa Old Town, and "the regional pattern of development of coastal settlements of East Africa" (21). ICOMOS also observes that there is not enough substantial evidence in the comparative analysis that supports the State Party's claim that the property is "one of the finest examples of military architecture reflecting the innovations in weapon technology and warfare strategies and embodying Renaissance architectural theories" (21). Certainly, the impression ICOMOS gets from the State Party's presentation and justification of the attributes of the property can be viewed as a product of the desire of the State Party to present the property as impressive and magnificent, historic and universal, in order to arrive at its inscription as a World Heritage property. It is interesting, however, that it still does not succeed in achieving this status.

ICOMOS accepts the conditions of authenticity of Fort Jesus, but "notes" that the conditions of integrity as presented in the nomination dossier will be met when further work on boundary delimitation is done. It also considers that criteria (ii) and (iv), upon which the property was proposed, are not demonstrated at that stage of evaluation. In June 2011, however, at the 35th session of the World Heritage Committee, after the necessary conditions for inscription had been met by the State Party, Fort Jesus, Mombasa, was inscribed on the World Heritage List based on new criteria (iv) and (v) (UNESCO, Decision 35 COM 8B.19). At this stage of inscription however, the World Heritage Committee only takes note of the provisional Statement of Outstanding Universal Value of the property, provided by the State Party, and officially adopts the final Statement in 2012 at its 36th session in Saint-Petersburg (UNESCO, Decision 36 COM 8B.65).

Still in the evaluation dossier, further assessment is made on factors that affect the property as well as on its protection, conservation, management and monitoring, as these were part of the State Party nomination dossier.

3.5 Khami Ruins National Monument (Zimbabwe)

In the information retrieved from the description category on the property's webpage (UNESCO, "Khami Ruins National Monument"), Khami Ruins National Monument is identified as located on a hilltop west of the Khami River in Zimbabwe. It is also described as the capital of the Torwa dynasty, which arose between

1450 and 1650 from the collapse of the Great Zimbabwe Kingdom, adding that it conforms archaeologically and architecturally to Great Zimbabwe. The State Party of Zimbabwe explains that the World Heritage monument is made of "a complex series of platforms of dry-stone walled structures, emulating a later development of Stone Age culture" (par. 3). It is described as having a high standard of workmanship and a detailed long-wall decoration, both of which raise it above all decorated walls in the sub-region. The property's architecture is also described as contributing to the "exceptional understanding" (par. 4)of the socio-economic and spiritual significance of the local community and of early civilisations at large, among others. Its archaeological artefacts are also described as a proof of its historic trade links with the Portuguese, the Spanish and the larger world. Khami Ruins is further described as an important symbol of change in the history of Great Zimbabwe[17] and the later Zimbabwe period.

The criteria, which account for the Outstanding Universal Value and inscription of the property, are (iii) and (iv). To justify criterion (iii), the State Party states:

> The property is a unique and exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared. The architecture and archaeological artefacts of the site provide important scientific and historical evidence critical for the understanding of the full chronological development of the Zimbabwe tradition from the Stone Age to the Iron Age era (par. 6).

To justify criterion (iv), it states:

> The property is an outstanding example of a type of building and architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant stage in history. It has yielded an exceptional long evidence related to human evolution and human environment dynamics, collectively extending from 100 000 years ago to date and demonstrates testimonial to the long distance trade with the outer world (par. 7).

To account for the conditions of integrity, the State Party underlines the intactness of the property, in that, the cultural and traditional processes and functions of the local community is said to have been well maintained. It adds that the boundaries and buffer zone of the property have contributed to its adequate environmental protection and the bringing to light of its aesthetic values. Some identified threats to the property include pollutant discharges that affect its setting, natural erosion, tourism, and wall cracks from creeping rain; nevertheless, there is a call for conservation and maintenance measures that would help to maintain the site's integrity.

The conditions of authenticity that account for the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, as identified by the State Party, are such that the property is shown to be both evident of the ruins of Great Zimbabwe and a later development of it. It

[17] Great Zimbabwe is also a national monument inscribed in 1986 as a World Heritage property. It is located in the Province of Masvingo in Zimbabwe, and built between 1100 and 1450 AD. Source: UNESCO World Heritage Centre. "Great Zimbabwe National Monument." *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/364/. Accessed 22 Mar. 2020.

adds that the historic traditions of the property, its spiritual use, traditional methods of restoration and original fabric, have been maintained with "minimal interventions" (par. 11) performed on it. The protection and management requirements are also meted out in the dossier, as part of the things to account for in the nomination process.

The State Party's description of the property, justifications for the criteria, and conditions of integrity and authenticity, are evidence of a pronounced architectural, historical, cultural and universal exceptionalism. They are also evidence of a used element of continuity, with reference to the Great Zimbabwe Kingdom and the "continued" traditional practices among members of the Khami community. Anderson, commenting on the modern existence of cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers within the scope of "shared created consciousness", argues that these tombs do not have any "identifiable mortal remains or immortal souls", and yet they are "saturated with ghostly *national* imaginings" (9; emphasis mine). Explaining his views on imagined communities further, he acknowledges that there is an existing notion of simultaneity that sees "a simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present" (24), and whereby, taking from Auerbach (qtd. in Anderson 23), something "has always been, and will be fulfilled in the future" (24). The State Party's presentation of Khami Ruins traces it to the Torwa dynasty as well as the Great Zimbabwe Kingdom – whose origins are either unknown, imagined, or explained with legends. This presented form of inter-connectedness not only creates the notion that one kingdom or dynasty must have developed out of the other, and that the resemblances between them are such that they must have been very much related to each other, but also projects that its future form will only be a continuation of what had existed in the past and is existing in the present.

On a two-page (text-base) 1986 evaluation of Khami Ruins, ICOMOS identifies the property, its location and year of inscription being Matabeleland and 1986 respectively. It recommends that the property should be inscribed on the World Heritage List. To justify its acceptance of the inscription of the property, it highlights its similarity to some other fifty archaeological sites located between the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers. It notes that the site's status as a "Royal Reserve" (1), until 1893, protected it against plundering. It also notes that although the site is found in a region where there had been a significant human presence, it appears to have been inhabited continuously only during the Iron Age. Several sectors of the site are identified to be coherent with the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. A noted example is the *Mambo*, the chief's residence, which was found to have remains that point to, for example, 16th and 17th century foreign contacts (Chinese, Spanish, Portuguese). ICOMOS considers in its evaluation that:

> the Khami site, which still has a considerable archaeological potential, provides a testimony adding to that of Great Zimbabwe, developing, as it did, immediately afterward and perhaps leading to the abandonment of this capital (Evaluation file, 2).

Apart from the comparison it makes between Khami Ruins and Great Zimbabwe, it also draws similarities between the property and latest constructions in Great Zimbabwe, evoking the idea of continuity. Lastly, ICOMOS stresses that the property is "worthy" (2) to be included on the World Heritage List based on criteria (iii) and (iv), and to benefit from protection enhancement efforts from the international community, as does Great Zimbabwe. Indeed, in the evaluation also, Khami Ruins continues to remain in the shadow of Great Zimbabwe. Additionally, there is the mention of its need for international benefits that would enhance its protection, as if to highlight that, Great Zimbabwe is doing well partly because of these benefits, and that, without them, it (Khami Ruins) will miss certain protection measures.

3.6 Konso Cultural Landscape (Ethiopia)

The nomination file for this cultural property (UNESCO, "Konso Cultural Landscape"), submitted in January 2009 by the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritages (ARCCH) and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, contains an Executive Summary (cf. 11). The first part of the dossier identifies the property by giving information such as the name of the State Party, the name and region of the property, its geographical coordinates (to the nearest second), the statement on buffer zone, and maps. In the second part of the dossier, which covers 35 pages, the State Party first gives a description of the property, including a detailed description of the characteristics and physical attributes of the individual walled towns within the nominated area, and secondly, the history and development of the property. These are obviously too many pages when compared to older dossiers, but they altogether highlight the complexity involved in preparing World Heritage nominations, especially with later inscriptions. Nonetheless, as the document *Preparing World Heritage Nominations* clarifies, the lengthiness of dossiers does not necessarily result in their success.

Some of the major descriptive properties of the site highlighted by the State Party are that: (i) a terrace agricultural system is adopted by the Konso[18] and the central area of Konso has "extensive dry stone terraces"; (ii) there are dry stone defensive walls that surround Konso, built with locally available basalt and within which are the Konso towns; (iii) there are cultural spaces known as *Mora*, found within the walls and sometimes outside the walls, and individually walled towns have up to seventeen *Moras* connected by footpaths; (iv) there are Konso sacred forests, mainly Kala, Bamale and Kufa, each having a ritual leader or priest called *Poqola*. These traditional forests are used, for example, as burial areas for the *Poqola*, and they contain large ponds (*Hardas*) that are used for cattle rearing. The State Party also underlines the intangible heritage that is embedded in the tangible cultural site of Konso. This includes the periodic ceremonies and rituals that are performed

18 The inhabitants of Konso are also referred to as Konso.

through prayer and sacrifices in the area, which is, at the same time, a reflection of the day-to-day lives of the people of Konso.

With regard to the history and development of the property, the State Party states that it is "reconstructed from oral traditions and linguistic studies and could be dated through the generation counts and archaeological data" (40). Through these sources of data, it is mentioned that there might have been trade contacts with Somali traders, and that the Konso might have started moving stones to the area by 1604 AD. This kind of archaeological assessment is what Schmutz and Elliott view as emanating from scientific research that is applied to the context of cultural heritage. The State Party further explains that the area saw a transition from traditional systems as well as changes in administrative systems such as the Italian occupation of Ethiopia between 1936 and 1941, and the regime of Haile Selassie I in 1974.

The third part of the dossier is used to justify the inscription of the property on the World Heritage List. The criteria under which the nominated property was to be inscribed are (iii), (v) and (vi). To explain criterion (iii) – which, as previously mentioned, is for a property to bear a unique or at least an exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or has disappeared –, the State Party mentions that the World Heritage property is proof of both the living tradition of mummification of ritual leaders and the erection of stone, which marks the transfer of responsibility from an older to a younger generation. Regarding criterion (v), Ethiopia states that this criterion is "justified by the Konso settlement pattern, harness of hostile environment and their highly organized towns which have multiple rings of high wall defense system" (44). The dossier also underlines the social organization and unity, as well as the "indigenous engineering knowledge" (48), that enabled the construction of the terraces, and which are still evident in the present Konso traditional system. To justify criterion (vi), the nomination dossier indicates that the mapped "traditionally protected forests and the ritual spots within them" (45), the diverse rituals, communal works, belief systems (used as testimony to traditions of world megalithic societies), and the generational transfer of power, are proof that the association of places with events are "clearly maintained" (ibid.) in Konso.

The Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (SOUV) of Konso Cultural Landscape re-emphasises that the property is made up of "thousands of kilometers [of] long dry stone terraces that are engineered to manage rain water [*read*: rainwater] and control soil erosion" (46), and serves as a demonstration of its hundreds of years of existence. It also underlines the property's national and international recognition as a representation of the relationship between humans and their environment, not forgetting its use as a cultivation space. It further highlights the strategic and defensive nature of the walls and their uniqueness thereof. The burial and ritual use of the site as well as the social bonds that sustain it, as explained earlier, are again mentioned in the SOUV.

The State Party submits a comparative study on the property, selecting similar properties (terraces and fields) from Kenya, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Ethiopia, in the Kolme and Gewada sub-regions of Konso. With

regard to traditional construction works, the dossier demonstrates that it is a response to Konso's harsh environment, agricultural practices, indigenous methods of land preservation, sacredness, history and migration, observed megalithic traditions[19], and local material availability and make-up. The State Party of Ethiopia also mentions that Konso stands out compared to the African historical sites of Ziea (Zimbabwe), Lobi (Burkina Faso) and Sukur (Nigeria). It explains that the conception and execution of the Konso walled towns are unique, as they exemplify a maintained "tradition of local fortification techniques" (48) and systems of organizational and social cohesion. It emphasises that the differences that lie with Konso, Great Zimbabwe and Sukur may be due to their "socio-economic and settlement patterns" (49). What can evidently be drawn from the cross-property comparative study carried out for this property and the international dimension, which it is given, is that, the property is to be inscribed as a World Heritage property and as such, it must have characteristics like those noted through site comparisons and other elements of international relations.

To justify the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity that allowed for the inscription of the property, the State Party posits that the original form and design as well as the use and function of the World Heritage property have been maintained. Additionally, the traditional methods of conservation and production of materials are maintained, and the management practice of the landscape is done traditionally alongside the modern administration system. Here, just as it was with Fort Jesus, the originality of the property is underlined as a factor that would aid its inscription. The nomination dossier goes on to assess the state of conservation and factors affecting the property as well as the protection, management and monitoring of the property.

On 15 pages – double columned –, ICOMOS assesses the eligibility of the property to be inscribed on the World Heritage List (ICOMOS, "Konso Cultural Landscape). ICOMOS identifies the property, briefly describes it, and recalls that the property had first been examined, although deferred, by the World Heritage Committee in 2010 to allow for further eligibility works by the State Party. In January 2011, Ethiopia provided new information to ICOMOS, and it is against this background that ICOMOS, in consultation with the International Scientific Committee on Cultural Landscapes and other independent experts, produced this evaluation dossier. ICOMOS studies and notes the description as well as the history and development of the property as provided by the State Party, considering among others, the terraced landscape and fortified settlements, memorial statues, forests and water reservoirs.

Regarding the comparative analysis submitted by the State Party, ICOMOS notes: "it does not *systematically* compare the Konso Landscape with other inscribed landscapes to show whether there is room for it on the World Heritage List" (8; emphasis mine). It also considers that

[19] The State Party states this not only as a similarity but also as a difference that stems from the peculiarities identified with each site, such as the layout of stones.

> a case could have been made for consideration of the property on the List had any comparison been made between the overall attributes of the Konso landscape – that are considered to give Outstanding Universal Value – and other sites on the List. This would have shown that the combination of extensive terraces and fortified towns is not otherwise represented on the World Heritage List (8).

ICOMOS further notes that similar properties, with which the State Party compares the Konso Cultural Landscape, match neither "the degree of continuity or the visual impact" of the Landscape nor its reflection as "a response to environmental and social constructs". It considers that the walled towns, which should be included in the boundaries of the property, are not fully justified. It is worth noting here that, apart from the emphasis ICOMOS puts on continuity, the above-used terms (i) "systematically" – when taken to mean "in a complete, efficient or determined way that follows a system or plan" (OED) –, and (ii) "whether there is room", could leave the reader with two implications: (a) that the comparative analysis would have been complete had it strictly adhered to the standards of an existing plan or system, or (b) that the comparative analysis would still not have been enough, even if it had followed an existing plan or system. Nevertheless, the phrase "this would have shown that the combination of extensive terraces and fortified towns is not otherwise represented on the World Heritage List" clarifies, to an extent, what the Advisory Body implied, which would be: for the purposes of World Heritage inscriptions, the Comparative Analysis presented by the State Party is just not enough. It can be deduced from this that indeed, ICOMOS gives a prioritising importance to the inscription of properties in an institutionalised universal heritage list, and not to national value-based heritage.

With regard to the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, ICOMOS agrees with the State Party, but "notes" that the property being exceptional is dependent on the combination of walled towns and terraces and not on their presentation as separate entities. It considers that the condition of integrity of the nominated property "appears to have been met" (ICOMOS, "Konso Cultural Landscape", 9), as all the key attributes of walled towns and terraces have been included in the definition of the site's boundary. It states, however, that the contribution of the property's extended new area[20] to the attributes are unclear. The condition of authenticity submitted for the nominated property is also considered by ICOMOS as having been met only for the original area, adding that it would need to be assessed if the overall landscape is to be sustainable. The reason for this, it explains, is that some attributes of the original landscape are vulnerable to changes in material or developmental threats (that interrupt the relationship between the walled towns and their landscape) and from lack of maintenance.

[20] The "extended" new area refers to the newly defined extended boundary of the property, as opposed to the "restricted" boundary that was proposed by the State Party in 2010, according to ICOMOS.

Criterion (iii), under which the property was nominated for inscription, is considered by ICOMOS as "not justified" at the stage of application as it (ICOMOS) could not determine the extent to which the newly provided boundary matches the cultural traditions that account for the creation of the towns. It is therefore suggested that a further assessment be made whereby ICOMOS, in a site mission, would revise the boundaries. A site mission, as mentioned early on, is important for ICOMOS in drafting evaluations, besides cultural assessments. This means that ICOMOS is mandated to put checks and balances on all information that is provided by the State Party, in order to ensure that property boundaries and attributes, etc. indeed meet the standards of the World Heritage Convention. Commenting on criterion (v) as justified by the State Party, ICOMOS underlines that there has been an expansion of the nominated area, which has resulted in a high concentration of terraces in the western side of the property; and which has caused a change of emphasis on the dominance of the walled towns. It therefore considers that this criterion has not been justified, and that it "could be justified for a smaller coherent area that reflects the extraordinary conjunction between terraces and walled towns" (10). Criterion (vi) is also considered by ICOMOS not to have been justified by the State Party given that the latter did not show the universal significance of the beliefs that they claim make the selected property an evidence of the traditions of megalithic societies; neither did it demonstrate how the overall cultural landscape is exceptional when linked with the claimed beliefs. The rejected State Party boundary delineation and claims of megalithic relations can be taken as an indication of the non-national value-based approach used in World Heritage inscriptions.

Further information provided by the State Party in the nomination dossier, such as the state of conservation of the property, is assessed, and ICOMOS recommends that the inscription of the property be deferred. It adds further suggestions, which it deems would aid the inscription of the property at a later stage. In June 2011, therefore, at the 35th session of the World Heritage Committee, the Committee decided that the property, on the basis of criteria (iii) and (v)[21], should be inscribed on the World Heritage List. This decision is reached as the State Party submitted a new but provisional Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (UNESCO, Decision 35 COM 8B.18) that responded to the previous Committee recommendations and suggestions such as adding details of the eight extra walled towns and their conservation; and reconsidering the boundaries which would reflect the "exceptional combination of walled towns and terraces within a coherent area" (ICOMOS, "Konso Cultural Landscape" 8). The official SOUV is adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 2012 during its 36th session (UNESCO, Decision 36 COM 8B.65), following the provisional one.

[21] Criterion (vi) was dropped by the World Heritage Committee in order for the State Party to "fully justify" the criterion by undertaking further research work.

4 National and Local Values and Representations

As much as the history of the World Heritage sites under study are mostly detailed by the States Parties in the nomination dossiers, it must be noted here that the local and historical contexts to be considered under this section will not seek to merely repeat or invalidate those that have been presented in State Party nomination dossiers and Advisory Body evaluations, neither will they seek to recount the history of the properties in its entirety. However, it will present the national and local values and representations of these sites, which are useful to this present study, as well as seek to shift the emphasis from what would otherwise only aim at projecting the Outstanding Universal Value of the property. I distinguish, therefore, "nation" from "State Party": I take the latter to mean a country, which has adhered to the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention, and the former to be a country, which has not adhered to the Convention. Helsinger, writing on nation and national imaginings, intimates that:

> national imaginings may come to function for a time as what Lauren Berlant calls a "national symbolic," the "shared spatial and temporal experiences [that] reflect, perform, and/or affirm" a national subjectivity […]. The national symbolic […] is thus a repertoire of practices and representations, through which a changing, contested sense of the nation is accessible, at a given moment, as the language of national consciousness or imagining the nation (11).

Taking from the above intimation on nation, the optic for this section will be that, as important as universal values and representations of a thing or place may be considered, national and local imaginings – including its values – are, nevertheless, not to be excluded in all analyses of a nation. Among others, it is also hoped that this section highlights the importance of representing local values of heritage in international institutions.

4.1 City of Bath

Bath is a city located in the Somerset County, England, with an estimated population of 103,361 as of 2018 (City Population, "South West England"). One of the things it is noted for is its spas. The *Mayor of Bath* website states that there is a daily over a million litres of hot mineral-rich water which rise from three springs in the heart of Bath, and that people from all over the world enjoyed the old spa from pre-Roman times until it was closed in 1978. Warner also posits that:

> The city of Bath has long been famous for the advantage conferred upon it by Nature. Of late years, Art has encreased [sic] its celebrity, by adding to its elegance; so that were we to name this place as one of the most beautiful and extraordinary cities of modern Europe, we should not, perhaps, be taxed with perverse partiality (218).

Furthermore, Britton (1), writing on the origin of Bath, notes: "Tradition has ascribed the origin of the City of Bath to the discovery of its salubrious waters by Bladud, the son of Lud-Hudibras, a British king; who […] reigned between seven and eight centuries before the Christian era". The legend of Prince Bladud and Bath is one that points to Bladud and his discovery of the springs of Bath. According to the legend, he was banished from the British Court as he had contracted an "incurable" disease (leprosy), and while in exile, he found a job with a swineherd in the Avon Valley. The pigs he kept also became infected with leprosy, and away with them beyond the Valley, the pigs rushed into a hot mud[22]. Upon succeeding to get them out of the mud, he realised that the pigs had been cured of the disease, and this led him to plunge himself also in the hot mud. He came out cured and returned to the Court, where he was accepted back and became king, after his father's death. Some accounts add that he built baths and a palace near the place where he had been healed, and founded a city there, which was called *Kaer-badus*, now Bath.

