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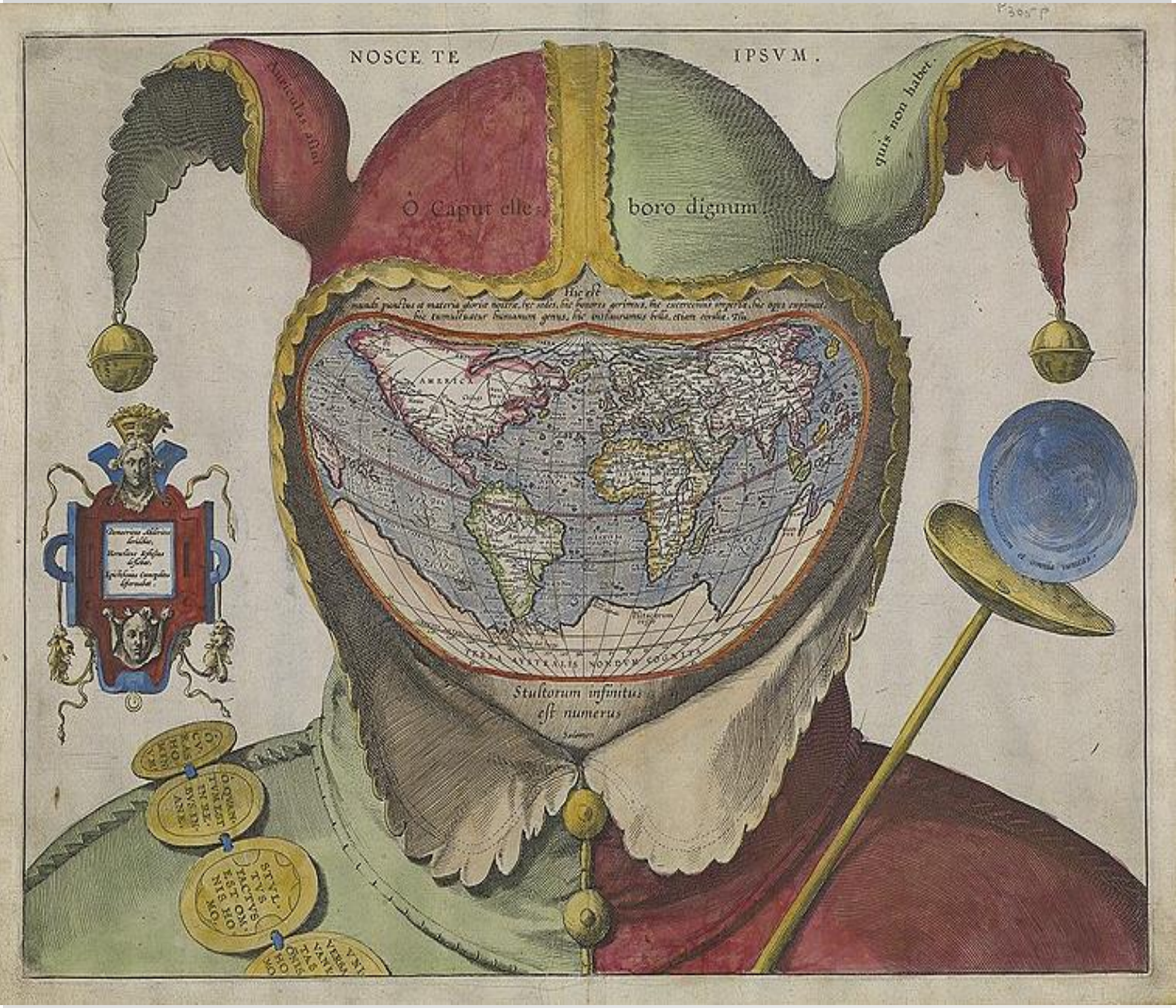

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Edited by Hampton Toole, Fiona Banham and Lucy Wright

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Contents

Preface

Since being relaunched in 2013, the *St Andrews Historical Journal* has provided students at all stages of their degrees, from first-year undergraduates to postgraduates, with the opportunity to engage in original, independent research into topics outwith the remit of their courses.

In this extraordinary year, the journal's theme of "crossing boundaries" has, on one level, enabled contributors to explore the crossing of social, political, geographical, and ideological boundaries throughout history, from Ancient Rome to twentieth-century China. Creative interpretation of this theme has produced an unprecedented number of contributions, which navigate the crossing of historically entrenched boundaries through travel writing, translation, and textbooks, drawing upon issues of identity, power, and the exchange of knowledge and ideas across time and space.

On another level, this theme has facilitated the crossing of intellectual boundaries, encouraging contributions from a broader range of disciplinary standpoints. This has yielded an eclectic array of articles incorporating scholarship not only from History, but also from International Relations, Philosophy, Geography, Anthropology, and Education Studies, to name just a few. In broadening the disciplinary scope of the journal, we hope to demonstrate the value of the insights garnered when the past is approached from diverse perspectives.

The editorial team would like to extend sincere thanks to the St Andrews History Society for their guiding hand, as well as to the School of History at the University of St Andrews for their generous financial support. The contributors to this edition of the journal have been faced with exceptional boundaries, from the severely restricted physical access to source materials, to the significant mental strains of enforced isolation and lockdown. It is testament to their resilience and resourcefulness as researchers that they have been able to produce such outstanding work in the midst of a global pandemic.

Historically yours,

Fiona Banham, Hampton Toole and Lucy Wright
Co-Editors-in-Chief

Meet the Editors

Fiona Banham
Fiona is a first-year PhD candidate in Modern History. Her research explores the interdisciplinary relationship between History and Geography, through the lens of spatial history, from the mid-twentieth century to the present day. After arriving in St Andrews in 2015, she graduated with an MA in Geography and Modern History in 2019, followed by an MLitt in Environmental History in 2020. Despite the broad geographical coverage of her thesis, she has a particular passion for nineteenth- and twentieth-century German history.

Hampton Toole
During the production of this journal, Hampton was a fourth-year undergraduate student studying for an MA (Honours) in International Relations and Modern History. Hampton has a passion for exploring underrepresented areas of history, including the study of colonialism in the Global South and its historical ramifications. Hampton is honoured to edit this journal for a second consecutive year.

Lucy Wright
Lucy is a rising finalist studying towards an MA (Honours) in Economics and Modern History. She is most interested in economic, political, and social history. Lucy is honoured to edit the *Historical Journal* and looks forward to continuing her role during the next academic year.

Crossing Borders: Travel and Migration

Eleanor Gillespie

The *Explorers in Petticoats*: The Role of Travel Writing in the Gender Roles and Attitudes of Victorian and Edwardian women in their travels to Africa and the Middle East

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *The Turkish Embassy Letters* provide an insight into life in the Turkish court, particularly of the harem. Her high status as the wife of an ambassador, and her gender, allowed her unique access to realms inaccessible to the male traveller.[1] By the end of the eighteenth century, travel writing had become an important genre for an ever-increasing reading public.[2] It was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that an increasing number of women travelled beyond Europe.[3] They travelled for a number of reasons, primarily as wives and missionaries, but also as political observers.[4] Victorian and early Edwardian travel has thus been discussed by historians as a means through which women were able to escape the constraints on the female sex at home through their travels abroad.[5] This study will focus primarily on the experiences of three women: Isabella Bird, Mary Kingsley, and Gertrude Bell. While a focus on three women of the upper middle classes may be restrictive, they have been chosen as examples of women who both travelled extensively and had a role within British colonialism. Overall, this paper will consider the extent to which women were able to transcend gender boundaries through their travel, and by what means they achieved this. It will also consider the ways in which their travel allowed them to question or contribute to pre-existing colonial ideas.

It is first important to briefly consider the prevailing attitudes towards the countries that these women travelled to. Mary Kingsley travelled extensively through Africa, while Isabella Bird and Gertrude Bell travelled through the Middle East. Bird and Bell travelled outside the realm of the British Empire, predominantly to the Ottoman Empire.[6] Africa was an important area of colonial interest for the British throughout the Victorian period. The history of the European enslavement of Africans had created an image of Africa as uncivilised.[7] As such, the people of Africa were presented in literature as open to missionary conversion and accepting of European aid.[8] The Middle East, on the other hand, had long been a place of pilgrimage, which saw a huge revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, up until 1914, there was little British policy towards 'Arabia'.[9] Indeed, until Bell undertook her journeys deep into the Arabia desert, there was little known about this area, which measured over one million square miles

[1] Anja Drautzburg, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters* 1763' in Barbara Schaff (ed.), *Handbook of British Travel Writing* (Berlin, 2020), p. 215.
[2] Elizabeth A. Bohls, 'Gender' in Barbara Schaff (ed.), *Handbook of British Travel Writing* (Berlin, 2020), p. 61.
[3] Barbara Korte, 'Western Travel Writing, 1750-1950' in Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London, 2015), p. 176.
[4] Ella Dzelzainis, 'Travel Writing' in Lucy Hartley (ed.), *The History of British Women's Writing Volume 6, 1830-1880* (London, 2018), p. 163.
[5] Laura E. Ciolkowski, 'Travelers' Tales: Empire, Victorian Travel, and the Spectacle of English Womanhood in Mary Kingsley's "Travels in West Africa"', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 26: 2 (1998), p. 338.
[6] Roy Bridges, 'Exploration and travel outside Europe' in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 63.
[7] Tim Youngs, 'Africa/ The Congo: the politics of darkness' in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 157.
[8] Bridges, *Exploration and travel outside Europe*, p. 65.
[9] Billie Melman, 'The Middle East/ Africa: 'the cradle of Islam'' in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 108.

and contained a diverse network of peoples.[10] It is important to consider these prevailing attitudes towards Africa and the Middle East and the impact which this had on female travellers, their motives, and the contents of their works.

Women's travel was not unusual by the mid- to late-Victorian period, with women travelling in a variety of different roles. While some followed the more traditional course of missionary work, others began to emerge as naturalists, scientists, and explorers, travelling both alone and with company.[11] By the 1880s, hundreds of women were beginning to write up their travel memoirs into manuscripts.[12] The process of writing did not come without its criticisms. Their books were often described as being 'heretical', and their contents dismissed as inconsequential.[13] However, the simple act of travel did allow women to escape the physical bounds of Victorian society. It is important to note that, at this time, women did not have financial independence or the right to vote, and married women did not control their own wealth.[14] For some, like Isabella Bird, travel allowed them to escape the traditional 'infantilising' of women.[15] Bird had suffered from spinal problems, insomnia, and depression, which she noted were relieved during her travels abroad but returned at home. Eventually, in 1854, her doctor prescribed travel for her health.[16] Had she remained in England, Bird would have been constrained by others' responses towards her health. She serves as just one example of the way in which the physical action of crossing geographical boundaries allowed women to escape some of the most pressing constrains of Victorian gendered society.

The physical form of their writing, however, was important to their continued submission to feminine forms. While writing about unusual and unfeminine topics, they continued to present themselves as feminine in the style in which they wrote. Many wrote in the form of letters or diaries, a form of literature considered acceptable for a woman to both write and consume.[17] There existed a constant battle between their writing and the conventions of femininity.[18] Stanley describes these contradictions as a 'gendered self-fashioning', in line with the judgement of their readers and their own personal ideas about femininity.[19] For Victorian women, the diary was a safe format in which to recount their travel adventures because it was not seen to be a true 'literary' genre, and thus did not make them appear less feminine.[20] They would also often include an 'apology' in their writing. Bird included one in her *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains,* which served as a way to make her work more 'appropriate' to Victorian social spheres.[21] Not only did this 'apology' explain that these letters were not initially written for publication, but she also gave an explanation for her dress. She described

[10] Georgina Howell, *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations* (New York, 2008), p. 94.
[11] Susan Bassnett, 'Travel writing and gender' in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 231.
[12] Marni Stanley, 'Skirting the Issues: Addressing and Dressing in Victorian Women's Travel Narratives', *Victorian Review,* 23: 2 (Winter 1997), p. 148.
[13] Janice Schroeder, 'Strangers in Every Port: Stereotypes of Victorian Women Travellers', *Victorian Review,* 24: 2 (Winter 1998), p. 122.
[14] Stanley, *Skirting the Issues,* p. 148.
[15] Stephen Clark, 'Isabella Bird, Selected Works' in Barbara Schaff (ed.), *Handbook of British Travel Writing* (Berlin, 2020), p. 397.
[16] Jennifer Scarce, 'Isabella Bird Bishop (1831-1904) and Her Travels in Persia and Kurdistan in 1890', *Iranian Studies,* 44: 2 (March 2011), p. 244.
[17] Lorraine Sterry, *Victorian women travellers in Meiji Japan: discovering a 'new' land* (Folkerstone, 2009), pp. 34-35.
[18] Stanley, *Skirting the Issues,* pp. 148-149.
[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 163-164.
[20] Sterry, *Victorian women travellers in Meiji Japan,* p. 34.
[21] *Ibid.,* pp. 35-37.

how she wore a jacket, a skirt to her ankles, and Turkish trousers underneath. She did this because of an 'erroneous statement' which was made about her in the press.[22] This example perfectly highlights the contradiction between unfeminine travels and femininity at home. Although the extent to which women crossed gender boundaries was constrained by the physical format of their writing, it still remains significant.

Mary Kingsley is an important example of the masculine roles which travel allowed women to inhabit. She had travelled to Africa in order to take part in scientific study and fieldwork, something far beyond the bounds of a woman's role at home.[23] While women had been able to partake in the more masculine activity of African game hunting earlier in the Victorian period, they would have been accompanied by male relatives or companions.[24] The later Victorian period had seen the sciences, particularly geography, become professionalised, with the qualifications needed to gain access to this exclusive sphere of influence denied to women.[25] However, Kingsley began to travel through her own means, without the support of any institutions.[26] She then began collecting species of fish for the British Museum, which provided her with a degree of entry into this elite scientific club.[27] While Kingsley was working to present herself as a scientist, this did not mean that she did not also want to emphasise her femininity.[28] It was because her 'unfeminine' scientific exploits took place outside of the Victorian model home that she was able to maintain her femininity while also making a place for herself in the completely unfeminine scientific community. She had welcomed the fact that she was referred to during her travels as 'Sir', and went so far as to call herself the 'Englishman'.[29] Yet, on her return to England and the publication of her *Travels in West Africa*, she was referred to as the "explorer in petticoats".[30] This further emphasises the extent to which any crossing of traditional boundaries was inextricably linked to travel. On her return to Britain, she was referred to in terms of her femininity and constrained more closely to traditional gender roles. Although she had been able to contribute to an ever-growing, masculine, discipline of natural science, this had taken place outside the domestic sphere of influence. Therefore, although it can be argued that to some extent Kingsley and others were able to step into a traditional male space, this opportunity was temporary, and was only able to take place once they had crossed physical geographical boundaries.

The traditional representations of women, particularly in the Middle East, were centred on eroticism. This perception was used to present them as immoral compared to the innocent nature of the British woman.[31] Although the harem served to reinforce this attitude, it was not accessible to the male traveller. It therefore became an important sphere of influence for the female traveller, particularly as it had traditionally been loathed for its inaccessibility.[32] As early as the eighteenth century, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had exclusive access to the baths

[22] Isabella L. Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1881), pp. vii-viii.
[23] Ulrike Brisson, 'Fish and Fetish: Mary Kingsley's Studies of Fetish in West Africa', *Journal of Narrative Theory,* 35: 3 (Fall, 2005), p. 326.
[24] Jane Robinson, *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers* (Oxford, 1990), p. 63.
[25] Mona Domosh, 'Toward a Feminist Historiography of Geography', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 16: 1 (1991), pp. 96-97.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[27] Jessica Howell, *Exploring Victorian Travel Literature: Disease, Race and Climate* (Edinburgh, 2014), p. 129.
[28] Brisson, *Fish and Fetish,* p. 335.
[29] Howell, *Exploring Victorian Travel Literature,* p. 111.
[30] Brisson, *Fish and Fetish,* p. 334.
[31] Wan Roselezam, Wan Yahya, Farah Ghaderi and Kamarusaman Jusoff, 'The Exotic Portrayal of Women in Isabella Bird Bishop's "Journey's in Persia and Kurdistan"', *Iranian Studies,* 45: 6 (November 2012), p. 783.
[32] Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (New York, 1994), p. 30.

and harems in Turkey.[33] She utilised this unique insight to criticise the image of women and sexuality in Turkey perpetrated by male travellers. Discounting their view that Turkish women were the most restricted women in the world, she argued that they were actually the freest, and the 'only women in the world that lead a life of uninterrupted pleasure exempt from cares'.[34] Montagu, unlike her male counterparts, often compared Turkish women and their circumstances to European women. However, by doing so, she relied on traditional cultural attitudes towards the Middle East as an 'other'.[35] In the Victorian period, Isabella Bird furthered discussions of the harem. In her *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan,* she provided numerous descriptions of the women she encountered and of the harem. For her, the harem was 'just as humiliating for men as it is for women'.[36] While this may appear negative in tone, it is important to note that she is referring to the harem in terms of women *and* men, something which was ignored by male observers. In a meeting with the Amir, she recalled how he had hoped to see 'the women in Persia educated and emancipated'.[37] Bird therefore presented the treatment of women in Persia as progressing. Clearly, by the late Victorian period, the representation of women and of the harem had evolved from the time of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, yet the harem remained an important sphere of influence for the female traveller.

Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa,* however, presented a more traditional view of women. While writing about local women, she referred to them in the traditional descriptions and stereotypes perpetrated by her male counterparts, going so far as to address the reader as if they were a male.[38] Instructions are provided of the various 'classes' of women and how the male traveller must address them.[39] Her descriptions of women focused on their physical features, such as their 'ample form', 'laughing brown eyes' and their 'mighty pleasant' smile.[40] While Kingsley continued to judge the women she encountered from a masculinised viewpoint, Bird implored the reader not to judge the women she met by Western standards. She explained that 'the modesty of the women of one country must not be judged of by the rules of another'.[41] Overall, it is clear that there was not one consistent perception of women by female travellers. Each was influenced by her own biases, yet Isabella Bird in particular presented a more nuanced view of the women she encountered.

The physical crossing of geographical boundaries clearly allowed for the metaphorical crossing of gender boundaries while women were abroad. Another important element to consider is the role which colonialism played in their access to more 'masculine' roles. While these women travellers did not oppose colonialism, it is clear that the boundary-crossing nature of travel allowed them to have a role in what was an undeniably male-dominated sphere. This view is supported by Suh, who argues that female travel literature created wider regard not only for women travellers, but also for their roles within imperialism.[42] It was not their gender which

[33] Drautzburg, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,* p. 215.
[34] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Volume II,* 2nd edition, ed. Lord Wharncliffe (London, 1837), p. 45.
[35] Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms,* (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 31-32.
[36] Isabella L. Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan: including a summer in the Upper Karun Region and a visit to the Nestorian Rayahs* (London, 1891), p. 71.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 265.
[38] Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London, 1991), pp. 157-158.
[39] Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1897), p. 21.
[40] *Ibid.,* p. 21.
[41] Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan,* p. 234.
[42] Judy Suh, 'Modern Travel on the Fringes of Empire' in Holly A. Laird (ed.), *The History of British Women's Writing Volume 7, 1880-1920* (London, 2016), p. 162.

mattered the most, but rather their race and its implied power.[43] However, it would be wrong to suggest that this meant that women were accepted in these roles. While men travelled to Africa on official missions from the government, women were forced to travel either with their husbands or without the support of the government.[44] Despite this, their travel did create a space where they could be representatives of Britain in terms of race, not of sex.[45] These women were not anti-colonial or against imperial expansion, but their views towards European cultural imposition were in some cases more nuanced. Kingsley in particular believed that British culture should not be imposed on Africa and did not seek to change or judge polygamy and fetish by Western standards.[46] The Victorians believed themselves to be at the top of a ladder of progress, seeking to help other countries to climb the ladder to success as they had done.[47] While Kingsley claimed to dispute the idea that African people were lower on this 'evolutionary scale', she contradicted this within her own writing by arguing that they were somehow 'inferior' to the British.[48] Therefore, in crossing the boundaries created by her gender, she had to adhere to the traditional boundaries created by the British establishment between themselves and other races.

Gertrude Bell serves as perhaps the most extreme example of the place which travel afforded to women within the colonial setting. Known as *Umm al Muminin*, 'Mother of the Faithful', she served in the 1920s as Oriental Secretary to the British High Commissioner in Baghdad, playing a pivotal role in the foundation of modern-day Iraq.[49] Throughout her travels, she prescribed to the very strong political notion that Britain should further its powers in the Middle East.[50] What marks her out as different from Bird and Kingsley was that she inhabited an *official* role. However, she was not immune to traditional gender roles. While a career had appeared during the First World War, by the end of her life in 1926, her main role was as director of the museum in Baghdad.[51] While popularly portrayed for her fascination with the cultures of the Middle East and learning of local languages, she fell foul to comparing those she encountered with Western standards. While describing the Assayer of Provinces, she praised him for being a 'cultivated man', enjoying sports, dogs, and fishing. His love of dogs in particular is shown to be against Persian culture, as dogs are traditionally seen to be dirty animals.[52] His 'liberal-minded' nature, including the belief that his daughters receive an education and not be married off at a young age, is attributed by Bell to his time spent abroad, presumably in Britain.[53] Therefore, although it can be argued that Bell transcended traditional gender boundaries to the greatest extent, in receiving an official role within the British Government, it is clear that she was neither immune from the prejudices displayed towards her gender, nor from traditional British perceptions of the Middle East.

The question of course is to what extent these women travellers were consciously breaking gender boundaries or seeking to present themselves as doing so. For example, during her travels

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[44] Brisson, *Fish and Fetish*, p. 336.
[45] Domosh, *Toward a Feminist Historiography of Geography*, p. 98.
[46] Howell, *Exploring Victorian Travel Literature*, p. 109.
[47] Ronald Edward Robinson, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London, 1981), pp. 2-3.
[48] Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, pp. 159-160.
[49] Lucille Frackman Becker, 'Gertrude Bell' in Alba Amoia and Bettina L. Knapp (eds.), *Great women travel writers: from 1750 to the present* (New York, 2005), p. 147.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[52] Gertrude Bell, *Safar Nameh, Persian Pictures: A Book of Travel* (London, 1894), p. 98.
[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

into the desert, Gertrude Bell would appear masculine in her attire, wearing a men's coat and the traditional *keffiyeh* over her head. This was not intentional, argues Howell, but more to do with the practicalities of travelling in the immensely warm climate.[54] While women clearly sought to pursue unfeminine travels, this did not predispose them to a liberal view on the role of women. Bell was a strong supporter of the anti-suffrage movement, fearing the collapse of family structures.[55] Bird, while the first woman admitted to the Royal Geographical Society, did not campaign for the admission of other women.[56] Additionally, both Kingsley and Bird only travelled and wrote after the deaths of their parents.[57] Bird's father had funded her early travels in the belief that they could help her find a marriage match.[58] Therefore, in all discussions of the transcending of gender boundaries, a modern-day bias must not be ignored. While these female travellers were seeking to partake in activities seen as 'masculine' and were able to transcend the strict boundaries of the Victorian domestic sphere while abroad, their actions were clearly not driven by a desire for gender equality or overarching feminism.

A consideration of spatial history further complicates this notion of travel as liberating. Blunt argues that although 'travel seems potentially liberating because of the opportunities for transgression and questioning of ideas formulated at home … such transgression is bounded within the definition of travel.'[59] She highlights the paradox between the traveller's familiarising of the unknown during travel and the defamiliarising of home.[60] In practice, for Kingsley, Bell, and Bird, the space of 'travel' and 'home' were inextricably linked. She argues that the traveller could risk becoming a foreigner in their own country.[61] It is understandable how this 'alienation' could have occurred in relation to female travellers. Although their travels allowed them to act in a way which was reserved for the male traveller, it did not change their identity at home, both in the ways that they acted and in the public's perception of them.