This legend is well known among the people of Bath, and although it remains a legend, it is defended as true in some early historical accounts and literature. For instance, the medieval writer, Boccaccio, lived between 1313 and 1375. He speaks of Bladud and Bath in his Latin prose *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*[23], which is considered a collection of biographies of men who had fallen from their estates since the biblical Adam. Also, in his account of British history, the English writer Geoffrey of Monmouth (c1136) attributes the building of the City to Bladud. Britton (10), in spite of his account of narratives that are in support of the Bladud origin of Bath, underlines that there are no antiquities whatsoever that have been found which could refer to the foundation of the Bath city, except that which traces Bath to its Roman occupation and workmanship (like coins, structures, baths, inscriptions, etc.). He, however, adds that the exact time of the Roman settlement there is uncertain.

Although the nomination dossier of Great Britain makes no mention of this legend for possible obvious reasons like the acceptability of the dominance and evidence of Roman ruins and remains on the site, it is most likely a story that most people from Bath would identify both themselves and the city with at first hand. Perhaps, this will not make it universally valuable or identifiable, as it is a unique national occurrence or value unmatched with any universal anecdote about the city. In 2008, for example, the *King Bladud's Pigs in Bath* was a project that set out "to celebrate Bath, its *origins* (emphasis mine) and its artists – and provide residents and visitors with artistic enjoyment" ("King Bladud's Pigs"). This event was highly patronised by the local community, and saw an auction of over 100 sculptured pigs, which in turn helped complete a tunnel project in Bath. The legendary Bladud has also been mounted several times in Bath as a statue – for example, the 1699 (oldest

22 Britton explains that the place that this occurs covered, at that time, "the spot where the sanative springs of Bath emerge from their boiling fountains" (5). The Mayor of Bath website also considers this place as present day Swainswick (originally written *Sweyneswik*/*Sweyneswick*), which is a village close to Bath.

23 Translated as *On the Fates of Famous Men*.

statue) and 1859 statues of him at the Parade Gardens. In all this, the question as to whether people, other than the local community of Bath, would identify themselves (or their country) with this legendary origin of Bath still remains to be answered if the property is to be considered as being of universal value. In the light of this, another concern that arises is whether legends and myths, on a cultural level, are to be attributed to a nation as true; so that if they were, then there should not be any problem representing them within the parameters of Outstanding Universal Value. When one closely studies the notion of invented traditions and continuity, it can be seen that, part of what one would consider tradition might only stem from a point in time when a form of practice was considered as tradition only because it was repeated over a visible stretch of time. That being said, legends strongly upheld by local communities will be, admittedly, a match with traditions that have no clear identifiable beginnings but which are accepted as "true" within the Outstanding Universal Value parameters. For this property, this means that, if the time of Roman settlement in Bath is uncertain but accepted based on archaeological evidence, then this would put both legends and uncertain historical beginnings into the category of invented traditions and continuity, which will then presuppose that the omission of locally accepted origin-legends in world heritage narratives would have no basis.

Britton (10-11) states that the Romans must have settled in Bath as early as during the reign of Emperor Nero around AD 50, due to a large number of copper and brass coins of the emperor found during excavation works. The Romans are said to have transformed the hot springs into stylish baths and constructed a temple nearby in honour of Minerva, their goddess who presided over the springs. The Abbey Church is believed to be standing at the very place where the temple of Minerva was erected; Thomas Guidott (1638-1706), William Stukeley (1687-1765) and William Camden (1551-1623) are examples of writers or antiquarians who confirm this belief, although their accounts have been debated as inaccurate[24]. By the beginning of the 5th century, the Romans had withdrawn their troops from Britain, as they faced external attacks, mainly barbarian. To face the Picts and Scots, it is said that Britain had sought help from the Saxons, who used this help to their advantage by establishing their control there, although Britain fought them severally before they finally gained control in 577. The struggle for power in Britain with the Roman, Saxon, and Norman conquests, filled British lands with continuous struggle and warfare. Warner writes this about the Saxon conquest of Bath:

> The classical appellation of *Aquæ Solis* was converted into […] *Hat Bathun*, (hot-baths) whilst its citizens, either slaughtered, or driven into exile, left their residences to the ferocious followers of Ceaulin[25], who

24 See for example Whitaker, John. *Review of the Rev. Richard Warner's History of Bath*. Anti-Jacobin Review & Magazine, 1801.

25 Also Ceawlin, a Saxon chieftain during that period.

> took possession of the place […]. It is not difficult to imagine the devastation that would be committed on the architectural ornaments of this city […] fallen into the hands of a fierce unlettered people (42-43).

The effects and detriment of war as understood by people who are witnesses of war can differ from that which will be understood (through history) by people who did not experience the said war; needless to say that these effects, in the absence of all evidence, whether tangible or intangible (such as ruins), only become "emotional" or "spiritual". Keegan, in his study of what war is, also states:

> Warfare […] reaches into the most secret places of the human heart, places where self dissolves rational purpose, where pride reigns, where emotion is paramount, where instinct is king (3).

World Heritage also recognises as outstanding, universal and of value, what is left of (and what has become) constructions by a civilisation (in this case Roman) which had taken over another (here English) through warfare. In this regard, the Roman hot springs (accepted to have been created by the Romans), which are undoubtedly considered as authentic and of universal importance, cannot be separated from the history of the arrival and settlement of the Romans in England through warfare. If Keegan's statement above is linked to the local Bath population during or after warfare with the Saxons, or to England's warfare with the Romans, it is in that optic that the importance of representing national and local values or narrative of events can be considered – as against highlighting, for example, only narratives on the settlement of the Romans in Bath and their construction of hot baths, for universal purposes.

The City saw both the Roman and Georgian eras. During the Georgian period, Bath is said to have known a transformation from "a market town with defensive walls to a fashionable metropolis" (BBC 2). This transformation is attributed to the collaborative work of three men: John Woods Snr., Ralph Allen, and Richard Beau Nash. As the State Party (Great Britain) notes in the nomination dossier of this property, "its visual homogeneity and its beauty is largely testament to the skill and creativity of the architects and visionaries of the 18th and 19th centuries" (UNESCO, "City of Bath" par. 8). Warner writes:

> About the year 1728, Mr Wood, the architect, began his building speculations, and the appearance of Bath (as he himself tells us) was immediately improved, and the adoption of domestick [sic] elegance became general. […] In the mean time [*read*: meantime] Mr. Wood (whose skill as an architect entitles him to high praise) continued to enrich the suburbs of Bath with numerous costly and beautiful groupes [sic] of houses (225).

These facts about the architectural and visionary transformation of the City will make the City an ultimate universal and national entity, insofar as the underlying national and local factors that might have evoked the need for transformation are not left out.

Bath can be further identified with early known novelists and literature. These literary works either were set in Bath or had their writer living in or visiting the city. Samuel Pepys' "diaries", Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Geoffry Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Jane Austen's *Persuasion* and *Northanger Abbey*, are all examples of such works of literature associated with Bath, mostly featuring the early modern and Georgian periods. If there is any other thing that makes Bath outstanding (and universal, for that matter) besides the Roman remains and hot springs as well as the Abbey Church, it is also to be found in the outstanding literary works long been associated with the city. In this way, to express the importance of Bathean literature only with a short phrase in a nomination dossier does not give enough credit to it, as due. In the brief synthesis presented by the State Party, it is noted that Bath "became an important centre for the wool industry in the Middle Ages, but in the 18th century under the reigns of George l, ll and III, it developed into an elegant spa city*, famed in literature and art*" (emphasis mine). To merely express the importance of Bath-related literature (and art) in this way, although would not fully discredit Bath as being of universal value, does not comprehensively acknowledge what makes Bath a city of great national and local importance. It is enough to see, for example, permanent exhibitions in Bath,[26] which portray the significance of Jane Austen and her writings, to understand how the city and nation as a whole is inseparable from early literature.

In all, one can say that, if portraying Bath as universal heritage calls for peculiarities of local importance, such as those pointed out above, to be omitted or understated, then this underlines the need for certain institutional measures to be taken, which would allow for the representation of local values and peculiarities on the international front.

4.2 Palace of Westminster, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church

This property complex is located west of River Thames in Westminster, London, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The Westminster Palace, which houses structures such as the Westminster Hall, the House of Lords, the House of Commons and the Earl Grey, is about 400 feet from the Westminster Abbey (containing Lady Chapel and St Mary Undercroft), which is also about 56 feet from St Margaret's Church.

Prior to the construction of the Palace and Abbey of Westminster are said to have been royal palaces built on Thorney Island (present Westminster) by Canute the Great (also King Cnut), the Danish King who reigned in England for nearly two decades (1016-1035). Canute's reign is said to have started as one that had many

[26] See for example 'The Jane Austen Centre – Celebrating England's Favourite Author'. *Jane Austen*, https://www.janeausten.co.uk. Accessed 7 May. 2020.

Englishmen outlawed and killed but ended in a way that brought peace and prosperity to the land he ruled. From 1042 to 1066, Edward the Confessor was king of England. Anglo-Saxon, and having been exiled to Normandy, he returned to London to succeed the son of Canute the Great – Harthacnut –, who was also his half-brother. Edward the Confessor began to build at the site where Canute the Great had begun constructing palaces; one of the buildings, the Westminster Abbey, was consecrated in December 1065, few days before his death. Alongside the Abbey, he also built a palace where he would stay to supervise construction works on the Abbey. Reputed to have lived a pious life in his much later life, he was canonised as a saint in 1161 and his day (13 October) is still celebrated, for instance, by the Church of England. It is said that Edward the Confessor's close ties with Normandy paved the way for William the Conqueror to succeed and to be crowned as King of England in 1066, after his victory at the battle of Hastings. The Westminster Hall, identified as the oldest structure in the building complex, was originally built and completed by William the Conqueror's son, William Rufus, in 1099. Henry III rebuilt the Abbey and extended the whole Westminster complex in 1245.

Subsequent successions to the English throne, until 1512, saw the building and rebuilding of various structures in the building complex such as new Exchequer buildings, the Court of Common Pleas, Saint Stephen's Chapel, and Westminster Hall (rebuilt by Richard II). It is recorded that in 1512, due to a fire that destroyed the royal residential part of the Westminster Palace, the Palace was abandoned by Henry VIII and was used as a Parliament base, thus symbolising its shift in use from monarch to parliament (Riding). The Palace continued to thrive as a centre of administration and law until October 1834 when most of it was destroyed by fire, except and surviving until date, Westminster Hall, the Undercroft Chapel, the Cloisters and Chapter House of St Stephen's, and the Jewel Tower ("From the Tudors to the Great Fire of 1834"). In an attempt to burn old tally sticks that were unused by Parliament, the House of Lords of the Palace of Westminster caught fire, which later spread to the House of Commons, the Westminster Hall, and other parts of the Palace. After this disastrous fire, a competition was launched by the government to rebuild the Westminster Palace, upon which Charles Barry became the selected architect who would design the new Houses of Parliament to be built. The Houses of Parliament Bill was passed in December 1837, and it was to rebuild and enlarge the Palace by including its surrounding lands. This Bill, however, was disliked by some "petitioners" whose property or access to other properties would be affected by the expansion works. For instance, Dr Caroline Shenton[27] reports on the *UK Parliament* website that:

> None of these concerns resulted in a formal petition, but the attempts by the government to forcibly purchase the occupied buildings which now fell within the boundary of the new Palace or which were needed for landing wharfs for building materials caused uproar. […] This was

[27] Director of the UK Parliamentary Archives from 2008 to 2014.

> the only form of redress for them in an age before planning appeals: a total of 41 local people objected […]. Despite their complaints, the bill became an act and in 1838 £42,000 was paid to the owners for their properties – which were then flattened. ("Petitions and the Building of the New Houses of Parliament")

Barry received assistance from Augustus Pugin, and in Gothic style, the rebuilding of the Palace was completed in 1860, during the reign of Queen Victoria. Quinault (100) argues that the Westminster Palace was rebuilt in the shadow and by the proximity of Westminster Abbey. He (102) further writes that, since the time of the Puritans, Members of Parliament had worshipped in the parish church of Saint Margaret, where there was a pew reserved for the Speaker, and that in 1887, Queen Victoria's Jubilee was also celebrated there. Saint Margaret's church, identified as the official church of the House of Commons, was rebuilt between 1486 and 1523, having been pulled down in the fourteenth century. The Palace of Westminster underwent several restoration works by other architects such as John Loughborough Spearson in 1883 and Frank Baines in 1914. In the awakening of and during the Second World War, the Westminster Palace and Abbey suffered various air raids. However, there were restoration works, which were done in 1950. Ronan reports on the BBC website that, on the night of 10 May 1941, "the Palace of Westminster suffered major damage, the Houses of Parliament were hit repeatedly, the House of Commons Chamber was completely destroyed and the medieval wooden roof timbers of Westminster Hall were set alight by incendiaries". However, he explains: "The lantern roof was rebuilt after the war, interior stonework was cleaned in the 1960s and major restoration of the abbey took place between 1995 and 1998". On the present functions of the site, the *UK Parliament* website writes:

> Westminster Hall is currently used for important ceremonies, receptions, anniversaries, exhibitions and the lying-in-state of monarchs and their consorts […]; The Jewel Tower is now in the care of English Heritage, and contains an exhibition on the history of Parliament; Access to the Chapel of St Mary's Undercroft is limited to MPs and Members of the House of Lords and their guests at specific times. A regular service of worship is held on Wednesdays for Parliament and Parliamentary staff, and the Chapel is also used by MPs and Members of the House of Lords and their families for weddings and christenings; The Cloisters and Chapter House are now used as offices and writing rooms and are not open to the public. ("Contemporary Context")

The Palace of Westminster, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church have had a unique and changing history as highlighted above. However, one of the questions that can come along, with the form of historical events and changes presented above, is on the *condition of integrity* upon which the property was inscribed. From what point in the known history of the property is it considered to be of integrity? From the beginning of the construction of each building, or from the time of their

reconstruction or restoration? The State Party states: "The buildings are all in their original use and are well maintained to a high standard" (UNESCO, "Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey including Saint Margaret's Church" par 17). However, the present use, stated here above for example, clearly does not fully correspond to the "original use" identified within the presented historical context of the property complex. In addition, the time in history referred to by the State Party as "original" is unclear to allow for the integrity of the property to be situated in time. Furthermore, prior to the reconstruction of the Palace and before its World Heritage inscription in 1987, there was an existing community, which, as learnt earlier, had been made to abandon their properties or access to properties by the Houses of Parliament Bill of 1837. The State Party also had concerns that "important views of the property are vulnerable to development projects for tall buildings" (par. 16); albeit it was on the same terms of "development" that the Westminster Palace, to mention but only one, was rebuilt and expanded. In the light of all this, and in order to fully assess the integrity of the World Heritage property, not only should the conditions which existed before the (re)construction of the property be taken into consideration but also the period to which "original" refers should be clearly defined. It can, however, be understood that these pre-existing conditions of the property complex may make little or no contributions to the Outstanding Universal Value of the property – thus the need for a national or local space along with the space allowed for Outstanding Universal Value, where the local values and use of the property can be fully expressed and understood solely in their context.

Moreover, in the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value and according to the conditions that account for the inscription of the property on the World Heritage List, although the national significance and contributions of the monument complex are much underlined, an emphasis is also placed on the Gothic influence that makes it universally important. Indeed, this seems to support the fact that it is as nationally important – or perhaps more – as it is universal, not forgetting, nonetheless, its significant Gothic architectural influence. This also seems to support the argument that national values of properties should have their own unique place in the presentation and promotion of world heritage – without having to present them only as shadows of events of universal significance.

4.3 Tower of London

The Tower of London (White Tower) was built in the eleventh century by William the Conqueror. During the reign of William the Conqueror, he is said to have replaced, with Normans, all Anglo-Saxon bishops of England – save Wulfstan of Dorchester – and to have brought Norman monks and abbots to England. At the rise of insurrections, and in order to secure his control and holdings in England, he built in Norman style, the Tower (of London). Traditionally, certain writers and antiquaries have represented the Tower in popular culture in many ways, sometimes repre-

senting it as having been built by Julius Caesar. These works include William Shakespeare's *Richard III* (c1593), although the origins of the Tower with Julius Caesar has been largely contented and rejected by historians[28].

Located in London on the north bank of River Thames, this historic keep is also home to treasures such as "the historic and world-class Royal Armouries collections, including the 350-year-old exhibition *Line of Kings*[29]". Hallam (3) notes that, since the building of the Tower, it has served many purposes, including being used "as a strong fortification, as a royal residence, as a prison, as a storehouse, as an attraction for sightseers" and as "an important royal record repository from the Middle Ages until the nineteenth century". It is also the place of execution of three past queens of England and Guy Fawkes, who had been found with barrels of gunpowder intended to blow up the House of Lords in 1605. Guy Fawkes and the whole discovery and failure of the intended explosion, which is said to have saved the British Empire, is commemorated in the UK every 5 November. The *Historic Royal Palaces* website ("Tower Green & Scaffold Site") explains that execution in the Tower was reserved for those of high ranks or with "dangerously strong popular support" in order to guard them from "gawping crowds". It further explains that the executed queens may not have been guilty, and that one of them, Anne Boleyn, was executed by an "expert swordsman shipped" from France. At the site of execution is a memorial sculpture dedicated to those who faced death by a state order. The Brief Synthesis on the World Heritage inscription of the Tower includes the sentence: "It has been the setting for key historical events in *European history*, including the execution of three English queens" (UNESCO, "Tower of London" par. 2; emphasis mine). The emphasis on the contribution of the property to "European" history could imply the infusion of the property and its original use into the "universal heritage" school of thought, and if that is the case, then no strict national significance of the property (although important) was going to be expounded thenceforth, as indeed is the case in the Brief Synthesis.

Although the Tower of London suffered attacks during the First World War, it also experienced severe damages due to bombings during the Second World War. The White Tower is part of the buildings in the Tower of London complex,[30] and it is said to have been built from 1078 to 1100 by Gundulf of Rochester[31], during the reign of King William II. During the reign of Henry III and Edward I (1216-72 and 1272-1307 respectively), expansion works, for instance on the moat, defensive walls and small towers, were carried out. In 1300, the Royal Mint, which served as a production site for gold and silver coins for use, was moved from within the Tower of London (complex) into a "400 feet long purpose built mint facility between the inner

28 See Nearing, 228-233.

29 A 17th century museum exhibit created to promote the restored monarchy. Source: 'White Tower'. *Historic Royal Palaces*, https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/whats-on/white-tower/. Accessed 5 May. 2020.

30 It is also identified as the oldest structure within the Tower complex.

31 A Norman bishop.

and outer walls of the Tower" (Sharples). It is said to have been operational for about eight hundred years before being moved to sites outside of the Tower of London.

Also important to the Tower are the Yeoman Warders, who are identified with the Tower not only in the present day but also since its construction. Abbott records that the Yeoman Warders were charged with "guarding the Tower's typically prestigious prisoners and assisting in their punishment, which often involved torture". Today, they serve as historians and guides of the Tower, wearing red and gold uniforms during official ceremonies in the Tower. It is said that Henry VIII, king of England, had decreed that some of them would stay and permanently watch the Tower. Traditionally, some of the stories and legends that are told during visitor sessions at the Tower include those of ghost haunts – examples are the ghost of Anne Boleyn at the Tower Green, and of Arbella Stuart[32] at the Queen's House[33]. Beside the stories of ghost haunts is the legend of the ravens. The legend holds that the ravens, which are taken care of by the chief yeoman warder, keep the Tower of London and the British monarchy standing, and that in the event that the ravens leave, these two (the tower and monarchy) will collapse. This is the reason their wings are clipped to prevent their flying away from the Tower.

The Tower of London is indeed of a rich, determined historical past that may or may not define its present state, having undergone ages of transformation, authority and diverse use. The known foreign influences that attest to its construction and subsequent development is unique, in a way that makes it stand as identifiable and comparable with European and world history at large. Nevertheless, it is very unique and valuable in its own national and local accord, in that there are important events and features linked with it (as presented above) which may not necessarily make it universally outstanding, but which are important for inclusion in cultural heritage narratives that are of national and local significance. The State Party states, "The Tower is no longer in use as a fortress, but its fabric still clearly tells the story of the use and function of the monument over the centuries" (UNESCO, "Tower of London" par. 16). This can be perceived as being in support of the need for local values and narratives to be included in institutional promotion of heritage. For this reason, it is important to allow for a national-local representation of values that are independent of the existing World Heritage Convention.

4.4 Fort Jesus, Mombasa

Mombasa, historically known as *mvita*, meaning "island of war", is a city in Kenya located along the Indian Ocean with a population of about 1,208,333 (Kenya Na-

[32] A cousin of Elizabeth I, who was sixth in succession to the English throne. She died in 1615 at the Tower of London having been separated from her husband William Seymour shortly after their marriage.

[33] It was built in 1530; it faced the Tower Green and survived the Great Fire of London in 1666.

tional Bureau of Statistics). McConkey and McErlean, referring to Horton and Middleton's 2011 *The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society*, find that, until recent studies that traced the origins of Swahili cultural identity to "the emergence of a maritime-oriented subsistence among African communities, most of whom were Bantu-language speakers living on the eastern seaboard" (99), these origins had been traced to western migration, especially Arab migration. They show that, although findings on these origins have not been fully understood, early farming settlement and changes in subsistence patterns in the region has been scientifically highlighted by archaeological research. They further explain that trade networks grew in the region due to its rich resources, and that by the end of the first millennium AD, links between East Africa and other Indian Ocean territories were created.

The Portuguese settled in Mombasa in the sixteenth century, as they exercised control over trade on the East African Coast. To demonstrate their desire to exercise control over the city, they also sought to transform it. They built monasteries, churches and fortifications – one of them was Fort Jesus, built between c1593 and 1596. They called their settlement *Gavana* and clearly demarcated it from the old town of Mombasa. The Omani conquest of 1689 transferred power from the Portuguese to the Omani Arabs who captured the Fort, although Portuguese rule was briefly restored from March 1728 to September 1729. Mombasa "came under British administration in 1895 and was the capital of the East Africa Protectorate [from 1885] until 1907" ("The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica"). There was indeed a recognisable foreign presence and influence on the coast. Meier writes that:

> The unprecedented demand for ivory in North America and Europe attracted newcomers from all over the world to Mombasa, where its merchants had long specialized in overseeing and managing ivory caravans. Europeans, Arabs, and South Asians gradually began to appropriate the city's economic infrastructure and its attendant material landscape. (50)

Under British rule and until 1958 when it was declared a National Park, Fort Jesus was used as a prison, where huts were removed, cells were built, and both men and women were kept (Sarmento 250). Beside its identification as a national monument is its popularity for being a meeting place for young couples as well as a spot for many other locals and tourists, who go there to relax, chat, date and take photographs (253). Sarmento also records:

> Many local and regional functions take place there (roughly 120 in 2006). There are corporate functions (cost of hire about 50,000 shillings), wedding functions (10,000-20,000 shillings), concerts, art exhibitions and social meetings at no cost: the elders of the community meet here monthly, as well as other community-based organizations (M. Abdulqadir, Education Officer of Fort Jesus, interviewed 9 August 2007) (251).

The State Party nomination dossier of Fort Jesus details, as stated earlier, the historical context of the property as well as its contributions to world history. To justify the reasons for the inscription of Fort Jesus, it states that the Fort is "a true symbol of human competitiveness; a representation of contestation, conflicts, challenges, wars, winning and losing and the notion of co-existence as respect for cultures, as exemplified by the representative nature of the fort today. It is indeed a heritage of many cultures in one" (22). Co-existence as used in the statement very much refers to human coexistence at the Fort in ages past, since it is through this that one can identify the many cultures that came into contact with the property. The *Beyond Intractability* website defines coexistence as "a state in which two or more groups are living together while respecting their differences and resolving their conflicts nonviolently". It describes passive coexistence as a type of coexistence that occurs when relationships are characterized by unequal power relationships, and where there is little inter-group contact, and little equity; and active coexistence as occurring when relationships are characterized by a recognition and respect for diversity and an active embrace of difference, equal access to resources and opportunities, and equity in all aspects of life. Based upon the idea of national subjectivity described earlier by Helsinger (cf. 48), one can argue that what transpired between the locals of Mombasa and foreign authorities who exercised control over them could not have been that of an active coexistence as implicitly stated by the State Party, if indeed, there was an existing form of coexistence. Meier for instance, argues:

> Europeans also found the existing waterfront appropriate for their own way of life; in their view it belonged not to the African but to the Arab cultural sphere, which they imagined to be closer to theirs. Thus, rather than spatially distancing themselves from local life, as was the municipal policy of the high colonial period, European newcomers inserted themselves into the preexisting landscape. Newcomers adapted these local spaces for their own uses. (50)

In this regard, it only could have been the Europeans who were in the position to passively seek to coexist with the locals of Mombasa and not vice-versa, in a way that their chosen local space would work in their favour as they exercised control over their "subjects" (the locals). Oloruntoba and Falola also explain that, as the Mazrui clan of Omani installed themselves along the coast:

> Swahili sheikhs *acquiesced* because their own divisions prevented them from mounting a resistance; most retained a virtual autonomy under nominal Omani rule, exercised through their governors (*liwalis*), and the smaller island sheikhdoms were able to control mainland chieftains that were located in close proximity to them (147; emphases mine).

Thus, even if Swahili sheikhs mediated between the local community and Omani rulers, and actively coexisted with them, they (the sheikhs) represented less than a handful of the community, therefore cannot be used to define a standing active coexistence between the locals and the Omanis. This clearly supports the argument

that, the type of coexistence that might have existed between the locals and the Omanis could not have been based on the principles of social justice present in active coexistence, but rather on incapabilities that render a group of people subjected to another. Therefore, the above extracted State Party justification for inscription may not stand when measured along national or local lines, since a clear definition of coexistence would be given in a local representation of events linked to the property. However, it can be understood that, it is to draw a universal outlook on the property that the State Party highlights the notion of cultural coexistence.

The State Party's justification of criterion (iv) also describes the property as being "the best surviving 16th century Portuguese military fortification in the world" (UNESCO, "Fort Jesus" 22). The diction used in this phrase – especially "best" – is one that would portray the State Party as seeking to highlight an attribute at all cost, in a way that it will be recognised as outstanding and universal, and consequentially qualify the property for inscription on the World Heritage List. Nevertheless, it should be underlined that in the first place, the World Heritage Committee has laid out specificities for criterion (iv), one of the criteria under which Fort Jesus was inscribed, and for that matter, any justification presented by the State Party would have to fit into this criterion; so that much blame will fall not only on how States Parties justify their properties with their choice of words but also on World Heritage demands for the set criterion.

4.5 Khami Ruins National Monument

Khami is a city about 20 kilometres west from Bulawayo, the second largest city in Zimbabwe. Robinson (1961, 66) suggests that, based on beads, pottery and available information on Rozwi-Venda history, the city might have been built around 1700, although an earlier date could be possible. He explains that the people of Khami, possibly the original builders or their descendants, had abandoned the city at about 1830, having been driven out by Zwagendaba[34], who invaded and burnt the place. Gervase reports:

> Khami consists of two distinct sites; a group of ruined stone buildings grouped round the modern dam on the Khami river […], and Leopards Kopje a quarter of a mile north-east from the main ruin, across the stream. The Leopards Kopje culture was that of an Iron Age people who used fine stamped ware, and beads that prove contacts with the coast, and who made clay figurines of men and animals. (152)

[34] Zwangendaba (died c. 1848 at Mapupo, near Ufipa, Tanganyika [now in Tanzania]) was an African king (reigned c. 1815–48) who led his *Jere* people on a monumental migration of more than 1,000 miles (1,600 km) that lasted more than 20 years. Source: The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'Zwangendaba | African King'. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 29 Nov. 2017, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Zwangendaba. Accessed 21 Jun. 2020.

Khami is said to have been occupied by a people that practised one pottery tradition. Robinson (1966, 4) suggests that this might involve people of one tribal group, recording that there is a class of pottery, which is still claimed by the living Rozwi as their own. He explains that excavation works have shown that there is only one class of pottery that is associated with the Khami Ruins Ware, and that the only change in pottery, which might have occurred during the occupation of Khami Ruins was the development of polychrome decoration seen in the upper levels of the walls; otherwise pottery remained the same throughout the stone deposits.

Davidson (147) argues that, if Robinson defined the stone ruins of Khami as having an evident function of providing a suitable residence for a chief and his followers, then the ruins had to possess certain qualifications. These qualifications, according to him, would include: (i) it occupying a prominent and dominating position, which would provide it with outstanding sites for important huts, (ii) it being sufficiently fortified to defy attack by jealous rivals, and (iii) it being centrally placed in relation to other important dwellings. He again argues that there is evidence to show that there is similarity between the organization and culture of the Congo and Zimbabwe states – their construction of stone ruins and large walls that encircle one another, for example. In this regard, he intimates that the people who conquered the western Congo might have been a small group of closely-organized and well-armed intruders who might have conquered these lands much in the same way as Duke William and his four thousand knights had seized control over England, subjugating the people they found, settling among them, intermarrying with them, and eventually building a state and social system (146). By these comparisons, he suggests that, although Khami must have had little or no fear of attack, this was greatly the pattern for land and hut acquisition in Khami and Great Zimbabwe at large. As exposed earlier, warfare and struggles that aim at land and property acquisition have adverse and long-term effects on, and implications for, both the people who experience them and, through history, generations after them. In this regard, the value of Khami Ruins as held by the local community that inhabits it, and who have emerged from generations before them, will be incomparable to what makes it stand as a "universal value": the reason why local representations of Khami Ruins, which can indeed be explored further, are needed to accompany universal values whenever they are presented.

Sinamai furthers the above thought by studying the immaterial things of Khami that are remembered and experienced, thereby seeking to understand "forgotten cultural heritage places that have fallen off the radar locally and nationally, but are celebrated as global heritage due to their monumentality" (3). She argues that custodians of heritage places (like the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe) can preserve physical remains of sites, but as regards the site's collective memory, they can never be custodians of it. She explains that the disseminated narrative of heritage custodians is mostly "part of the centripetal forces of the state, which are bound to be resisted by sub-nationalities who view their national story as hegemonic" (11). She further shows that:

> A site like Khami may be seen as a national monument, but unless that it is of some use to the preferred national or local narrative, it will not feature in national or local narratives or tourism itineraries designed by the state. For local communities, a site that feeds into their identity is much more valued even if it doesn't attract hordes of tourists or the attention of the whole nation or world (17).

What Sinamai puts forth above inevitably explains the importance of national narratives that accompany national heritage and identity, in that these narratives should not be placed in a position that will diminish their importance on the global front.

In justifying the authenticity of the property, the State Party states that Khami Ruins is an "undisturbed, non-functional, archaeological site" (10) whose historic traditions have been maintained by the current communities who also use it for spiritual purposes. Nevertheless, going a bit further, it can be seen that the site of the ruins and its external boundaries have been used by people in the community and its environs for picnics, not only in the past but also in the present. For instance, in Fudge Dewhirst's autobiography, she recounts her encounters at the ruins. Born in Bulawayo in 1923, she recounts that the *Kopjes* were "ideal places for young people to clamber, climb, jump and explore" (60), and that monkey and baboon noises were an indication for the locals that there were no more leopards on the hills and it was safe to go there. Talking about Khami Ruins during her return to Zimbabwe between 1976 and 1981, she indicates that teenagers would ride bicycles to the picnic area of Khami Ruins and that she and others would go there in motor cars with "packed lunch baskets and teens who had no bicycles" (364). This is same with Murray, who narrates in her autobiography:

> When my father was at home he would sometimes take us out to the Khami Ruins for our weekend picnic. Located not too far from Bulawayo, these ruins are a national monument and worth a visit as a historical sight. We would wander around the ruins and imagine the people who had lived there, many years previously (95).

The added use for Khami Ruins and its extended boundaries as a recreational site by both local and external visitors should be considered as part of the mainstay postcolonial use of the site, especially when there are property boundary delineation and uses that are often drawn by institutions that have become custodians of the site. In the same way, the representation of the site in many works of literature, especially in autobiographies of authors whose narratives portray the cultural, aesthetic and local-historical significance of it – thus at the individual and national levels –, should not be undermined.

4.6 Konso Cultural Landscape

The Konso Cultural Landscape is located on the Konso highlands of Ethiopia, which run across the Great Rift Valley. The Department of Archaeology of the University of York explain that the Landscape encompasses about 200 square kilometres of terraces and fortified settlements, which are stone-walled, and that these hillside terraces were built to prevent lands below from slope erosion, contrary to the long-held notion that they were constructed to retain soil for agriculture. It is recorded that due to lack of rainfall and other harsh environmental conditions in Konso, the Konso have developed high and complex agricultural systems, which have enabled them to live in the area over a very long period of time. They have oftentimes been referred to as a megalithic people because of their regular use of stone. Schlee and Watson (173) write that the Konso take great pride in their landscape, and that, at a roundabout at the main road junction in Konso, there is a flagpole on which the "hardworking nature" of the Konso is exposed in Amharic.

In Förch's case study on the Konso agricultural system, she lists the following as part of the basis of their subsistence farming system: "terracing, soil and water conservation practises [sic], irrigation, multiple cropping systems with the integration of livestock and forestry and crop biodiversity" (1). She underlines that the Konso integrate animal husbandry and intensive agriculture, and that livestock such as cattle, goats, sheep and sometimes chickens and donkeys, are kept for food, money and manure (8).

The Konso towns are divided into wards and each of the latter is governed by an elected traditional council of elders. They have an exceptional generation-grading system whereby the older generation transfers responsibility to the younger one during a fixed time of the year. Bekele (163) explains that in Dokatu, one of the oldest villages in Konso, *kara* is a ritual that is used to mark the transfer of authority between different age groups. It (*kara*) is celebrated twice every eighteen years and the council of elders decide when the beginning of the ritual should be. Concerning the rule system of the Konso, Otto also explains that:

> The councillors are accountable to and representatives of the whole town community. As an only superior representative body of the community, their decisions are welcome by wards, clans, work party (parka), artisan's business institution (tubarte'ta), and other financial transaction institutions. Their election is indirect, by older members of the council, rather than by ward quota. Maintenance of personal qualities and defense of the interest of the community are the most important criteria to keep up their status (153).

Furthermore, Otto, studying the work of Hallpike (qtd. in Otto 151), posits that although the Konso culture is much similar to the Cushitic culture of Ethiopia, it appears that their traditional way of life "owes little or nothing" to the outside influences by which traditional Abyssinia has been shaped. He explains:

> In fact, the Konso seem to have toed a separate path for as long as can be remembered. Judaism and Christianity, Moslem and Oromo migration, the Portuguese, Italians, and other Europeans have largely passed them by, even if in 1897 Emperor Menelik's armies forced their way into Konso due to their rifles and managed to subdued [sic] it (151).

He further explains that, although subjugation to power interrupted the evolution of the Konso civilisation, there was hardly a cultural adaptation as they built a wall of silence against the conquerors and strove to emancipate themselves from them. Among the many traditions of the Konso are those of funerary rites that have statues of great men carved to represent the wives they had, the people whom he has or his descendants have killed during his lifetime, which include soldiers (Schlee and Watson 174), and even the weapons he used. Men who were successful at killing wild games such as lions, leopards and even buffalos, are honoured in this manner when they die. Thus, it will be right to say that the Konso have had much external influence on them; however, it is also evident that many traditional ways of doing things have been maintained over the years.

The Cultural Landscape has oftentimes been described as remarkable, transcending the minds of many. Amborn (78) describes the landscape as one of an obvious erosion-prevention "park-like" character, an "impression created by numerous self-sown trees and shrubs growing in the fields and along their perimeters". He identifies the main settlement area of the Konso as lying between 1,500 and 1,800 meters, and describes this area as where productivity is most intense. Per the parameters of Outstanding Universal Value, and according to the property scale map provided by the State Party, only an area of Konso has been delineated as World Heritage Property. Although the initial selected area was extended to make up altogether twelve walled towns and terraces by the request of the World Heritage Committee, some areas have still been denominated as "Excluded Area". Indeed, in order to represent the local Konso Landscape on the international front through an organised institution such as UNESCO, it is expected that attributes, whether physical, cultural or spiritual, are presented to fit into the regulations of the institution, as anything beyond that standard will be rejected and deemed non-conformed or inadequate. However, in order to avoid scaling down the wholesomeness of the Konso culture and traditions, history and social stratification, cohesion and organisation, it is important to step beyond the delimitations set by heritage institutions where necessary.

Gebremichael, from the Association for Research and Conservation of Culture (ARCC) and the French Center for Ethiopian Studies, CFEE, Ethiopia, helped Ethiopia to prepare the World Heritage Nomination File for the Konso Cultural Landscape. When he describes the cooperation between UNESCO and local communities with regard to World Heritage Sites, he states that cooperation terms have to be agreed upon by all stakeholders, which include "indigenous communities, local people, state parties, and other partners" (164). He attributes the success of the inscription of the Landscape to the collaborative effort between the local communities and

other stakeholders. According to the World Heritage paper series written by Sanz and the World Heritage Centre, the preparation of site maps and delineation of conservation areas are done together with community leaders and the concerned officials (58). They further encourage researchers of Human Evolution: Adaptations, Dispersals and Social Developments (HEADS) -related sites to seek contemporary relevance of their work and to provide information which contemporary communities can use as a reference point in addressing their societal problems, which "can either be through public meetings and notices, or focus group discussions with *any particular sector of the community that may be affected by the World Heritage site*" (172; emphasis mine). This, of course, does not only raise questions on possibilities of the local community being "affected" by "cooperative" decisions that are taken but also underlines the fact that, to resolve or reduce these effects on the local communities, there are measures being put in place by the ones who might have created them in the first place.

In another optic, first in the foreword of the paper series mentioned above, H. E. Mr Amin Abdulkadir, Minister of Culture and Tourism of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, cheers the involvement of local communities in World Heritage and the way they "continue to live in these areas in the framework of the World Heritage Convention" (6). Secondly, Gebremichael posits that, "communities need to adapt to the ideals of cooperation once their sites or landscapes attract the interest of others" (164). These two can be interpreted as a kind of cooperation that would not have the local community work on its own terms, but rather forgo certain cultural or physical attributes and boundaries, which do not work along the lines of the rules of cooperation presented to it by the organised institution, and which are not intended show themselves as 'outstanding and universal'. Förch (13) rightly suggests that, sustainable development in Konso will mean a strong local involvement and initiative, whereby the whole community is involved in planning, implementing and maintaining schemes, and the indigenous knowledge of soil and water conservation is built on. Strong local initiative and involvement in issues of heritage and landscape management are necessary, albeit to be done with a high degree of autonomy.

Denyer (56) underlines that ICOMOS, in its 2012 evaluation of the Konso Cultural Landscape, recommended that in spite of the admirable traditional protection systems that were in operation at that time, additional active collaborative traditional management approaches that supported traditional systems were needed. She adds, however, that the World Heritage Committee "decided to inscribe the property before such additional measures were addressed". This kind of approach used by the World Heritage Committee raises concerns not only on the viability of this inscription within the context of the World Heritage Convention but also on the extent of local community contributions to the sustainability of the attributes of the World Heritage Landscape.

Howard, after his visit to the Landscape in 2005, remarked that the Konso area had "remained remarkably 'traditional', almost like a living museum", and that there were indeed very few corrugated iron roofing sheets, plastic basins and the likes,

used in the area. He projects that it will be interesting to see how recent improvements in road access to the site will affect its world heritage values. This projection, of course, would add itself to the question of world heritage and local large-scale development conflicts, which was discussed earlier (cf. 28-29).

In the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value given in Ethiopia's nomination dossier, it is stated, "The inscription of the Konso cultural landscape on UNESCO's World Heritage List *will undoubtedly make the preservation of the integrity and authenticity of the Konso cultural landscape a reality*" (47; emphasis mine). ICOMOS's evaluation of Konso also underlines that:

> Conservation is governed, up to a point, by local traditional practices and sanctions; but in view of modernising pressures, there is no guarantee that traditional work will continue. […] In recent years, partly in tandem with the preparation of the nomination dossier, some financial support for conservation has been forthcoming (in particular from the Christensen Fund in USA) through local NGOs. This has brought some valuable results, in particular for the maintenance of village walls, repairing of *moras* and their *paftas* with necessary re-thatching, protective measures for surviving tracts of forest (with appropriate emphasis on the virtue of biodiversity), and reviving of communal cultural events (13).

The above-established "facts" from the SOUV and evaluation dossier touch on limitations of Konso traditional conservation measures, which have nonetheless been in existence and succeeded for over five centuries, and the resulting need for external aid, which will "enormously" help to maintain traditional practices. However, it can undeniably be intimated that, where a heritage site is portrayed by the World Heritage community as being in an urgent and a dire need of such assistance in order to maintain its traditional practices, the State Party of that site will do many things possible to inscribe it as a World Heritage Site; since the inscription of the site has been presented to them as one sure way of making its conservation and preservation a reality. Therefore, in an attempt to seek external assistance, there are high probabilities that local values will be affected – the reason being that local stakeholders will have to work within a different framework, which oftentimes calls for sacrificing local values and particularities.