In conclusion, it is clear that although travel and travel writing allowed women to physically transcend the boundaries of heavily gendered Victorian society, these women were not conscious feminists. Although their work allowed them to inhabit a world reserved for men on a temporary basis, they did not actively seek greater equality at home, nor relished being presented in masculine terms. While their treatment of the countries they visited and the people they met were in some cases more sympathetic, they continued to work within a colonial framework. However, it was their travel and writing which allowed women to have a distinct role within the British Empire, other than missionary or wife of ambassador. The two centuries between Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's trip to Istanbul and Gertrude Bell's journey through the desert reveal the extent to which travel allowed women to inhabit a different role outside of the Victorian 'feminine' sphere.

[54] Howell, *Gertrude Bell*, p. 102.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[56] Clark, *Isabella Bird*, p. 398.
[57] Bassnett, *Travel writing and gender*, p. 234.
[58] Clark, *Isabella Bird*, p. 401.
[59] Blunt, *Travel, Gender and Imperialism*, p. 17.
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] *Ibid.*

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Clara Tipper

Reinterpreting Scottish-Indian connections from a global perspective

Most modern concepts have been tainted by European thought and, until recently, non-Western histories have been approached as "variations of a master narrative".[62] As a result, many Western historians have been guilty of an asymmetrical historical awareness, gravitating towards nation centrism as a historical methodology. Transnational and global historians, such as Akira Iriye and Dipesh Chakrabarty, have cautioned against this type of scholarship, which inevitably leads to exceptionalism and distorts our vision of the global picture.[63] In order to pursue insightful and original perspectives, we must, both conceptually and geographically, decentralise the West from historical scholarship.

Scotland and India were two intimately connected countries during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These connections were forged and strengthened by the colonial machine, which underpinned the majority of Scottish-Indian networks during this period. During its imperial era, India attracted many orientalists, Christian missionaries, and travelers, whose methods and concepts were firmly rooted in Scottish Enlightenment ideologies. As a result, our sources are plentiful, but drastically unbalanced. With the exception of James Tod, few travellers explored and understood India for its own sake. Using post-colonial theories, historians such as Florence D'Souza and Gordon Stewart have dissected travel histories written by Scotsmen, revealing the Scots' inability to provincialise their own beliefs and concepts. Cumulatively, these skewed interpretations led to a warped image of Indian society and culture in the British imagination, and an extreme underestimation of India's impact on Scottish politics and culture. Milinda Banerjee asserts that the Western concept of 'dynasty' was globalised by colonial forces and inflicted upon Indian forms of leadership.[64] This article will extend Banerjee's theory to include other Western ideas, such as religion and gender. By considering the ways in which borders were crossed by Scots into India, both physically and conceptually, this article will demonstrate the importance of transnational history as a means to decentralise Europe from the historical framework.

The Colonial Machine as the Connecting Thread

Scottish travellers and missionaries were flocking to India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their motivations varied, but British imperialism was the guiding thread connecting them. This imperial stimulus influenced both the way in which Scots conducted their travels and the lens through which they perceived India. Much ink has been spilt in an effort to determine whether Scottish travellers to India explored the country with genuine intrigue and respect, or whether there was a subconscious assumption of superiority because of their nationality. Gordon Stewart accurately asserts that the way in which Scottish travellers studied Indian people and institutions may not have resembled the traditional civilising mission, but it did "tend to remove any agency from the cultures being categorised".[65] Furthermore, the Scots'

[62] Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?', *Representations*, 37 (1992), p. 1.
[63] Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History* (London, 2013), p. 3.
[64] Milinda Banerjee, 'How 'Dynasty 'Became a Modern Global Concept: Intellectual Histories of Sovereignty and Property', *Global Intellectual History* (2020), pp. 7-9.
[65] Gordon Stewart, '1774: The Scottish Enlightenment Meets the Tibetan Enlightenment', J*ournal of World History*, 22:3, (2011), p. 476.

mere assumption that they had the right and capability to scrutinise another culture confirms the idea that they, subconsciously or consciously, felt superior.[66] Edward Said's *Orientalism* is an important basis for post-colonial theory: he argued that the West's interpretation of the East was intimately connected to Western imperialism, and was sustained on the creation of the 'other.' The West cannot be superior without an inferior counterpart, and thus, orientalism became the power structure which facilitated colonialism.[67] Moral superiority was also crucial to the justification of Western imperialism in India, and the rest of the world.

Although empire was a primary motivation for many European travellers, Christianity too became a driving force. Alexander Duff, a Scottish missionary in India during the mid-nineteenth century, believed in the need for a global intellectual revolution, culminating in the universality of Christianity.[68] In other words, Scottish missionaries, such as Duff, used empire as a conduit to spread their religion. Unlike most Christian missionaries, Duff focused on upper-caste children from high-ranking Muslim and Hindu families, as a means to diffuse Christianity into the ranks of those occupying future positions of power.[69] In summary, the mindset of the Scottish travellers must be understood in order to comprehend the filter through which they perceived India and its people. They felt entitled to make comparisons and judgements, which reflected their assumed superiority and perpetuated the idea of India as the 'other'.

Globalising Concepts

Scotsmen who travelled to India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries failed to provincialise their own beliefs and concepts when studying Indian systems and people. Moreover, European academics would inflict their Western ideas and institutions upon India, which resulted in a colonial-globalisation of certain concepts. Banerjee explains how the concept of 'dynasty' was globalised through the medium of imperialism, as the British failed to provincialise their domestic ideas of sovereignty.[70] 'Vamsha', Banerjee asserts, is the most suitable translation of 'dynasty' to Bengali and Hindi, yet the actual definition of 'vamsha' is much narrower, referring only to the lineage aspect of 'dynasty'. In reality, no Indian polity would have directly resembled the British idea of 'dynasty', and so this mis-conceptualisation resulted in a warped understanding of Indian ruling systems.[71]

Alongside theories of leadership, Indian societal structures were also misunderstood and altered by Scottish and Western thinkers. David Cannadine's theory of 'ornamentalism' contributes to this idea of imposing British concepts; he argues that the British sought to replicate their domestic hierarchy in the colonies.[72] Cannadine uses Benedict Anderson's theory of 'imagined communities' to explain how the British constructed an empire which was homogenous in social structure, which, he argues, has led to the frequent misconception of native hierarchies.[73] Cultural relativism was an insurmountable obstacle for Scottish Enlightenment thinkers; George Bogle, a Glaswegian diplomat, deduced that the women of Bhutan were more liberated than those of Bengal, as he witnessed Bhutanese women trekking

[66] *Ibid.*
[67] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), p. 7.
[68] Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest* (New York, 1989), p. 62.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Banerjee, 'How 'Dynasty 'Became a Modern Global Concept' (2020), p. 7.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[72] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford, 2002), p. 4-10.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

up steep hills with heavy loads.[74] This was a baseless claim, founded entirely on Western ideas about gender and society. Scottish Enlightenment thinkers imposed their concepts of femininity and masculinity when studying India, without taking into account local beliefs and gender structures. Whig historians, such as T. B. Macaulay, ascribed effeminacy to the Indian nation, stating that this was the reason they were conquered first by the Mughals, and then by the British.[75] This hybrid of racism and sexism was a widespread belief in Victorian Britain. India had a flourishing economy, and it was thought that this was because they were unsusceptible to war; therefore, they needed to be protected by a masculine country: Britain.[76] This belief was later used to categorise Hindus as feminine, and justify Muslim authority, which was deemed more masculine.[77] Scottish travellers understood gender through their own European perspective, and this affected how they perceived gender in India. Moreover, their ingrained sense of superiority was projected onto these perceptions, understanding only their own to be correct.

A similar approach was taken by the Scots when interpreting Indian religion. Possibly inspired by Chakrabarty, Mitch Numark urges historians to provincialise Christianity from their historical outlook and, instead, to develop a more nuanced and objective approach towards religious history.[78] John Wilson was a Scottish missionary, orientalist, and ethnographer, who claimed to study Indian religion from a scientific perspective. Fundamentally, he believed that his Enlightenment education would allow him to study foreign religion with a degree of objectivity.[79] Yet, despite these beliefs, Wilson understood Indian religions to be not only different, but wrong. The ambiguity of some Indian belief systems appalled the missionaries who were looking through a Protestant interpretive lens. India was much more religiously diverse than Scotland, so, rather than attempting to diversify their concept of religion, the crossover between different religious groups and festivals was attributed to "religious confusion".[80] A crucial mistake of the Scottish missionaries was the belief that Hinduism was solely based on scripture, rather than local practices and beliefs. Numark criticises the actions of the missionaries:

> Christianity structured how the Bombay Scottish missionaries understood religion, functioned for them as religion's prototypical species, and constituted the framework through which different religions were conceptualised.[81]

Numark also presents a specific case study on the interactions between Scottish Protestant missionaries and the indigenous Indian Jains in nineteenth-century Bombay. The Scottish missionary John Stevenson translated the *Kalpa Sutra*, a text central to Jainism. However, his research was limited and insufficient, as he only spoke to Svetambar Jains.[82] Stevenson was a

[74] Stewart, 'The Scottish Enlightenment Meets the Tibetan Enlightenment' (2011), p. 469.
[75] Jeng-Guo S. Chen, 'Gendering India: Effeminacy and the Scottish Enlightenment's Debates Over Virtue and Luxury', *The Eighteenth Century*, 50:1-2 (2010), p. 193.
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] *Ibid*., p. 204.
[78] Mitch Numark, 'Translating Dharma: Scottish Missionary-Orientalists and the Politics of Religious Understanding in Nineteenth-Century Bombay', *The Journal of Asian Studies,* 70:2 (2011), p. 471.
[79] *Ibid*., p. 474.
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] *Ibid*., p. 479.
[82] Mitch Numark, 'The Scottish 'Discovery 'of Jainism in Nineteenth-Century Bombay', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies,* 33:1 (2013), p. 24.

contributor to the European study of world religion, thus his misinterpretation had wide consequences and reinforced a disoriented understanding of Jainism across the world.[83]

Scottish travellers to India brought with them their own beliefs, such as sovereignty, religion, gender, and hierarchy. Prior to its colonisation, India had its own variations on and alternatives for such concepts, of which many have been altered, eradicated, and forgotten. As Edward Said postulated, words hold more consequence when they come from the mouths of the powerful.[84] In this case, what the Scots conceptualised risked becoming a reality in the European imagination. Thus, these skewed interpretations had profound implications for the global understanding of India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

James Tod and Rajasthan

External to the power relations rendering India to a subaltern position, Scotland and India were united by a shared sense of patriotic resistance. Scotland had been under the command of a predominantly English government since the union of Scotland and England in 1707, and subsequently, the Jacobitism movement prevailed throughout the eighteenth century. Simultaneously, India was under the imperial rule of Britain, and before that the Mughal Empire. James Tod, a Scottish traveller, identified this common experience, whilst also understanding Indian ruling systems with an open mind.

James Tod, Banerjee argues, recognised the frequent misconceptualisations of Indian ruling systems; thus, he sought to persuade the British Empire to use native Rajput military and political organisations.[85] In the dedication to George IV in Tod's travel history of Rajasthan, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, he affirms his position:

> Their admirer and annalist may, perhaps, be permitted to hope that the sighs of this ancient and interesting race for the restoration of their former independence, which it would suit our wisest policy to grant, may be deemed not undeserving Your Majesty's regard.[86]

Like many modern historians, Tod realised that the British were imposing their Western understanding of dynasty onto the Rajput states, and simultaneously undermining their pre-existing institutions. Tod's research was, like that of most other Scottish travellers, fundamentally rooted in his Enlightenment education; he rationally observed Rajput communities and institutions and drew his own conclusions. But, unlike most other Scots, Tod allowed his experience in Rajasthan to influence his pre-existing beliefs; his mindset was not fixed.[87] Furthermore, Florence D'Souza claims that Tod's travel histories omitted a colonialist agenda. Principally, his aim was to educate the British public about the furthest corners of the empire.[88] Tod's writing is infused with a romantic quality; he was inspired by Scottish writers such as Walter Scott and Robert Burns, and this is evident in his frequent use of quotations and poems.[89] Though some have accused Tod of romanticising and inflicting a heroisation upon

[83] *Ibid*., p. 35.
[84] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 5.
[85] Banerjee, 'How 'Dynasty 'Became a Modern Global Concept' (2020), p. 8.
[86] James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, (ed.) William Crooke (Oxford, 1920), p. v.
[87] Florence D'Souza, *Knowledge, Mediation and Empire: James Tod's Journeys Among the Rajputs* (Manchester, 2015), p. 26.
[88] *Ibid*., p. 38.
[89] *Ibid*., p. 80.

the Rajputs, D'Souza asserts that his main purpose was to make his histories appealing to the British public, whether for financial gain or through an altruistic impetus.[90]

Tod's *Annals* consist primarily of genealogies, descriptions of landscapes, and explanations of Rajput institutions. He briefly describes how he conducted his research: "I obtained from the library of the Rana of Udaipur their sacred volumes, the Puranas, and laid them before a body of pandits, over whom presided the learned Jati Gyanchandra."[91] Tod then recalls how different sources were not always consistent, concluding, "we recognise distinctly the principal features in each, affording the conclusion that they are the productions of various writers, borrowing from some common original source".[92] Tod's methodologies were grounded in Enlightenment thinking, and they remained factual. At points, he interprets the Rajput landscape through a Scottish lens, using words such as 'glen', 'cairn', and 'crag'.[93] D'Souza suggests that this could be an attempt by Tod to induce a nostalgic experience for the reader, and make the faraway seem familiar.[94] Banerjee proposes that Tod recognised similarities between the Rajput clan system and the Scottish clan system, potentially making Tod more sympathetic to Rajput hardship.[95] He has been accused of romanticising the past, but D'Souza has rationalised this with her description of Tod as a "cultural intermediary", who was attempting to make his writing engrossing.[96] Tod's writing was infused with a romantic nationalism, both for Rajasthan and Scotland; the consequence of this is ambiguous, but it certainly counterbalanced many other travel histories circulating at the time.

India and the Scottish Nationalist Discourse

India quickly became Britain's most profitable colony, thus occupying a strong presence in Scottish political discourse. Martha McLaren argues that Scottish orientalists promoted British rule in India, since it had brought stability and a flourishing job market to Scotland: "This quasi-colonial vantage point allowed Munro, Malcolm and Elphinstone to believe that British rule would be beneficial to India".[97] McLaren's unionist perspective is unconvincing, and is contradicted by James Tod's genuine appreciation of the Rajput clans and his stance against British hegemony. However, she does assert that, unlike English scholars, Scottish thinkers believed that India was capable of ruling independently. Scottish Whig historians, such as David Hume and William Robertson, argued that despotism was a necessary phase in the development of a state into a constitutional monarchy.[98] This depicts how India was influencing the ways in which Scots were reflecting on their own political situation.

Adam Smith's Enlightenment ideologies were also shaped by the Scottish experience in India. Smith firmly believed that a free market and free trade would promote economic prosperity; thus, he condemned the East India Company's monopoly of trade.[99] Furthermore, he was fundamentally averse to the idea of a private company asserting colonial power over a

[90] *Ibid*., p. 102.
[91] Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1920) p. 23.
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] D'Souza, *Knowledge, Mediation and Empire: James Tod's Journeys Among the Rajputs* (2015), p. 21.
[94] *Ibid*., p. 104.
[95] Banerjee, 'How 'Dynasty 'Became a Modern Global Concept' (2020), pp. 8-9.
[96] D'Souza, *Knowledge, Mediation and Empire: James Tod's Journeys Among the Rajputs,* (2015), p. 96.
[97] Martha McLaren, 'From Analysis to Prescription: Scottish Concepts of Asian Despotism in Early Nineteenth-Century British India', *International History Review,* 15:3 (1993), pp. 500-501.
[98] *Ibid*., p. 477.
[99] Mark Donoghue, 'Adam Smith and the Honourable East India Company', *History of Economics Review*, 77:1 (2020), pp. 2-3.

nation.[100] George McGilvary convincingly argues that the wealth accumulated by the Scottish contribution to the East India Company, hindered the Jacobite movement, and helped the Whigs and Hanoverians to achieve much desired stability in Scotland.[101] Additionally, he postulates that the English government used patronage from the East India Company to foster compliance from the Scots, and harbour political popularity, from those of Jacobite heritage.[102] Evidently, India was framing British political tactics, and played a central part in the creation of a unified 'Great Britain'.

Conclusion

Crossing geographical borders in historical scholarship suppresses the danger of exceptionality caused by nation-centrism. McLaren negates any awareness of hegemony within Scottish travel histories and, instead, insists that the Scots were highlighting similarities, in an effort to create cultural proximity.[103] This notion illustrates an ignorance of power relations, and although cultural ties were forged during this period, colonialism served as their conduit. Comparison of cultures and geographies in the eighteenth century was underpinned by the belief that development was linear, yet the pace of progression differed from nation to nation.[104] This ideology that was built upon the notion of European superiority which Said, Chakrabarty, and many other historians have since detailed.

Historians are working to remove Indian history from a subaltern position in historical scholarship.[105] Indeed, the geographical comparison used in this article is reminiscent of a popular Enlightenment methodology, but this historical pursuit presents a revised approach, infused with post-colonial and conceptual theory. Indian cultures and institutions have been misconceptualised under the colonial endeavours of Scottish travellers, and the influence of India on Scottish ideologies has been frequently belittled by historians. However, if we are to *really* provincialise Europe in the historical field, a new, critical framework free from imperial baggage must be developed by a diverse party of historians. Until this postmodern approach can be realised, crossing borders in our historical narratives, in an effort to amplify the pasts of the marginalised and correct our previous misinterpretations, will certainly improve our trajectory.

[100] *Ibid*., p. 6.
[101] George McGilvary, 'The Scottish Connection with India 1725-1833', *Études Écossaises,* 14 (2011), p. 16.
[102] *Ibid*., p. 27.
[103] McLaren, 'From Analysis to Prescription' (1993), p. 492.
[104] Jeremy Black and Donald MacRaild, *Studying History* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 34-35.
[105] Chakrabarty, 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History' (1992), p. 2.

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Alastair Addison

Crossing Into the East: The Impact of British travel writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on perceptions of the Balkans

After the fall of the Iron Curtain, Yugoslavia was thrust onto the centre stage of European politics, as it became the scene of a series of ethnic conflicts and wars of independence. Not since the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand had south-eastern Europe received so much attention from the outside world. As journalists and political commentators spoke of age-old feuds and a unique Balkan propensity towards violence, the region re-entered the public imagination as the 'other' within Europe, a semi-civilised hinterland at the crossroads between East and West. In a bid to explain this sudden eruption of interethnic violence, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a leading foreign policy think tank based in the USA, republished its 1913 report on the causes of the Balkan Wars. The only real updates were the addition to the title of 'The Other Balkan Wars' and a foreword written by George Kennan, in which he wrote the following:

> What we are up against is the sad fact that developments of those earlier ages, not only those of the Turkish domination but of earlier ones as well, had the effect of thrusting into the south-eastern reaches of the European continent a salient of non-European civilization which has continued to the present day to preserve many of its non-European characteristics.[106]

It was in this context that Bulgarian historian, Maria Todorova, wrote *Imagining the Balkans*, a book that sought to address Western portrayals of the Yugoslav Wars by means of exploring a specific, historically-rooted discourse on the region, which she gives the name 'Balkanism'. Her main argument is that the 'othering' of the Balkans, a process that experienced a revival in the 1990s, has its roots in the fixed system of stereotypes constructed around it at the beginning of the twentieth century, during the peninsula's transition from Ottoman overlordship to a set of independent nation-states. Whilst many different factors contributed to the formation of this essentialist understanding of the Balkans, this essay will focus specifically on the role of nineteenth and early twentieth century British travel writing. The reason these particular parameters were chosen is that, although travellers of all different nationalities were exploring the Balkans as far back as the Middle Ages, it was during this time period and in this country that travel literature on the region was arguably most impactful.[107] First, it will explore the subject of Balkanism in greater depth, discussing the part played by British travellers in the phenomenon. Then, it will proceed to discuss how travel writers frequently misrepresented the region, setting out the problems inherent in travel literature as a mode of representation whilst giving examples of specific travellers who were, to varying degrees, culpable. A common criticism of Edward Said's thesis is that he not only failed to separate intention from effect, but he also ignored the distinction between fact and fiction; in other words, he assumed that what Westerners wrote about the East was invariably false and prejudiced, and that it necessarily had a tangible impact on public opinion. In response to this criticism, this essay will acknowledge that British travellers could – and did – write about the Balkans in a truthful and non-partisan manner, and that it was never a given that the British public would accept or adopt the perspectives expressed in contemporary travel writing.

[106] M. N. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, 1997), p. 6.
[107] *Ibid*., p. 89.

Before discussing the specific ways in which British travel writers contributed to the consolidation of Balkanism, it is useful to consider how the discourse came into being, and what sorts of views it engendered about the region. Todorova explained it as a kind of mental map produced over several centuries by travel writers, journalists, politicians, and others from outside the region, who propagated an 'array of negative stereotypes that was formed gradually....[and] crystallised in a power discourse after World War I.'[108] Although this description may be very reminiscent of Said's *Orientalism*, there are important differences between the two discourses (other than the self-evident geographical one). Firstly, the Balkans were never colonised in the same way as the area referred to by the container term 'Orient'; the largely hands-off approach of the Ottoman administration to governing its European territories could not have been more different to the heavily interventionist policies of the French and British empires. Furthermore, as Todorova has pointed out, whereas the so-called 'Orient' could be described as a direct 'Other', in the sense that it was imagined as a directly contrasting personality, the Balkan Peninsula has historically been regarded more as an 'incomplete self' — an infantile reflection of Europe, stuck in an age of medieval feudalism.[109]

One important characteristic of Balkanism is its insistence that everything negative about Europe can be derived from the Balkans, transforming it into what Todorova calls a 'repository of negative characteristics'. For instance, in his book, *Balkan Ghosts,* Robert Kaplan went so far as to trace the origin of Nazism to the region, citing the apparent prevalence there of genocide and ethnic cleansing.[110] On a similar note, Mark Mazower remarked upon the fact that violence in the Balkan Peninsula is not judged in the same light as that in the rest of Europe; where European violence is controlled, as in the case of Nazi concentration camps, Balkan violence is seen through the prism of primitivity and oriental bloodthirstiness, a perception that solidified during the turbulent Balkan Wars.[111] This notion, he argues, stems in part from the way that nineteenth century nationalists, caught up in the often artificial process of nation-building, would feed Western observers with evidence of their peoples' bloodthirstiness, through their creation of historical myths, which invented, or else dramatised, episodes of violent interethnic conflict.[112]

Mazower exposes the fallacy of this Western viewpoint by demonstrating that, far from being the channelling of a primeval Balkan disposition, the violence that erupted in the region prior to the First World War was the product of European nationalism, exacerbated by botched Western intervention in the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin.[113] It was, in part, by inventing a set of specifically Balkan characteristics that Western Europe was able to construct a self-congratulatory image of itself, characterised by democracy, economic progress, peaceful coexistence, and civility. An essential component of this process, Todorova argues, was the creation of certain words and names, such as the political Schimpfwort 'Balkanisation', that reinforce a pejorative image of the region that contrasts with that of Europe. One example she provides is that of the American journalist, Paul Scott Mower, who, in 1920, defined Balkanisation as follows:

> the creation, in a region of hopelessly mixed races, of a medley of small states with more or less backward populations, economically and financially weak, covetous,

[108] M. N. Todorova, *Scaling the Balkans* (Leiden, 2018), p. 89.
[109] *Ibid*., p. 204.
[110] Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 133; 188.
[111] Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History* (New York, 2000), p. 149.
[112] *Ibid*., p. 53.
[113] *Ibid*., p. 148.

> intriguing, afraid, a continual prey to the machinations of the great powers, and to the violent promptings of their own passions.[114]

In the final chapter of her book, Todorova highlights another important point, namely that the looming presence in Europe of the Ottoman Empire — which at one point penetrated as far as Hungary — led West Europeans to equate the Balkans with the more well-recognised 'other' that was the 'alien' Islamic world.[115]

Vesna Goldsworthy has identified another facet of the Balkanist discourse, tracing Western perceptions of the Balkans to certain influential works of British literature, such as Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and Anthony Hope's *Prisoner of Zenda.* Such writers, she argues, capitalised on the area's geographical proximity, coupled with its perceived sense of mystery, to produce literary works that crafted a view of the Balkans as essentially different from the rest of Europe. Meanwhile, in a similar vein to Mark Mazower, Timothy Snyder emphasised the impact of potent historical events on the formation of a Balkanist discourse, explaining how the assassination of Franz Ferdinand stirred fear and ill-feeling among the British public towards a part of the world that, while so little known and seemingly detached from European life, had the ability to spark a devastating continental war.[116]

Another prominent feature of Balkanism is its exaggeration of the negative legacy of Ottoman domination, which is deemed to have held back economic and industrial progress in the region and stimulated its allegedly innate barbarity. The archaeologist Robert Munro illustrated this unshakeable bias against the Ottomans when he made the dubious assertion that Bosnia was transformed, as if overnight, from barbarism to 'a model object-lesson to the civilised world' after it was transferred to Austro-Hungarian rule in 1908.[117] As Todorova argues, the Ottoman legacy in the real, material sense finished prior to WW1. In other words, little remained in the way of Ottoman institutions, laws, and economic models once the Balkan states had gained their independence. What persisted was the legacy of perception; that is, the way that both Western observers and even Balkan nationalists routinely blamed the long period of Ottoman rule for any perceived deficiencies in the region's social, political, and economic structures.[118]

In approaching travel literature as an instrument of Balkanism, it is important to separate fact from fiction. On the one hand, as will be explained further on, travel writing, especially in such 'exotic' parts of the world as the Balkans and the Middle East, often relied on rhetorical devices like hyperbole to attract a wide audience, meaning that any observations could easily be clouded by their use of language. On the other hand, travel writers could make very clear-sighted observations free of any discernible bias, so their writings should not simply be discarded across the board as the product of an in-built Anglo-centrist worldview.[119] Furthermore, as Božidar Jezernik points out, it is important to realise the limitations of trying to impose truths in place of biased travellers' accounts, especially given the additional challenge posed by the historic voicelessness of the Balkan peoples.[120] Edward Said's

[114] M. N. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, 1997), p. 7.
[115] *Ibid*., p. 162.
[116] Timothy Snyder and Katharine Younger, *The Balkans as Europe* (Rochester, 2019), p. 118.
[117] Robert Munro, *Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 395.
[118] M. N. Todorova, *Scaling the Balkans*, p. 71.
[119] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe* (Stanford, 1994), p. 356.
[120] Božidar Jezernik, *Wild Europe* (London, 2004), p. 20.

conjecture in relation to the Middle East that travellers 'could think about it, with very little resistance on the Orient's part' applies equally to the Balkans.[121]

With the advent of railways, travelling across Europe became far easier, and the creation of the Orient Express, stretching from Berlin to Constantinople, made travel to the Balkans a relatively new possibility. The first, and perhaps most notable, British visitor was Lord Byron, who stoked the philhellenic movement of the 1820s when he embarked on a tour of Greece and Albania, and subsequently lost his life in the Greek War of Independence. Carl Thompson attests to the singular importance of Byron in establishing a trend for travel in the Balkans, explaining that 'much nineteenth-century travel writing is... haunted by a sense of belatedness, of travelling in the footsteps of earlier, more illustrious travellers.'[122]

The role of travel literature should not be underestimated. Travel writers functioned as 'latter-day journalists', playing a considerable part in shaping public opinion.[123] Their works were also generally popular, as demonstrated by the Annual Review of 1820, in which it states that travel literature was 'perhaps the best calculated to excite a strong and general interest in the reading part of the community'.[124] By the end of the century, the works of Sir John Gardner Wilkinson and Arthur J. Evans in particular had spread a strong, if flawed, awareness of the region among the British public.[125] It is also worth noting that little was offered in the way of historical accounts to counterbalance the hold of travel writing, with many British historians taking the same disinterested attitude in the region as G. M. Trevelyan: 'I know nothing about the Balkans, and know no Balkan language. And the Balkan peoples *all* lie like [the] Devil.'[126] Whilst it is impossible to gauge the extent to which the perceptions expressed in nineteenth and early twentieth century travelogues have remained the same since they were produced, it is fair to say that the absence of a continuous body of literature surrounding the region, coupled with the relative voicelessness of its inhabitants, has meant that travel accounts have a particular potency in the case of the Balkans.[127] If Barbara Jelavich's assertion is true that the region 'usually impinged on the Western consciousness only when it has become the scene of wars', then we can say with some confidence that, prior to the Yugoslav conflicts, popular perceptions of the region had been frozen in time since the beginning of the First World War.[128]

Not only was travel literature highly influential but it was also, crucially, highly problematic, both in terms of who produced it and for what purpose. Firstly, there is the issue of political bias: travel writers often reflected contemporary British foreign policy, which for the greater part of the nineteenth century centred around support for the Ottomans, meaning that the Christian Slav population was generally looked upon somewhat unfavourably. Secondly, travel literature as a form of representation is intrinsically flawed because those who produce it are often driven more by a need to excite than to inform.[129] The scope for excitement and adventure was commonly associated with the Balkans in particular, with H. H. Munro writing that 'the Balkans have long been the last surviving shred of happy hunting-ground for the

[121] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), p. 7.
[122] Carl Thompson, *Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2019), p. 121.
[123] Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 64.
[124] Thompson, *Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing*, p. 110.
[125] Jezernik, *Wild Europe*, p. 14.
[126] Joseph M. Hernon, 'The Last Whig Historian and Consensus History: George Macaulay Trevelyan, 1876-1962', in *The American Historical Review*, 81:1 (1976), p. 76.
[127] Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 1.
[128] Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans* (Cambridge, 1983), p. ix.
[129] Thompson, *Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing*, p. 110.

adventurous'.[130] By contrast, the 'stale civilisation' that was Western Europe offered no such rewards.[131] Hyperbole was an inevitable by-product of this adventurist streak, as epitomised by the writer Harry de Windt in his description of Bosnia: 'The remoter districts are, as of yore, hotbeds of outlawry and brigandage, where you must travel with a revolver in each pocket and your life in your hand.'[132]

Sometimes travel literature could verge on fiction, combining what Sarah McArthur describes as the 'narrator's 'lived' perception' with the scope for invention that is the essence of the novel.[133] Tying in with these notions of adventure and invention is the tendency among travel writers to embellish the sense of contrast to home, which, according Andrew Hammond, is the raison d'être of the travelogue.[134] All of these qualities were exacerbated by the emergence, in the late eighteenth century, of the Romanticist movement, whose appreciation for the bygone medieval period manifested itself in the Balkans as a deliberate hunt for chivalry, exoticism, and tribalism. The warrior-like Montenegrins in particular captured the attention of a great many romantic poets and writers, who in turn painted a fantastical picture of the Balkan mountains as home to pure, primitive peoples, untainted by outside influence.[135] Travellers would also, naturally enough, enter the region with a grid of prior expectations, constructed from an over-reliance on the reports of previous travellers, which they tended to reinforce far more than they challenged.

Edward Lear, an author who was most well-known for his children's nursery rhymes, was no exception. He was an unusual case in that he came to the Balkans not as a diplomat, journalist, or adventurer, but as a landscape painter, and, as such, he was far less concerned with the peoples and cultures of the region than he was with the scenery. The diaries he kept of his journey through Greece and into Albania present his admiration for the tremendous natural beauty, enhanced by the relative absence of built-up areas. However, the literary style that Lear employed in his diaries allowed for the projection of his own preconceptions about the place, such as in the description of his arrival in the port city of Thessaloniki; he writes of the 'ominous silence, the sultry, oppressive melancholy'.[136] The use of the senses is as much a feature of the novel as it is the travelogue, and it often says more about the writer themselves than it does the places or people they are describing. Silence is the same everywhere, and it has no describable qualities, yet Lear chose to attach the word 'ominous' to it, ostensibly because it expressed his sense of fear upon entering a new, unfamiliar region which had long been shrouded in mystery. Likewise, he writes: 'The skodra Albanians have the reputation of excessive ferocity and turbulence; and to say truth, their countenances do not belie the report.'[137] Clearly, Lear's interaction with the local people was shaped by the string of prejudices already attached to the Albanians, and he reinforced this bias through reference to something entirely insubstantial, namely the look on their faces. Such observations, intended to act as proof of certain peculiar local characteristics, are also evident in the works of many other travel writers.

[130] H. H. Munro, 'The Cupboard of the Yesterdays', in *Toys of Peace* (London, 1919), p. 267.
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] Harry de Windt, *Through Savage Europe* (London, 1907), p. 15.
[133] Sarah McArthur, 'Being European: Russian Travel Writing and the Balkans, 1804-1877', PhD dissertation (UCL, 2010).
[134] Andrew Hammond, 'The Debated Lands', PhD dissertation (Warwick, 2002), p. 17.
[135] Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania* (Yale, 1998), p. 30.
[136] Edward Lear, *Journals of a Landscape Painter in Greece and Albania* (London, 1988), p. 7.
[137] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Further calling into question the accuracy of many Balkan travelogues is the fact that the majority of those who wrote them were members of the English upper-class — many on their post-Oxbridge Grand Tour — whose socioeconomic position meant that they were especially shocked by the comparative poverty of life in the Balkans. The American writer, Rebecca West — one of the more objective travel writers associated with the Balkans — was very scornful of such writers, launching a virulent attack on them in her book *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*: 'he [the upper-class Englishman] condemned them [the people of the Balkans] as he condemned the inhabitants of the new industrial hells in Lancashire and Yorkshire, who insisted on smelling offensively, drinking gin to excess, and being rough and rude.'[138] Harry de Windt's account of travelling through Bosnia does little to deflect such harsh criticism; for example, he contrasted 'the innate courtesy and pleasant manners of our Austrian fellow-passengers' with those of the 'impolite' and 'boorish' Bosnians.[139]

However, although British travellers in south-eastern Europe were often upper-class, they came with, or developed later on, a range of different viewpoints. On one side, there were Turkophiles, who had, or else came to have, a deep affinity for the Muslim Turks. On the other were the Russophiles, whose Russian sympathies translated into a strong bias in favour of the Christian Slav population. There was also a split between supporters of Benjamin Disraeli and his rival, William Gladstone. From the second half of the nineteenth century right through to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, a critical and divisive issue loomed over the British Government: the Eastern Question. At the root of the Eastern Question was the fear that the Ottoman Empire — the Sick Man of Europe — might collapse at any moment, allowing for the unchecked rise of Imperial Russia. The Balkans were essential to this problem, as the Russians showed a great interest in the struggles for independence among the Slavs, who made up a substantial proportion of the region's population. Disraeli, also faced with the threat of Russian manoeuvres in the Crimea and Central Asia, gave his full support to the Ottomans, whose continued presence in the region would ensure that Russian overtures towards the Slavs could be counteracted. Gladstone, on the other hand, took a more moralistic stance, arguing that, while Russia was indeed a threat to British interests, it was Britain's duty to free the people of the Balkans from Ottoman oppression, and that, in any case, the Christian Slavs' alliance with Russia was solely a means to an end, namely that of gaining independence. British travellers covered both stances, but what was common to all of them — with very few exceptions — was a shared sense of the Balkans as backwards and essentially different from the rest of Europe. Whilst the pro-Gladstone camp was sympathetic towards the Christian Slavs, they were nonetheless influenced by a post-Enlightenment notion of stages of progress, viewing them as an inferior race, not conforming to the 'standards of behaviour devised as normative by and for the civilized world.'[140] Therefore, not only was travel literature on the Balkans of dubious accuracy, but, regardless of their specific political allegiances, British travel writers conformed to those perceptions of the region that viewed it as semi-civilised and semi-European, grounded in a far earlier stage of development.

Another noticeable feature of nineteenth and early twentieth century travel accounts of south-easter Europe is their emphasis on a sudden and dramatic change from civilisation to semi-civilisation. Alexander Kinglake, for example, maintained that the East, with its connotations of primitivity and backwardness, began at Belgrade, thus arbitrarily severing the lands south

[138] Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (New York, 1969), p. 1095.
[139] De Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 17.
[140] Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 3.

of Hungary from the rubric of European civilisation.[141] Similarly, James Fraser remarked upon crossing the Danube that 'It was like quitting the living for the dead.'[142] While it is difficult to determine how far this notion of a clear-cut separation between enlightenment and savagery made its way from the minds of travel writers into the public imagination, Vesna Goldsworthy provides evidence of its adoption in British literature, such as when *Dracula's* Jonathan Harker writes in his diary, 'farewell to the known world' as he passes through Budapest.[143]

British travellers also contributed to an essentialist understanding of the Balkans by overlooking things that did not fit into a preconceived 'Balkan mould' — that is, the repository of images and representations built up around the region from centuries of partial observation. If something did not conform with their expectations of Balkan culture, British travellers would frequently reject it as 'not Balkan enough'. Božidar Jezernik talks about how one traveller, when invited to dinner by a local family, was surprised to see them eating with knives and forks, an observation he ridiculed as a pathetic attempt at 'proof of civilisation'.[144] Another example can be found in W. Peacock's description of the town of Shkodër in Albania: 'the old life will pass away to be replaced by a bastard civilisation which will form a thin veneer over the true manners and customs of the people, just as it does in the other Balkan capitals.'[145] Contrary to what might be expected from British observers, to whom the virtues of freedom and progress were articles of faith, any sign of economic and material prosperity was viewed as suspect and, in some cases, undesirable; the romanticists among them were there to see mountain warriors, not Europeanised civic buildings. De Windt epitomises this romantic predilection for fantasy over progress when he remarks: 'With Serajevo I was disappointed, partly because its beauties had been exaggerated, partly on account of its prim German appearance, which is quite out of keeping with this picturesque Eastern land.'[146]

This legacy of essentialism left by British travel writers is in part a consequence of the sheer complexity of the Balkan Peninsula. As the difficulties of understanding and explaining the region became increasingly clear over the course of their journeys, travellers would exhibit a growing sense of their own inadequacy as commentators, especially given the relatively short time frame they were travelling within.[147] Due to the lack of accountability in terms of fact-checking against scholarly historical sources, it was easy for travellers to reduce this complexity, or else frame things as beyond the comprehension of outsiders, such as in their explanations of interethnic disputes.

Mary Edith Durham is an interesting example of a traveller who, whilst making a point of trying to portray the people she encountered objectively, inadvertently contributed to the process of essentialising the Balkans. As a strong-willed and independent-minded woman who had experienced the stifling elitism of Victorian society, she was uniquely sympathetic to the Albanians, who were marginalised both within the Balkans and in Europe as a whole.[148] However, while there is evidence of her genuine fondness for Albanian culture, she also made some clear generalisations. For instance, she stated that 'the modern Albanian is the more or

[141] Michael Ezekiel Gasper, Michael E. Bonine and Abbas Amanat (eds.), *Is There a Middle East: The Evolution of a Geopolitical Concept* (Stanford, 2011), p. 17.
[142] Jezernik, *Wild Europe*, p. 29.
[143] Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, p. 79.
[144] Jezernik, *Wild Europe*, p. 52.
[145] *Ibid*., p. 221.
[146] De Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 96.
[147] Jezernik, *Wild Europe*, p. 27.
[148] Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, p. 167.

less direct descendant of the primitive savage people of the Balkans is a fact which, I believe, no one now disputes,' before remarking that 'history in the Balkan Peninsula repeats itself with surprising regularity'.[149] The threadbare evidence she used in support of her theories on Balkan history is epitomised by her use of the Albanian expression 'Shykar koke etrashb' (thick-headed Scythian) to demonstrate the ancient hostility between Bulgaria and Albania, raising the question of whether the term 'hun' used by British soldiers during the First World War is evidence of an age-old British hatred for the Germans.[150]

Travelogues 'narrate the crossing of boundaries but they also provoke reflection on how those boundaries are constructed, both by the travellers themselves and by the wider world.'[151] Alex Drace- Francis' statement not only ties in nicely with the overall theme of this year's *Historical Journal*, but it also perfectly summarises the subject of this essay. It has explored the way in which travellers in the Balkans contributed, among a host of other factors, to the consolidation in the British imagination of an essential divide between the Balkans and the rest of Europe, replete with such dichotomies as civilisation and barbarity, and progress and regression. Whilst Balkanism as a discourse in its own right is, in many ways, independent of, and less prominent than Orientalism, the impact that Western Europeans had on popular understandings of the Balkans should not be underestimated. 'The gaze of intellectual mastery, posing as puzzlement', of which British travellers in the Balkans were, to varying degrees, guilty, has allowed for the spread of a reductive discourse surrounding the region, which paints a portrait of a violent, backwards, and tribalistic backwater held back by centuries of Ottoman rule.[152] The problems of British and, more broadly, Western representations of the Balkans are, according to Jezernik, still present: 'the Turk may no longer be terrible, the Balkans no longer wild and Islam no longer exotic, but the themes of culture conflict continue to be very much with us.'[153]

[149] Mary Edith Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans* (London, 1905), pp. 13; 17.
[150] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[151] A. Drace-Francis, 'Travel Writing from Eastern Europe.' in N. Das & T. Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge 2019), p. 205.
[152] Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p. 21.
[153] Jezernik, *Wild Europe*, p. 14.

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Sahil Bhagat

Agents of Empire: South Asian Migrants in Colonial Malaya

In 1786, the British East India Company established one of its earliest colonies in Southeast Asia and marked the beginning of 170 years of British colonial rule in Malaysia. Penang was the first of many settlements established by the British to expand their influence in colonial Malaya (former name of Malaysia). This event projected the expansion of British colonial influence and authority throughout the Malaysian Peninsula, Singapore, and Borneo. However, upon investigating the historiography, the perspectives are arguably dated. As Anthony Milner argues, Southeast Asia's history, although not entirely pro-British, appears to contain predominantly 'colonial' perspectives.[154] This characterisation reflects the agency allotted to British advisors, regents, and bureaucracy in the colonial Malayan story without a recognition of lesser known but equally important actors: migrant and native communities. This understanding of Malaysia's colonial past provides an overly simplistic analysis of both the nature of and the processes defining colonisation in Southeast Asia. It assumes that the consolidation and maintenance of power came solely from the annexation of territory, the posting of overseeing residents, and the establishment of colonial bureaucracy. Colonialism is not a process that can be simply accredited to a single individual or bureaucracy; it was a hierarchical system involving a multitude of willing and unwilling actors. In the case of British Malaya, migrant communities were one of those unwilling actors that served the imperial system, motivated mostly by a desire to provide better lives for themselves, not by a notion of imperial responsibility or citizenship. This essay will address the role of Indian migrants in the consolidation of colonial rule in British Malaya. The migrant experience was not only marked by the physical crossing of boundaries, but also contributed to the shifting of Malaya's political and economic boundaries.

Kali Pani: The Crossing of Black Waters

Before attempting to get into the crux of analysis, this essay will begin by providing historical context for the nature of Indian immigration to Southeast Asia. Pre-colonial Malaysia was divided by an array of sultanates, each with their own administration and political boundaries.[155] The peninsula was a valuable trade entrepot and a port for diverse cultural exchange of states between China and the Arab world. Chinese traders sold tea, silk, and porcelain, Arab traders arrived with rosewater, pearls, and incense and even Malay sultanates traded timber, tin, and fruits.[156] By the sixteenth century, European powers began to emerge in Malaysia, with the British acquiring Penang (1786) and the Portuguese and Dutch annexing Malacca (1511 and 1641 respectively).[157]

Migrants who crossed the maritime boundaries towards Southeast Asia oftentimes did so at the expense of their religious beliefs and their personal freedoms. *Kala Pani* – 'the black water' – was the unnerving title given to the ocean by Indian societies.[158] Within Hinduism, the South Asian subcontinent represented the apex of spiritual civilization, one could conduct their ritual

[154] Anthony Milner, 'Colonial Records History: British Malaya', *Modern Asian Studies,* 21:4 (1987), pp. 773-774.
[155] Barbara Andaya and Leonard Andaya, *A History of Malaysia* (London, 1982), pp. 44-51.
[156] *Ibid.,* p. 24.
[157] *Ibid.,* pp. 55-69.
[158] Brij Lal, 'Indian indenture: experiment and experience', in Joya Chatterji and David Washbrook (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of the South Asian Diaspora* (New York, 2013), p. 79.

obligations and remain within the reincarnation cycle if they remained on the subcontinent.[159] The crossing of the ocean (kala pani) meant a disconnection from their religious responsibilities and rituals, severing a core element of their social status and identity.[160] Migration was also an act of desperation for some. Petty convicts who were convicted in British courts were given the choice of the death penalty or forced resettlement.[161] Some poorer communities were forced to migrate to create new lives for themselves amidst unequal British land taxation schemes that displaced farmers from their land.[162]

The demographics of migrants changed as British rule oversaw several waves of migration. Bengali convicts from India's eastern provinces were the first to arrive, as skilled and unskilled labour was required to construct and maintain early East India Company settlements.[163] The expansion of British territorial authority oversaw the migration of Punjabi Sikhs from India's northwestern provinces, working as military personnel and police officers.[164] However, Tamil- and Telugu-speaking migrants from the southern Madras Presidency formed the largest demographic of the migrant Indian population. Their transportation was to facilitate the growing demand for plantation labourers and, by the time of Malaysian independence in 1957, they accounted for the majority of the Malaysian Indian population.[165]

Company ke Naukar: The Coolies of Penang

No single individual can truly be accredited to the arduous task of establishing British settlements in Malaya. The acquisition and subsequent settlement of Penang is the prime example of this argument. Captain Francis Light acquired Penang for the British in 1786, undertaking negotiations with the Sultan of Kedah who was thenceforth promised protection from invasions from the Northern Siamese kingdoms and from internal rebellion by the immigrant Bugi population.[166] When Light arrived, Penang was largely barren, with little settlement other than a few remote villages. Its centre was mountainous and jungle-filled, while on the outskirts, the island was covered in dense swamp and marsh, providing minimal arable land and freshwater supplies.[167] Indian 'coolie' labour became an integral tool in reshaping Malaya's political boundaries and establishing British presence. Although Light is accredited for the diplomatic acquisition of the territory, the task of constructing a British settlement namely fell upon the immigrant Indian population.

In order to actually construct and maintain a settlement in Penang, convicts from the Bengal Presidency became an essential workforce that the British relied heavily upon for survival. Initially, migrants were supposed to work as cheap labour, assisting in construction and infrastructure development. However, British administrators realised that convicts were vital for their survival on the island as they were the sole skilled workforce available. The convicts'

[159] Brinda Mehta, 'Indianites francophones: Kala Pani Narratives', *L'Espirit Createur* 50:2 (2010), pp. 1-2.
[160] *Ibid.,* pp. 1-2
[161] Anand Yang, 'Indian Convict Workers in Southeast Asia in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal of World History* 14:2 (June 2003), pp. 196-197.
[162] Lal, 'Indian Indenture', p. 86.
[163] Commons and Lords Libraries, 'House of Commons Debate 13 April 1858, vol 149, cc986-996', *Hansard 1803-2005,* <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1858/apr/13/correspondence-moved-for> {accessed 20 February 2021}.
[164] Carl Belle, *Tragic Orphans: Indians in Malaysia* (Singapore, 2015), pp. 141-142.
[165] Kernial Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya: Immigration and Settlement 1786-1957* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 162.
[166] Joseph Kennedy, *A History of Malaya: A.D. 1400-1959* (London, 1962), pp. 69-77.
[167] George Leith, *A Short Account of Settlement, Produce and Commerce of Prince of Wales Island in the Straits of Malacca* (London, 1805), pp. 17-24.

primary occupation was in public works as they drained swamps to create habitable land for settlement.[168] From the cleared swamps, 'coolie' labour was used to fashion British colonial infrastructure, including government offices, courthouses, police offices, roads, communication lines, and hospitals.[169] Soon, Penang saw an influx of skilled convicts who would be tasked with operating these newly built facilities. By 1818, convicts were employed in various tasks; 200 worked as roadbuilders, 45 were supply managers in warehouses, 15 worked as storekeepers, 45 acted as customs officers and 100 worked as labourers for the European population.[170] Convicts who displayed good behaviour were even designated as local police officers, maintaining law and order amongst the convicts and the European population.[171] Recognising this elevation in social status, these labourers dropped the convict label and began calling themselves *Company ke Naukar* (Worker for the Company).[172] Early governors, such as Francis Light and George Leith, made frequent requests for more convicts to be sent to the colony, acknowledging the essential 'public service' they provided as the colony's current survival and future development depended on their labour.[173]

This element of colonialism is oftentimes left out of the colonial narrative, to be replaced by grandiose stories of individual bravery and intelligence. In literature surrounding the construction of Penang, the narrative tends to assign agency to the prowess of Francis Light, its founder and first governor.[174] It highlights the importance of his leadership in constructing the colony and transforming it into a successful trading entrepot.[175] The process of territorial acquisition in southeast Asia under his leadership is viewed as a great diplomatic game, where British successes can attributed to great diplomatic engagements, the movement of armies, and signing of treaties.[176] This view is an oversimplistic understanding of power accumulation, overlooking the multitude of actors who were present in the process. Upon further investigation, Francis Light was fairly distant from the colonial administration of Penang as he was absent for most of his tenure as Governor.[177] He relied extensively on established Tamil business communities as intermediaries with the local Malay sultanates and Indian 'coolie' labourers and mercenary soldiers to ensure the survival of the British expeditionary party.[178] Although not traditionally recognised, migrant labourers were essential members of the British imperial community, reshaping Malaya's territorial boundaries to facilitate the expansion of British territorial rule.