5 Conclusion

In this study, World Heritage universal values and values held at the national-local level have been studied with regard to the selected World Heritage sites. Along these lines, the ways in which some World Heritage inscriptions have conflicted with local values, often leading to the latter being overshadowed or kept out, were also seen. From what has been studied, it can be deduced that indeed, there are significant similarities as well as contrasting interests regarding the meaning, representation and

application of value on both the universal and local levels. These similarities and contrasts have been expressed in terms such as history, use and function, property inter-connectedness, boundary delineation, continuity, and visitor management.

With regard to history, on the one hand, it was mentioned in this study that World Heritage nomination dossiers present the history of properties. One of the sections of the nomination dossier, "history and development", gives States Parties the opportunity to put a property in a historical context. These historical values have been produced mainly through archaeological research and other historical findings, and are used to explain origins and foundations of cultural heritage properties. As explained by Schmutz and Elliott early on, certain site evaluations have demanded further scientific research, such as archaeological studies, with the aim of establishing, for instance, "truths" and "origins". On the other hand, at the national or local level, there are legends and myths alongside other local historical findings, whether material or immaterial, that are used to explain origins of cultural heritage properties – as it was with City of Bath and Tower of London. Legends, myths and beliefs are not mentioned or used to claim any origins in the dossiers of properties studied. Therefore, if differing local and universal historical perspectives are put together to measure the use of legends and myths in claiming origins of heritage and communities, it will be in such a way that World Heritage would accept them (the legends and myths) only as true for the local community, whereas members of the local community would accept them as true for both themselves and the global front.

Also, the use and function of sites attributed by World Heritage States Parties are mostly those that are identified either at the time of nomination or as relevant to their inscription as a universal and outstanding entity. "Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church" is an example of this, whereby its identified World Heritage use and function has both elements of pertinence to inscription and identification at the time of nomination. However, most uses identified by States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, although may have similarities with those of the local community, would most often be unmatched with the latter. An example of this was seen with Khami Ruins National Monument, where, for instance, it was said that an identified use was excluded from the ones given by the State Party. It can be argued that, indeed, these underlying differences in use and function cannot be resolved on both the local and universal levels insofar as, by the standards of the World Heritage Convention, not all local uses (especially those that might have existed before the properties were inscribed) have been officially recognised as such. As has been seen earlier, Labadi supports this argument when she opines that, in order to achieve an "assumed universal equality", Outstanding Universal Value sacrifices particularities, origins and interests of properties. On another scale, it can be said that some uses that are presented by States Parties may not resonate with the local community, and although this lack of local resonance would not invalidate the identified World Heritage uses, it will not be present in local "function narratives" and therefore will be foreign to the local community with which the property is identified in the first place.

Furthermore, as seen with the World Heritage properties studied, and, in fact, as it may be with all other World Heritage properties, the notion of property inter-connectedness is established between inscribed properties and other properties, whether inscribed or not. This is seen with the mandatory comparative analysis of properties carried out by States Parties. By a comparative study, States Parties establish a universal property inter-connectedness in such a way that it is perceived as an almost immutable fact. As seen earlier with Konso Cultural Landscape, failure to adequately compare nominated sites with other properties decreases possibilities of their inscription on the World Heritage List. While the value of World Heritage properties is largely dependent on the extent of their inter-connectedness with sites in other parts of the world, this is not exactly the case with values held by nations and local communities. In the case of the latter, there is an established uniqueness, which is not dependent on the existence of other similar or comparatively different properties. In addition to this, whenever it is necessary for a local community to recognise other heritage sites as connected to theirs, uniqueness and peculiarity would still be maintained, without having to sacrifice any of them to achieve universalism. As seen earlier with Khami Ruins, another level of inter-connectedness is traced with what exists now and what existed in the past, so that the present state of World Heritage properties is seen to exist because another property of the past, with which it is connected or compared, existed. The World Heritage value placed on this level of inter-connectedness is much related to that of "continuity", which will be discussed later below.

In addition, boundary delineations evoke a contrasting interest within the context of Outstanding Universal Value and national-local values. World Heritage demands that property boundaries be drawn in such a way that all the attributes that convey the Outstanding Universal Values of the property are incorporated, and the integrity and/or authenticity of the property is ensured (par. 99 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines). As seen with Konso Cultural Landscape and Palace of Westminster – before the addition of Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church –, the State Party's boundary delineation was considered inadequate by ICOMOS per the standards of the World Heritage Convention. However, it can be agreed that the word "boundary", if used by a nation or local community (thus outside World Heritage), will designate demarcations that do not have the same purpose of conveying outstanding universal values or ensuring authenticity, for example. This means that, when boundaries are delineated for World Heritage inscription purposes, they transcend or dissolve those of the local community, which may result in taking away the primary or local values that are attached to site boundaries (not only physical) by the local community. Nonetheless, World Heritage property boundaries and buffer zones are marked for particular institutional purposes, and are one of the first steps to identifying a property for World Heritage nominations. As seen earlier, World Heritage experts and States Parties are mandated to work collaboratively with local communities – also in drawing boundaries –, albeit this rule is not always fully applied before inscription of properties (see Denyer).

Again, continuity, with regard to value, is comparable both at the Outstanding Universal Value and national-local value levels. Continuity with World Heritage sites has been seen with several properties such as "Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church", where the State Party (UK) writes, for example, that the property has been a place of worship spanning from over a thousand years and continues to be a seat of Parliament. However, as has been argued earlier, another World Heritage dimension of continuity seen besides continuity of World Heritage sites is institutional continuity. In other words, the continuous survival of the World Heritage institution is seen vis-à-vis the continuous conservation and preservation of the site for the unforeseen future. On the other hand, a continuous institutional survival is absent in the national-local context. This means that nations and local communities are not bound to institutional standards of preservation and conservation in achieving "continuity", once this has not been signed up for. This also means that, for the local community, continuity in practices, beliefs and traditions (all values) is a way of keeping what it came to meet as a means of living in the present and sustaining it for the foreseen future. Consequently, the national-local context shifts the concept of continuity from "it existed before (unseen and seen past), it exists now (based on the unseen and seen past), and should exist in the future (unforeseen future)"[35] to "it existed before (seen past), it exists now (based on the seen past), and should exist in the future (foreseen future)". To explain this with the Konso generation-grading system, the Konso would base their present practice of generational transfer of power on the hard evidence of stone-erection, practise this tradition as they met it, and ensure that it is passed on to the present or younger generation after a fixed period of years (foreseen future). On the other hand, at the World Heritage level, the generation-grading system is traced beyond its hard evidence to the unseen past (through scientific research), the present is interpreted and expected to be practised based on the unseen and seen past, and measures are put in place in such a way that even in the unforeseen future these practices will be sustained. This is seen not only in the nomination dossiers of Ethiopia, where the State Party states that the history of Ethiopia is "reconstructed from oral traditions and linguistic studies and could be dated through the *generation counts and archaeological data*", but also in the World Heritage interpretation of Outstanding Universal Value as being of common importance for "*present and future generations* of all humanity" (par. 49 of the 2017 Operational Guidelines; emphasis mine).

Lastly, tourism is something to be considered in relation to value on both levels. The influx of visitors to World Heritage sites brings some benefits to local communities, which include income generation, creation of a platform for the presentation of heritage and transmission of local values, among others. However, as Labadi points out, issues such as the carrying capacity and visiting times of some World Heritage sites have created a conflicting state with local values. Visitors who do not hold the same local value of a property may have a use or an interpretation of, or an

35 As it is within the World Heritage context.

access to the property, which may conflict with those of the local population. Visitor times which conflict with the local use of the site is an example of this. Moreover, as seen early on, visitor traffic is reported in the nomination dossier of "Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church", and the State Party is seen calling for a "proactive management" (par. 27) which would minimise visitor congestion through which the fabric and setting of the property would be protected. Fort Jesus, Mombasa, is also reported (by the State Party) to attract "hundreds of thousands of both local and foreign tourists annually" (14). The evaluation dossier reports that, out of over 80% of tourists who visit the coastal area of Kenya, 70% of them visit Fort Jesus, and that this has caused the National Museums of Kenya to put in place measures that will reduce visitor or tourist pressure on the site. Furthermore, the State Party of Zimbabwe reports degradations on Khami Ruins, which are due to tourism, and underlines tourism as a threat to the integrity of the property. The evaluation dossier of Konso Cultural Landscape reports that, for example, "tourists visiting the traditional walled towns put a certain amount of psychological pressure on the elderly community members" (59). The tourism challenges faced at these sites may affect not only the physical fabric of the property but also other aspects that make up the core local values of the property. Nonetheless, it has been suggested by World Heritage committee members, for example, that "authenticity should be considered as lost" only when a "different function entailed fundamental and irreversible changes to the original form" (UNESCO, Decision 1 COM CONF 001 VI.A(c).30). This, however, would pose some problems on the local level, as conflicting visiting times and visitor traffic do not directly fall under the category of "fundamental and irreversible changes", although they should be addressed looking at their potential effects on the property and its local value.

In the Final Report issued after the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, held in Paris in 1977, there is a recorded debate on the establishment of a World Heritage List and the criteria for selection of properties, in which several concerns are raised by some members of the committee. Some of the concerns include, first, the acknowledgement that the establishment of a World Heritage List will have an impact and therefore will have to be drawn with "extreme care" as the List will seek not only a geographical balance but also a balance between cultural and natural properties. In addition, feasibility with regard to the adoption of criteria was discussed, where members of the Committee referred to:

> the difficulty already experienced in establishing criteria at the national level, […] the changing and subjective nature of evaluations of qualities, […] the impact of Western thought and […] the difference between perception from within a given culture and perception from outside. The representative of ICOMOS, in reply, recognized the difficulty of drafting criteria to be applied to cultural property throughout the world and of translating concepts into words that were meaningful on a universal scale ((UNESCO, Decision 1 COM CONF 001 VI.A(a).).

The issues raised during the Committee show that, indeed, the difficulty that arises from the establishment of universal criteria, within which national values are to find their place, is something that was known to UNESCO from the beginning of its conception of Outstanding Universal Value. This notwithstanding, if local and universal values are to be presented together on the global front, within set institutional parameters, certain synergistic approaches can be considered

One of the approaches, as already exposed, is reiterative universalism. This would bring together non-institutionally filtered interpretations of value from nations and local communities, and an understanding of the working framework of the World Heritage Convention, without one encompassing or overshadowing the other. Here, local values would be accepted as unique, and their relation to other cultures around the world would be appreciated in its own unique sense without assuming that a combination of both would create "a universal culture, a unified teleological history, a meta-context" (See Düttmann). Also, if mandatory measures are put in place such that the local or national values of a property are transmitted by the local population, whether on-site or elsewhere, then it can be ensured that local points of view are presented as they are, while universal views are left in the hands of the "tourist" or guided by the parameters of Outstanding Universal Value. This will lead to, borrowing from Labadi (19) for example, "a variety of possible understandings, interpretations, representations of and responses to a universal framework that can be considered to fit into the individual's own worldview", without affecting local representations of heritage. Self-appointed or private tourist guides are usually there to present heritage sites to visitors and tourists, which is mostly a means of obtaining financial benefits. In this regard, it can be said that, if transmission of value from the local population to tourists is an activity which would be exercised even in the absence of the World Heritage Convention, then the integration of this local mode of value transmission into the institutional framework of value interpretation and transmission would contribute to bridging local-universal gaps.

In addition, if, at the nomination stage, States Parties were assigned equal space to express the local *and* universal values of their property, it would ensure comprehensiveness in the presentation of local values as it is with universal values, while maintaining institutional guidelines governing the length of nomination dossiers and successful inscriptions. This can equally call for adjustments on the criteria for selection of properties, in that the needed criteria for local values will be created. The difference between this approach and the existing World Heritage presentation of "national contexts" is that the World Heritage "national contexts" are presented with the aim of working towards universal values, thereby resulting in very selective national values that are made to fit into the notion of universalism. On the other hand, when this selective national value approach is changed to an approach which would allow local values to be presented in their own unique sense, then no particular attention will be paid to universal attributes identified with the property, so far as it (the property) is being presented in its national-local context. As seen earlier

with City of Bath, where literature was deemed an important aspect not to be left out from all associations with the city, this means that enough space will be provided for the State Party to successfully talk about local associations which otherwise may not find their place within the space dedicated to universal values.

Lastly, another dimension of synergy that can be applied is the "integration of [World Heritage and local] conservation [practices] into urban planning policies and strategies that are facilitated by a landscape-based approach for the management of cultural heritage (insertions mine)" (Guzman, Paloma, et al. 15). This approach is suitable for not only cities and landscapes, such as City of Bath and Konso Cultural Landscape, but also other cultural heritage properties that would report development-related threats. As seen earlier with Dresden Elbe Valley, Tower of London and Westminster Palace, the growing need for developmental projects has been listed as one of the major threats to some World Heritage properties, sometimes resulting in the delisting of such properties. Although this kind of threat was unseen with the studied dossiers from the Africa region, the challenge with meeting developmental needs as opposed to maintaining the attributes of Outstanding Universal Value is indeed common. Guzman, Paloma, et al. sought to develop methodologies that would bridge the gap between urban development and heritage conservation. Aside their proposed methodology stated above, they also suggest that, since World Heritage State of Conservation (SoC) reports "have proven to be a key source for providing useful insights on WHC [World Heritage Cities] and development factors", challenges that will be identified when the proposed methodology is applied "should encourage the SoC system to improve the use of more consistent terminology, and, at all levels, to pursue reporting methods which are objective and sourced in information" (15). Therefore, using this approach will integrate World Heritage institutional conservation methods into national or local urban planning policies and strategies, and not vice-versa. What this would produce is a local community that is able to carry on with developmental projects that are deemed necessary, while maintaining necessary conservatory measures as per common World Heritage and local conservation methods. Also, with this approach, the need for local heritage conservation practitioners becomes an important factor to consider, despite the fact that the involvement of community members in such tasks has proven to be quite problematic (See Court and Gamini).

Overall, this study has explained World Heritage Outstanding Universal Value and showed how World Heritage nominations are prepared. It has also looked at some theoretical perspectives on World Heritage universal and local values, and the scientific involvement in the process of World Heritage nominations and evaluation. In addition, it has presented six State Party nomination dossiers and shown not only how Outstanding Universal Values have been transcribed in these dossiers but also how ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee have evaluated them. It was seen that, State Party dossiers were prepared according to the standards of the World Heritage Convention and the Operational Guidelines, and that some States Parties have had to go through several evaluation stages with the aim of achieving World

Heritage standards that will allow for the inscription of their property on the World Heritage List. This study has also presented national-local cultural and historical contexts of the selected properties, and has emphasised how differing or similar these contexts are from or to, respectively, the contexts presented under the World Heritage Convention. Furthermore, it has been intimated that, local values are also important to be presented on the international front, just as it is with values that have been considered "universal" through institutional and individual worldviews. Few approaches on how this latter can be achieved have also been explained, wherein neither local values nor values deemed universal are misplaced in the context of the other.

An observed shortcoming of this thesis is the absence of nomination files for some of the properties under study, so that the detailed information for analysis, retrieved for some properties, could not be retrieved for others whose information were only presented in the description category on the property's webpage. It has also been seen that, researchers like Labadi and Handler have argued that authenticity in the Western and African contexts cannot be equalled, although it is on the same terms of authenticity that World Heritage nominations from both regions have been carried out. However interesting these points of view on authenticity as defined and applied in the Western and African contexts are, it will also be interesting to find out, in a future research, the success rate of Western and African World Heritage property-inscriptions over time and what factors could account for an increased or decreased rate of inscription in a region. Moreover, as indicated earlier, *justification for inscription* is one of the requirements for States Parties in preparing nomination dossiers, and this is mainly what has been studied here, as it is from this that most relevant information for the present study – such as criteria for inscription, statements of integrity and authenticity, comparative analysis, and statement of Outstanding Universal Value – is found. However, in the future, detailed studies on other parts of the dossier such as the State of Conservation, factors affecting the property, and the protection, management and monitoring of the property, could be carried out to see how they also affect the meaning of value with regard to individual properties.

Bibliography

List of Abbreviations

ARCC	Association for Research and Conservation of Culture
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CFEE	French Center for Ethiopian Studies
HEADS	Human Evolution: Adaptations, Dispersals and Social Developments
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites

INGO	International Nongovernmental Organisation
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
SOUV	Statement of Outstanding Universal Value
WHC	World Heritage Cities

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Concepts of Science in Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*

Manuel Cabrera Palacios

1 Introduction

Out of curiosity, or perhaps for the sake of internal mediation, from the very beginning of my academic studies, I have tried to make out similarities between the two main fields I study, natural sciences and English literature. Superficially, they show a great deal of differences. It seems almost impossible to connect the development of anglophone literature with the rigid restrictions of the natural scientific mode of operation. When first studying English literary modernism, however, in particular the works of Virginia Woolf, I came in contact with a remarkable literary period, which distinguished itself through its innovation and interdisciplinary collaboration. Although, one usually has to face "the recognition that literary theories serve very different purposes from scientific ones", in Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century, both novelist and scientist had the common objective to move their studies and works forward, getting as close as possible to the reality behind things (Whitworth 1). Astronomers, physicists, psychologists, historians, and novelist, only to name a few domains of researchers, took significant interest in each other's works – separated by the discourses they were part of but united in their shared urge to move forward. Their interest in themes and discourses beyond the own field of research resulted in the production of works with traces and critical evaluations of concepts from other discourses.

Especially the novels of Virginia Woolf offer a unique opportunity to exhibit the influence of scientific discourses and the metaphorical adaption and implementation

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of scientific concepts in literature. Through her personal surroundings, Woolf was well aware and sensitive to scientific discourses. In the so-called Bloomsbury Group, whom I will also refer to in the three main chapters, she and fellow intellectuals, scientists, and artists frequently discussed present developments that took place in a variety of subjects during the early years of the twentieth century. These included, for instance, the fields of astronomy, biology, psychology, philosophy, and physics. The Bloomsbury Group that Virginia Woolf was a substantial member of went through several changes between 1905 and World War II. Most of the members were writers, artists, and scientists, educated at Cambridge. In 1917, Woolf and her husband Leonard founded the '1917 Club'. Referring to some of the themes that were discussed amongst the members, Boulter observes that "science was represented almost as strongly as the arts" (148). The '1917 Club' was preceded by the 'Memoir Club' in 1920. Again, "science was regularly on the agenda" (Boulter 148). Besides Woolf's friends and colleagues, her family also played a crucial part in the development of her scientific interest. Not only was her father fascinated with astronomy as well as other natural sciences, Woolf also through the intense memories she connects with her family felt the strong urge to engage with psychological concepts.

My thesis traces Woolf's implementation of scientific concepts in her 1927 novel, with a focus on the discourses of Einstein's physics, astronomy, and psychology. Each chapter starts out with a short introduction, establishing a general connection between Woolf and the discourse of the respective science. It then moves on to offer an argumentative insight into three subordinate themes for each science connected to her novel. Altogether, I believe, these will argue in favour of her profound and exceptional interdisciplinary work. The present thesis will elaborate themes that have been previously featured in literary studies on *To the Lighthouse* such as the influence of World War I and the momentariness of human life. I, however, also aim to shed a new light on these topics connecting them to the scientific discourse which, I believe, they originate from. I will also engage with topics that have not had much critical attention, especially in the first chapter. In the end the thesis will have established a wide-ranging overview on Woolf's connection to the three respective scientific discourses. Although on some occasions I could have gone into more detail, in order to maintain a concise insight into the three chosen scientific discourses, I have decided to keep the subchapters at an approximately equal length.

In regard to what has been previously written on the topic, Whitworth's *Einstein's Wake*, Henry's *Virginia Woolf and the Discourse of Science*, and Abel's *Virginia Woolf and the Fictions of Psychoanalysis* are noteworthy. All have made a strong plead for a connection between Woolf and the early twentieth century discourses of Einstein's physics, astronomy, and psychology. Nonetheless, their works mostly approach the topic in a general manner and, especially in the case of Henry's work, only occasionally focus on a specific novel. This is one of the reasons why I believe a variegated approach that considers several scientific discourses at once and only focusses on a

single novel can lead to new discoveries and make a more profound plea for Woolf's interdisciplinary engagement.

The work I have chosen to examine, Woolf's novel *To the Lighthouse*, was published in 1927, two years after *Mrs. Dalloway*. I believe the novel to be one of her most sophisticated works. The number of references to various discourses is extensive, making it a suitable field of observation for my interdisciplinary methodology. The novel is composed of three chapters, 'The Window', 'Time Passes', and 'To the Lighthouse'. Especially the novel's middle chapter is in many ways extraordinary and of great importance, as the thesis will show.