Raja Rubber: The Transformation of the Malayan Economy

Indian migrants were not only valuable for the reshaping of Malaya's political boundaries, as they facilitated the transformation of Malaysia's economic boundaries to suit the needs of an industrialising West. Indian migration became a tool to facilitate the transformation of

[168] Yang, 'Convict Workers', p. 200.
[169] *Ibid.*
[170] *Ibid.*
[171] *Ibid.*
[172] *Ibid.,* p. 183.
[173] *Ibid.,* pp. 195-199.
[174] L. A. Mills, Constance Turnbull, D. Bassett, 'British Malaya 1824-67', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 33:3 (1960), pp. 36-40.
[175] *Ibid.,* pp. 39-40.
[176] *Ibid.,* pp. 40-42.
[177] Sunil Amrith, 'Tamil Diasporas in the Bay of Bengal', *American Historical Review* 114:3 (2009), p. 550.
[178] *Ibid.*

Malaysia's economy from a trade-centred maritime economy to one centred on the export of cash crops such as rubber, coffee, and palm oil.

Although the peninsula began its economic predominance as a trading entrepot, rapid industrialisation in Europe and North America during the nineteenth century reduced the need for intermediary ports between China and the Arab world. Steamships and refrigeration prevented the need for frequent resupply, while European presence disrupted regional Asian trade, redirecting trade of agricultural produce towards Europe.[179] Malacca and Penang as intermediary port destinations became mostly unnecessary. Additionally, European and American manufacturers began to require more raw materials to fuel the industrial process. Malaya's transformation into a plantation-based economy came out of a desire to support the increasing demand for rubber. Automobiles were in high demand; however, neither Europe nor North America had the necessary rubber supply to produce automobile tyres.[180] Rubber was only grown in hot and damp climates, such as the Brazilian Amazon and Southeast Asia, where climates were optimal for rubber tree growth.

The indenture system proved to be an essential tool for the British to supply rubber plantations with a reliable and cheap workforce. Following the abolition of slavery, Britain had to find cheap labour without engaging in outright practices of forced labour.[181] The local Malay population proved unwilling to engage in such arduous labour under a foreign power for such low wages.[182] The migrant Chinese population was undesirable, due Britain's lack of control over their migration and perceived 'profit-maximising desires'.[183] The Indian population was more desirable, due to Britain's ability to control their migration flows and working conditions. Britain's well-established authority over the subcontinent meant that they had much more control over the structure of Indian migration compared to the migrant Chinese or Malay population. Through the indenture system, migration numbers, conditions, wages, working hours, travel destinations, and punishments were all institutionalised under strict legislation.[184] Additionally, Indians were viewed as 'docile' compared to the Malays and Chinese, able to work very arduous conditions for very low wages without complaint.[185]

The institutionalisation of indenture and nature of control the British held over the migrant population arguably contributed to the profitability of the Malayan rubber industry. Malaya's rubber industry was dependent upon an incredibly cheap and reliable source of labour, and this structure sustained its profitability. The reliance on Indian labour is evident when investigating the amount of profit brought in by the industry and the nature of its expansion. By 1957, rubber exports accounted for 59% of Malaya's exports and 50% of the world's rubber production.[186] Commercial rubber plantations began to be established in the 1890s, with 109,000 hectares of land soon being dedicated to rubber production by 1908, and 1.3 million hectares by 1957,

[179] Kennedy, *History of Malaya,* pp. 215-217.
[180] *Ibid.*
[181] Nira Wickramasinghe, 'Sojourners and Settlers: South Indians and Community Identity in Malaysia' in Crispin Bates (ed.), *Community, Empire and Migration: South Asians in Diaspora* (New York, 2001), pp. 188-189.
[182] *Ibid.,* pp. 187-188.
[183] *Ibid.,* pp. 188-190.
[184] Andaya, *History of Malaysia,* p. 213.
[185] Wickramasinghe, *Sojourners and Settlers,* p. 190.
[186] Sandhu, *Immigration and Settlement,* p. 250.

making up two-thirds of the cultivated area on the peninsula.[187] Colonial Malaya became such a vital contributor to the rubber industry that it was colloquially titled 'Raja Rubber'.[188]

From the analysis presented above, it is clear that Indian migrants were an important asset for the British, as their migration allowed for the transformation of Malaya's economic boundaries to service an industrialising West. Although Indian migrants proved vital for this transformation process, it should be recognised that this was not intentional. As mentioned before, migration was oftentimes an act of desperation, while the conditions of labour were rigidly controlled, making Indian migrants such an attractive workforce. At least within the indenture system, Indians lacked the agency to actively attempt to reshape Malaya's economic boundaries. Their labour was rather an essential tool for European and North American manufacturers to fuel the larger industrial process.

Mungkali Kwai: Enforcing British Authority in Malaya

The maintenance of British authority in colonial Malaya required soldiers and police officers. Punjabi Sikhs from the northwestern Indian province were typically recruited to the disdain of the Malaysian Chinese population, who called the Sikhs *Mungkali Kwai*, meaning "Bengali Devil."[189] Indians were commonly used as personnel in the military and police force as they effectively maintained British authority in the region.[190] This was a phenomenon that was common within British colonies in Asia as it was much cheaper than employing British troops and Indians proved to be more reliable than the indigenous populations. Indigenous populations were less likely to arrest or punish their fellow locals, due to fear of ostracisation from their local community. On the other hand, Indians held no allegiances to the local community and their perceived intimidating physical demeanour meant that locals would acquiesce to their authority.[191] The transportation of Indian troops allowed the British to facilitate territorial expansion and policing without the fear of lacking local recruitment.

The Larut Police Force is exemplary of the role of Indian officers in maintaining British authority at the disdain of Malaysian Chinese secret societies and gangs. The Larut Police Force relied heavily on the recruitment of Indian police officers to intervene in Malay and Chinese gang fighting in the strategic mining towns of Perak. One such case of infighting occurred between the Ghee Hin and Hai Sin secret societies in the 1861-74 Larut Wars, bringing the entire mining industry of Perak to a standstill.[192] The Sultan of Perak, forced to find methods of restoring stability in is kingdom, requested the assistance of the East India Company, which oversaw the use of Punjabi soldiers to raid enemy stockades, push back enemy factions, and retake the mines. In the aftermath of the Treaty of Pangkor, Indian officers maintained a presence in the region to quash future uprisings, arresting 770 secret society members on rioting charges.[193] Larut became one of the most heavily monitored regions in Malaya, with six police offices, administered by 200 Sikh guards, and 900 more officers of mainly Indian descent.[194] These officers were vital to maintaining stability in the region and

[187] Andaya, *History of Malaysia,* p. 214; Sandhu, *Immigration and Settlement*, p. 250.
[188] *Ibid.*
[189] *Ibid.,* p. 74.
[190] John Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2007), pp. 45-46.
[191] *Ibid.*
[192] Abdul Karim bin Bagoo, 'The Origin and Development of the Malay States Guides', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 35:1 (1962), pp. 53-54.
[193] *Ibid.*
[194] *Ibid.,* p. 56.

preventing further uprisings from secret societies. This allowed the British and Malay sultans to maintain their authority and extract revenue from large tin mines.

The case of the Larut Wars exemplifies the utility of Indian migrants in the shaping of Malaya's political boundaries. Soldiers were arguably the most direct face of colonial authorities for local communities. They enforced the British legal code, expanded their territorial interests, and maintained the authority of the colonial administration. Their position as the colonial authority arguably represented the changing political boundaries of the region, as political legitimacy swept away from local sultanates towards the colonial administration. However, most soldiers were arguably not motivated by a patriotic desire to expand British interests, but they still remained an integral part of the imperial hierarchy, whose willing and unwilling participation served to expand colonial interests.

Conclusion

The purpose of this essay has not been to attribute sole responsibility of imperial expansion in Malaysia to a single actor or group. On the contrary, its intention has been to induce an appreciation for the diversity of actors involved in the structures of colonial power. The Indian Malaysian community is merely one of many migrant communities that reshaped the peninsula's political and economic boundaries. The main intention of this essay was to contribute to the growing historiography concerning imperialism in Southeast Asia. Although Indian migrants mainly served within an imperial hierarchy, with limited degrees of agency, their utility should not go unrecognised. Arguing that the processes of imperial expansion and consolidation took place through simple diplomatic exchange and military expansion produces an oversimplified understanding of the colonial process. By taking a closer look at the internal structures of colonial society, a myriad of traditional and non-traditional actors appear within this discourse. Hopefully, future discourse surrounding this topic will encourage the inclusion of these non-traditional actors.

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Cultural and Linguistic Boundaries

Charmaine H. Lam

Creating Neither Citizens nor Subjects: Public Education in Late Colonial Hong Kong

> I have grown up alongside Hong Kong… Everything worth remembering in my life has happened in Hong Kong. All the education I have received has been in the Hong Kong style… I carry within me the traditions of my Chinese ancestors, yet I have absorbed Western knowledge and lifestyles. I frantically comb through the two to find something I can truly call my own, something that I see reflected in the habits and mindsets of fellow Hongkongers. As such, what I can come to call 'mine' may come to resound with my fellow Hongkongers.
> – James Wong, *James Wong Chats*, 1983.[195]

A widely accepted icon of Hong Kong's popular media and culture scene in the late colonial period, James Wong represented more than the colloquialisation of Hong Kong's media and culture. He also represented the first generation to lay down roots in the colony and grapple with the conflicting cultural identities of Chinese heritage and Western modes of thought imparted through Hong Kong's British colonial society and, particularly, its education system. This essay will examine the public education system in Hong Kong as it developed between the 1950s and the 1980s, a period during which the colonial government first started to make a consolidated effort towards education in the colony. This effort marked a policy change from the previously laissez-faire approach, where a range of education systems, from missionary schools to traditional Chinese schoolrooms, had existed without direct government interference.[196] This policy change also marked a shift in Hong Kong's demographics with the socio-political turmoil of the People's Republic of China (PRC)'s ascent to power in 1949, which saw the population of Hong Kong rise from half a million to two and a half million within ten years.[197] While stabilising Hong Kong's local population, the event also led to a tightening of the previously fluid economic, intellectual, and education borders between Hong Kong and China, setting the stage for the emergence of a consolidated education infrastructure in the colony.[198] This public education system stood at the core of the identity formation of a new generation of ethnically Chinese Hongkongers – a group with deep roots in Hong Kong, and whose identity stood firmly at the conflicting periphery of Chinese and British cultures and values. In this analysis, I will firstly consider the broader trends in colonial government policies in Hong Kong, and the role that public education plays within. I will then examine the ways in which the education system incorporated values of both Western and Chinese cultures, and navigated these differences to create a local identity that was at once conflicting and ambiguous. This public education system did not simply constitute the creation of either citizens or subjects in the colony. Rather, it lent itself to a specific vision of Hong Kong as the buffer between mainland China and the rest of the British imperial project, in a way that would hold the balance between Britain and China – in Britain's favour.

The structure of public education systems is a critical window into political and cultural control in crafting a specific identity, especially in the context of imperial history. Such approaches

[195] James Wong, "Foreword" in *James Wong Chats* (Hong Kong, 1983), p. 1.
[196] Bernard Hung-Kay Luk, "Chinese Culture in the Hong Kong Curriculum: Heritage and Colonialism," *Comparative Education* 35:4 (Nov., 1991), pp. 657-661.
[197] John M. Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Lanham, 2007), pp. 379-380.
[198] Luk, "Chinese Culture in the Hong Kong Curriculum", pp. 661-664.

have, however, largely been overlooked in this historiography, due to the topic's position at the boundary between history and education studies. Historians in particular have largely neglected the topic. While British imperial historian Ann Stoler noted the "learning of race and space" to be a particularly critical component of colonial policies in shaping "children destined to be citizens rather than subjects", she neglected to discuss the role colonial education systems and policies played in this process.[199] This may be due to the wide diversity of educational systems in place across the geographic and temporal span of the British Empire. As educationist Clive Whitehead pointed out, there is "no uniform colonial policy" on the subject of education across the Empire.[200] This does not, however, excuse the neglect of educational structures in historical analyses of specific colonies during specific time periods. When mentioned at all, the education system is an anecdotal aside, as in John Carroll's brief discussion of education while arguing the key role Chinese elites played in the formation of early colonial Hong Kong.[201]

Comparative educationist Edward Vickers discussed the tendency for historians to dismiss the history of education as a subject for educationalists, while the latter, in turn, have tended to view the topic as a peripheral area of research and focus instead on theory.[202] As such, educationalists have treated the history of education as a mere stepping stone to developing theories or advocating reform in current systems of education. This is particularly evident in treatments of Hong Kong's educational structure within education studies. Educationalists have looked to the historical development of Hong Kong's educational policies and curricula to reach conclusions about the present-day state of Hong Kong's educational system. Within this field, these analyses have largely culminated in understandings of present-day education systems in Hong Kong, such as the historical impact on present-day policies, curricula, and need for reform.[203] The insights into political forces and cultural influences that have shaped, and are shaped by, historical education structures in Hong Kong, however, point historians to the need to examine the history of education in the territory from a historical perspective. In so doing, historians will gain a clearer understanding of the imperial systems of control (or lack thereof) employed by the British Empire, as well as the priorities of the imperial project. Further, such an analysis will provide historians with a greater understanding of the cultural and political identity instilled into Hong Kong, as it sits between China and Britain, both as a part of the British Empire and in its contemporary political and cultural struggle between these two nations.

The colonial education system in Hong Kong attempted to preserve a balance between China and Britain, even after the PRC government curtailed fluid economic, intellectual, and educational exchanges across the border. Prior to this, the colonial government played no active role in education, leaving systems like missionaries and traditional Chinese schoolrooms to organise their own systems and curricula.[204] It wasn't until Hong Kong's Chinese elites began

[199] Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, 2010), p. 18.
[200] Clive Whitehead, "Education in British Colonial Dependencies, 1919-39: A Re-Appraisal," *Comparative Education* 17:1 (Mar, 1981), p. 72.
[201] John M. Carroll, "Colonial Hong Kong as a Cultural-Historical Place," *Modern Asian Studies* 40: 2 (May, 2006), pp. 521-523.
[202] Edward Vickers, *In Search of Identity: The Politics of History as a School Subject in Hong Kong, 1960s-2002*, edited by Edward Beauchamp (New York, 2003), p. 5.
[203] For example, see So Mui Ma, "Identity and the Visual Arts Curriculum in Colonial and Postcolonial Hong Kong," *Visual Arts Research* 26:1 (Summer, 2010), pp. 1-11; Luk, "Chinese Culture in the Hong Kong Curriculum", pp. 666-667.
[204] Luk, "Chinese Culture in the Hong Kong Curriculum", pp. 654-660.

to lobby the government for English-language schools for their own children that the colonial government began to invest in public education for the local population.[205] Even so, access to these schools was largely limited to the elite class. Educationist Bernard Luk argued that a colonial system of public education did not emerge until after the establishment of the PRC government in October 1949, citing the event's significance both in terms of reducing social, economic, and political connections with China, and creating a stable, locally-grounded population to lay the foundations for a more cohesive colonial public education system to develop.[206] Here, I will discuss the development of this education system, from the 1950s to the 1980s, to examine the colonial government's structural aims and the political-cultural identity which it created, which was neither wholly Chinese nor wholly British. This identity took root not only in the generation of students that received this schooling. It also firmly shaped the cultural-political identities of Hong Kong's Chinese elites as they took an active role in forming the new public education system.

To understand this, we must firstly turn to the broader trends in the colonial government's education policies in Hong Kong. These polices continued earlier efforts to "civilise" the local population, as per the imperial project, but they also illuminated the British government's broader concerns with international relations. The presence of the imperial civilising mission was evident throughout Western education systems in colonial Hong Kong, even before the colonial government came to directly oversee these projects. *The HongKong Government Gazette* of 1914, for instance, discussed the 1913 Education Ordinance, a government survey of the various schools for local children in the colony, and dedicated a section to the topic of hygiene and sanitation. This section commended improvements in the conditions of pupils' teeth, and also laid out guidelines for proper behaviour, such as the prohibition of spitting and smoking, on school premises.[207] As the colonial government shifted its attention to educational policies in the 1950s, the focus of the civilising project also took an intellectual turn. In the 1955 Legislative Council Meeting, ethnically Chinese doctor, businessman, and politician Dr Chau Sik-Nin, who served as an unofficial member of the Legislative Council, addressed said council on the topic of education policy. He emphasised the need for "schools of the right type" that "can be trusted to give a sound and unbiassed kind of teaching" to local schoolchildren in Hong Kong.[208] While this may be a natural next step in "civilising" a colonised population, the new focus on education also coincided with the growing presence of Communism in the PRC. The significant increase in Hong Kong's population in the 1950s could be largely attributed to the influx of immigrants fleeing political turmoil in mainland China. Furthermore, in the midst of the Cold War, the British government saw Hong Kong as a buffer against the spread of Chinese Communism.[209] Educationist Chak Chung went as far as to characterise public primary schools erected in the refugee-heavy neighbourhoods as "refugee camps detaining children and keeping them away from communist influences rather than a place to nurture and educate future citizens".[210] This sentiment was also present in the 1955 Legislative Council discussions, where Chau pointed to the need for the "right" type of education, so that the people

[205] For more information on this component of the Hong Kong elite's self-strengthening movement, see Carroll, "Colonial Hong Kong as a Cultural-Historical Place", pp. 521-522.
[206] Luk, "Chinese Culture in the Hong Kong Curriculum", pp. 661-664.
[207] Note 199, Government of Hong Kong, *The HongKong Government Gazette*. "Hygiene and Sanitation" (Hong Kong: Government Printer), p. 179, accessed via: https://sunzi.lib.hku.hk/hkgro/.
[208] Government of Hong Kong Legislative Council, *Official Record of Proceedings: Meeting of 23rd March 1955* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1955), p. 72.
[209] Ma, "Identity and the Visual Arts Curriculum in Colonial and Postcolonial Hong Kong", p. 2.
[210] Chak Chung and Ming Yan Ngan, "From 'Rooftop' to 'Millennium': The Development of Primary Schools in Hong Kong since 1945," *New Horizons: The Journal of Education, Hong Kong Teachers' Association,* no. 46 (2002), p. 28.

of the colony would not "feel forced to accept a baser kind, a kind that is deficient in standards and in most of the qualities that we must regard as essential in producing a clear-thinking and well-informed younger generation".[211] Following this discussion, the colonial government put in place plans to provide universal primary and secondary education to the local population within the course of a decade.[212] The efforts, then, to eliminate traces of Communist or hyper-nationalist thought stemming from China's recent political conflicts became evident through the new focus on the continued civilisation of the local population. This was a process which sought not only to create British subjects or citizens, but also to create Hong Kong citizens who would, in their unique situation, further the British international relations agenda.

The British foreign affairs agenda that drove the imperial civilising project in Hong Kong therefore resulted in an apolitical education system, as reflected in the ways in which elements of Chinese culture were treated in the curricula prescribed by the colonial government. In 1953, the Committee on Chinese Studies appointed by the government's Education Department published a report that urged "a culturalist emphasis on Chinese studies to counteract the nationalistic and revolutionary fervour in the Chinese culture textbooks from China".[213] This recommendation was particularly evident in the development of history and art curricula. In public schools, history was separated into "History" and "Chinese History."[214] While "History" adopted a Eurocentric approach after the "great tradition of history teaching in England," "Chinese History" focused on the "moral motive" – the narrative moral examples set by historical figures such as Sun Yat-Sen and Confucius.[215] Vickers pointed to the colonial education system's focus on introducing Hong Kong's ethnically Chinese students to their "heritage", which created a separation between the China of the past and the China of the present by "demonstrating the contrasts between the past and the present," highlighting the need to learn "from the mistakes of the past".[216] This further served to cultivate in Hong Kong's next generation an ambiguous identity that tended culturally and morally towards Chinese tradition, yet which rejected the present political state of China in favour of Western traditions and systems.

These conflicting allegiances were further evident in the visual arts curricula during this period, particularly in its treatment of traditional Chinese art. First drafted by British expats in 1960, government-sanctioned visual arts syllabi espoused a "negative, and sometimes mistaken, view of Chinese art", teaching students that depth perspective was entirely absent from "Oriental" paintings, and suggesting that such paintings lacked vibrancy and depth, as they used only black ink and not coloured ink.[217] By the 1980s, despite greater input from local Chinese elites on developing the visual arts curricula, and ongoing discussions between the PRC and British governments about the impending handover of Hong Kong governance, visual arts syllabi continued to promote the superiority of Western to Chinese art by encouraging students to "transform Chinese art into Western art".[218] While the treatment of Chinese culture in such history and visual arts curricula emphasised the apolitical aspects of Chinese heritage, the

[211] Government of Hong Kong Legislative Council, *Official Record of Proceedings 1955,* p. 72.
[212] Government of Hong Kong Education Department, *Handbook on Educational Policy in Hong Kong (1965-1998)*. "Education Policy (April 1965)" (Hong Kong: Government Printer, Hong Kong, 1998), p. 3.
[213] Government of Hong Kong Education Department, "Report of the Chinese Studies Committee" (Hong Kong: Government Printer), 1953.
[214] See Flora Kan and Edward Vickers, "One Hong Kong, Two Histories: 'History' and 'Chinese History' in the Hong Kong School Curriculum," *Comparative Education* 38:1 (Feb 2002), pp. 73-89.
[215] Edward Vickers, *In Search of Identity,* p. 82.
[216] Vickers, p. 83.
[217] Ma, "Identity and the Visual Arts Curriculum in Colonial and Postcolonial Hong Kong", p. 5.
[218] Ma, p. 5.

British colonial government did use these elements in conjunction with Western-centric curricula to promote the cultural and political superiority of the West, and to emphasise the present-day inadequacy of Chinese cultural elements.

As such, the experience of this education system created conflicting and ambiguous cultural-political identities, situated on the periphery of Britain and China. It was an ambiguity that was consciously crafted by the British colonial government in its approach to the education system. While bilingual and bicultural Chinese elites had emerged in Hong Kong's society from the late eighteenth century, it was not until this period that the colonial government explicitly institutionalised the creation of this identity in its education policies.[219] The Hong Kong Education Department's Chinese Studies Committee dedicated a section of its 1965 Education Policy report to recommendations for English education in the colony. The committee recognised the demand for English education, particularly due to the dependence of Hong Kong's economy on international businesses. While some committee members raised concerns over the financial cost of a universal English-medium public education, the committee unequivocally recommended imposing fully English-language learning from the age of six.[220] The colonial government then developed the framework to mould a bilingual and internationally-minded population, with the explicit aim of furthering its economic interests in the colony.

It is important here to consider the involvement of Hong Kong's Chinese elite – already established as members of the population which the colonial government sought to shape – in these conversations. John Carroll highlighted the many opportunities bilingual and bicultural Chinese elites had in helping to build and shape the infrastructure of Hong Kong's economy and even politics, albeit in an unofficial capacity.[221] In fact, Dr Chau Sik-Nin, the legislative council member who called for greater governmental involvement in building "schools of the right type" in colonial Hong Kong, was a member of this Chinese elite and unofficial member of the Legislative Council.[222] Parents recognised the value of an English-language education, and the English-medium public schools in Hong Kong were widely recognised to be the most desirable in the colony.[223] As previously discussed, this created a generation of Hongkongers rooted in the colony, but whose cultural and political affiliations were at the crossroads between China and Britain. In both his public and personal life, Cantopop artist James Wong was vocal about navigating these conflicting political sentiments and loyalties. Arriving in Hong Kong as a refugee with his family in 1949, Wong attended one of the English-medium public schools in Hong Kong and went on to produce music that drew explicitly upon traditional Chinese and Western styles.[224] He helped create a culture that has resonated with Hongkongers as one unique to Hong Kong, and it is no accident that this culture is so rooted in both British and Chinese traditions.

Thus, an examination of public education policy, prescribed syllabi, and the lived experiences and outcomes of this education system in late-colonial Hong Kong shows us the crucial role

[219] For a discussion of this Chinese elite, see Carroll, "Colonial Hong Kong as a Cultural-Historical Place".
[220] Government of Hong Kong Education Department, *Handbook on Educational Policy in Hong Kong (1965-1998)*. "Education Policy (April 1965)", pp. 6-7.
[221] Carroll, "Colonial Hong Kong as a Cultural-Historical Place", p. 541.
[222] D. Barker, "The Hon Sir CHAU Sik Nin," Presented at The Honorary Graduates' Citations: 55th Congregation (1961), University of Hong Kong, 1961.
[223] Mark Bray, "Education and Colonial Transition: The Hong Kong Experience in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Education* 33:2 (June 1997), pp. 161-163.
[224] *James Wong, Hong Kong*, RTHK; For examples of melding traditional Chinese and Western music styles, see *Hong Kong X'Mas*, produced by James Wong.

the colonial government's public education policies played in shaping the cultural-political identities and political affiliations of Hongkongers. Examining this oft-neglected topic from a historical perspective highlights the aims of the British Empire beyond the "civilising project", and even beyond the economic pursuits typically associated with imperial policies. The British colonial government's treatment of Hong Kong's public education policies created a system that sought to create neither subjects nor citizens of the British Empire, but rather, Chinese-British Hongkongers who would further Britain's own agenda in East Asia to curtail the ambitions of Communist China. The result was a generation of Hongkongers rooted only in the territory – neither in China nor Britain – with an ambiguous sense of belonging. This is important not just to Britain's imperial history, but also to Hong Kong's own history; it lays the foundations for furthering our understanding of the historical development of a unique identity as Hong Kong continues, in the present day, to navigate its position on the periphery of China and Britain.

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James Samuel

Eavesdropping or Chinese whispers? Considering linguistic filters across time in heresy deposition records from late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Languedoc

> The facts of history never come to us "pure", since they do not and cannot exist in a pure form: they are always refracted through the mind of the recorder[225]
> – E. H. Carr.

> Bishop Fournier's notaries recorded in Latin the vernacular depositions of some hundred witnesses […] speaking with remarkable freedom to the *nearest medieval equivalent of a tape-recorder*[226] – Alexander Murray.

Introduction

The above quotations represent two conflicting understandings of the reliability of written historical evidence. The first was written by E. H. Carr in his musings on the relationship between the historian and their 'facts' in *What is History?*. The implication is that the information we receive from historical documents can be so distorted by filters that they can tell us only about the contents of the document itself. The second was written by Alexander Murray and focuses on the use of deposition records from heresy inquisitions in the Languedoc in southern France. It was part of his justification for his anthropological use of fourteenth-century deposition records taken in the diocese of Pamiers. The remark suggests that historical testimony can be read literally, despite its flaws. Which of these understandings of the historian's profession is more accurate? Which is more useful? On first encounter, depositions seem to offer a unique chance to listen to the long-dead at first hand. On closer inspection, however, we find that these documents have crossed numerous boundaries and been subject to filters before we see them. With a focus on the deposition records from late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Languedoc, this essay will outline the filters to which such documents have been subject since their creation. It will argue that the earlier positivist methodology should be avoided in favour of one which approaches sources more critically. Instead, a source critical analysis of deposition records is revealing of implicit power imbalances, social relations, and mentalities. This essay will first analyse the flaws in this positivist methodology by showing how the creation of these sources leads to the erection of linguistic boundaries. It will then explain the flaws in this methodology by analysing the best known monograph to employ such a methodology – Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou*.[227] This will demonstrate how different approaches to linguistic boundaries can lead to varied analyses of and conclusions about medieval society in Languedoc.

[225] E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (2nd Ed., London, 1990), p. 22.

[226] Alexander Murray, 'Time and Money,' in Miri Rubin (ed.), *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 7. My italics.

[227] Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294-1324*, trans. Barbara Bray (London, 1980).

Problematising Positivism

Instead of representing faithful echoes, the deposition records hold a dialogue that has been altered numerous times on its way to us. That which we encounter most immediately is the filter of language. During the inquisitorial process, those questioned by the inquisitor gave their original answers in Occitan, the vernacular dialect of the Languedoc. The notary created a record of their testimonies in Latin, which was then read back to the accused in the vernacular for approval before being rewritten in Latin for the final register entry.[228] The documents available to historians are thus not transcripts, but later redactions into a more literary, third-person, question-and-answer form with opportunities for condensing the record.[229] This has two impacts. The first regards the differences in mode of expression between the two spoken languages. In her review of *Montaillou*, Natalie Zemon Davis outlined the impact of this first layer of translation, 'from a mother tongue to the language of the clerics,' has on our understanding of expressions and mentalities from the period.[230] She proposes that certain intimate expressions or understandings of concepts and abstracts, such as the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, is easier to express in a mother tongue and thus loses its power when encountering a new mode of language.[231]

The second relates to power and coercion in the inquisitorial procedure. In this case, we can understand language as a sign of social self-awareness and self-consciousness. This is not to argue that the individual placed in front of an inquisitor created a situation in which the former's agency, subjectivity, and knowledge of their own self-interest were destroyed by a ruthless and learned interrogator.[232] The accused could act tactically, understanding when to reveal certain details and when to hide them. Yet, it was also not the case that the individual could speak freely, returning to the form of speech they would hold in their village with their friends. This was argued by Zemon Davis in the review mentioned above.[233] She claims that those giving their depositions spoke in a manner similar to how they would conduct ordinary conversation in an oral society. However, this discounts the psychology of linguistics and the effect of environment on discourse. The manner in which individuals communicate varies depending on the social context in which the conversation takes place.[234] This could shape both the selective memory of the accused, and also the phraseology they used to communicate their answers to the inquisitor.[235] The psychology of power imbalances still did not *force* the accused to answer in a certain way, but it certainly affected their decision-making regarding language.

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[228] Caterina Bruschi, ''Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem': Precautions before Reading Doat 21-26,' in Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller (eds.), *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy* (York, 2003), p. 87.

[229] John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 75.

[230] Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Les conteurs de Montaillou,' *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (1979), p. 69.

[231] *Ibid.*

[232] Peter Biller, 'Through a glass darkly: Seeing medieval heresy,' in Peter Linehan, Janet L. Nelson, and Marios Costambeys (eds.), *The Medieval World* (2nd Ed., London, 2018), pp. 349-50.

[233] Zemon Davis, 'Les conteurs de Montaillou,' p. 70.

[234] Howard Giles and Tania Ogay, 'Communication Accommodation Theory,' in B. B. Whaley and W. Samter (eds.), *Explaining Communication: Contemporary Theories and Exemplars* (Mahway, NJ, 2007), pp. 293-310.

[235] Irene Bueno, '*Dixit quod non recorder*: Memory as Proof in Inquisitorial Trials (Early 14th Century France)', in Lucie Doležalová (ed.), *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2009), p. 220.

The bureaucratic nature of the procedure resulted in an uneasy balance between the fluid spoken and the fixed written word.[236] The inquisition in Languedoc represented a development in legal procedure, away from *accusatio* and towards *inquisitio.* This meant a shift from the laity *accusing* another of a crime, to the authority *assuming* the presence of misgiving and inquiring into its existence. The systematic line of questioning imposed by the inquisitor on the accused creates a dichotomy of beliefs, imposing a more succinct set of views on those accused of heresy than they may have had in reality. Such lines of questioning were laid out in formulaic inquisitors' handbooks. Bernard Gui's *Practica inquisitionis*, dating from around 1324, not only divided its formularies by group, but also instructed its reader on how to best catalogue their findings for ease of collation.[237] The methodological problem associated with this dynamic was first identified by Herbert Grundmann, who argued that 'in most cases, one wanted less to discover the actual thoughts of individual heretics than to confirm their agreement with already condemned heresies.'[238] Once the confession had been extracted, it was permanent on the paper. An example of the contrast between oral and written textuality, and thus the difference between mentality and our understanding of identity, comes in the 1321 deposition of Jean Rocas de La Salvetat. His discussion with his interrogator, Friar Guillard, resembles the standard question-and-answer discourse. Yet after the scribe read La Salvetat's deposition back to him, he answered that 'he never confessed to [these] heresies.'[239] It is clear that La Salvetat's mental conception of his lived experience appeared different to him when written in a formulaic manner, such was the effect on his statement by the inquisitorial process.

With these filters considered, it should be clear that a positivist reading of the depositions is predicated on two methodological drawbacks. Firstly, it is often accompanied by the historian holding pre-existing conceptualisations of the society they are analysing, making them susceptible to anachronism.[240] To read historical sources at face value is to miss the temporal and cultural relativism necessary to gain any insight from them at all. With regards to this essay, an erroneous positivism means to uncritically read the subjective impressions of medieval life on observers as neutral documents created *for* the historian. This decontextualisation extends to language, which, removed from the web of signifiers to which it refers, can be misinterpreted by those who exist outside of that web. Secondly, it assumes the culture being observed is monolithic, and those whose records and 'voices' we have in preserved form are entirely consistent within their own time. This drawback is a result of the 'tape-recorder' understanding of the deposition records.[241] It ignores the processes of modification that the original spoken dialogue has be subject to on its journey from the mouths of the speakers to the papers we read. These modifications are both internally and externally imposed on the text: internally as a result of the power imbalances and heteroglossia present in

[236] Jesse Gellrich, 'Orality, Literacy, and Crisis in the Later Middle Ages,' *Philological Quarterly*, No. 67 (1988), pp. 461-473.

[237] James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca, NY and London, 1997), pp. 42-7.

[238] Herbert Grundmann, 'Heresy Interrogations in the Late Middle Ages as a Source-Critical Problem,' in Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane (ed.), *Herbert Grundmann (1902-1970): Essays on Heresy, Inquisition, and Literacy* (Woodbridge, 2019), p. 129.

[239] Quoted in Jessie Sherwood, 'The Inquisitor as Archivist, or Surprise, Fear, and Ruthless Efficiency in the Archives,' *The American Archivist*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (2012), p. 74.

[240] James Clifford, 'On Ethnographic Authority,' *Representations*, No. 2 (1983), pp. 118-146.

[241] Murray, 'Time and Money', p. 7.

the context within which the original dialogue occurred, and externally as a result of actors later translating, editing, and reorganising the transcripts.[242]

Arnaud de Verniolles: As Person and Character

The most notable monograph to fall victim to the flawed aspects of the positivism is Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou*, published in 1978. Ladurie places great faith in the inquisition register of Jacques Fournier, Bishop of Pamiers, as a source for constructing a total history of the village in the early fourteenth century. He argues, similarly to Murray, that the Fournier's record preserves the 'direct testimony of the peasants themselves.'[243] Indeed, the historian attempts to justify his direct readings of the depositions in two ways. Firstly, he claims explicitly that Fournier was driven by a 'desire […] to know the truth'.[244] We should, therefore, trust in Fournier's exacting nature. Secondly, he portrays the inquisitor as an almost robotic presence, devoid of human error. He does this by quantifying the cases and recordings created by Fournier in a manner Renato Rosaldo compared to 'novelistic realism', whereby the presence of minutiae is highlighted to persuade the reader of the purity of the recording.[245]

The historiographical context to *Montaillou* helps explain why Ladurie adopted this positivist methodology. The historian positioned himself in the third generation of the *Annales* school. He was influenced heavily by the work of Fernand Braudel, who aimed to treat natural history as distinct from the sum of its parts.[246] Yet the most important influence on Ladurie was the 'Quantitative Revolution', which he referenced in *The Territory of the Historian*.[247] The impact of the increasingly close connection between the historian and the computer may have influenced Ladurie's approach to the Fournier register in an almost statistical way. He treats the depositions of historical actors in the same way he treats tree rings or demographic statistics.[248]

How does this methodology impact Ladurie reading of the depositions? Firstly, it is an example of the aforementioned decontextualisation. Part of this decontextualisation is the result of the translation of the Ladurie's writing itself. The English reader is confronted with a translated volume whose total number of pages is nearly half that of the French version.[249] That cull results in some explanatory phrases being left floating without context.[250] Ladurie's interpretation of the original Latin text therefore changes through the act of translation into English. The second half of *Montaillou* examines the cultural forms and mentalities of the inhabitants of the village. In this, Ladurie's investigation of sexuality is framed in the language

[242] 'Heteroglossia' as a form of social polyphony was theorised by Mikhail Bakhtin: *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX, 1981), p. 324.
[243] Ladurie, *Montaillou*, p. vii.
[244] *Ibid*., p. xv.
[245] *Ibid.*, p. xiv; Renato Rosaldo, 'From the Door of His Tent: The Fieldworker and the Inquisition,' in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkley, CA, 1986), p. 79.
[246] H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'Fernand Braudel, the *Annales*, and the Mediterranean,' *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (December 1972), p. 469.
[247] Ladurie, *The Territory of the Historian*, trans. by Reynolds and Reynolds (Hassocks, 1979), pp. 7-15
[248] Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The* Annales *School, 1929-2014* (2nd Ed., Stanford, CA, 2015), pp. 69-70.
[249] Leonard Boyle, 'Montaillou Revisited: *Mentalité* and Methodology,' in J. A. Raftis (ed.), *Pathways to Medieval Peasants* (Toronto, 1981), p. 130.
[250] *Ibid*., p. 131.

of 'sin', yet is analysed through an anachronistic Freudian lens. The case of Arnaud de Verniolles – a figure whose sexuality is described in terms of 'sodomy', 'fornication' and 'masturbation' – is described in psychoanalytic terms: 'the harm was done. A latent tendency was awakened.'[251] However, a closer reading of the text, which takes into account the cultural context of particular phrases, fosters a different analysis. The depositions from which Ladurie takes this episode were republished in a 1998 anthology edited by Michael Goodich.[252] While these extracts are therefore accompanied by the problems associated with texts in translation, they can be of use when taken as a whole. Arnaud's depositions reveal medieval same-sex relations as part of a matrix of sexual acts that relates to power imbalances, rather than a purely psychological phenomenon. This is clear in the account of his encounter with Guillaume Roux, a sixteen year-old student in Pamiers. Arnaud justified his sodomy in relation to the decretals, indicating knowledge of the sexual restrictions he was violating.[253] However, Guillaume's belief that sodomy was *not* less sinful than knowing a woman carnally, even though he partook in the former, indicates a difference between action and mentality that problematises Ladurie's psychoanalytical understanding of medieval same-sex relations.[254] In this case, the positivist reading employed by Ladurie leads him to anachronism. In order to avoid such analysis, it is necessary to view the text as a whole and decipher symbols that make up these individuals' cultural milieu.

Arnaud's mental gymnastics, causing a disconnect between mentality and action, offers further evidence of the problems with positivism. This reveals the possibility of phenomena such as self-censorship in the depositions. It should be seen in the context of power imbalances, as a reflection of the nature of the documents' creation. In his confession of one sexual encounter, Arnaud claims his partner moved himself 'as with a woman.'[255] As with the earlier example, this should be seen in the context of contemporary writings on 'sodomy' so as to ascertain Arnaud's mentality behind his choice of words. The Benedictine reformer Peter Damian's thesis on 'the different types of those who sin against nature' divides the sin into four sections, of which the last is labelled 'the complete act against nature.'[256] That unspeakable final vice likely referred to anal intercourse.[257] The language outlined in Damian indicates a hierarchy of sin amongst acts of sodomy. Arnaud's denial of anal intercourse may have been his attempt at softening his confession so as to avoid a more sincere sentence by the inquisitor. In this case, then, the power imbalance between the two individuals may have caused a difference in the language we have to work with. Fournier's potential to punish those he questioned likely led to some levels of self-censorship amongst the peasantry. We must therefore take care to avoid equating absence of evidence with evidence of absence in deposition sources.

[251] Ladurie, *Montaillou*, p. 145.

[252] 'Arnaud of Verniolle', in Michael Goodich (ed.), *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1998), pp. 117-143.

[253] *Ibid*., p. 121.

[254] *Ibid*., p. 122.

[255] 'Arnaud of Verniolle', p. 134.

[256] Peter Damian, *Book of Gomorrah: An Eleventh-Century Treatise against Clerical Homosexual Practises*, trans. Pierre J. Payer (Waterloo, 1982), p. 29.

[257] James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago and London, 1987), p. 212.

Conclusion

It should be clear, then, that we cannot use the depositions to 'eavesdrop' across time.[258] Instead, these conversations between the inquisitor and the accused have been whispered from one person to another over the centuries between their creation and our own time, to the extent that their original content is very difficult to ascertain. The process by which the deposition was created enabled both internal and external modifications. Peasants brought in for questioning could be coerced into statements that differed from their own self-perception, or they could deliberately withhold information to the detriment of their adversary. At the same time, the psychology of power imbalances affected the manner in which each party communicated. All this was then written in a language different from the one in which the conversation was conducted. These boundaries through which the sources have travelled must be taken into account when we read them to create the most accurate, and most useful, analysis of society in medieval Languedoc. This is best shown in the controversy over Ladurie's treatment of the depositions in *Montaillou*. The crux, then, is this: if the depositions encourage a social history, then the humanity and subjectivity of their creation should always be maintained.

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[258] Michael Ratcliffe, 'The yellow cross', *The Times*, London, 1 June 1978, p. 9.

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Andrew Hou

Fire in the Red Cloth: The Indigenisation of Rock Music in Modern China

> That day you took a piece of red cloth, covered my eyes and covered the sky.
> You asked me what I saw, I said, "I see the happiness".
>
> – Cui Jian, A Piece of Red Cloth[259]

As the curtain of the Cultural Revolution closed in the late 1970s, China chose a compromising but economically beneficial shift toward capitalism instead of the continuation of radically left communist policies at the crossroad of the new decade. Under the impact of the reform and opening-up policy (**改革开放**), Western products reentered the Chinese market, while Western culture dramatically clashed with the beliefs of Chinese people who had lived under the illusion of the righteous "red cloth"[260] for more than a decade.[261] Under this cultural indigenisation, a new product, with its exuberant vitality burning like fire, emerged in the Chinese society: Chinese rock music.

From the late 1980s to the present, Chinese rock has coevolved alongside the nation's political and social progression and has been viewed as a representation of modern Chinese culture.[262] While there are existing journal articles that analyse Chinese rock during specific time periods, there has been a vacuum of academic work that discusses its complete progression from the 1980s to the present.[263] To understand how rock, a symbol of Western liberalism, has been gradually indigenised in a completely different cultural environment across different time periods, I will examine three Chinese rock acts in chronological order. At the end of the 1980s, the considerable popularity of the "godfather" of Chinese rock, Cui Jian**崔健**, exemplifies the successful combination between Western rock and traditional Chinese music genres, instruments, and complex nationalism. In comparison, at the beginning of the next decade, the heavy metal band Tang Dynasty**唐朝**乐队's early success proved Chinese rock's potential, while its decline since the late 1990s showed the fundamental instabilities of Chinese rock. In contemporary China, the rise of the post-punk/electronic[264] band Rebuilding the Rights of Status**重塑雕像的**权**利**[265] represents major transitions of Chinese rock through the musicians' development strategies, the audiences' tastes, and the extent of the government's direct and indirect support for the music. By analysing these three acts, I will reveal the evolution of

[259] Jian Cui, 'A Piece of Red Cloth**一块红布**', track 3 on *Solution**解决***, UFO Records, February 1991, Compact Disc.
[260] A symbol of the blind worship to the communism intentionally constructed by the Chinese Communist Party during the Cultural Revolution. It is one of the interpretations of A Piece of Red Cloth.
[261] Hoi-Yan Wong, 'Bartók's Influence on Chinese New Music in the Post-Cultural Revolution Era', *Studia Musicologica*, No. 1/2 (Mar 2007), p. 237.
[262] Hon-Lun Yang, *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception* (Michigan, 2017), pp. 1-18.
[263] Most of these works focus on the early period of Chinese rock, which was its "golden period" from the end of the 1980s to the mid-1990s.
[264] Due to the relatively wide shift of the band's musical style, I use two of its most well-recognised genres between different periods to describe it here.
[265] In this article, I will use the shortened version of the band's name: Re-TROS.

Chinese rock from the state of "Nothing to its [my] Name" to "Never Turn its [the] Head Back".[266]

Cui Jian: the Rise of Chinese Rock's Red Star

Releasing his first rock album – *Rock 'n' Roll on the New Long March* – in 1989, Cui Jian quickly captivated mainland Chinese listeners with his explosive energy and his explorative composing that fused Western and Chinese music. The foundation of the album's genre is based on Western jazz and classic rock, illustrated by the rhythmic drum and bass lines of the faster tracks like "Do It All Over Again". Cui Jian utilised designs of "improved" traditional instruments and musical genres to elevate the domestic listeners' unfamiliarity with rock music.[267] For instance, in "Nothing to My Name", he added suona唢呐 – a traditional Chinese wind instrument that produces high pitch sound – in the middle of the song, to encapsulate a sense of oppressive helplessness. He also employed the Xibeifeng西北风 singing style that originated in the northwestern part of China, cultivating considerable resonance for listeners.[268] These combinations artfully revealed the "'yellow-earth' Chinese culture behind the "blue-ocean" Western culture, and quickly achieved more than 700,000 sales.[269]

From a structuralist perspective, Cui Jian's success can be considered to be a result of the sudden political transition from the Cultural Revolution to the opening-up policy. During the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese musical industry was monopolised by red music that praised the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its leaders. Meanwhile, Western music was banned, and many musicians were forced to "take up hard labor in remote area", and traditional Chinese music was discouraged as it represented a "retrogression" that contradicted the party's belief of radical "progression".[270] These restrictions stagnated Chinese musical interaction with the rest of the world, potentially leading to the boost of people's enthusiasm for both foreign and traditional music after the opening-up policy. Huang Hao has argued that, in the 1980s, young Chinese musicians "tried to play along with and to imitate" famous Western bands like Led Zeppelin and Deep Purple.[271] Their dedicated attitudes solidified their music theories and playing skills, enabling them to produce high-quality works. Meanwhile, the re-emphasis on traditional Chinese music also gave them the foundations upon which to integrate traditional instruments into their works, as Cui Jian did. Moreover, the opening-up policy encouraged the

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[266] Jian Cui, 'Nothing to my Name一无所有', track 8 on *Rock 'n' Roll on the New Long March新长征路上的摇滚*, Jing Wen Records, February 1, 1989, Compact Disc, quoted in Da Xian, 'Following Cui Jian and never turn the head back', *Beijing Youth Daily北京青年报*, 02 October 2016, < http://ent.people.com.cn/n1/2016/1002/c86955-28755268.html> [accessed 18 February 2021].