Before moving on to the first chapter on Einstein's physics, I will explain my theoretical framing in more detail. I deem it important to refer to a difficulty phrased by Michael H. Whitworth. In the introduction to *Einstein's Wake* he notes, "the study of literature and science raises an ontological problem: faced with two terms which are commonly understood as antithetical, […] [one] must explain in what sense we are comparing like with like" (1). He provides an answer stating that "[he is] not so much examining relativity and modernism as examining certain metaphors in their textual and historical context; that these metaphors may be found in both scientific theories and in descriptions of modernist literary form is particularly convenient" (Whitworth 1). Likewise, my answer to the question in which sense I compare "like with like" depends on the metaphorical, as often the transfer from a scientific concept or idea to its literary implementation operates on a metaphorical scale. I do not intend to merely recount scientific facts found in Woolf's novel, but to illustrate how an explorative interest in scientific discourse can, intentionally or unintentionally, move a writer to make use of scientific concepts. This transfer essentially involves a process of personalising and re-fitting them to the literary needs and conditions. Ultimately, a scientific concept evolves into a metaphorical literary interpretation – the result of an interdisciplinary engagement I wish to trace in the following chapters. Unlike Whitworth, I do not regard the occurrence of said metaphors as merely a convenience. I believe them to be the result of a traceable interdisciplinary engagement. Throughout the chapters, it will become apparent that most conceptual adaptions and implementations in the novel, I will analyse, are closely linked to its protagonists. As a result, most subchapters, can be read as a character analysis with the superior purpose to locate traces of science-based literary concepts and constructs.

In the previous paragraph, I mentioned the distinction between the intentional and unintentional literary implication of scientific concepts. Faced with the question whether to examine an intentional or unintentional implication, the latter is more difficult to track. This, I believe, has caused a lack in research. Whitworth resonates a similar impression: "The most prominent problem concerns intention: did a writer intend to adopt a metaphor [or concept], or did he absorb it 'unconsciously'?" (13). He exemplifies his assumption stating that "the most influential accounts of Victorian literature and science have focussed on authors whose reading of science is well documented", whereas, despite of "striking formal similarities", others have been ignored (Whitworth 13). Following his statements, the connections I will establish

between Woolf and the scientific discourses essentially differ from each other. Whilst Woolf's connection to the discourses of physics, astronomy, and psychology, from a marginal point of view, is rather easily established, to advocate for the specific transference of concepts can be rather challenging at times. Especially when writing the chapters on Einstein's physics and astronomy, I was faced the problematic, whilst Woolf's transference of concepts from the psychological discourse is more evident. Nonetheless, I feel it is an important step to take, in order to unveil connections between Woolf and the sciences of the early twentieth century that previously have been undiscovered.

2 Einstein's Physics

> It was as if the ground had been pulled out from under one, with no firm foundation to be seen anywhere, upon which one could have built. (Einstein qtd. in Morrisson 37)

In 1905, when Einstein published his *Special Theories of Relativity*, he felt to lose grip of reality with most of his tenets not being compatible with the reputable contemporary physical concepts. Many fellow scientists critically responded to his innovative theories and held on to old concepts. Henry accordingly notes, "Einstein had not been taken entirely seriously, even by many physicists" (28). A process that, I believe, is comparable to the literary development in Britain during the early years of the twentieth century. With the start of literary modernism, especially young writers and novelist felt the urge to break free from the old Victorian literary conventions and challenge their predecessors. Although Einstein might not have been as actively wishing to be a reformist as did his literary counterparts, in the end, both him and the British novelist of the early twentieth century found themselves in a very comparable position.

His heavily criticised study became more accepted by fellow physicists, when in 1909 the "British eclipse expeditions […] demonstrated the viability of significant tenets of Einstein's General Theory of Relativity", (Henry 24). As a result, the "Einsteinian relativity […] largely reconfigured nineteenth-century conceptions of space and time" (Henry 26). Its "dynamical model for space and time provided the basis for entirely new models of the universe" (Henry 26). Likewise, literary modernism was flourishing and a magnitude of innovative literary works, especially novels, were published. A female writer in particular, Virginia Woolf, was one of the leading novelists of literary modernism. Essentially, both Einstein and Woolf played a comparable role in their fields of research as they challenged their contemporaries through their innovative works.

I believe there is a connection between their conceptions of space and time, that is directly evident in Woolf's literary constructions. These become particularly apparent in her novel *To the Lighthouse*. Correspondingly, the first main chapter on Ein-

stein's Physics aims to establish a connection between Einstein and Woolf, investigating the spatial and temporal characteristics of her novel. Due to his theories on relativity, she had reason to believe, or was perhaps encouraged in previous assumptions, that the prior conceptions of space and time did not essentially capture the true nature of these two fundamental dimensions. With a focus on individuality and relativity, I will highlight the similarities between Woolf and Einstein and refer to his thoughts on space and time presented in his General and Special Theories of Relativity. The first subchapter discusses Woolf's literary implementation of the perception of time and its individualistic manifestation in regard to the protagonist James and Mr Ramsay. Thereafter, I continue to analyse the non-linear operation of time throughout the novel. I will examine the topic on a smaller scale and then widen my focus, considering and comparing all three of the novel's chapters. Further, I will adhere to the question what kind of importance and role can be assigned to the human consciousness, concerning the representation of different temporal states. The last subchapter then moves on to elaborate the similarities between Woolf's and Einstein's conception of space and how it can contract and expand.

Contrary to the two main chapters on astronomy and psychology, there is little evidence for an explicit connection between Woolf's and Einstein's conception of space and time. Briggs, for instance, notes, "Woolf did not require Einstein's theories to legitimate her sense of the relativity of time" (Briggs, *WST*[1] 3). I, however, do not necessarily intend to argue in favour of a straightforward connection between Woolf and Einstein. Whitworth argues that the "attitudes to science and attitudes to its ideas are very often entirely contradictory" (3). I believe that Woolf's comment refers to her attitude to the science behind Einstein's theories which does not ultimately include the ideas these theories might evoke on a metaphorical level. Accordingly, Gillian Beer notes, "Woolf, like most educated people of the 1920s, was well aware of Einstein as an intellectual presence. And, like many others, she found his theories both baffling and magical" (qtd. in Briggs 16). Beer refers to an interdisciplinary awareness of science that is one of the key-characteristics of modernist literary production. The scientific tenets of Einstein's theories "were shaping [and affecting] modernist literature" (Henry 29). The discourse referenced by Beer and central to this thesis comprehends both Woolf and Einstein as central protagonist and thus makes it likely that Woolf was influenced by Einstein's theories, be it intentionally or unintentionally.Also, through her personal surroundings Woolf was likely to be involved in discussions concerning the relevance of Einstein's theories. As already mentioned, the Bloomsbury Group was a group of intellectuals from different fields of research. Their frequent discussions about science, politics, and economy were unlikely to disregard something as thrilling as the *Special and General Theory of Relativity* in 1905 and 1916.

Coherently to Einstein's theories, Woolf's unconventional conceptions of space and time are characterised by relativeness and individuality. She displayed some of

[1] See the bibliography for a list of abbreviations.

her elaborate thoughts on the subject of time in her autobiographical essay "A Sketch of the Past" – *Moments of Being*. Briggs describes such moments of being as "moments that rose like mountain-peaks out of every-day life" (Briggs, *WST* 5). Indeed, Woolf intertwines said remarkable moments with vivid childhood memories. There is a general sense that an individual's perception of space and time is closely linked to its own memories and experiences. She actively engages with the influence of the individual's metaphysical position, which I will aim link to Einstein's theories in the following subchapter.

2.1 Individual Observation and Perception of Time

In the following subchapter, I will discuss the connection between Einstein's suggestion that time is individually perceived and experienced and Woolf's evaluation of the individualistic experience of time. I have chosen to compare the protagonist Mr Ramsay and his son James Ramsay, as their experience of time differ most. Although my main focus is on the similarities, I will also respond to a crucial difference in Woolf's literary implementation of Einstein's concept.

Einstein's theory observes and defines time as being individually perceived and experienced by any observer. The idea can be simplified by a passenger walking in a train in the same direction the train is moving. To a spectator from outside, the person seems to be moving much faster than to the person walking inside the train. Velocity is relative and depends on the state of movement the observer is in. Essentially, the perception one has is bound to how he or she positions him- or herself and in which frame of reference he or she does so. There are certain phenomena that according to the positioning of a subject change what he or she observes. Briggs examines Woolf's interest in the "extraordinary discrepancy between time on the clock and time on the mind" (Woolf qtd. in Briggs *WST* 3). I believe that in *To the Lighthouse*, Woolf takes this thought a step further and elaborates the differences that can occur between two protagonists' perceptions of time on the mind.

Time, through the style of narration used in *To the Lighthouse*, is crucially linked to the human consciousness that experiences it. In Einstein's theory the geographical position of an observer is crucial for his or her perception. For Woolf the locality of the subject is less important. Her emphasis lies in the emotional and metaphysical positioning. Briggs describes this concept referring to Einstein and observes that "each of us has a series of different clocks measuring different times" (Briggs, *WST* 16). These temporal dimensions are so closely linked to the individual position of the observer that one moment can have several possible manifestations to different subjects. Further, Woolf values the resulting discrepancies. In "A Sketch of the Past" she describes how she is "hardly aware of […] [her]self, but only of the sensation" when remembering "childhood memories" (Woolf, *AP* 67). Thus, she assigns them a particular strength. For the infant observer time seems to be perceived much purer and more unbiased, even to the point that the self can lose its awareness in a stream of temporality. Later in life memories are "less strong, less isolated, […] [and] less

complete" (Woolf, *AP* 67). The development of a subject's ego diminishes and supresses the ability to sense. In order to fully display the varieties in the perception of time, Woolf counterposes the protagonist Mr Ramsay and James Ramsay. Perhaps, for the purpose of dramatization and polarization, she introduces them on the first pages of the novel and lets the two different perceptions of time, with two eventually different frames of reference, quarrel each other. This way, Mr Ramsay's and James's different perceptions become more apparent in the face of the other and are tested to their stability.

James is young and can sense time in a purer and essentially more positive way. On the very first page of the novel, James's delicate capability for sensation is displayed for the first time. When Mrs Ramsay agrees to go to the lighthouse the next day, he feels "an extraordinary joy" (Woolf, *TL* 7). To him, it seems as if he has been waiting for this occasion a very long time. In a stream of consciousness, James's sensation and perception, fuelled by longing in this very moment, extends to the dimension of several years (Woolf, *TL* 7). Right after he feels the magnitude of the moment, further sensations come in. The moment he aspires to experience, seems to be "within touch" (Woolf, *TL* 7). The choice of words used, pointing at James wanting to get grip of the aspired sensation, poses a crucial repositioning. From the locus of a passive observer, he suddenly becomes an active agent. Whether this transformation is an illusion or whether he could intervene, at this point, is not important. It is essential that he can feel himself shifting between these two positions. His aspiration for the journey to the lighthouse strongly influences his momentary perception of time, making it more unbiased and purer in the sense that the feeling itself is more valuable than his will to control it. He does not feel aroused by the seemingly irrational expenditure of time but simply experiences and descends into the feeling. Further, Woolf describes James "even at the age of six, […] [belonging] to that great clan" to whom "any turn in the wheel of sensation has the power to crystalize and transfix the moment upon which its gloom or radiance rests" (Woolf, *TL* 7).

Mr Ramsay on the other hand has a crucially differing perception. He, a man of books and rationality, clings to facts. His aura and sensations, in comparison to James's, seem insensitive and stubborn, adding to the irony of him being the adult. Sanders coherently comments that in Woolf's novels "[adult] men are often left content with a limited grasp, and presumed control of the physical world" (Sanders 517). I feel it important to consider that said character-trait manifests itself from a certain age on. James in some years might meet the same fate. The numbness, surrounding Mr Ramsay's withered and aged presence, even startles Mrs Ramsay. When the family plans on visiting the circus, she reflects on his attitude: "No. He could not say it right. He could not feel it right. But why not? she wondered. What was wrong with him then?" (Woolf, *TL* 13). Moreover, the concerns he expresses throughout the novel, regarding the trip to the lighthouse, add to his contentious character. Often, his objections not only visually form a clear cut; they also thematically interrupt the previous lines of thought. Although not presented as clearly, indications for Mr Ramsay's limited perception are also to be found in the novel's last two chapters.

For instance, in 'The Window', Mr Ramsay glares at someone who has blundered "without seeming to see them" (Woolf, *TL* 19). He tries to transfix them but fails to focus on what seems to be a stirring moment. His inability to let his senses act within the moment creates an atmosphere of non-being and negativity. In many ways, he offers a juxtaposition to James, as the two characters experience time in completely different dimensions. In the course of their sensual discrepancy, they find themselves in two ultimately different metaphysical positions. They do not speak the same temporal-language, thus cannot communicate and understand each other.

Woolf provides the reader with a literary interpretation of Einstein's theory. Mr Ramsay's and James's opposed experiences of time elaborate the principles of relativity and individuality on a metaphorical scale. Besides the thematical relation to Einstein's theories, also the vocabulary Woolf applies in the text-passages dealing with sensation of time, is equally suggestive of a scientific origin. Terms like crystalize, transfix, and radiance carry a strong scientific undertone. They are objective and inherit an inorganic but assuring sense of clarity. As this subchapter has mainly focussed on two protagonists, I will now move on to discussing the subject of time in a broader sense. This will allow me to compare the novel's chapters and make a more substantial plea for a connection to Einstein's theories of relativity.

2.2 The Non-linear Operation of Time

In the following subchapter, I will further elaborate on the non-linear operation of time and explain how it can be characterised in terms of fragmentation. At first, I will examine the non-linear operation of time on a small scale and discuss the role the human mind plays in Woolf's temporal representation. Thereafter, I will widen my focus and shortly refer to the novel's temporal characteristics by comparing all three chapters with each other.

The non-linear operation of time is more of a requirement than a concept itself that resulted from Einstein's General and Specific Theory of Relativity. In order to account for the quintessential conclusion of his theories, he moves away from the previous assumption that space and especially time are physical dimensions that were said to linearly move forward, resistant to any kind of exterior influence. Coherently, in *To the Lighthouse* time is spontaneously able to move into various directions. Going back and forth in such harmonious arrangements, it only becomes evident with precise analysis and sectioned reading. When brought to awareness, the close alignment of past, future, and present, creates a fragmented imagery of the whole novel. Little mosaic pieces that in sum create a larger picture. Said imagery is a theme, featured in several modernist artworks. Isaac Rosenberg, for instance, made a poetry of "proto-Modernist fragmentation which discovers an objectivity in a world being physically pulled and blown apart" (Sanders 504). Also, T. S. Eliot's poem *The Waste Land* operates with "disjointed sequence of verse paragraphs" (Peck and Coyle 245). Similar to the time-operation in *To the Lighthouse*, "individual lines often appear to head off in unexpected and unanticipated directions" (Peck and Coyle 245). Woolf

and Eliot both play these unexpected movements against the readers anticipation and highlight a momentum of arbitrariness. Nevertheless, the quintessential messages behind their modes of fragmentation differ from each another. Eliot highlights his fragmentation and thus does not hide the poems disjointed bits and pieces. The contours and cracks are clearly visible. Woolf, however, neatly merges them together allowing the reader, either to follow the seemingly immaculate flow of time or at the very worst slightly stumble across "subtle shifts" between past, present and future (Peck and Coyle 245). The following quote exemplifies Woolf's subtle movements between past, present, and future:

> Knitting her reddish-brown hairy stocking, with her head outlined absurdly by the gilt frame, the green shawl which she had tossed over the edge of the frame, and the authenticated masterpiece by Michael Angelo, Mrs Ramsay smoothed out what had been harsh in her manner a moment before, raised his head, and kissed her little boy on the forehead. 'Let's find another picture to cut out', she said. (Woolf, *TL* 27-28)

In the beginning, present and past are closely intertwined. Mrs Ramsay's knitting is momentarily connected to her previous tossing of a shawl. On an additional temporal layer, the process of the present actions is played on a stage of past events. It repeats itself once more before the quote finishes off with a prediction on future actions, connecting all three temporal states.

Presumably, Woolf's literary implication of the non-linear movement of time is connected to her strive to forge her protagonist experiences as genuine as possible. She exhibits how human beings experience time by switching between moments of the past and present. Past events and present position play a crucial role in the decisions and actions one takes. The conception of time and it being able to move back and forth in the protagonist psyche, tempts the reader to entrancedly follow their wandering consciousness. Present, future, and past frequently imbricate each other, with the human consciousness as a mediator. Prudente notes, "[i]n Woolf's work the act of memory proves indeed to be transfigured into a highly complex experience, which challenges the linear perception of time and transcends it in an instantaneous co-presence of past and present" (25). By what she terms "temporal transformation", Prudente recognises the non-linear operation of time (Prudente 25). Nevertheless, in her examination she only includes the temporal dimensions of past and present but disregards the future. She quotes Woolf and states that "[f]eeling the 'present backed by the past'[2] adds the dimension of depth to temporal experience and determines the subject's new point of view which is stimulated by the acquisition of a temporally distant position" (Prudente 25-26). In other words, a subject can distance him- or herself from a present metaphysical position by connecting memories from the past to his or her current situation. I, however, believe one should also recognise the future as a significant temporal layer. If "the present [is] backed by the past", then the future is mediated by the present (Woolf qtd. in Prudente 26).

As I have briefly mentioned in the previous paragraph, the human consciousness plays a crucial role in the novel's non-linear representation of time. Owing to the reader experiencing most instances of movement through the protagonist's thoughts, one could easily be tempted to believe that the protagonists orchestrate and, thereby, cause the non-linear movements. Prudente assumes that the close alignment of past and present depends upon the human mind as a leading entity (26). The reader would not be aware of the imbrication of past, present, and future without the focalizer's accounts. This, however, does not necessarily mean it is also the cause of it. I believe, to some degree one should identify the temporal states as independent entities. The human mind reacts to their movements and is attracted by their profoundness, rather than dictating their direction. The past, for instance, imposes itself on the protagonists and dictates their strain of thoughts and the resulting actions.

Further evidence for the previously discussed non-linear operation of time, can be found considering all three chapters of *To the Lighthouse*. Also, on a larger scale Woolf's representation of time does not follow a linear development. Considering all three chapters, one can make out clear differences in their temporal characteristics. Both 'The Window' and 'To the Lighthouse' are relatively congruential. Time is rather slow and seems to adhere to a relatively normal standard. The narrated time is often close to the narrating time. Woolf only performs smaller leaps in time. In 'Time Passes', however, one finds a fundamentally contrary temporal state. Woolf speeds up the narrated time and a few pages cover the time span of many years. The narrated time by far exceeds the narrating time. Returning to the statement from the beginning, the temporal acceleration in 'Time Passes' is portrayed without a human mind to frame it; thus the temporal non-linear property does not depend on it. One might argue that Woolf, in her role as the writer, adds the human frame. I, however, believe Woolf's metaphysical influence can be dismissed, as the focus should be restricted to the frame the novel provides.

Woolf's temporal structures in *To the Lighthouse* are remarkably innovative and sophisticated. I believe, her literary implementation of the individuality of the experience of time and non-linear operation of time, allow to draw a connection between her and Einstein. Whether Woolf intentionally or unintentionally made use of the concepts Einstein provided in his General and Special Theories of Relativity is difficult to decide on. Nonetheless, I feel confident to state that there is a connection of some nature, which allows one to explain and trace some of the concepts Woolf used to develop her understanding of time. Besides the connection to Einstein's temporal reformation, I believe there is a similar connection between Woolf and Einstein's concept of the curvature of space, which I will explore in the following subchapter.

2.3 Contracting and Expanding Spaces

In a similar approach as in 'The Non-linear operation of Time', I aim to establish a connection between Woolf's and Einstein's concepts of space. I will discuss her concept of space in *To the Lighthouse*, as well as the value she assigns to the internal and external proportions. Moreover, I will provide evidence for an argument I made in my main introduction – where I stated that some conceptual transitions from science to literature involve a process of refitting – and explain where a crucial difference can be located in Woolf's spatial concepts.

As far as my research has gone, there has been little critical attention pleading for a connection between Woolf's and Einstein's spatial concepts, especially in regard to *To the Lighthouse*. Only Whitworth generally touches upon the topic and states, "[t]he 'curvature' of Einstein's space is a metaphor, one that asks us to imagine space curving by analogy with our experience of material objects curving" (4-5). The possibility of a metaphorical science-to-literature transition he suggests, is one, I believe, Woolf performed when constructing the spatial sphere between the Ramsay's house and the lighthouse. To Whitworth, the metaphorical notion that can be extracted from Einstein's concept is comparable to the curving of material objects (5-6). Whilst his interpretation broadly recognizes the non-linear characteristic of space, I believe, the imagery of a simple material curve does not entirely capture the essential transitional property. The metaphorical essence of space curvature can be described more accurately through the expanding and contraction of a three-dimensional space, like an air-balloon that can be inflated and deflated.

Throughout this argumentation, I will reference a remark Woolf made in her essay "A Sketch of the Past". In a similar approach, although referring to Woolf's perception of time, Prudente notes, "[t]he importance of the dimension of depth experienced in the instantaneous perception of the past is also emphasized by Woolf in 'A Sketch of the Past'" (25). Despite Prudente elaborating on a different subject, her comment is interesting, as I will also argue in favour of Woolf experiencing depth "in the instantaneous perception of the past" (25). I, however, would primarily interpret the depth she references to in a spatial realm, in addition to the temporal.

Similar to the non-linear operation of time, Einstein adheres to a flexible concept of space. To him, the curvature of space cannot be measured on a linear scalation. Linear in the sense that there is a fixed scalation through which the same space can be assigned a certain value in terms of height, width, and depth at any time. His conception of space evoked an uneasiness that what one perceives on the external might not be coherent with its actual, internal truth. Coherently, Virginia Woolf describes in "A Sketch of the Past" that she

> cannot recover, save by fits and starts, the focus, the proportions of the external world. […] [She can] still see the air-balls, blue and purple, and the ribs on the shells; but these points are enclosed in vast empty spaces. How large for instance was the space beneath the nursery table! (Woolf, *AP* 78)

Woolf describes how ordinary spaces found in everyday situations, suddenly expand to extraordinary extent. The quote also indicates a differentiation between an external and internal world; a differentiation which, to some degree was also important in the previous subchapters. Likewise, to the individual perception of time, a subject is confronted with a certain space from the external world. This incoming signal is equally received by most people. In a subsequent progress, however, the signal can be individually filtered and altered depending on one's position and psyche. Correspondingly, the internal rendering is the most significant manifestation of space. Therefore, Woolf can only recall the dimensions of the internal impression, whilst the external has lost most of its expressiveness over time. This assumption, however, poses a crucial difference to Einstein's concept. For him, every possible set of a space's physical characteristics has its own eligibility. There is no hierarchy between them. Transferred to a literary context, this would imply that the internal and external perception matter equally. Woolf, however, contrary to Einstein, gives the impression that some perceptions are more significant than others.

Turning to the novel *To the Lighthouse*, Woolf constructs one space in particular – the spatial sphere between the shore and the lighthouse – which is of great importance. It is augmented in both its physical and literary dimension. Like the space under Woolf's desk, from its mere external appearance, it seems to be within reach but through the protagonists internal rendering grows to an extraordinary extent. From a metaphorical point of view, the lighthouse represents a visual point of reference, that, although it is clearly visible, inherits a notion of elusiveness. These moments of elusiveness are also sensed by the protagonist of the novel. Mrs Ramsay, for instance, experiences great wonderment when marvelling at the lighthouse from shore, during a walk to the city:

> For the great plateful of blue water was before her; the hoary Lighthouse, distant, austere in the midst; and on the right, as far as the eye could see, fading and falling, in soft low pleats, the green sand dunes with wild flowing grasses on them, which always seemed to be running away into some moon country, uninhabited of men. (Woolf, *TL* 14)

The use of the phrase "as far as the eye could see" indicates how the lighthouse and its surroundings, at this stage in the novel, lies on the verge of what the human senses can process (Woolf, *TL* 14). The space between Mrs Ramsay and the lighthouse has expanded to the point that its contours start to fade. The lighthouse traverses into an alienated world – "moon country" – situated right on the border between the tangible and intangible (Woolf, *TL* 14).

When Mr Ramsay, Cam, and James finally embark on their journey to the lighthouse in the final chapter, from the impression of the two previous chapters, it seems impossible for them to reach it. The thrilling atmosphere surrounding the lighthouse, meticulously set up by Woolf, almost forbids it. Even towards the end of the novel, there are indications of the previously augmented space between the

Ramsay's domicile and the lighthouse. Lily Briscoe, who is presented as a very sensitive character, feels there is something "extraordinarily queer" the morning of the expedition (Woolf, *TL* 121). As Lily Briscoe is equipped with the "informing presence of [a] woman['s] character […] with an aesthetic propensity", like many of Woolf's female protagonists, her sensations have a viable truth to them (Sanders 517). Sitting on shore, Lilly Briscoe feels "the Lighthouse […] [looking] at an immense distance" (Woolf, *TL* 129). Cam, sitting in the boat, similarly feels the shore being "refined, far away, unreal" (Woolf, *TL* 137). Both, the passive and the active observer, convey the impression that the spatial sphere between the lighthouse and the Ramsay's house has not lost all of its dazzling effect on the internal manifestation. However, there are also several indirect references supporting a change of its characteristics the day of the journey. Mr Ramsay in an emotional conversation tells Lilly Briscoe that she will find all of them "much changed" (Woolf, *TL* 123). Arguably, he refers to internal change. This, however, at the same time effects the external perception. Subsequently, Lily Briscoe is dragged into deep thought through the process of painting and feels that "the whole world seemed to have dissolved in this early morning into a pool of thought, a deep basin of reality, and […] a little tear would have rent the surface pool" (Woolf, *TL* 147). A wind of change and fragility arouses the novel's seemingly inflexible spaces. Her comparison suggests that reality and space, in moments of deep emotional involvement, can be very sensitive to small changes. A small "tear" can cause a stir in the entire "surface pool" of reality (Woolf, *TL* 147). Woolf makes no direct statements, suggesting that space has contracted. Instead, she provides a fundamental change of human leeway in the novel's setting, indicating a possible space contraction. Were Mr Ramsay, Cam, and James to cross the bay in the first chapter, the physical strata would have forbidden it. The novel's atmosphere and circumstances in 'To the Lighthouse', however, grant such daring expeditions.

Einstein suggests in his General Theory of Relativity that space can contract. As well as he saw the need for this phenomenon in order to explain scientific phenomena, literature, in certain cases, can require a very similar conception. Along those lines, Woolf's novel calls for the same dynamics. *To the Lighthouse* starts out with an expanded space, giving the protagonist reason for rubbing against each other and having transcendent thoughts triggered by the momentary vastness of their cosmos . For the protagonists' actions and thoughts not to be called into question by their crossing over in 'To the Lighthouse', space must be dynamic. It has to adapt to the novel's atmosphere and support it at every stage. In this sense, literature and especially novels represent an accumulative artwork borrowing and making use of concepts, suggested by other discourses. Following the aim of modernist writers to try to find "a new way of representing the world, a new way of thinking about people and their experiences", the sciences produced several intriguing and metaphorically transferable new concepts (Peck and Coyle 255). In both science and literature many assumptions are drawn in an unobservable world. There is a strong urge of trying to unveil the covered and evolve new innovative concepts. In order to encapsulate and

represent an authentic reality, these concepts must constantly rectify and improve each other. In "Modern Fiction", Woolf writes that "whether we call it life or spirit, truth or reality, this, the essential thing, has moved off, or on, and refuses to be contained any longer in such ill-fitting vestments as we provide" (Woolf, *MF* 160). She has the strong feeling that the old concepts and "ill-fitting vestments" do no longer manage to fill the void. There is a clear call for innovation and rethinking. Coherently, in the sciences, theories constantly question each other, and one is only right as long as nobody has proven the opposite. Ultimately, Einstein and Woolf were looking for the same essence in things, only in different places, which is I believe Woolf is likely to have been, intentionally or unintentionally, influenced by Einstein's concepts.

The scientific discourse which I will reference to in the next main chapter is closely connected and crucially dependant on the concepts and theories of physics. Although astronomy at an early stage separated itself from terrestrial physics, it still relies upon physical laws and concepts, for instance to describe and predict the movement of celestial bodies. Seeing that the study of celestial bodies was employed to verify and examine physical theories in the early twentieth century, such as Einstein's theories on relativity, the dependency goes both ways. Consequently, the two chapters follow each other, as the general air from the present chapter on Einstein's physics sets the tone for the following chapter on astronomy.

3 Astronomy

Moving on from Einstein's physics, I will now focus on Woolf's connection to the discourse and concepts of astronomy. The first subchapter will illustrate how the methodology of observational cosmology, more specifically telescopic technology, can be located in the literary structure of the three chapters of *To the Lighthouse*. Arguing in favour of its importance, I will then elaborate how said process can be regarded as a form of transportation and give an example of a central aspect Woolf amplifies and strengthens through her literary "scoping strateg[y]" (Henry 51). The second subchapter of astronomy focusses on the novel's binary composition of 'Solar Light' and 'Stirring Darkness'. Closely connected to the previously discussed darkness, I will then move on to discuss the realization of a concept I refer to as "Cosmic Emptiness" and highlight its traces in the novel.

Contrary to the chapter on Einstein's Physics there is more evidence for a connection between Woolf and the discourse of astronomy. Henry's *Virginia Woolf and the Discourse of Science* makes a strong statement for Woolf's interest in astronomical and cosmological affairs. Her work will be one of my main primary sources as I aim to connect Woolf's general interest in astronomy, outlined by Henry, to specific conceptual adaptions in the novel *To the Lighthouse*. In the beginning of her book, Henry emphasises, how, in the early years of the twentieth century, astronomical events and discoveries were widely assimilated and processed in popular culture. The

New York Times, for instance, published an issue which covered a photograph of "two galaxies colliding in the depth of space" on its frontpage (Henry 12). In the early years of the nineteenth century, various articles and publications made astronomy a widely known scientific subject and encouraged the public to be a part of a contemporary endeavour to unveil the secrets of the universe.

The beginnings of Woolf's interest in astronomy date back to her early childhood. Her father Leslie Stephen "who read widely in the natural sciences and was particularly interested in astronomy", was likely to have awoken an early enthusiasm for astronomical and cosmological affairs (Henry 2). Developing a serious interest in the study of stars, celestial objects, and cosmic phenomena, Woolf "[a]t the age of 26, while on summer holidays in Sussex, […] could most likely be found on a clear evening peering through a telescope at the moon and stars" (Henry 1). Besides the influence of her father, Woolf also took great interest in the works of novelist Thomas Hardy. Quentin Bell writes in *Virginia Woolf – A Biography*, "I think she respected Hardy more than she respected any other living writer" (123). Hardy was closely connected to Woolf's father Leslie Stephens. Stephens, who became editor of *The Cornhill* in 1871, enticed the writer and novelist to work at the newspaper. They "met frequently over lunch, snooker or dinner at their club, the Savile" (Boulter 6). Woolf's admiration for Hardy is interesting, because several of Hardy's novels show clear astronomical and cosmical references. Astronomical concepts play a crucial role in his novels as Pamela Gossin's book *Thomas Hardy's Novel Universe* illustrates. Henry notes, "while travelling in Italy in 1908, […] [Woolf] read Thomas Hardy's *Two on a Tower* (1882)" (3). Gossin highlights the astronomical influence of his novel: "As far as I am aware, there is not another novel in the whole of English literature that has so much of its form and content focused upon astronomy" (155-156). Hence, Woolf presumably had already been in contact with a sophisticated literary implementation of astronomical concepts, before writing *To the Lighthouse*. She, over a long period of time, participated in the discourse of astronomy. Said participation was not only theoretically based, as there are several recounts of her actively engaging the observation of celestial bodies and being a spectator of major astronomical events. As a result, traces of astronomy can be found in her novel *To the Lighthouse*, which I will aim to highlight in this chapter by unveiling the concepts and the astronomical predecessor they are likely to have originated from.

3.1 Applying the Methodology of Observational Cosmology – Scoping through Time

As scientific development enabled mechanical progress, Britain, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was confronted with several new technological inventions. Many of these concerned the subject of transport. Cars, tram, and trains opened up a whole new world of transportation. Through technological progress in every-day life, science was no longer a secluded discourse, discussed only by a few experts, but became a topic of public interest and thus moved into various other discourses. In

Transports of British Fiction, Technologies of Movement, Gavin and Humphrey note that "the 'transports of fiction' moved characters plots and readers' imaginations into innovative ways" (3-4). They analyse how the innovations of transport also affected literary production. New ways of transportation were echoed in novels and opened up unique literary possibilities. Albeit Gavin and Humphrey refer to "real" vehicular transports in fiction, like car, trams, and trains, I believe, there is another possible interpretation of their statement. I am inclined to identify a slightly different variation of transportation and movement in processes which do not actually move the physical body from one point to another. Occasions of transportation that only move a person's focus or senses rather than the complete physical body. This said, I believe their concept can be expanded to these particular modes of transportations, which, as well as their material counterparts, could have innovated the "transports of fiction" (Gavin and Humphrey 3).

The mode of transport Woolf adapted in her novel, is one that essentially moved through a metaphorical adaption. I believe, from the methodology of telescopic star observation, she adapted the scientific concept of observation and transferred it into a literary concept of transportation. In regard to Whitworth's theories, the metaphorical essence of telescopic star observation, I focus on, is the instantaneous movement through space and time from a point of observation to an area of interest. A form of transportation that Henry calls Woolf's "scoping strateg[y]" in regard to *The Searchlight* (51). Similar to Woolf's narrative concept, telescopic star observation involves moving through space from a point of observation to a destination or area of interest, often a celestial body many lightyears away. The movement, performed by the observer, is instantaneous. It merely takes a few milliseconds to travel through hundreds of millions of kilometres or, in case of the novel, a few pages to cover the time span of ten years. Essentially, it involves focussing on a certain area, as well as shifting one's own perspective whilst doing so.

Employing "cosmological narratives" in a novel opens up a variety of literary options (Gossin 117). It not only allows the writer to turn the reader's attention to specific details, it also closely aligns past, present, and future. The writer can perform a premediated, meticulously arranged leap through a literary work's space and time. Past events and characters are still vivid in the mind of the reader when he or she is confronted with a future setting. The process can be located in the novel assigning each chapter its very own meaning in. Similar to a human standing behind a telescope, 'The Window' is the point of observation. The reader is introduced to a number of characters, a setting, and a plot. In 'Time Passes', a chapter which is compared to the other two rather short and far more fluxional, the reader, along with the novel's plot and characters, is transported to the final chapter 'To the Lighthouse'. 'Time Passes', similar to the sight through a telescope, transports the observer in the blink of an eye to a faraway destination. Similar to the "two galaxies colliding in the depth of space", the novel's two framing chapters collide in the depth of Woolf's literary universe, connected through a tunnel, namely 'Time Passes' (Henry 12). Con-

trary to the inharmonious imagery this comparison might trigger, astronomical collisions are often followed by a process of merging, which to some degree also accounts to the two framing chapters, as they are textually intertwined and share some temporal and spatial characteristics. The essential question is what to keep and what to discard throughout the transportation – what should collide and create meaning and what should eternally dissolve in 'Time Passes'. This, however, depends on the topics and events the writer wishes to highlight and progress.

Particularly, Woolf's take on the momentariness and transcendence of human life gains most of its expressiveness from the scoping "cosmological narrative …" (Gossin 117). Henry quotes Woolf and notes that she "was thinking about humanity's minute existence in relation 'to the immensity of the sky'" (Henry 3). Following the cite, it only seems adequate for Woolf to express human momentariness with astronomically derived methodology. As the novel's middle chapter 'Time Passes' is freed of most human presence and interaction, any remaining characters are stripped of their individuality. "[T]here was scarcely anything left of body and mind by which one could say 'This is he' or 'This is she'" (Woolf, *TL* 103). Woolf dismisses most anthropomorphizing categorial markers and summons a whirlwind of microscopic particles as "flesh […] [turns] to atoms which drove before the wind, of stars flashing in their hearts" (Woolf, *TL* 108). The imagery she creates coincides with a statement of scientist and astronomer "Harlow Shapley [who] claimed that humans were nothing more than molecular waste cast of from the stars" (Henry 43). Through the application of her "cosmological narrative" Woolf highlights the fleeting duration of a human life on the larger scale of cosmic time (Gossin 117). She dissolves her characters into their molecular particles, transports, and reanimates them in the final chapter of the novel. Some characters are recomposed, and some, like Mrs Ramsay, remain in molecular dispersal.

Seemingly opposing the prior statement, there are passages in 'Time Passes' that are not entirely freed of human presence. Woolf, for instance, recounts a conversation between Mr Bankes, Andrew, and Prue on the very first page of 'Time Passes'. Nonetheless, I believe, their momentary presence and discussion is not necessarily contradictory to the previous statement. In some ways, their conversation catalyses and announces devouring stream of darkness, denying any kind of human presence, that is about to submerge the novel's middle chapter:

> "Well we must wait for the future to show," said Mr Bankes, coming in from the terrace.
>
> "It's almost too dark to see," said Andrew, coming up from the beach.
>
> "One can hardly tell which is the sea and which is the land," said Prue. (Woolf, *TL* 103)

"[W]ith all the lamps put out", Woolf paints inanimate sketches of a human beings in a lifeless space and transports the idea of characters instead of physical entities (Woolf, *TL* 103). On the following pages, they are nothing more than loose vessels – ghosts of the past – captured inside the Ramsay's house. Woolf recounts that

"[w]hat people had shed and left – a pair of shoes, a shooting cap, some faded skirts and coats in wardrobes – those alone kept the human shape and in the emptiness indicated how once they were filled and animated …" (Woolf, *TL* 106).

I believe, her inspiration for the transference of the scientific concept of star observation to the implementation in the novel's narrative, derived from an intimate connection to the discourse of astronomy. Further inquiry whether said connection is best described by an intentional or unintentional utilization of her "scoping strateg[y]", is difficult to answer (Gossin 51). Nevertheless, Woolf's exceptional and innovative movement of her protagonist trough space and time must have an origin of some kind and aiming to analyse the novel's narrative structure with the help of astronomical concepts, offers a plausible explanation. Many astronomical terms almost naturally fall in place which also accounts for the rest of the chapter. The way Woolf moves her plot and protagonists through time and space shares the same line of transportation as the methodology of star observation. Similar to telescopic observation, she forms a basis of observation, focusses a point of interest and scopes the novel to a particular destination. The transportation, embodied by the chapter 'Time Passes', creates an inanimate space that allows her to broaden the novel's reach and examine topics, which require a certain atmosphere. Fielding observes that "the novel could become a mode of scientific research" (144). *To the Lighthouse* and especially 'Time Passes', in that sense, exists in its very own cosmos and, depending on the state Woolf chooses to put it in, sustains its own physical laws. In a short outline from 1925, prior to finishing the novel, Woolf wrote down: "2.) The passing of time. I am not sure how this is to be given: an interesting experiment, […] giving the sense of ten years passing" (qtd. in Dick 1.5). Indeed, regarding Woolf's novel, and especially 'Time Passes' as a personal (scientific) experiment can immensely help understanding the novel's profoundness.

3.2 A Literary Cosmos of Solar Light and Stirring Darkness

Towards the end of the last subchapter, I suggested that the novel can be regarded as a small cosmos in itself. A thought, I believe, that can also be helpful in understanding the topic of this subchapter. As I will explain, Woolf introduces and moves between solar light and stirring darkness. Like the literary universe she creates in *To the Lighthouse*, each cosmos has its sources of light and places of darkness. In astronomy, light and light emission astronomy are usually connected to two specific groups of celestial bodies. Stars who simply reflect light and those who emit light through complex chemical and physical reactions, such as nuclear fusion. The latter are usually the centres of most solar systems, due to their large mass and the resulting gravitation. As I will show, the novel's literary universe gravitates towards its very own centre of mass and attraction. Henry notes, in 1928 the *New York Times* "reported that [the astronomer] Shapley had located the centre of the *universe* in the constellation Sagittarius and at 'about 47,000 light years away from the sun'" ("New York Times" qtd. in Henry 43; emphasis in the original). I believe Woolf followed a similar

strive and felt the urge to centralise her narrative and evolve her novel's literary universe around a centre of mass and attraction.

The novel's cosmic centre, the lighthouse, is introduced to the reader on the very first pages of the novel. Situated outside in the dark ocean, the protagonists never seem unaware of its looming presence. Like smaller planets circling a larger mass, their thoughts and attentions are frequently drawn to it. The assumption, however, Woolf attempted to centralise her novel towards a light emitting centre, the lighthouse, goes against common critical perception, as it, at least partly, suggests a symbolist transition. Bellamy, for instance, remarks that "Woolf scholar Gillian Beer refers to *To the Lighthouse* as a 'post-symbolist novel.'" (Bellamy 140). Nonetheless, I believe the novel includes a strikingly high number of celestial descriptions concerning the lighthouse, pleading for some kind of symbolic and metaphorical transference from an astronomical origin. Also, slightly questioning the previous quote, Bellamy continues that "[s]ome critiques have suggested that Woolf invites the reader to engage in a symbolist reading process, suggesting that the lighthouse is much more than a mere line down the middle to hold the design together" (Bellamy 141). I find this remark more apposite, because James Ramsay makes an interesting observation in the novel's final chapter:

> James looked at the Lighthouse. He could see the white washed rocks; the tower, stark and straight; he could see that it was barred with black and white; he could see windows in it; he could even see washing spread on the rocks to dry. So that was the Lighthouse, was it? No, the other was also the Lighthouse. For nothing was simply one thing. (Woolf, *TL* 152)

His examination characterises the lighthouse as a signifier without explicitly saying what it is actually signifying. The novel's sensitive infant observer grants the reader some space to propose his or her own interpretations.