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[268] Ying Xiao, *China in the Mix: Cinema, Sound, and Popular Culture in the Age of Globalization* (Jackson, 2017), pp. 75-111.

[269] Juwen Zhang, 'Intangible Cultural Heritage and Self-Healing Mechanism in Chinese Culture', *Western Folklore*, No. 2, (Spring., 2017), pp. 197-226; Internet Archive, 'Golden Record Award Ceremony [1977-2008]', *International Federation of the Phonographic Industry*, <https://web.archive.org/web/20161011043648/http://www.ifpihk.org/zh/gold-disc-award-presented/1990> [accessed 18 February 2021]. The number includes the sales volume in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

[270] Wong, 'Bartók's Influence', p. 238; Wang, 'Equanimity' in Abing', pp. 127-165.

[271] Huang Hao, '*Yaogun Yinyue*: Rethinking Mainland Chinese Rock 'n' Roll', *Popular Music* 20:1 (Jan., 2001), pp. 1-11.

publication of domestic musical journals, which played a key role in promoting outstanding existing musicians around the nation.[272]

In addition to political changes, the Chinese audiences' smooth acceptance of rock music was further motivated by the yearning to oppose cultural oppression. The bulk of Chinese rock's audience was urban, born in cities in the 1960s. They experienced the Cultural Revolution that silently limited their educational opportunities and cultural knowledge in childhood, while the sudden clash of foreign culture gave them a "'coming of age' narrative", which gave them a sense of the nation's political oppression and the possibility of socialist reforms.[273] Under these realisations, they viewed rock as an "artistically authentic" and "politically subversive" way to express their oppression.[274] Cui Jian's lyrics "Walking here, walking there, without any destination. Whatever I think, whatever I write, is all guns and rice" accurately expressed the youths' confusion toward their own "Long March", which potentially led to their spiritual resistance to the corrupted and oppressive portion of CCP's ideology.[275]

It would, however, be inaccurate to conclude that the early stage of Chinese rock was entirely against the government, since it provided another platform to cultivate a strong sense of nationalism. Cui Jian's image as the fighter with the red star – the symbol of communism – by his side often turned the audiences' shyness to a "wild exuberance", stimulated by a sense of national pride.[276] While some scholars argue that this pride was an "echo of the European nationalism", we cannot ignore Chinese culture's unique contribution to it.[277]. As Cui Jian once suggested, "China can produce a robust, positive, and socially progressive type of music that is quite different from the negative and decadent rock of the West".[278] Although his assertion is partially prejudiced, it reflects the firm belief of Chinese rock musicians in the superiority of their music, tradition, and culture. Encouraged by this belief, Chinese rock, represented by Tang Dynasty, experienced its golden age in the early 1990s, and would face challenges from a variety of social factors.

Tang Dynasty: Dreaming Back to the Golden Age's Delusion

"Along the fate, roaming into perplexity, dreaming back to Tang Dynasty!".[279] Tang Dynasty's roar announced the coming of Chinese rock's climax. The band's miracle achievement at the beginning of the 1990s demonstrated its pioneering composing ideologies and unique, skillful performing style. With the help of the Magic Stone record company's professional recording system, Tang Dynasty recorded its first album *Dreaming Back to Tang Dynasty*, the first heavy metal album in China. From Cui Jian's hard rock to heavy metal, the progression of Chinese rock interestingly coincided with that of Western rock. Meanwhile, it also included the Chinese rock version of the Internationale, which entailed the multi-style inspiration the band sought.

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[272] Wong, 'Bartók's Influence', p. 238.
[273] Xiao, *China in the Mix,* pp. 75-111.
[274] *Ibid.*
[275] Jian Cui, 'Rock 'n' Roll on the New Long March新长征路上的摇滚', track 1 on *Rock 'n' Roll on the New Long March新长征路上的摇滚*, Jing Wen Records, February 1, 1989, Compact Disc.
[276] Hao, 'Rethinking Mainland Rock', pp. 1-11.
[277] Zhang, 'Self-Healing Mechanism', pp. 197-226.
[278] G. Barme, 'To screw foreigners is patriotic: China's avant-garde nationalists', in J. Unger (ed.), *Chinese Nationalism* (Armonk, 1996), quoted in Hao, 'Rethinking Mainland Rock', pp. 1-11.
[279] Tang Dynasty, 'A Dream Back to the Tang Dynasty梦回唐朝', track 1 on *A Dream Back to the Tang Dynasty梦回唐朝*, Rolling Stones Records, November 1, 1992, Compact Disc.

Despite the foreign elements, Tang Dynasty focused on performing a sense of Chineseness.[280] Take, for example, the account of the band's guitarist, Liu Yijun:

> Rock is based on the blues and we can never play the blues as well as an American. It's just not in our blood. We can imitate it, but eventually we'll have to go back to the music we grew up with, to traditional Chinese music, to folk music.[281]

By including rich traditional Chinese images like "sword", "moon", and "wine", the band created semantic fields that implied Chinese cultural richness, and thus sent the listeners into deep, dreamlike nostalgia for the distant past.[282] When the band performed in Hong Kong's Hung Hom stadium in 1994, local media depicted how the audiences "shouted crazily without reservedness", illustrating the band's success around the nation.[283]

Nevertheless, severe economic difficulties in the late 1990s negatively impacted Chinese rock musicians, despite their popularity. Tang Dynasty's photographer Gao Yuan recalled that the band members had to find other jobs since playing rock could only "earn enough to buy necessary instruments".[284] Their hardship was, ironically, the result of the opening-up policy that facilitated their success: as the Chinese economy was capitalised, the new generation had to deal with a fluctuating job market, which distracted their concentration on consuming such impractical cultural products.[285] Consequently, bands profited less from selling albums. While gigs like the one in Hung Hom were musically memorable, they also lost money due to the huge additional costs of advertisements and facilities.[286] These financial losses pushed the recording companies to minimise their supports on bands, or even terminate contracts with them. Magic Stone, for instance, ceased to support Tang Dynasty and directly made it "impossible for the band to rise again", since it lost its economic and technical support.[287]

More intense political restrictions also reduced rock music's vitality in the early 2000s. The Chinese government was aware of rock's potential as it stressed "the individual, the self, and rebelling against authority" that could lead to the public commemoration on sensitive affairs, like the June 4th Incident.[288] Consequently, rock songs and gigs had to be examined and certified as politically correct. Rigorous supervision discourages musicians from using rhetoric that might lead to "unhealthy repercussions for their careers".[289] In the long run, this unfree, unsupportive musical environment forced musicians to end their careers. Bands like Tang Dynasty were particularly impacted, as internal disagreements were more likely to occur and resulted in frequent changes in the band members, lowering their production stability.

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[280] Yang, *China and the West*, pp. 1-18.
[281] A. Jones, 'The politics of popular music in post-Tiananmen China', in J. Wasserstrom and E. Perry (ed.), *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China* (Boulder, 1994), p. 159, quoted in Hao, 'Rethinking Mainland Rock', pp. 1-11.
[282] Tang Dynasty, 'A Dream Back to the Tang Dynasty'.
[283] Yuan Gao, interview by Wei Liu, *Tencent腾讯网*, 2019, <https://new.qq.com/omn/20190715/20190715A0509D00.html> [accessed 19 December 2021].
[284] Yuan Gao, interview by Wei Liu, *Tencent*.
[285] Hao, 'Rethinking Mainland Rock', pp. 1-11.
[286] Minshu Jia, interview by Wei Liu, *Tencent腾讯网*, 2019, <https://new.qq.com/omn/20190715/20190715A0509D00.html> [accessed 19 December 2021].
[287] Yuan Gao, interview by Wei Liu, *Tencent*.
[288] Hao, 'Rethinking Mainland Rock', pp. 1-11.
[289] *Ibid.*

A portion of rock musicians did, however, stick to their composing ethics and went underground. Their sensitive lyrics and performing styles meant that they could only perform in private bars with low or no payment, which they viewed as "semiotic guerrilla warfare" against governmental supervision.[290] Nonetheless, their insistence transited Chinese rock into a free subculture, asserting their "expressive identity against cultural hegemony".[291] Later in the century, this subculture would reap a more diverse Chinese rock, containing talented musicians and bands with unique styles.

Re-TROs: Non-Mainstream Music's Sound of Celebration

In 2020, Re-TROs became the champion of the musical variety show The Big Band 2乐队的夏天第二季.[292] From an intentionalist perspective, this achievement represented Chinese rock musicians' successful attempts to actively integrate a variety of music styles in the 2010s. Influenced by the alternative rock represented by Bauhaus, Re-TROs started as a post-punk band with its distinguishably gloomy melody and rhythmic beat in 2003. Yet, by the time the band joined The Big Band 2, its performed tracks all came from its latest record in 2017, which shifted to an electronic style, emphasised loops and synthesisers.[293] This ambitious, successful shift represents Chinese rock's 'resurgence' from the underground as it has stored the unrestrained spirit to transform between different music styles and sufficient skills to master different genres and instruments. Hua Dong, Re-TROs' vocalist, guitarist, and keyboardist made the following observation:

> Currently, no band in the world is able to create its own style, since most of the existing styles have been explored. Instead, today's music focuses on integration: how to use pre-existing dishes to make a new cuisine.[294]

His attitude shows a "clever appropriationism" in the current Chinese rock culture: taking what is beneficial to you, thus making yourself non-mainstream and unique. [295]

A feature that distinguishes these current combinations from Chinese rock's similar attempts in the 1990s is the modern musicians' total embrace of foreign culture. Different from Cui Jian's denial toward Western rock, Hua Dong stated that he will not give up musical integration due to his "national pride".[296] Indeed, all of Re-TROs' songs were written in English, which is viewed by the band members as the suitable language to transfer their songs' messages.[297] The band is therefore criticised for not showing as much "Chineseness" as its predecessors did in music. These criticisms were largely based on the modern Chinese three-selves doctrine三本

[290] *Ibid.*
[291] *Ibid.*
[292] The show invites a number of bands to perform their songs and rank them based on audiences' ratings.
[293] Dong Hua, Interview by Yanqiu Zheng, *stories at noon正午故事*, October 2020, <https://www.sohu.com/a/423847808_550958> [accessed 20 February 2021].
[294] Dong Hua, Interview by Yanqiu Zheng, *stories at noon.*
[295] *Ibid.* Appropriationism拿来主义 was originally suggested by Lu Xun and refers to a well-planned balance between what to take from the foreign culture and what to preserve from the domestic culture.
[296] *Ibid.*
[297] *Ibid.*

主义[298] that defies Chinese culture, while negatively portraying Western culture as "the hegemony of discourse".[299]

Although the notion may serve a positive role in preserving traditional Chinese culture, it ignores the view of cultural integrations with a dynamic angle, which can be shown by the self-healing mechanism behind the indigenisation of Chinese rock. This mechanism suggests the circulation of Chinese culture's progression, from falling to a liminal stage, to reaffirm self-confidence, and eventually enters a new stage of development after successful self-healing.[300] According to this perspective, the strong sense of nationalism presented by Cui Jian and Tang Dynasty in the 1990s existed to heal the cultural vacuum which resulted from the Cultural Revolution – the liminal stage – to regain the listeners' cultural confidence. When this reaffirmation stage is finished, Chinese rock has a sufficient base for more openly accepting foreign cultures, like Re-TROs did, without harming the state of domestic culture.

Based on this mechanism, we can explain modern Chinese rock's development in the last decade with a structuralist perspective by focusing on the government and musical industries' increasing support for it. Realising the necessity of pushing domestic cultural industries into the world in their "development stage", the Chinese government has eased some former restrictions and sponsored music-related affairs. [301] Meanwhile, music industries, such as the Modern Sky company Re-TROs works for, sense the popularity of rock among the youths as cultural entertainment.[302] With the financial support of local governments, they create music events such as variety shows and nation-wide music festivals as new symbols of Chinese rock with a "youthful, energetic atmosphere".[303]

Taking Modern Sky as an example, since the Re-TROs' championship led to a boost in the band's popularity, the company arranged its performing period at night to encourage the audience to stay for a whole day.[304] Different from traditional gigs, the festival blends Chinese rock culture into a larger entertainment cultural context that includes consumerism on music-related products and nostalgia on the history of Chinese rock. This expands the music's fan base and encourages interactions between fans of different bands across the generations, while an increasing number of consumers makes the festivals profitable, thus incentivising the companies to organise similar events in the future.[305] In the long run, this positive economic circulation will encourage more musicians to participate and cultivate a diverse rock culture.

Admittedly, the expansion of non-mainstream Chinese rock music to the public will experience political and economic barriers. The entertaining atmosphere of music festivals conceals its instability, brought by the government's persistent authority. Officials can decide on when and where a festival is held, while their decisions are usually "unpredictable", which increases the risk of organising and watching a festival that may be cancelled at any time, and consequently

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[298] Including self-grounded本位, self-featured本色, and self-located本土.

[299] Dunhua Zhao, 'A Defense of Universalism: With a Critique of Particularism in Chinese Culture', *Frontiers of Philosophy in China*, No. 1, (Mar 2009), pp. 116-129.

[300] Zhang, 'Self-Healing Mechanism', pp. 197-226.

[301] Groenewegen-Lau Jeroen, 'Steel and Strawberries: How Chinese Rock Became State Sponsored', *Asian Music* 45, No. 1 (Winter/ Spring 2014), pp. 3-33.

[302] Jeroen, 'Steel and Strawberries', pp. 3-33.

[303] *Ibid*.

[304] '2020 Beijing Strawberry Music Festival performing agenda', *Wangyi网易*, 23 September 2020, <https://www.163.com/dy/article/FN7UBK8B0525SGQJ.html> [accessed 20 February 2021].

[305] Jeroen, 'Steel and Strawberries', pp. 3-33.

decreases both organisers' and audiences' enthusiasm.[306] Furthermore, some organisers' lack of experience may lead to economic losses, while as the local government continues to subsidise them, they will continuously organise these events, leading to an unhealthy music economy that creates deadweight loss due to the inefficient allocation of governmental subsidies.[307] The combinations of socioeconomic factors behind this instability prove that Chinese rock music is still facing complex challenges from Chinese society.

Conclusion

Looking back at Chinese rock's history, it originated like a small flame when Cui Jian combined Western music genre and Chinese tradition and nationalism in the late 1980s. During the early 1990s, it burnt vigorously with Tang Dynasty's progressive composing notions, but was quickly extinguished due to economic and political restrictions. Finally, it has been rekindled in the last decade, under government and musical companies' support to an extent, with the bravery to embrace the foreign culture and integrate different genres of music like Re-TROs has done. In The Big Band 2's awarding ceremony, Hua Dong claimed that Re-TROs' victory is the "triumph of non-mainstream music".[308] It is true that we know neither how long Chinese rock will exist with the label of "non-mainstream", nor what future difficulties it will face. Nonetheless, within thirty years of history, Chinese rock has survived adamantly in a completely unfamiliar social setting and gradually became an indispensable part of modern Chinese culture. Based on this indigenisation process, we do have the reason to hope that it will continue to influence Chinese people from generation to generation and, like the everlasting fire in China's red cloth, never stop burning.

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Cui, Jian, 'Nothing to my Name一无所有', Jing Wen Records, track 8 on *Rock 'n' Roll on the New Long March新长征路上的摇滚*, February 1, 1989. Compact Disc, quoted in Xian, Da, 'Following Cui Jian and never turn the head back', *Beijing Youth Daily北京青年报*, 02 October 2016, <http://ent.people.com.cn/n1/2016/1002/c86955-28755268.html> [accessed 18 February 2021].

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[306] Jeroen, 'Steel and Strawberries', pp. 3-33.
[307] *Ibid.*
[308] Re-TROs, 'The Big Band 2 episode 15', The Big Band 2, iQIYI, 10 October 2020, <http://www.iqiyi.com/lib/m_222745214.html> [accessed 20 February 2021].

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Geopolitical and Dynastic Boundaries

Frances Bickerstaff

Aristocratic networks in the twelfth-century Irish Sea Region

In the twelfth century, the regions surrounding the Irish Sea were connected through networks of monastic patronage and marriage alliances. The Irish Sea region was made up of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles, Galloway, the coasts of Wales, Cumbria and Lancashire, and the east coast of Ireland.[309] This essay will argue that the sea connected, rather than divided, these polities. Firstly, it will focus on the monastic connections between the Isle of Man, Galloway and western England. It will then go on to discuss the aristocratic connections across the Irish Sea, focussing on the Kings of Man and the Isles as a lens through which to explore these topics.

This essay draws upon a wider historiographical discussion about the role of the sea as a connective space. Historians of the Insular Viking Age have argued that the sea was not a boundary to Viking settlers of the British Isles, and instead maritime travel was central to their activity, enabling the formation of significant cross-sea networks.[310] The Irish Sea itself has emerged as a region of study within this field in the last thirty years, led by Seán Duffy and Benjamin Hudson.[311] Historians of the Vikings drew partly on the work of Early Medieval historians, who from the 1930s developed the concept of 'seaways', a series of maritime routes which stretched in an arc from Norway through the Irish Sea as far south as Brittany.[312] The conceptualisation of seaways is important because it emphasises that the sea was not necessarily a boundary, but rather a roadway which connected these littoral regions. This focus on the centrality of the sea demands a shift from a terrestrially centred view of the British Isles, which sees coasts as a natural border, to a focus on a western maritime region centred around the Irish Sea. As R. R. Davies argued, the four-nations framework which now divides the British Isles was not inevitable.[313] Robin Frame emphasised that such a framework can obscure our understanding of cross-sea aristocratic networks which transcend national boundaries; instead, focusing on connections beyond these boundaries can provide a fuller picture of the political map of the twelfth century.[314]

The monastery of Holmcultram, located in Cumbria on the southern shore of the Solway, serves as an illustrative case study of the ways in which the sea connected Cumbria, Galloway and the Isle of Man, rather than dividing them. King Ragnall of Man and the Isles granted the monks of Holmcultram "free entrance and exit with their ships", the right to fish, and freedom from tolls on goods they bought and sold in Man.[315] This charter, which was undated but must

[309] Benjamin T. Hudson, 'The Changing Economy of the Irish Sea province', in Brendan Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland 900-1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 40.
[310] Clare Downham, 'Coastal Communities and Diaspora Identities in Viking Age Ireland', in James H. Barrrett and Sarah J. Gibbon (eds.), *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, (London, 2015), p. 374; Barbara Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland* (Leicester, 1987), p. 11.
[311] Benjamin T. Hudson, *Irish Sea Studies, 900-1200* (Dublin, 2006); Seán Duffy, 'Irishmen and Islesmen in the kingdoms of Dublin and Man, 1052-1171', *Ériu* 43 (1992).
[312] R. Andrew McDonald, *The Sea Kings: The Late Norse Kingdoms of Man and the Isles* (Edinburgh, 2019) p. 104; O. G. S. Crawford, 'Western Seaways', in D. Buxton (ed.) *Custom is King* (London, 1936); Emrys G. Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements in the Celtic Lands* (Cardiff, 1977).
[313] R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities of the British Isles, 1093-1343* (Oxford, 2000).
[314] Robin Frame, 'Aristocracies and the Political Configuration of the British Isles', in R.R. Davies (ed.) *The British Isles, 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 144.
[315] Frances Grainger and W. G. Collingwood (eds.), *Register and Records of Holm Cultram* (Kendal, 1929), p. 234, no. 266.

have been issued during Ragnall's rule between 1186 and 1227, is significant because it suggests that there was regular movement of monks and their goods from Northern Cumbria across the northeast Irish Sea to Man. Holmcultram also held lands on the northern side of the Solway, in Galloway. Uhtred, Lord of Galloway (d.1174), in a charter dated between 1161 and 1170, granted to the monks of Holmcultram the right to use harbours on the Galwegian coast, indicating that the monks travelled by boat across the Solway.[316] These rights would have ensured access to their lands at Kirkunzeon in Galloway, which they leased from Uhtred, and set up a successful grange farm with coastal saltworks.[317] From Holmcultram, therefore, it is possible to plot routes of sea travel between southern Galloway, the Isle of Man, and the Cumbrian coast. These connections between Man, the Cumbrian coast, and Galloway suggest that, to the monks of Holmcultram – and possibly the lords who patronised them – the sea did not form a boundary, but rather a roadway which opened them up to new opportunities. The rights to access ports in both Galloway and Man were closely guarded privileges, which suggests that the control of seaways was of significant importance to these lords, as the sea was recognised as a space vital to communication and movement.

Holmcultram was part of a wider network of English monasteries that had links with Man and Galloway, which together indicate significant cross-sea connections in this region. Furness Abbey, originally a Savigniac house located on the Lancashire coast, and St Bees Priory on the Cumbrian coast, both had connections with Man. Olaf, King of Man and the Isles (r.1113-53), founded Rushen Abbey on Man as a daughter house of Furness Abbey in 1134.[318] In a letter written in 1134 to Thurstan, Archbishop of York, Olaf described Furness as an abbey "from whose possessions we are not far distant by sea".[319] This suggests the maritime connection was significant to the Manx king. The Cumbrian monastery of St Bees also held land in Galloway and Man. They had a saltworks near Kirkbean in Galloway, granted by Roland Lord of Galloway, in a charter from between 1185 and 1196.[320] Gofraid King of Man and the Isles granted to St Bees the lands of "Eschedala", now Dhoon Glen, and "Asmundertoftes" near Glen Mona, as well as land near Port Cornaa.[321] These lands were all situated around Maughold Head on the east coast of Man. This is the closest point on the island to St Bees head, the site of the monastery, which is in turn the closest point on the English coast to Man.[322] Keith Stringer has pointed out that the Manx estates therefore formed a "logical extension" of the monastery's Cumbrian lands.[323] This lends itself to an inversion of the usual terrestrial perspective. Rather than see the east coast of Man and the west coast of England as divided by the sea, the sea was central to the coastal fringes which surrounded it.

The Solway forms the modern border between England and Scotland, but this border only began to be solidified in the second half of the twelfth century.[324] When the monastic crossings are put together, the Solway begins to look like a busy zone of monkish activity rather than an empty boundary space. The maritime connections parallel the fluidity which the border between England and Scotland had for significant periods of the twelfth century. Cumbria was

[316] Keith J. Stringer, 'The Records of the Lords of Galloway', in T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn (eds.) *Freedom and Authority: Scotland c. 1050-1650* (East Linton, 2000), p. 215, no. 8.
[317] *Ibid.*
[318] McDonald, *The Sea Kings,* p. 65.
[319] J. R. Oliver (ed.), *Monumenta de Insula Manniae,* II, Publications of the Manx Society (Douglas, 1861), p. 4.
[320] Stringer, 'The Records of the Lords of Galloway', p. 219, no. 21.
[321] James Wilson (ed.), *The Register of the Priory of St Bees* (Durham, 1915) p. 73, no. 43.
[322] McDonald, *The Sea Kings,* p. 346.
[323] Keith J. Stringer, *The Reformed Church in Medieval Galloway and Cumbria: Contrasts, Connections and Continuities* (Whithorn, 2003), p. 26.
[324] R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire,* p. 65.

occupied by David I, King of Scots, from 1135, and was returned only in 1157 when Henry II forced King Malcolm IV to cede it. [325] Similarly, the lordship of Galloway was independent of the Kingdom of the Scots until 1160, when King Malcolm defeated Fergus of Galloway, though Galloway was far from politically integrated into the kingdom by 1200.[326] The maritime connections across the Solway therefore emphasise the lack of a clear border at the Solway.