Although Dalgarno's main focus lies on Woolf's novel *The Waves*, in her book *Virginia Woolf and the Visible World* she observes: "Images of solar appear throughout Woolf's work …" (105). Broadening the scope to *To the Lighthouse*, the lighthouse is assigned several characteristics of a solar celestial body. In 'Time Passes' Woolf writes:

> When darkness fell, the stroke of the Lighthouse, which had laid itself with such authority upon the carpet in the darkness, tracing its pattern, came now in the softer light of spring mixed with moonlight gliding gently as if it had laid its caress and lingered stealthily and looked and came lovingly again. (Woolf, *TL* 108-109)

The solar beam of the lighthouse changes with the seasons, like the intensity of sunlight. Its authorial stroke is a reoccurring theme as the next passage from the novel shows: "Only the Lighthouse beam entered the rooms for a moment, sent its sudden stare over bed and wall in the darkness of winter, looked with equanimity at the thistle and the swallow, the rat and the straw" (Woolf, *TL* 113). The lighthouse

beams operate like solar rays and have the capability to illuminate places of darkness. Throughout the complete novel the lighthouse is a symbol of endurance and stability. It is a refuge for the protagonist and reader, which in its authorial presence unaffectedly endures the scope Woolf performs in 'Time Passes'. Whereas the protagonist change, age, and even die during the ten years passing by, the lighthouse is remains unaffected. When the protagonists finally set sail towards their destination, they embark on a journey to centre of the novel's universe.

The protagonist seemingly best equipped for this cosmological endeavour is Mrs Ramsay, but she is devoured by the novel's temporal flux and not there to join on the final expedition. Still, before Mr Ramsay and the other make the journey, Woolf echoes an intimate and interwoven relationship between Mrs Ramsey and the lighthouse. As she takes a walk with Mr Ramsay and they reach "the gap between two clumps of red-hot pokers", she recognizes the lighthouse again, but "would not let herself look at it" (Woolf, *TL* 57). The scene strongly evokes the imagery of a person not daring to look into a solar eclipse with the bare eye, similar to how Woolf might have felt in 1927 marvelling into the sky (Henry 19). Further evidence for a connection between Mrs Ramsay and the lighthouse can be found during an intimate and insightful moment. She reminisces about life and is drawn to presence of the lighthouse: "[A]nd pausing there she looked out to meet that stroke of the Lighthouse, the long steady stroke, the last of the three which was her stroke" (Woolf, *TL* 53). She concludes her chain of thought by reasoning that she "[o]ften […] found herself sitting and looking, sitting and looking with her work in her hands until she became the thing she looked at – that light for example" (Woolf, *TL* 53). Her self-identification does not seem to be accidental. Both the lighthouse and Mrs Ramsay share several similar attributes. They are both entities that embody solar light and emit warmth. Mrs Ramsay attracts the other protagonists' attention and admiration on many occasions. They seem to feed of her illuminating presence. A response from Woolf's sister Vanessa to the novel hints at the bibliographical references Woolf used when creating Mrs Ramsay. She writes, "[a]nyhow it seemed to me in the first part of the book you have given a portrait of mother which is more like her to me than anything I could ever have conceived of as possible" (Vanessa Woolf qtd. in Bell 128). Woolf establishes a connection between the nurturing warmth of the sun and the literary image of her caring mother, the bright light of her childhood. Conclusively, Woolf's protagonists are not only affected by the lighthouse's solar beam but can also embody it. The close connection between Mrs Ramsay and the lighthouse might be the very reason she cannot be part of the trip, as equal poles tend to repulse each other in science.

The solar light in *To the Lighthouse*, reinforced by Mrs. Ramsay's maternal warmth, is opposed to a stirring darkness. Mr Ramsay, after feeling bad about arguing with his wife, loses himself by simply looking at the hedge in the garden: "He had lost his temper over the Lighthouse. He looked into the hedge, into its intricacy, its darkness" (Woolf, *TL* 54). The novel's darkness, unlike solar light, is not assigned to

certain objects and protagonist but lurks in the shadows and progresses like a menacing fluid. Dalgarno values the moment Woolf experienced the publicly highly anticipated solar eclipse in 1927 to a high degree. "[I]t served as an important catalyst in her representation of the visible as light and darkness" (Dalgarno 103). Although, Dalgarno ultimately aims to establish a connection between the visible and the invisible, she points out the significant presence of a binary opposition between both the presence and absence of light.

Moving from light to darkness, it feels important to acknowledge and highlight the mere presence of darkness in the novel. Most early twentieth century astronomers, like Arthur Stanley Eddington, Professor of Astronomy in Cambridge, focussed their studies on light-emitting celestial objects. His book *Stars and Atoms*, published in 1927, includes chapters on the connection between light and mass, as well as spectral phenomena. The cosmic darkness, against which most of these studies are being conducted, is rarely mentioned. I believe that from a novelist perspective, it is venturesome to literarily process such an unapproached subject. Woolf, however, at an early stage recognizes its importance and eagerly engages it.

In an outline of 'Time Passes', on an unlined notebook paper amongst other keywords, Woolf wrote down: "Sun, moon & Stars" and "Darkness" (qtd. in Dick 51). Coherently, most references to darkness are to be found in the middle section of the novel. 'Time Passes' starts out with a thrilling account of the cosmic darkness that is about to submerge the novel's literary cosmos:

> So with all the lamps out, the moon sunk, and a thin rain drumming on the roof a downpouring of immense darkness began. Nothing, it seemed could survive the flood, the profusion of darkness which, creeping in at keyholes and crevices, stole round window blinds, came into bedrooms, swallowed up here a jug and basin, there a bowl of red and yellow dahlias, there the sharp edges and firm bulk of a chest of drawers. (Woolf, *TL* 103)

Woolf intertwines celestial body movement and an "immense darkness" (Woolf, *TL* 103). Following the thought of darkness being a part of Woolf's astronomical conception, Henry notes that "[g]limpsing the moon and stars against the hard black of the night sky incredibly impressed upon Woolf a vision that would help shape what I would call her global aesthetic" (2). I believe in the realm of Woolf's "global aesthetic", darkness plays a central role (Henry 2). In a recount of a night out in London on September 1923, Woolf noted in her diary, "[o]ff I rode without much time, against such a wind; and again I had a satisfaction in being matched with powerful things, like wind and dark" (qtd. in Bell 101).

Similar to Woolf during that autumn night, the novel's protagonists can sense the powerful darkness that surrounds them. They are aware of its presence and to a certain degree seem to understand its vicinity. Mrs Ramsay in stream of consciousness contemplates about the impression others have of oneself and the actual self. She connects darkness to the unknown resources and extent of the human mind.

Besides from the few glimpses of one's being which are visible to others "[b]eneath it is all dark, it is all spreading, it is unfathomably deep; but now and again we rise to the surface and that is what you see us by" (Woolf, *TL* 53). Opposed to his wife, Mr Ramsay shares a rather negative connection to the novel's darkness. He unwillingly gravitates towards it, like matter to a black hole. Whilst Mrs Ramsay comes to terms with its magnitude, Mr Ramsay is haunted by its presence. He estimates the reach of his "splendid mind" using the letters of the alphabet as a metaphorical scale (Woolf, *TL* 30). Woolf characterizes the moment he realizes he can only reach Q and possibly not R with great disparity: "In that flash of darkness he heard people saying – he was a failure – that R was beyond him" (Woolf, *TL* 31).

In Woolf's 'global aesthetic', darkness imposes on her protagonist either emotions of curiosity or disparity. To some degree, it catalyses the emotion they already have, but it also seems to evoke these at the same time. The thrilling darkness, opposed to the solar beams of the lighthouse, functions as a pitch-black canvas Woolf paints the novel's universe on. Similar to Lilly Briscoe, the novel looks "blankly at the [black] canvas, with its uncompromising […] stare" (Woolf, *TL* 130). Rather than highlighting any certain areas, like the lighthouse's solar beams, it soothes and smoothens the narrative and the protagonist's actions. Despite its dark and uncompromising character one can feel its necessity. The novel's solar light alone would leave literary cosmos imbalanced and so it is given its daunting counterpart.

3.3 The Vision of Cosmic Emptiness

The vision of cosmic emptiness, which I will discuss in this final subchapter on astronomy, references to the previously discussed cosmological darkness. Its references show equal indications for possibly being a product of a metaphorical science-to-literature transition. Building upon her idea of darkness, Woolf subsequently introduces a literary adaptation of the concept of what I believe was the cosmological emptiness. Owing to its sustainable visualisation and secluded textual references, I have decided to discuss the topic separate from 'A Literary Cosmos of Solar Light and Stirring Darkness'.

The novel features two implementations of emptiness. The first, for this subchapter irrelevant implementation, can be transcribed to human beings. It is one that Lilly Briscoe, for instance, experiences when pitying Mr Ramsay. She feels "a sudden emptiness; a frustration" (Woolf, *TL* 128). Although this emptiness will be important in the next main chapter on psychology, it is too emotionally dependant to be connected or extracted from the astronomical discourse. The emptiness I would like to highlight is of a more profound nature. Henry's *Virginia Woolf and the Discourse of Science* includes a chapter titled 'Maps, globes and "solid objects"'. She states, "[e]ven in her earliest writings, Woolf began investigating the ways narrative shapes how one encounters the material world" (Henry 72). If she investigated the connection between the narrative and the material world, I assume, it is likely that Woolf

would have also engaged with one of its ultimate states, the complete absence of matter.

In the realms of the material world, emptiness can be described as the absence of solid objects or physical entities. A comprehension of emptiness that emerged when astronomers observed with "improved telescopic technologies" how the universe extended far beyond our own solar system (Henry 15). "Spectacular images of intergalactic space" like "spiral nebulae and distant stars" were published in the daily press, each showing a dark background of nothingness (Henry 15). Like little islands of solidity, galaxies were located in the vast and dark emptiness of the universe. A cosmic emptiness that, I believe, is a reoccurring theme alongside darkness in 'Time Passes'. Julia Briggs observes that the novel "progresses from the plenitude of life ('The Window') to the emptiness of death ('Time Passes'), returning to life once more in 'The Lighthouse'" (*WIE* 145). Emptiness and darkness shape the narrative of the middle section of *To the Lighthouse*.

Accordingly, Woolf writes in 'Time Passes': "Suddenly, the empty drawing-room steps, the frill of the chair inside, the puppy tumbling on the terrace, the whole wave and whisper of the garden became like curves and arabesques flourishing round a centre of complete emptiness" (*TL* 147).

Woolf's vision of emptiness in some key-characteristics resembles comic emptiness. For once, it is hostile, thus prohibits the existence of organic life. Although she refers to the symbolic meaning of an empty shell, Briggs echoes a similar impression: "The shell […] acquires at least three different significances in *To the Lighthouse*: […] Its third meaning is that of a container emptied of life, a place of silence and absence – the world of 'Time Passes'" (150). Her focus turns to novel's middle chapter, which again proves to have an extraordinary literary capability that allows to feature innovative narrative concepts. Through 'Time Passes', Briggs also acknowledges the previously mentioned connection between darkness and emptiness. She writes, "'Time Passes' is the novel's place of absence and emptiness, beginning with the sleepers' absence of consciousness, and figured initially as a downpouring of darkness" (Briggs 149).

Besides being prohibitive to any forms of organic life, the novel's emptiness also is characterised as something very unusual and highly alarming. These moments of blankness can also be found in the other chapters, outside of 'Time Passes'. Woolf, for instance, chooses Lilly Briscoe, who is besides Mrs Ramsay one of the most sensible protagonists, to experience and recount the cosmic emptiness' alienating quiddity. Whilst Mr Ramsay and the others have embarked on their mission to the lighthouse and seem to be "swallowed up in that blue", she thinks about the emptiness in the Ramsay's house:

> And now again all was quiet. They must be out of bed by this time, she supposed, looking at the house, but nothing appeared there. But then, she remembered, they had always made off directly a meal was over,

> on business of their own. It was all in keeping with this silence, this emptiness, and the unreality of the early morning hour. (Woolf, *TL* 156-157)

The lifeless emptiness following the death of several protagonist and the war – a blankness that most evidently dwells in 'Time Passes' – has not completely left the Ramsay's house. Some of it still clings to the residence and prevails adding an essence of unreality to things.

Although the bridge between the novel's emptiness and the astronomical discourse at times seems to be rather inexplicit, I believe there is a connection. From a strong interest in astronomy, Woolf became sensible to the necessity and allure of the interaction of light and darkness. Through darkness she introduces a lifeless cosmic emptiness, which is most evident in the remarkable chapter 'Time Passes'. Observing celestial bodies, experiencing cosmic events, and being fascinated with solar lights – emitted by the stars and the sun, situated in a daunting darkness – she formed ideas for narrative techniques and created her own novel universe in *To the Lighthouse*. It might not be as apparent as the one in Thomas Hardy's *Two on a Tower*, but nonetheless it is reason and cause for several literary decisions. These affect the narrative style Woolf chose, namely her scoping technique, but are also represented on a literary level that influences the protagonists of the novel.

Before moving on to the third chapter on psychology, I think it is interesting to acknowledge interconnectivity between the different fields of scientific discourse that to some readers might have already become apparent. Woolf most deliberately shows her connection to the discourse of Einstein's physics and astronomy in the novel's chapter 'Time Passes'. This again leads to instances where conceptual adaptions from both scientific discourses move closely together. For instance, the astronomical darkness that emerges in 'Time Passes' is closely intertwined with Woolf's exceptional plea for the relativity of time, as it sets the atmosphere for her temporal endeavour. Then again stirring darkness and cosmic emptiness are also terms that could be used to describe the psyche of some of Woolf's protagonists. Also, the human psyche not only plays a crucial role in the next main chapter on psychology, also Woolf's evaluation of the relativity of time relies on the human psyche of different to protagonists to account for its individual manifestation.

After laying the focus on two natural scientific discourses that are only marginally concerned with human affairs, at least on a purely scientific level, the next science crucially depends on the human mind and psyche as its main field of investigation. In order to account for Woolf wide ranging interest in scientific discourses and to map a variety of conceptual adaptions, I have chosen to dedicate the last main chapter to her connection to the inter-divisional discourse of psychology. Although psychology cannot entirely be identified as a scientific subject, unlike physics and astronomy, the stimulating atmosphere of its upcoming discourse during the nineteenth and twentieth century is much alike to that of physics and astronomy. Further, its concepts and theories are equally, perhaps even more, suitable to be transferred

and implemented in literary works. Consequently, it is a suitable field of examination for the present thesis.

4 Psychology

> And I meant to record for psychological purposes that strange night when I meant to meet Leonard and did not meet him. What an intensity of feeling was pressed into those hours! (Woolf qtd. in Bell 100)

These were some of the words Woolf wrote down into her diary in 1923, shortly after she suffered "a short but violent mental tremor" (Bell 100). Considering that psychology at the time was only beginning to establish itself, her choice of words, more specifically "psychological purposes", is rather forward-looking (Woolf qtd. in Bell 100). Mental maladies were a constant companion of hers, sometimes seeming to disappear but continuously returning after periods of sanity. Also, her diary entry illustrates a sensitive awareness of her own psychological state and resonates a strive to put into words what she felt in such intense emotional moments. A strive which will be of high importance in the following subchapters on psychology.

The psychological discourse developed from the philosophical discourse. Early twentieth-century psychologists categorised psychological concepts into those describing a person's inner experiences and those investigating the causes for a person's actions. Their categorisation is convenient as it reflects two essential areas of psychology which I will also examine throughout this chapter: The inner experiences of the novel's protagonists as well as the actions that result of these emotions and feelings. The first subchapter investigates the origins of Woolf's psychoanalytical focus; thus her motivation and strive to create real fictional characters. It will answer the question of how Woolf constructed her protagonists as close as possible to real human beings, including the multitude of feelings and emotions one can experience at times. Thereafter, I will focus on *To the Lighthouse* and examine the Ramsay's family structures with a psychoanalytical focus. Along these lines, I will analyse Woolf's literary implementation of the Freudian Oedipus complex and the novel's reoccurring theme of male demand for sympathy. In the last subchapter, I will then engage with Woolf's traumatic but sophisticated relationship with death and highlight its conceptual implementations in the novel.

Boulter notes, "[a]t the end of the nineteenth century, psychology was a very young subject" (77). Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was at an early stage in its development. Nonetheless, it had already become apparent that psychology would progress into an extremely diverse science with a multitude of sub-discourses. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, these sub-discourses were more or less connected with each other, justifying the unified approach I chose to pursue. To focus on a singular sub-discourse, like the Freudian 'Oedipus Complex', would mean to disregard the various other traces of psychological concepts that are to be found in the novel. One of the main targets of this thesis is to

map Woolf's wide-ranging interest in the three scientific discourses and the subsequent metaphorical and conceptual adaptions, rather than focussing on a particular sub-discourse.

Through works of writers such as H.G. Wells, Dorothy Richardson, and Ford Madox Ford, the psychological discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was closely intertwined with the development of literary modernism (Hammond 3). According to Hammond, "[i]t is no stretch to say that such [psychological] discourses are intimately connected with the development of literary modernism" (3). Woolf, who was also familiar with Wells's psychologically influenced novel *The Time Machine*, through her personal environment was likely to have come into contact with psychological discourses on multiple occasions, she, for instance, "had familiar ties to people who theorised [on psychological concepts such as] fellow feeling or intersubjectivity" (Hammond 27). Her and Leonard's move to Bloomsbury would have added to such occasions as "in Bloomsbury […] [a] surge in scientific interest and activity involved many more professional biologist and writers than before. These people were even more determined to explore the meanings and values of life, with an emphasis on molecular science and psychology" (Boulter 146). Her personal surroundings and pursue of "'getting inside' fictional heads" led her on a literary path that is naturally connected to the psychological discourse of the time (Hammond 148).

4.1 Depth of the Human Psyche – Turning the Focus Inwards

Woolf, partly through her own mental illness, had a unique awareness of the depth of the human psyche, that increasingly inspired an interest in psychological concepts. The assumption that one's psychological state and individual personality is often only partly known by others stands above all these concepts. One is a stranger to some degree; even to those one calls his closest friends. Only fragments of a person's true and entire self become apparent at times. To put it in Mrs Ramsay's words: "Beneath it is all dark, it is all spreading, it is unfathomably deep; but now and again we rise to the surface and that is what you see us by" (Woolf, *TL* 53). Comprehending the full extent of the human psyche, would require descending into the depths of another person's mind. Although, this objective is rather challenging to achieve in reality, Woolf believed a novelist has the means and tools to do so. Being a creator of fictional characters comes with a certain responsibility. A novel's protagonists, for instance, can and should be constructed in such a manner that the usually hidden depth of their psyche is at least brought to the reader's awareness.

Woolf's strong opinion on the topic led to a conflict with the Edwardian novelist Arnold Bennett and H. G. Wells. The reason for the conflict is best described in terms of a lack of human insight in their novels. "Woolf wanted to shine a light on the dark places of psychology, character, thought, desire and memory" (Boulter 131). In what Bell calls her "private manifesto", the essay *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown*, she "outlines her programme for the next decade" (105). This programme portrays her

drive to create real fictional characters. She exemplifies her critique by describing an encounter with two passengers on a train, one of them being Mrs Brown. Woolf recounts how Mrs Brown imposes on her a great deal of impressions and thought about her character. To her, Bennett and Wells would have failed to capture the real essence of Mrs Browns being, as "the Edwardians are never interested in character itself …" (Woolf, *BB* 12). Neither Mr Bennett nor Mr Wells would "capture the real Mrs Brown because none of them is interested in the real character of human beings" (Bell 104).

Traces of her endeavour to "create believable character minds", can be found in *To the Lighthouse* (Hammond 148). Woolf had two possible ways to convey the fact that the entirety of the human psyche goes beyond that what had been insufficiently presented in fiction: Tackling the problem with innovative literary techniques or reflect on the issue itself and thus create an awareness for it. In *To the Lighthouse*, Woolf does both. Her protagonist Lilly Briscoe makes a statement that resonates the latter option. When reflecting upon Mrs Ramsay's personality, her thoughts strikingly coincide with Woolf's point of view:

> And yet, she knew knowledge and wisdom were stored up in Mrs Ramsay's heart. How then, she asked herself, did one know one thing or another about people, sealed as they were? Only like a bee drawn by some sweetness or sharpness in the air intangible to touch or taste, one haunted the dome-shaped hive, ranged the wastes of the air over the countries of the world alone, and then haunted the hives with their murmurs and their stirrings; the hives which were people. (Woolf, *TL* 44)

Only fleeting scents of one's true being can be sensed by others, whilst the full depth may be never fully understood. Lilly Briscoe describes an unfeasible hunt; a predator following the smell of a prey he will never chase down. Besides appealing to the readers awareness, Woolf also applies innovative literary techniques like the stream of consciousness, in *To the Lighthouse*, giving a voice to protagonists' innermost thoughts. The technique itself, however, shall be of minor importance. Although, the quotations I have chosen from the novel throughout this chapter, are often written in the stream of consciousness technique, owing to their psychological preciseness and depth. Evidently, Woolf turns the literary focus inwards and, in many ways, resonates what psychology seeks to do – conceptualise and discover the depths of the human psyche.