In addition to these monastic connections, there were dynastic and cultural links between Galloway, Man, and Dublin. The Irish Sea region was politically distinct to the Kingdom of the Scots, which in the twelfth century was limited to a smaller area, centred in the east around the Tay basin.[327] The western seaboard, including the Kingdom of Man and the Isles, was largely outside of the orbit of the kings of Scots.[328] King Gofraid of Man and the Isles (r. 1153-1187) was given the title *Rex Insularum* (King of the Isles) in the witness list of one Scottish royal charter dated to 1159/60, indicating his independent royal status.[329] The lordship of Galloway was linked to this wider west-oriented Irish Sea world through marriage and cultural connections. It is believed that Affrecca, the daughter of Fergus Lord of Galloway, married Olaf King of Man before 1122.[330] This marriage seemingly initiated a period of peaceful relations between Man and Galloway.[331] This peace was shattered in 1153, when three sons of King Olaf's brother, Harald, who had been brought up in Dublin, invaded Man.[332] These sons murdered their uncle, King Olaf, and then attempted, but failed, to invade Galloway. When they returned to Man they slaughtered or expelled "all the Gallwegians living in Man".[333] This provides evidence that Galwegians had settled on Man prior to 1153, possibly during this period of peaceful relations. Galloway and Man were therefore linked not just through monastic patronage, but also through dynastic alliances, which perpetuated cross-settlement on a lower social level.

It is significant that Olaf's assassins comprised of a branch of his dynasty that had been raised in Dublin. Galloway and Man had cultural and political connections to the Hiberno-Norse coastal town of Dublin. The Norse dynasty of Ívarr had ruled over much of the Irish Sea basin in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which created linguistic and cultural links between the east and west coasts.[334] That these links persisted into the late twelfth century was suggested by the Gaelic praise poem dedicated to King Ragnall of Man and the Isles, *Baile Suthach Síth Emhna*. This poem, probably written in the early thirteenth century, stressed both his Norse credentials and his claims to rule in Ireland.[335] Dublin became even more closely tied to the Kingdom of Man and the Isles in the late eleventh century. The father of King Olaf, and the founder of the dynasty of the kings of Man and the Isles, was Gofraid Crobán (r. 1079-95).[336] Gofraid ruled over both Man and Dublin, conquering the Kingdom of Man and the Isles in 1079, according

[325] *Ibid.*
[326] 'Chronicle of Melrose' from A. O. Anderson (ed.), *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286* (Edinburgh, 1922), p. 244; Richard D. Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 81.
[327] Richard D. Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland, 1070-1230* (Edinburgh, 2011), p. 5.
[328] McDonald, *The Sea Kings*, p. 289.
[329] G. W. S. Barrow, *The Acts of Malcom IV, Regesta Regum Scottorum* (Edinburgh, 1960), p. 194, no. 131.
[330] George Broderick, ed. and trans. *Chronica Regum Mannie & Insularum, Chronicles of Man and the Isles, BL Cotton Julius Avii,* f.35v; Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway,* p. 61.
[331] Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway,* p. 69.
[332] Broderick, *Chronica Regum Mannie & Insularum,* f.36r.
[333] Broderick, *Chronica Regum Mannie & Insularum,* f.36v.
[334] McDonald, *The Sea Kings*, p. 143.
[335] Colmán Etchingham, J. V. Sigurðsson, M. Ní Mhaonaigh, and E. A. Rowe '*Baile Suthach Síth Emhna*, A Poem to Raghnall, King of Man: Text and Context', in *Norse-Gaelic Contacts in a Viking World* (Turnhout, 2019), p. 188.
[336] McDonald, *The Sea Kings*, p. 117

to the *Manx Chronicle.*[337] This chronicle also stated that he ruled Dublin, which was corroborated by the Irish *Annals of Tigernach*, which calls him "Gofraid, son of the son of Harald, king of Dublin" (*Gofraid mac mic Arailt rí Átha Cliath*), though Dublin was separated from Man after his death.[338] The creation of his short-lived cross-sea kingdom led to a series of power struggles in the twelfth century Irish Sea region, as Irish kings and Hiberno-Norse dynasts attempted to exert their control over territory that had been linked by the shared rule of the Uí Ímar kings of the tenth century, and later Gofraid Crobán.[339] In 1154 Muirchertach mac Lochlainn of the Cenél nEógain, overking of the northern part of Ireland, took Dublin.[340] According to the *Manx Chronicle*, the men of Dublin in 1156 repudiated Muirchertach's rule and sent for Gofraid, King of Man and the Isles, to rule them.[341] This suggests that the Dublin aristocracy saw a strong connection between their town and the Manx dynasty, instead of considering the sea to be a barrier to shared rule over Man, the Isles, and Dublin.[342] However, as Ian Beuermann has pointed out, the fact that the sea did not form an effective boundary also endangered the Manx kings' hold over Man and the Isles, as it left them open to invasion by both Irish kings and Hiberno-Norse claimants from Dublin.[343] Domnall mac Taidc, nephew of the Irish king of Munster, Muirchertach ua Briain, had indeed claimed the kingship of Man in 1111, and ruled for three years.[344] The ability of the sea to act as a roadway was responsible in part for the instability and fluidity of the dynastic politics of the Irish Sea world in the twelfth century.

The Anglo-Norman conquests of Ireland, which began in 1169, transformed the politics of the Irish Sea world.[345] However, connections across the Irish Sea did not disappear; in fact they arguably proliferated as Anglo-Norman lords incorporated lands in Ireland into their English, Welsh, and often Norman lordships.[346] John de Courcy, who began an his conquest of Ulster in 1177, provides an example of the creation of such a cross-sea lordship.[347] As Seán Duffy demonstrated, John de Courcy originally had his landed base in Cumbria on the eastern edge of the Irish Sea.[348] John de Courcy therefore created a lordship which stretched from Cumbria to Ulster. The links which knitted de Courcy's cross-sea lordship together can be observed in his choices of monastic patronage. In 1179, de Courcy granted land in Nendrum (County Down) to St Bees priory in Cumbria.[349] As we have seen, St Bees also held land in Man and in Galloway. John de Courcy therefore extended the web of monastic networks that already existed on the east side of the Irish Sea into Ireland. These connections were mirrored by the

[337] Broderick, *Chronica Regum Mannie & Insularum,* f.32v.
[338] 'Annals of Tigernach', trans. Seán Duffy in 'Emerging from the Mist: Ireland and Man in the Eleventh Century', in Peter Davey and David Finlayson (eds.), *Mannin Revisited: Twelve Essays on Culture and Environment* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 56
[339] Duffy, 'Irishmen and Islesmen', p. 125.
[340] John O'Donovan (ed. and trans.), *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the Earliest Period to the year 1616,* ii (Dublin, 1856), p. 1113.
[341] Broderick, *Chronica Regum Mannie & Insularum,* f.37r.
[342] Duffy, 'Irishmen and Islesmen', p. 126.
[343] Ian Beuerman, 'Metropolitan ambitions and politics: Kells–Mellifont and Man & the Isles', *Peritia,* 16 (2002), p. 424.
[344] Broderick, *Chronica Regum Mannie & Insularum,* f.33v.
[345] McDonald, *The Sea Kings*, p. 171.
[346] Frame, 'Aristocracies and the Political Configuration of the British Isles', p. 144.
[347] Seán Duffy, 'The First Ulster Plantation: John de Courcy and the men of Cumbria' in T. Barry, R.F. Frame and Katharine Simms (eds.), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: essays presented to J.F. Lydon* (London, 1995), p. 4.
[348] Duffy, 'The First Ulster Plantation', p. 4.
[349] *Ibid*., p. 6.

marriage between John de Courcy and Affrecca, daughter of Olaf, King of Man.[350] In 1193, Affrecca founded Grey Abbey, a Cistercian house, on the Ards Peninsula (Co. Down) as a daughter house of Holm Cultram, in this way forming a link between her natal family and her husband through monastic patronage.[351] John de Courcy founded a monastery at Inch (Co. Down) in 1187, as a daughter house of Furness in Lancashire, which was also the mother house of Rushen on Man.[352] Both of these foundations were in a significant coastal locations near Strangford Lough, a major harbour on the Irish east coast.[353] De Courcy's choice to focus his conquest on Ulster, in addition to his choice of marriage into the Manx dynasty, was seen by Duffy and Davies as evidence of his intention to create a maritime lordship centred around the northern Irish Sea region.[354] De Courcy's invasion disrupted the Irish Sea world by introducing a new force into it. Rather than ending cross-sea links, however, he created connections between Cumbria, Man, and Ulster.

It can therefore be concluded that the regions surrounding the Irish Sea were linked through seaways which provided not only opportunities, but also the risk of invasion. An example of this was the Anglo-Norman conquests, which transformed the politics of the Irish Sea region. However, as the conquests formed cross-sea lordships between England and Ireland, they not only modified, but also created links across the sea. The connections around the Irish Sea basin would therefore suggest that the sea should not be seen as a boundary, but instead as a means of connecting the littoral polities that surrounded it.

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[350] Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, 'Dower Charter of John De Courcy's Wife', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 12, 1949, p. 79.
[351] Aubrey Gwyn and R. Neville Hadcock (eds) *Medieval Religious Houses in Ireland* (London, 1970), p. 134.
[352] Marie Therese Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 160.
[353] Benjamin T. Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes* (Oxford, 2005), p. 16.
[354] Duffy, 'The First Ulster Plantation', p. 26; R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire,* p. 63.

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Libby Hawken

Crossing the boundaries of patrilineal history: A study of British monarchy

> …the most fallacious thing in the world is to organise our historical knowledge upon an assumption without realising what we are doing, and then to make inferences from that organisation and claim that these are the voice of history
> – Herbert Butterfield[355]

I.

By its very nature, the study of historical European monarchies is patrilineal. At all levels of society throughout western history, power primarily passed down the male line. Power was not unilaterally in the hands of men, but the socially celebrated and officially recorded power was masculine. This has undoubtedly shaped the way historians have interacted with the history of monarchical power and dynasties. Central works written on ruling royal families tend to place their emphasis on male connections, and traditional family trees trace lineage back through the male line. Framed as such, women arrived and departed with the ebb and flow of generations, their own families and relationships mostly left unexamined. The intention of this article is to explore the failings of this approach to the study of historical monarchies, and to highlight the importance of examining matrilineal and female-centric family connections to the construction of a clearer picture of the past. Using both a visual and textual source base, it will argue that the symbiotic relationship between public and academic history plays an integral role in the propagation of a male-oriented approach to the history of monarchy.

The historical focus on patrilineality has numerous influences. The traditional male academic body has been persuaded by the male-dominated primary source base with which they interact and many had a Rankean desire to produce nation-centric research which focused on the history of a geographical region defined by the borders of a modern nation state.[356] This did not lend itself to the study of the more migratory royal women, who often arrived as wives from foreign realms and had family connections spanning large swaths of territory.[357] Although more recent historiography has attempted to encourage a more gender critical approach, with Leila Rupp arguing that women's experiences should be included in the 'transnational history that we are only beginning to write', it has not been comprehensively adopted.[358] Derek Wilson's 2014 *The Plantagenets* discusses the Plantagenet family with the same lack of focus on its female members as his 1876 predecessor William Stubbs, with neither historian looking far beyond the shores of England or across the boundaries of patrilineality to trace the activities of the daughters and sisters of the family.[359]

This style of history is also perpetuated by the uncritically patriarchal cultural understanding of the past. The public conceptualisation of British history is heavily reliant on the traditional

[355] Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (New York, 1931), pp. 23–24.
[356] Stefan Berger, 'The Invention of European National Traditions in European Romanticism', *The Oxford history of historical writing: Volume 4: 1800-1945* (Oxford, 2011), p. 23.
[357] Sharon Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002), pp. 4-5.
[358] Leila J Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, 1997), p. 6.
[359] Dereck Wilson, *The Plantagenets* (London, 2014); William Stubbs, *The Early Plantagenets* (London, 1876).

periodisation constructed (by men) in the seventeenth century.[360] The Tudor, Stuart, and Hanoverian periods are all defined by the rule of one supposedly distinct family, and all end with the rule of a women. By not acknowledging the movement of power through the female line as a sign of power remaining in one family, this periodisation is a product of patrilineal history.

The cultural presentation of these male-oriented periods proceeds to influence the work done by historians, with C. S. L. Davies noting that the glamourised and distinctive depictions of the Tudor monarchs 'among the general public', was 'something to which even professional historians do not seem totally immune'.[361] This cycle of influence makes the move away from traditional patrilineal history particularly challenging, as academic history is unerringly shaped by the cultural upbringing of its historians, and public history is shaped by the work of academics. This is to the detriment of the discipline as a whole, as being trapped in this cycle has prevented transnational, gender-inclusive history from flourishing. Such a history would facilitate an understanding of the British royal family which is not disproportionately focused on men.

II.

Medieval and early modern English rulers were undoubtably aware of their extra-national alliances and recognised that the connections made by and through women were essential to political stability. The significant value placed on female-centric links can be seen in this seventeenth century Stuart-era tapestry:

Figure 1: *'The Stuart Dynasty', Tapestry associated with Francis Poyntz,* (c.1670).[362]

Entitled 'The Stuart Dynasty', the tapestry is attributed to Francis Poyntz, the Yeoman Arras Worker in the court of Charles II of England and dated to circa 1670.[363] This source clearly depicts the contemporarily accepted view of the Stuart family's most prominent members. At the centre stands Charles I, flanked by his mother, Anne of Denmark (left), and his wife, Henrietta Maria (right). The prominence of these women is noteworthy in its own right, as it highlights how they were recognised as part of the dynasty, not just as addendums. Even more

[360] A. Gangatharan, 'The Problem of Periodization in History', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 69 (2008), p. 864.
[361] C. S. L Davies, 'Tudor: What's in a Name?', *History* 97:1 (2012), p. 32.
[362] National Portrait Gallery, 'The Stuart Dynasty', <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw129058/The-Stuart-Dynasty>, [accessed 06 Jan 2021].
[363] *Ibid.*

pertinent is the presence of his maternal uncle on the far right, Christian IV, King of Denmark and Norway, as it emphasises how integral female-oriented family connections were to this English monarch's sense of his place in the world. As such, the inclination of many historians to devalue or ignore these links when it suits them is disingenuous. This dismissiveness can be seen entering the public sphere in the Stuart family tree promoted by The National Archives, which does not include any of Queen Anne of Denmark's natal family members:

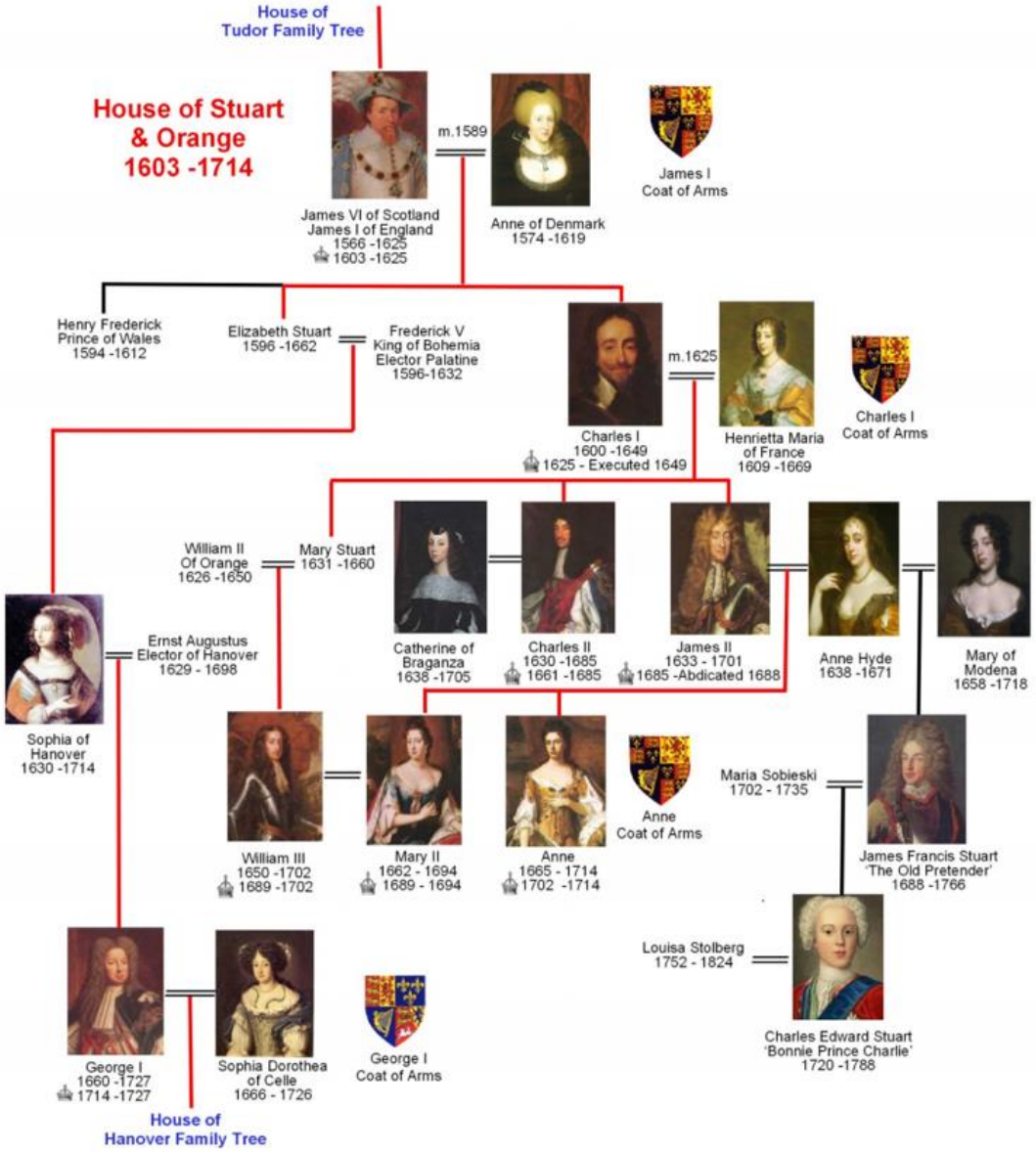

Figure 2: *'Stuart Family Tree', The National Archives* [364]

[364] The National Archives, 'Stuart family tree', <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/jacobite-1715/stuart-family-tree/>, [accessed 21 Jan 2021].

The lack of focus on matrilineal connections could also be interpretated as an example of the 'fallacious thing' warned against by Butterfield in his 1931 text.[365] For generations, historians have assumed that male family connections held more value in the understanding of the past than their female equivalents, and have constructed a history in which women were transient beings with no connections or family dynamics of their own. This structural weakness blinded many new historians entering the field, and while gender historians such as Judith Bennet and Gerda Lerner have actively fought to give historical female experiences a platform, it has not fully entered the mainstream.[366] Traditional monoliths on royal power and structures still focus on men and father-son relationships, making the assumption that such a history is neutral. That is patently not true, and this issue is present on both a micro and macro level: it influences the writing of historical works and shapes our broader cultural understanding of the past.

III.

A specific example of an overreliance on patrilineality can be found in Michael Hicks' 1991 book, *Who's Who in Late Medieval England.*[367] Hicks attempts to create an accessible yet scholarly rigorous chronological account of influential figures in late medieval England. While noting his intention to eschew regional, sexual, and class-based bias in his foreword, Hicks' work is undeniably shaped by his reliance on patrilineal dynasty.[368] Given that the main failing of this historical assumption is the lack of value given to women, his opening genealogical tables are historically flawed. Providing an introductory visual representation of the period, he manages to portray seven generations of English kings and their descendants without including a single daughter.[369] At each level, he is purposely choosing to privilege male lives and experiences. For example, Edward II is depicted with only two of his four children: his sons. This is particularly egregious, as his eldest daughter, Joan, was the Queen of Scotland from 1329 to 1362, and as such was a more politically significant player than her brother John, who died young, unmarried, and childless. If one were analysing the relative importance of Edward II's children without being blinded by patriarchal history, the politically complex relationship between Joan and her brother, Edward III, could understandably justify the selection of these two as the children included on the cramped tree. In 1333, Edward III financially supported a pretender to the Scottish throne who overthrew Joan and her husband, David II, forcing them into exile for over seven years.[370] In 1346, Edward III proceeded to capture David II, and held him prisoner in England for eleven years.[371] These events are integral to our understanding of the political relationship between England and Scotland during the late-medieval period, and bring to light a number of questions about Anglo-Scottish relations during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III. What advantages did the English crown believe it would gain by joining itself by marriage to the Scottish royal family, and what changed in the intervening years to incentivise a deposition? These questions are not left entirely unasked when only male links are considered, but they are not necessarily brought to the fore.

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[365] Butterfield, p. 23.
[366] Judith Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Pennsylvania, 2006); Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York, 1986).
[367] Michael Hicks, *Who's who in late medieval England (1272-1485*) (London, 1991).
[368] *Ibid*., pp. xii-xiii
[369] *Ibid*., p. xxiii.
[370] Rosalind K. Marshall, *Scottish Queens, 1034-1714* (East Lothian, 2003), pp. 36-37.
[371] Michael A. Penman, 'The kingship of David II, 1329-71' (PhD Thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1999), p. 229.

Edward II's other daughter, Eleanor of Woodstock, was an equally notable figure, who acted as regent of Guelders from 1343 to 1344, following the death of her husband.[372] An argument could also be made for her inclusion in the genealogical table in the place of either Joan or John, as she had living offspring. Her children were the cousins of the heir to the English throne, and therefore she was more genealogically important than her childless siblings.

No matter how this specific genealogical table is analysed, it is clear that the reasoning behind Hicks' inclusion of only male children was patriarchal. This is most apparent with those who only had female offspring, such as King Philip V of France, where Hicks does not include any named children, simply noting 'daughters' beneath his name instead.[373] This pattern of prioritising male connections over female continues throughout his book. Of the approximately two hundred people he deemed worthy of study who lived in England from 1272 to 1485, only fifteen are women.[374]

The most significant takeaway from Hicks' work is the deeply ingrained view of the dynasty as an innately male entity, where women are granted no place. The traditional argument to justify such behaviour – that patrilineal family trees are merely representing the past as it had been, with the flow of power passing from father to son – does not stand up to scrutiny. As demonstrated above, power was passed through, and utilised by, women. Although this power was not always acknowledged by contemporaries, it is still worthy of study. Hicks' work demonstrates how misleading the uncritical use of patrilineal history can be on a micro scale. The impact of this approach is amplified in public history, where the influence of the academic trends embodied by Hicks can clearly been seen shaping the way the public interact with, and conceptualise, the past.

IV.

The conceptualisation of dynasties by cultural institutions as entities defined by male-male connections has significantly contributed to the periodisation of British and wider European history. One such institution is the National Portrait Gallery, which represents the monarchs of England as divided into ten distinct eras, from 871 to the present day.[375] Their categorisation of the monarchs as such is not a novel concept, as this delineation between different sets of monarchs is a central part of our cultural understanding of the past. For example, they very clearly separate 'The Tudors 1485 – 1603' from their predecessors, in a manner mirrored by the children's book and television series, *Horrible Histories,* whose segments on the events of the sixteenth century are titled the 'Terrible Tudors'.[376] While such periodisation is not harmful at first glance, its construction is founded upon the assumed value of patrilineal links and contributes to the telling of disjointed and patriarchal history.

This representation of the Tudors as a distinct group is misleading. As Henry VIII's paternal grandfather was not a monarch, he is presented as part of a new era of rulers, despite the fact

[372] Mary Anne Everett Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England, from the Norman Conquest,* Volume 3 (London, 1857), p. 93. There is very limited information officially published on Eleanor of Woodstock, so this article has referenced a nineteenth-century work, which was the most substantial piece of writing on her life. This clear gap in the history of English royal family members is representative of the broader issue at hand.
[373] Hicks, *Who's who,* p. xxiv.
[374] *Ibid,*. pp. 1-370.
[375] National Portrait Gallery, 'Kings and Queens: A Family tree', <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/explore/kings-and-queens-a-family-tree>, [accessed 20 Jan 2021].
[376] Terry Deary, *Horrible Histories: Terrible Tudors* (London, 1993).

that his maternal grandfather, Edward IV, was the king of England for over twenty years.[377] This misconception has been superbly highlighted by C. S. L. Davies, who noted multiple errors in this uncritical demarcation of eras. In his work, *Tudor: What's in a Name?,* he emphasised that the Tudor family did not consider themselves separate or distinct from the rulers who came before them, with Henry VII in particular emphasising his associations to royal blood and supressing rumours about his lowly Tudor heritage.[378] Henry VII's emphasis on the royal power he inherited though the female line is particularly notable. He celebrated his Lancastrian claim to the throne through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, and drew attention to the connections of his paternal grandmother, Catherine of Valois, who was the daughter of the king of France, and through whom Henry could claim descent from Charlemagne.[379] Each 'Tudor' monarch valued their connection to the monarchs who preceded them. Sarah Betts has discussed the significant rhetorical links Elizabeth I drew between herself and her namesake, her maternal grandmother Elizabeth of York.[380] From this we can infer that Elizabeth I was influenced by the experiences of such a Queen, and shaped just as much by 'Yorkist' rule as by her 'Tudor' predecessors. Mary I also greatly valued maternal connections, and her close biological connection to Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, meant she was able to rely on his support when going to war against her half-siblings.[381] Mary's link to the continent through her mother, Catherine of Aragon, gave her strength which she did not gain from her paternal family, and histories of Mary I's reign could only be benefitted by studying it alongside those of Isabella of Castille's other grandchildren. She was part of an international group of rulers, and the tendency of the historical tradition to isolate her in Britain is limiting.