4.2 Concepts of Human Relations – The Oedipus Complex and Male Demand

Woolf also performs a literary inward turn when composing the fictional character of Mr Ramsay. Like Mrs Ramsay shares lots of character traits with Woolf's mother Julia Stephen, Mr Ramsay in many ways resembles her father Leslie Stephen. Both

her parents' fictional embodiments are inevitably loaded with Woolf's personal feelings and emotions. This, however, is a point I have touched upon earlier. In the chapter on astronomy, I discussed how Mrs Ramsay opposes the novel's darkness with her maternal warmth and sun-like personification. It is no stretch to say that said process heavily depends on the psychological depth Woolf assigns Mrs Ramsay, making her character more firm and profound. Abel notes that "the more deeply Woolf excavates the relationship with her mother the more intense the ambivalence she uncovers, and the greater her affinity with [psychoanalyst Melanie] Klein" (Abel, *PFOP* 17). Woolf psychoanalytically examined her personal relationship to her parents and projected them into the Ramsay's family structures and the protagonist's emotional dependencies.

Besides the protagonists themselves, Woolf also constructs their relations to each other with great psychological commitment. The most interesting constellation is to be found between Mr Ramsay, Mrs Ramsay, and their son James. Woolf's literary depiction of their relationship is profoundly influenced by the Oedipal Complex, a psychoanalytical concept developed by Sigmund Freud. Buchanan notes, "[g]iven that Woolf's Hogarth Press was Freud's first English language publisher, it is not surprising that Woolf's connection to Freudianism and the Oedipus Complex is unusually close" (136). Freud's theories about sexuality were frequently discussed amongst the members of the Bloomsbury group. In the course of their doctrine "to behave and live honestly" as Cambridge Apostles, "some had brashly revealed their own feelings about human sexuality" (Boulter 123). In the course of this development, they speculated "about unconscious feelings on sexuality recognised by Freud" (Boulter 123). Indeed, Woolf remarks that "sex permeated […] [their] conversation" (Woolf qtd. in Boulter 122).

Early twentieth-century psychologist Carl Gustav Jung summarises the Oedipus complex as the following:

> All it means, in effect is that the childish demands for love are directed to mother and father, and to the extent that these demands have already attained a certain degree of intensity, so that the chosen object is jealously defended, we can speak of an 'Oedipus Complex'. (Jung 152)

In regard to Woolf's novel, many of Jung's criteria are being met. In 'The Window', James Ramsay at an infant stage, driven by the feelings for his mother, strongly despises his father. Describing James's intense emotions Woolf recounts that

> his son hated him. He hated him for coming up to them, for stopping and looking down on them; he hated him for interrupting them; […] but most of all he hated the twang and twitter of his father's emotion which, vibrating around them, disturbed the perfect simplicity and good sense of his relationship with his mother. […] There he stood demanding sympathy. (Woolf, *TL* 33)

James feels that his father poses a danger to the close connection he shares with his mother. Mr Ramsay's vibrancies interfere with those of James. His intense emotions

of jealousy and hatred lead him to fantasise about killing his father. On the very first page of the novel the reader learns of his intense emotions:

> "But", said his father, stopping in front of the drawing-room window, "it won't be fine." Had there been an axe handy, a poker, or any weapon that would have gashed a hole in his father's breast and killed him, there and then, James would have seized it. Such were the extremes of emotion that Mr Ramsay excited in his children's breasts by his mere presence. (Woolf, *TL* 7)

Although Mrs Ramsay is the object of James's desire which he seeks to protect, Woolf's oedipal complex lacks in sexuality. It seems as Woolf's takes Freud's psychoanalytic concept and renders it to her own and ultimately to the novel's needs. Abel resonates a similar opinion, as she observes that "[t]he oedipal structure that dominates James's childhood in 'The Window' is completed during his voyage to the Lighthouse" (*FOP* 46). He "'cease[s] to think' about his mother" (Woolf qtd. in Abel, *FOP* 46). Woolf's protagonist overcomes the strength of sexual and infant desire for his mother and frees himself from his maternal bond. Interestingly, by doing so he "submits to his father's will"; thus switches from one reliance into another (Abel, *FOP* 46). Woolf displays a fundamental parental dependency. This, however, coincides with the psychological discourse of the time. Whilst the Oedipus Complex mostly revolves around the mother, psychologist Jung notes in 'The Father and the Destiny of the Individual': "The latest investigations show the predominating influences of the father's character in a family, often lasting for centuries" (303). Coherently, Woolf showcases how James and Cam even at an adult stage in their lives are affected by their father's emotions and actions. Whether Woolf knew about Jung and his theories can only be guessed. It is, however, evident that she sensed psychologically relevant human relations and implemented them into her narratives.

This process was partly influenced by Woolf's own childhood and her relationship with parents. As previously stated, Mr and Mrs Ramsay share many attributes of Woolf's parents. Hence, it is likely that through the fictional character of James and Cam she processes her very own childhood emotions. Like Mr Ramsay, Woolf's father Leslie Stephens was a demanding personality and, after the death of her mother, overcome by grief and deep psychological trauma. In what Abel terms "autobiographical fiction", Woolf psychologically recounts her childhood memories and feelings about her parents (*FOP* 45). In *Mr. Bennet and Mrs. Brown* she examines, "if the characters are real the novel will have a chance; if they are not, oblivion will be its portion (Woolf, *BB* 3). I believe, creating psychological fictional protagonist with an autobiographical inspiration, helped Woolf to adhere to her own requirements.

Woolf's version of the Oedipus Complex is closely connected to male demand for sympathy, another psychologically relevant concept. Mr Ramsay's demand for sympathy and attention is the reason for James's strong feelings. Woolf further elaborates on the causa throughout the novel as James is not the only protagonist to

experience Mr Ramsay's need for acceptation. Also, Lilly Briscoe at a later stage in the novel finds herself caught up in Mr Ramsay's insecurities:

> Why, at this completely inappropriate moment, when he was stooping over her shoe, should she be so tormented with sympathy for him that, as she stooped too, the blood rushed to her face, and, thinking of her callousness […] she felt her eyes swell and tingle with tears? […] There was no helping Mr Ramsay on the journey he was going. (Woolf, *TL* 128)

Lilly Briscoe's chain of thoughts suggest, the "inward voyage" Mr Ramsay is currently on, is one he has to navigate himself (Richter 13). She senses his demanding personality but manages to resist the tedious male outcries for sympathy. Outcries Mr Ramsay, at least partly, is aware of: "And then, and then – this was one of those moments when an enormous need urged him, without being conscious what it was, to approach any woman, to force them, he did not care how, his need was so great, to give him what he wanted: sympathy" (Woolf, *TL* 125).

Woolf displays Mr Ramsay's fragile psychic state to reinforce Lilly Briscoe's strength. To Hammond, "Woolf distrusts male desire for female sympathy" referring to "Mr Ramsay['s] […] constant need to be nourished by his wife's sympathy" (151). Evidently, Woolf is eager to resolve the novel's psychological affairs, with James renouncing the bond with his mother – although devoting himself to his father – and Lilly Briscoe withstanding male demands for sympathy and attention. Mr Ramsay's male desires in 'To the Lighthouse' are mostly unfulfilled, due to the death of Mrs Ramsay in 'Time Passes'. A remarkable chapter which also contains the dramatic events of the First World War. Events which I will analyse to their psychological effect on the protagonist in the next subchapter.

4.3 Woolf and the Trauma of Death

Mrs Ramsay's death is the one that most presently haunts the protagonist in 'To the Lighthouse'. It occurs during the ten years covered in the middle chapter of the novel 'Time Passes'. Besides Mrs Ramsay, Andrew and Prue also lose their lives, leaving the Ramsay family very much diminished from their original number. The abundance of death, found in 'Time Passes', is reinforced by references to the First World War. The cleaning lady Mrs McNab, during the absence of the Ramsay family in 'Time Passes', moved by Mrs Ramsay's death feels that "she would never want them again. She was dead, they said, years ago, in London. […] And once they had been coming, but had put off coming, what with the war, and travel being so difficult these days" (Woolf, *TL* 111). Keeping in mind the chapters on Einstein's physics and astronomy, 'Time Passes' again proves to be a sophisticated part of the novel that includes references to various scientific discourses.

The abundance of death and the consequential destruction of family life found is likely to be connected to Woolf's personal life. Especially the death of her mother

Julia Stephen in 1895, when Woolf was only 13 years old, and her half-brother Thoby in 1906 were psychologically traumatic events. Johnson remarks that "Woolf was extremely fond of Thoby and his loss was a terrible blow after the earlier losses of those dearest to her" (172). Death, being an extremely challenging psychological burden, would have taken Woolf quite some time to process. A burden, I believe, Woolf, to some degree, comes to terms with in *To the Lighthouse*.

In regard to the psychological discourse of the time, death was proving to a fruitful and widely discussed psychological subject. A discussion that was catalysed by the events of the war, with soldiers returning home and experiencing grave psychological maladies. Psychoanalytical theories and concepts were constructed like the so-called 'Shell Shock' or the 'Trauma theory', heavily influenced by Jung. Also, Freud played a crucial and particularly interesting role in the discourse. O'Connor notes that "[b]y confirming the most controversial aspects of psychoanalytical theory, the First World War gave Freud rich material with which to revise and expand his ideas about civilization, aggression, ambivalence, and mourning" (175). In connection to Freud and death, Freedman writes, "[a]lthough Freud's work is only one of many to conceptualize death in the twentieth century, his psychoanalytical methodology is the closes correlative to the psychological narrative of the novel, [Mrs. Dalloway,] and has provided a compelling account of dynamics of narrative in general" (6). The proximity of Freud to the literary re-working of death, Freedman examines, will be discussed in the following. Nonetheless, I would firstly like to highlight the maternal death of Mrs Ramsay.

Woolf's decision to place a female death at the centre of narration, poses a clear conceptual change compared to *Mrs. Dalloway*. The novel published in 1925, two years before *To the Lighthouse*, features the death of protagonist Septimus Warren Smith. Septimus, who has returned from the war psychologically wounded, commits suicide. The main protagonist Mrs Dalloway is gravely affected by his death. This very much reflects the general tendency of the time: "If the beautiful dead female body is the icon of the nineteenth century, then the male one is the icon of the twentieth" (Psomiades qtd. in Freedman 5). Freedman further observes that "since it is the man who dies increasingly it is the woman who speaks, most dramatically" (4-5). In *To the Lighthouse* the concept seems to be reversed. Mr Ramsay is the one suffering from the death of his wife. He, however, does not to explicitly refer to her demise, instead he reflects on his own fragile psychological state. He experiences an intense mourning that turns into self-pity:

> He had found the house and so seeing it, he had also seen himself there; he had seen himself walking on the terrace, alone. He was walking up and down between the urns, and he seemed to himself very old and bowed. Sitting in the boat he bowed, he crouched himself acting instantly his part – the part of a desolate man, widowed, bereft; and so called up before him in hosts people sympathising with him; staged for

> himself as he sat in the boat, a little drama; which required of him decrepitude and exhaustion and sorrow (he raised his hands and looked at the thinness of them to confirm his dream) […]. (Woolf, *TL* 137)

Woolf frames Mr Ramsay's intimate thoughts into what he believes to be a dream. Freud highly values their expressiveness and notes "[t]he study of dreams may be considered the most trustworthy method of investigating deep mental processes" (Freud qtd. in O'Connor 176). As Leonard Woolf observes, "[i]n the decade before 1924 in the so-called Bloomsbury circle there was a great interest in Freud and psycho-analysis, and the interest was extremely serious", I believe Woolf's choice of framing Mr Ramsay's intimate thoughts in a dream is likely to be connected to Freud's psychoanalytical concepts (Leonard Woolf qtd. in O'Connor 177-178).

A further conceptual linkage between Woolf and Freud can be found in the connection between family breakdown and cultural trauma caused by World War 1. In Freud's theories, family trauma is closely connected to the events following World War 1. Accordingly, O'Connor notes, "[i]n the post-war narratives of Sigmund Freud and Virginia Woolf, the trauma to a larger cultural structure of Europe plays out in themes of family breakdown" (178-179). A family breakdown the reader can begin to sense in 'The Window' and one that ultimately occurs after the events of 'Time Passes' in 'To the Lighthouse'.

To the Lighthouse may be considered a post-war narrative but the influences the war has on the novel are not as clear as in *Mrs. Dalloway*. Overall, Mrs Ramsay's death is the most influential and traumatic trigger in the post-war chapter 'To the Lighthouse'. Yet, there are traces of psychological disturbances that can be connected to the war. For instance, when Lilly Briscoe thinks about Mrs Ramsay's death, she is confronted with a grave psychological emptiness: "How aimless it was, how chaotic, how unreal it was, she thought, looking at her empty coffee cup. Mrs Ramsay dead; Andrew killed; Prue dead too – repeat it as she might it roused no feeling in her" (Woolf, *TL* 122). Lilly Briscoe feels alienated from the order of things, paralysed to the point of emotional numbness. I believe, her inability to emotionally react to the omnipresence of death as well as her loss of faith in the old order, is partly caused by the war. In *Mrs. Dalloway* Septimus Warren Smith, similar to Lilly Briscoe, experiences a psychological state of not feeling at all: "He looked at people outside; happy they seemed […]. But he could not taste, he could not feel" (Woolf, *MD* 79). Lilly Briscoe's feeling of a pervading unreality of things can be connected to the traumatic aftermath of the war. Most people lost faith in the old order of things and were often left with nothing to hold on.

Unlike Septimus, Lilly Briscoe, however, does not loose herself in deep traumatic paralysis. Her completing the painting suggests that she has come to terms with the past. It also implies that death has a crucial influence on the aesthetic output. Boulter states, "Woolf said it was truth that war left behind in an individual, after feeling and thought were taken away" (145). Death and great trauma, when dealt with in an adequate way, can lead to a deeper psychological understanding. An understanding that can aid to succeed in the aesthetic process. At first, Lilly Briscoe is incapable of

giving the process of art-production the seriousness it demands: "It was all Mrs Ramsay's doing. She was dead. Here was Lily, at forty-four, wasting her time, unable to do a thing, standing there, playing at painting, playing at the one thing one did not play at, and this was all Mrs Ramsay's fault. She was dead" (Woolf, *TL* 124). Again, the imagery of numbness resurfaces, the inability to react to something accordingly. Death affects the artist in a most intense way. Lilly Briscoe manages to overcome the emotional and aesthetic paralysis as she sets her mind to finish the picture: "She would paint that picture now. It had been knocking about in her mind all these years. Where were her paints, she wondered? Her paints, yes. She had left them in the hall last night. She would start at once. She got up quickly, before Mr Ramsay turned" (Woolf, *TL* 122). The only one who could possibly stop her now is Mr Ramsay, whom she eventually manages to resist.

In a bibliographical endeavour Woolf constructs her novel *To the Lighthouse* and, just as Lilly completes her painting, stands up to the ghosts of her past and succeeds in creating her work. Throughout this chapter on psychology this is perhaps the most crucial point to acknowledge – how Woolf's own, often intense, psychological experiences formed a deep psychological understanding, which enabled her to narratively engage with psychological concepts to a high degree of sufficiency.

5 Conclusion

The present thesis has exhibited and discussed a selected number of significant conceptual adaptions and literary constructions in Woolf's novel, connected to the scientific discourses of Einstein's physics, astronomy, and psychology. Although there is much more to discover, the examples of conceptual adaptions provided in the three main chapters showcase Woolf's wide-ranging and most certainly unique participation in the discourses of the respective sciences. Through her personal surroundings, in particular the interdisciplinary discussions and inquisitive atmosphere of the Bloomsbury group, her diversified understanding of science goes far beyond that of most early twentieth-century literates. At times she might not have entirely understood complex scientific theories, such as Einstein's physics, but she was indeed capable of making use of the essence and the metaphorical containers these concepts provided. Woolf – a novelist who was seeking for ways and means to express what she felt had previously been contained in "ill fitted vestments" – found in the discourses of science a pool of ideas and concepts that only needed a few adjustments to be transferred and used in a literary context (Woolf, *MF* 160). Evidently, in her works, she evaluates and interprets scientific concepts and theories. The thesis has shown how these instances of science-to-literature transferences are particularly compelling in *To the Lighthouse*.

Her 1927 novel has proven to contain several, arguably intentionally or unintentionally, literary constructions derived from scientific discourses. The first main chapter mapped how Woolf, inspired and encouraged by the concepts of Einstein's

physics, forged a unique comprehension of space and time. As a result, the novel's protagonists Mr Ramsay and his son James both differently experience the passing of time. Going a step further, Woolf elaborates the relativeness and non-linear operation of time by constructing three chapters that in their temporal and even spatial characteristics immensely differ from one another. The second main chapter displayed how Woolf, from a close relation to the discourse of astronomy, creates her own literary universe in *To the Lighthouse*. It pleaded for a connection between the novel's narrative framing and the methodology of observational cosmology. From there on, it exhibited how Woolf gravitates her novel around the lighthouse with its solar beams, reinforced by Mrs Ramsay's illuminating maternal presence, and plays them against a lurking darkness that, at times, seems to be capable of devouring the whole narrative. Subsequently, Woolf introduces a literary concept of emptiness that in many ways is akin to a hostile astronomic emptiness. Thereafter, the last chapter tracked conceptual adaptions from the discourse of psychology. After generally portraying Woolf's strive to "get […] inside fictional heads" and exhibiting her intimate relation to the subject of psychology, it showcased how she implemented her own interpretation of the Oedipus complex into the Ramsay family and discusses the theme of male demand for sympathy and empathy (Hammond 148). Thereafter it continued to follow Woolf's connection to the psychologically challenging theme of death. Whilst moving closely alongside the protagonists Mrs Ramsay and Lilly Briscoe, the chapter examined how Woolf bibliographically processes the deaths of those dearest to her and illustrates its conceptual references in the novel.

Indeed, considering all three chapters, the thesis has shown how important the close investigation of Woolf's protagonist is for approaching certain thematic areas. The amount of thought and preciseness she devoted to the construction of her fictional characters and their relations to one another is impressive. As a result, laying a critical focus on the novel's protagonists has proven to be effective in revealing a number of thematically relevant concepts for the present thesis. For instance, Woolf's account of the non-linear operation of time heavily depends upon the intimate recounts offered by Mr Ramsay and James. Further, the study of their delicate relationship to one another and Mrs Ramsay has displayed Woolf's own version of the Oedipal Complex. It is safe to say that the present thesis very much depends on what the protagonists from *To the Lighthouse* recount of the cosmos they exist in. As science in real-life aims to encode the mechanism working inside a human being and in its environment, Woolf's alert and intelligent protagonists, for instance Lilly Briscoe, sense some of the structures existing around them and make several intriguingly enlightening and self-conscious statements. Mrs Ramsay, for instance, senses her connection to the lighthouse and Lilly Briscoe does not only decode Mr Ramsay's demanding personality but also reminisces on the extent of the human psyche and the limits of discovering it. At times, it seems Woolf speaks through her protagonists divulging her own thoughts and believes.

In 'Time Passes', however, Woolf only seldomly depends on the insightful moments offered by her protagonists. In a remarkably innovative chapter characterised

by flux, Woolf condenses the passing of ten years into a few pages, whilst scoping to 'To the Lighthouse'. Deliberate conceptual connections to the discourses of Einstein's physics and astronomy can be located throughout a de-humanised transportation. Woolf frees herself from most literary restrictions and gives thrilling accounts of an astronomical darkness as well as the momentary solar beams of the lighthouse that shine a dim light into the novel's cosmos of emptiness. Time literally flies by and ghost-like, transcendent images of the protagonists emerge but are blown away as fast as they have appeared. In "an incessant shower of innumerable atoms" the literary renderings of scientific concepts guide the reader's focus through an alienated world – "moon country" – with too little human presence to oppose the seemingly infinite account of the essence of reality (Woolf, *MF* 160; Woolf, *TL* 14).

Although, at times, the connection between Woolf and certain conceptual origins might seem vague, I believe, there is nothing but further knowledge and understanding to be gained. One might arrive at the final impression that Woolf's connection to Einstein is not strong enough to legitimate any kind of conceptual transference between them. It has, however, become apparent that an interdisciplinary examination, as the present, can immensely to aid in grasping and understanding such enigmatic minds as Woolf's. Especially in regard to modernist novels, a critical assertion from a scientific point of view can help decipher complex literary concepts and constructions. Ultimately, the thesis argues in favour of Woolf's profound and exceptional interdisciplinary work and can be regarded as a plea for a more deliberate critical approach towards connections between science and literature. Analysing the novel with a broad scientific methodology has revealed several conceptual implementations and lead to insights concerning the complete novel. It is possible to read *To the Lighthouse* with a focus on science and its conceptual constructions that can immensely help to comprehend and interpret the novel. A method of operation that has been fostered along the lines of the present thesis.

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