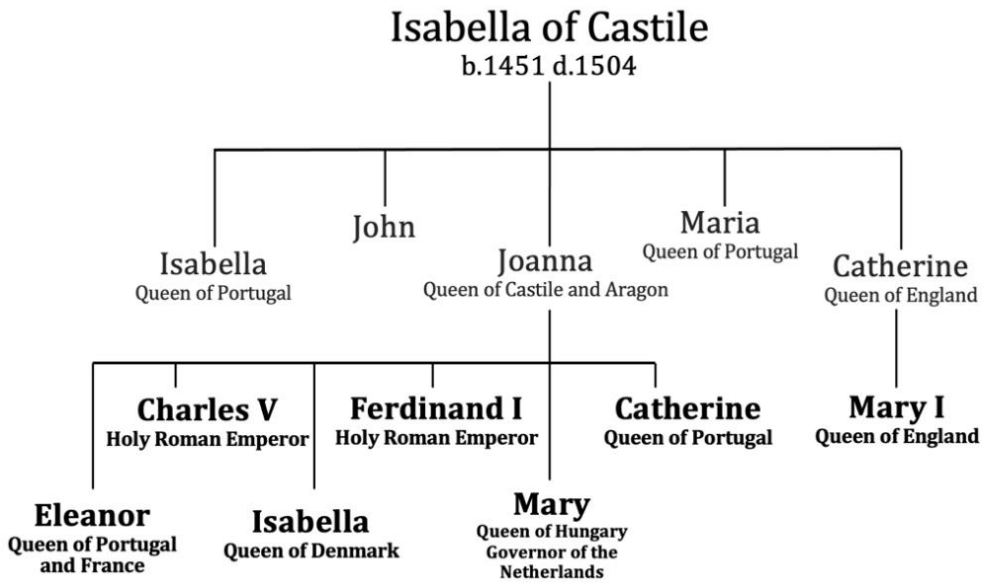

Figure 3: *The descendants of Isabella of Castile.*

[377] Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974).
[378] Davies, 'Tudor: What's in a Name?', p. 26.
[379] *Ibid.*
[380] Sarah Betts, 'What's In A Name?: Dynasty, succession and England's queens regnant (1553–2016)' in E. Woodacre, L.H.S Dean, C. Jones, R.E. Martin, & Z.E. Rohr (eds.) *The Routledge History of Monarchy* (London, 2019), p. 482.
[381] Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London, 2009), pp. 133-139.

This focus on male family connections has also influenced the historical memory of the rule of Queen Victoria and her descendants. Despite being one of the most widely recognised and remembered monarchs in British history, she is not officially considered the head of a dynasty in her own right. Her son took the throne following her death, but rather than this direct movement of power from parent to child indicating the preservation of dynastic power, Edward VII's ascension is noted as the start of a new Saxe Coburg-Gotha (and Windsor) dynasty.[382] The emphasis on his father's family over his mother's makes little sense and would not have happened if female family connections were valued**.** Instead, Victoria is considered part of the Hanoverian dynasty, yet is not included in a number of studies on the dynasty. Jeremy Black's *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* is one such example, discussing the 'five Hanoverian monarchs', from George I to William IV.[383] While her exclusion is due in part to the length and distinctiveness of her reign, I would also posit that this trend fits into the patriarchal conceptualisation of dynasty as a male entity, defined by a series of male monarchs. The arrival of a queen disrupted the chain of male power, and historians have used this as an excuse to study her in isolation.[384] She is distanced from both her predecessors and her successors due to her gender. Unlike other notable British monarchs, such as Henry VIII, Victoria's descendants are not part of a 'Victorian' dynasty.

Victoria sat at the head of a family of offspring which spread across the world and through the centuries. This is worthy of study. Her rule and family connections should be treated with the same reverence historians have given to those of men. In part, this can be achieved by incorporating a more transnational approach to the study of monarchy. This would allow appropriate attention to be placed on the importance of Victoria's daughters to her dynastic reach. Victoria's female descendants became the Empress of Germany, Queen of Greece, Queen of Romania, Empress of Russia, and Queen of Sweden.[385] Through the female line alone, her descendant's power and geographical reach is noteworthy, and through her eldest son she ensured the continuation of the royal line within Britain.

V.

In conclusion, the historical tradition of devaluing the connections facilitated by women leads to disingenuous historical writing about monarchy. The consistent disregard of female experience or family links serves to construct a patrilineal understanding of the past which has blinded historians to the complex reality of British and wider European monarchy. This article has attempted to highlight the flaws in such an approach, suggesting that the boundary of patrilineality should be crossed to enable the consideration of matrilineal connections on an equal basis. In tandem with transnational history, this would allow a more geographically interesting and emotionally relevant depiction of the past to be created.

[382] National Portrait Gallery, 'Kings and Queens'
[383] John Leo Donoghue, 'Review: The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty by Jeremy Black', *The History Teacher* 39: 3 (2006) p. 405.
[384] Miles Taylor, 'The Bicentenary of Queen Victoria.', *Journal of British Studies* 59:1 (2020), p. 122.
[385] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

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William Laird[386]

Not just Rome! An overview of Seleucid intercultural military adoptions

Ancient and modern writers have long held to the trope of the Romans' exceptional ability to copy the armaments and military practices of other peoples. The idea was first professed in the mid-Republic by the Greek historian Polybius, who claimed that 'no nation has ever surpassed [the Romans] in readiness to adopt new fashions from other people'.[387] It was later taken up by the Romans themselves, with the Roman historian Sallust writing in a speech that he reports being delivered by Julius Caesar that for Rome's ancestors 'whatever appeared eligible to them, whether among allies or among enemies, they adopted at home with the greatest readiness'.[388] Such a view remains current in historical works, appearing, for example, in Goldsworthy's definitive *The Complete Roman Army*.[389] Yet, as those who study the ancient world become increasingly aware of cross-cultural interaction within it, this trope stands to be critiqued; other ancient powers were just as successful in assimilating foreign elements into their forces. One would anticipate that the Seleucid Empire, a power resulting from the splintering of the empire of Alexander the Great and which controlled territory that encompassed much of the former Persian Empire and bridged the Indian East and the Greek and later Roman West, would be poised to benefit from such assimilation. The following pages will lay out the literary and material evidence for multiple cases of Seleucid intercultural military adoptions, demonstrating that assigning this practice exclusively or especially to Rome does not do justice to the wider exchange of military ideas, tactics, and technologies between peoples in the ancient world.

Most striking of the cross-cultural military adoptions of the Seleucids was the war elephant. Originating in India, and subsequently made use of by all of the Successor Kingdoms, the Seleucids were nonetheless a power that brought war elephants to battle in almost every campaign that they conducted despite the difficulty of raising them in Seleucid lands, away from their natural habitats.[390] This high regard for war elephants is demonstrated well by the fact that Seleucus I (r. 311 – 281 BCE) obtained the Empire's first elephants by ceding his eastern holdings to the Maurya Empire in exchange for them at the conclusion of their conflict.[391] The figure cited by Strabo is that they received 500 elephants and, though disputed by Tarn, who estimates that Seleucus obtained 150 elephants, even the general scale of the exchange and the ceding of territory in the first place is testament to the importance that the Seleucids placed on these foreign beasts as tools of war.[392]

Despite the obvious high esteem in which the Seleucids held them as a weapon of war, however, elephants were ultimately unreliable both strategically and tactically. They were

[386] With thanks to Dr Natalie Aldred, Fiona Banham and Hampton Toole for comments and suggestions on the editing of this piece; it is much improved for their interventions!
[387] Polybius, *Histories*, trans. Evelyn Shuckburgh (London, 1889), 6.25.
[388] Sallust, *Conspiracy of Catiline*, trans. John Selby Watson (New York, 1899), 51.38.
[389] Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London, 2003), p. 29.
[390] Philip Sabin and Philip de Souza, 'Battle', in Philip Sabin, Hans van Wees and Michael Whitby (eds), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare, Volume 1: Greece, The Hellenistic World and the Rise of Rome* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 417.; Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army: Organisation and Tactics in the Great Campaigns* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 75; 77.
[391] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-7; Jona Lendering, 'Seleucus I Nicator', *Livius*, 10 August 2020, <https://www.livius.org/articles/person/seleucus-i-nicator/> [accessed 29 June 2021].
[392] Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army*, p. 76.

prone to exhaustion, as Seleucus I is likely to have learned after a march to Ipsus, over which nearly a fifth of the elephants gifted to him were abandoned or rendered unable to fight. It was also not unheard of for them to turn around and rampage back through the lines of the army fielding them, as Antiochus III's (r. 222 – 187 BCE) elephants did at the Battle of Magnesia.[393] Their major advantage lay instead in their ability to be psychologically devastating to an enemy that was unused to them; it was this factor, war elephants' alienness and apparent might, that the Seleucids were in fact best able to make use of, not in a military context but a political and ideological one.[394] The Seleucids are known to have produced numerous coins featuring elephants, which Rebecca Dodd notes has 'obvious military significance' as symbology; one might note in particular an example from the reign of Seleucus I, whose obverse features Athene, Greek goddess of war and the *polis*, being pulled by an elephant-drawn chariot, clearly using elephants as a statement of Seleucid imperial power.[395] This demonstrates that the idea of the elephant, regardless of their actual battlefield utility, could be turned to the Seleucids' advantage as a powerful, mysterious animal under royal control, projected throughout and beyond the Empire to reflect upon the king's military strength and power. This Seleucid tactic is especially notable in the face of the Indian numismatic evidence from this period; coins from the Maurya Empire, from which the Seleucids received their elephants, and their predecessor state, the Magadha Mahajanapada, do feature elephants somewhat frequently but, where they do, do not render them in sufficient detail to show features such as armour or howdahs that would mark them out as iconography relating to war.[396] The use of elephant symbology in coinage, therefore, is an instance in which the Seleucids were able to adopt a foreign military technology and then fully exploit its applications, beyond the confines of the military sphere itself and to an even greater extent than the people from whom they had adopted it.

Figure 1: The obverse of a Seleucid coin, depicting Athene in a chariot drawn by four elephants.[397]

Polybius' own work, too, demonstrates that the Seleucid Empire was willing to undertake radical intercultural adoptions, a notable example of which is his evidence for the Seleucid incorporation of cataphracts into their cavalry. Cataphracts, cavalry whose horses were garbed in heavy armour in addition to their riders (a rarity in the ancient world), have long been believed to have been introduced to the Seleucids by the Parthians to their East; though Hauser questions whether it was precisely the Parthians who disseminated the concept, findings of

[393] Jona Lendering, 'Antiochus III the Great', *Livius*, 10 August 2020, <https://www.livius.org/articles/person/antiochus-iii-the-great/> [accessed 29 June 2021]; Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army*, p. 76; 171.
[394] Philip Sabin and Philip de Souza, 'Battle', p. 421.
[395] Rebecca Dodd, 'Coinage and conflict: the manipulation of Seleucid political imagery' (PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2009), p. 57; Michael Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage (in 9 volumes)* (London, 1975), p. 52.
[396] Parmeshwari L. Gupta and Terry R. Hardaker, *Indian Silver Punchmarked Coins: Magadha-Maurya Karshapana Series* (Nashik, 1985), p. 48; 320; 359; 463; 477; 573.
[397] 'Bactria: Seleucid, Seleucos I, Silver Tetradrachm, c. 290 BCE', photograph, CoinIndia, <http://coinindia.com/galleries-greek-seleucos1.html> [accessed 18 June 2021].

horse armour used by the Chorasmians of central Asia in the 6th century BCE demonstrate an eastern origin.[398] Polybius attests to the inclusion of these units by the Seleucid army in his description of the military parade in Daphnae, where he notes the presence of 1,500 cataphracts; tellingly, he gives the detail that these cavalrymen were named for 'the nature of their panoply', suggesting that the cataphract was an unfamiliar prospect for a Greek-speaking audience at the time that he was writing and, in turn, that it was a concept new to the Greek world.[399] This would make its employment by the Seleucids a cultural adoption from prior powers.

The Seleucid adoption of the cataphract might, of course, be interpreted against the above, as the use of local troops with their own traditions for specialised battlefield roles, in the same manner as many empires before and since (not excluding the Romans, in the imperial *auxilia*). Literary evidence, however, instead supports the idea that the Seleucids incorporated them more closely, as part of their regular cavalry. Bezalel Bar-Kochva identifies the distinguishing factor that local troops are identified by ethnicity in literary sources; this indicates that other parts of an army, noted by their rank, equipment, or battlefield role alone, as in the case of 'brass shield' and 'silver shield' units of infantry in the Daphnae Parade, should be seen as regular troops.[400] As Bar-Kochva notes, cataphracts employed by the Seleucids in these sources are typically given no ethnic identifier, whereas other units are.[401] An instance of this pattern is found in Polybius, who references Mysian, Cicilian, Thracian, Gallic, and Macedonian infantry at the parade, defined by their places and peoples of origin, alongside the cataphracts, defined by equipment alone. Livy's account of the Seleucid army at the Battle of Magnesia also lists cataphracts, again without an ethnic identifier, alongside Galatian infantrymen, Dahae horse archers, and Cretan and Tralli light infantrymen.[402] This strongly indicates the incorporation of cataphracts into regular Seleucid forces, who would need no such identification, rather than being an ethnic contingent drawn from the eastern reaches of the Empire. Bar-Kochva goes so far as to follow Tarn's line of thought that the Seleucids under Antiochus III converted large sections of their previously unarmoured cavalry to cataphracts, drawing on Livy as evidence in his claim that the companion cavalry – those accompanying the king at Magnesia – equipped their horses with armour, though lighter than those of typical cataphract units. Livy also attests to the presence of at least 6,000 regular cataphracts for the Seleucids at the same battle, a notably sizeable proportion in comparison to their 9,000 unarmoured cavalrymen, even after accounting for wariness around ancient troop numbers.[403] The ancient literary evidence, therefore, suggests that the Seleucids converted substantial amounts of their own cavalry to what was a fundamentally new type of unit drawn from outside Hellenistic culture, as well as using it to influence the development of one of their most prized and important cavalry units.

The most famous instance of the adoption of other cultures' military paradigms by the Seleucids, however, might be the case of the so-called 'imitation legionaries'. Polybius

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[398] Thom Richardson, 'Arms and Armour' in Neil Asher Silberman (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2012); Stefan R. Hauser, 'Was there no paid standing army? A fresh look on military and political institutions in the Arsacid Empire', in Markus Mode and Jürgen Tubach (eds), *Arms and Armour as Indicators of Cultural Transfer: The Steppes and the Ancient World from Hellenistic Times to the Early Middle Ages (Nomaden und Sesshafte 4)* (Wiesbaden-Dotzheim, 2006), p. 300; John W. Eadie, 'The Development of Roman Mailed Cavalry', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 57:2 (1967), p. 162.
[399] Polybius, *Histories*, 31.3.
[400] Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army*, p. 74; Polybius, *Histories*, 31.3.
[401] Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army*, p. 74.
[402] Polybius, *Histories*, 31.3; Livy, *History of Rome*, trans. Evan T. Sage (London, 1935), 37.40.
[403] Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army*, p. 75; Livy, *History of Rome*, 37.40.

comments earlier in his description of the Daphnae Parade that there were present 5,000 men 'armed in the Roman fashion', a statement which has been the source of speculation over whether the Seleucids borrowed wholesale from the Romans to field a new type of infantry.[404] The most recent major attempt to take forward this argument is that of Nicholas Sekunda, who argues for a major reform of both the Seleucid and Ptolemaic armies in the 160s BCE along Roman lines, for which he has been criticised for a lack of evidence by Paul Beston and Gwyn Davies.[405] To focus on the Seleucids, Beston notes that the sole piece of archaeological evidence that Sekunda draws upon for Seleucid adoption of Roman arms, a depiction of a soldier on terracotta, that Sekunda argues is a Roman-style Seleucid infantryman, in fact closely resembles in pose and equipment another terracotta depicting a Galatian mercenary at the British Museum.[406] This considerably weakens the case for a Roman origin.

Problematically, other archaeological evidence that might support Sekunda's case may be interpreted instead as depicting infantry *thureophoroi* or *thorakitai*, pre-existing varieties of Hellenistic medium infantry armed with ovular shields. The terracotta that Sekunda attempts to draw upon, found at Kampyr Tepe in Bactria, depicts a soldier armed with sword and shield, whose tall, pointed helmet indicates Hellenistic equipment and whose archaeological context places it two decades after Sekunda's proposed reforms at the latest and possibly several decades earlier.[407] Considering Kampyr Tepe's location, in the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom on the eastern edge of the Hellenistic world, and the narrow (and potentially impossible) timeframe for potential cultural interchange from the Romans to the Seleucids, and then to the Greco-Bactrians, it seems more likely that this stamp depicts one of the two pre-existing infantry types instead. A similar point can be made for a funerary stele at Sidon, which might be argued to depict a Romanised soldier but whose equipment, especially a long thrusting spear, is closer to the primary weapon of a *thureophoros* or *thorakites*.[408] All of this somewhat confounds Polybius' account; the context of Polybius' personal status, however, writing as a political hostage of Rome and friend of the Scipio family, perhaps has some explanatory power, suggesting that he was simply drawing attention to the similarity of the Seleucids' soldiers to those of the Romans, even if there was no causal connection. In all, tempting as the narrative of the adoption of a successful Roman model by another major Mediterranean power may be, what evidence there is for the Seleucids deliberately re-arming troops along Roman lines as they did with their cataphracts appears shaky at best.

Despite this, it is clear that the *thureophoroi* and *thorakitai* that are more likely to be the subject of the sources were still the product of cultural interchange – interchange that is just as, if not more, revealing of the Seleucids' willingness to take on the ideas of others than it would be if they had copied troops wholesale from the rising power of Rome. Both types of soldier, as well as a type of medium cavalrymen also called *thureophoroi*, were armed with (and in the first and last cases, named after) the *thureos*, a medium-sized ovular shield similar to shields found

[404] Polybius, *Histories*, 31.3.
[405] Paul Beston, 'Review of *Hellenistic Infantry Reform in the 160s B.C.* (Warsaw, 2001), by Nicholas Sekunda', *The Classical Review*, New Series 52:2 (2002), p. 388; Gwyn Davies, 'Review of *Hellenistic Infantry Reform in the 160s B.C.* (Warsaw, 2001), by Nicholas Sekunda', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 109:1 (2005), p. 120.
[406] Paul Beston, 'Review of *Hellenistic Infantry Reform in the 160s B.C.* (Warsaw, 2001), by Nicholas Sekunda', *The Classical Review*, New Series 52:2 (2002), p. 388.
[407] Valeri P. Nikonorov and Serge A. Savchuk, 'New Data on Ancient Bactrian Body-Armour (In Light of Finds from Kampyr Tepe)', *Iran*, 30 (1992), p. 50.
[408] Jona Lendering, 'Sidon, Funerary stele of Salmamodes', photograph, <https://www.livius.org/pictures/lebanon/saida-sidon/sidon-museum-pieces/sidon-funerary-stele-of-salmamodes/> [accessed 22 February 2020].

in the Celtic world. The shield has been subject to substantial debate over its origins; first appearing in Greek art in the third century BCE, academic opinion has been divided between the view that it was brought into the Hellenistic cultural sphere by Galatian invasion after the 280s BCE and the view that it was, in fact, of Italian origin, brought back after Pyrrhus of Epirus' war with Rome.[409] Either would represent, if not the wholesale addition of a style of fighting from another culture to Seleucid armies, a substantial change of equipment that affected multiple branches of Seleucid forces. Nonetheless, the debate has been resolved with the discovery of a *thureos* dedicated at Delphi dated to before 276 BCE, which is in turn before Pyrrhus of Epirus returned to campaign against Macedon and, therefore, before he could have introduced the shield into the Hellenistic world.[410] This case demonstrates an important point: that the Seleucids did not simply adopt cultural ideas from those peoples who had defeated them in combat, but that the transference of military equipment occurred regardless. The aforementioned invasion of the Galatians was halted at the decisive Elephant Battle in western Anatolia by the Seleucid king Antiochus I (r. 281 – 261 BCE), following which he was acclaimed as 'Soter', meaning 'Saviour'. Given the combination of the fear towards the Galatians implied by this title and the fact that the Seleucids won the war against them, it would have made sense for their armies to retain their current wargear as the armaments that stopped such an enemy.[411] That the adoption of Galatian-style shields occurred, then, and for a variety of troops, is indicative instead of a pragmatic principle that the Seleucids were willing to adopt their foes' practices where they perceived them as superior – just as the Romans are reported to have done.

The armies of the Seleucid Empire can thus be counted as having undertaken profound military cross-cultural adoptions across their history, benefitting profoundly from the Empire's place at a crossroads of the ancient world. The Seleucids were able to build new elements of varying cultural influence throughout their forces, from Indian elephants as new tools of war and power entirely, to heavy cataphracts drawn from eastern traditions that even made their influence known among the elite companion cavalry, to new types of infantry and cavalry with Galatian arms. Readiness to adopt new ideas from other peoples, therefore, was not the preserve of Rome; evaluation beyond such tropes is necessary for a holistic understanding of ancient warfare.

[409] Nicholas Sekunda, 'The Introduction of Cavalry *Thureophoroi* Into Greek Warfare', *Fasciculi Archaeologiae Historicae*, 19 (January 2006), pp. 10-11.
[410] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
[411] Jona Lendering, 'Antiochus I Soter', *Livius*, 10 August 2020, <https://www.livius.org/articles/person/antiochus-i-soter/> [accessed 29 June 2021].

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Intellectual and Ideological Boundaries

Maciej Bos

Pan-Slavism in Russia: the crossing of borders of nationalism

The idea of nationalism is at the core of European culture. It is so closely connected to the West that even though it was reportedly in decline in the latter half of the twentieth century, to be replaced by a perpetual rule of liberal democracy, it is still growing in strength to this day.[412] And that should not come as a surprise, because the idea of nationalism originates in the same place as the idea of democracy: the French Revolution. The idea of sovereignty stemming from the nation and not from monarchs was a powerful engine for democratisation. It galvanised French revolutionaries at the turn of the nineteenth century and later gained agency with organisations such as Young Italy and *Deutscher Nationalverein*.[413] By 1848, it rocked the political order in Europe and, despite causing little political change, culturally it was due to emerge as the sole justification of state sovereignty. It was at this time that a similar belief system first reached an observable appeal in Russia in the form of pan-Slavism. Briefly, this was an ethnolinguistic national movement advocating for the unification of Slavic-speaking people in a state or a federation of states. Yet, pan-Slavism needed some twenty years to mature with the publication of Nicolai Danilevsky's (1822-1885) *Russia and Europe* in 1869, which provided it with clear ideological frameworks. This paper aims to demonstrate how the concept developed in Russia under the heavy influence of German Idealist writer, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), in the context of its distinct geopolitical concerns and the ascendency of the Orthodox Church. Essentially, it will be argued that, despite their considerable uniqueness, the tenets of pan-Slavism were intellectually indebted to the Western philosophy.

German Idealism

German idealism had a profound impact on the crystallisation of pan-Slavism in Russia. The philosopher who became the epitome of the ideology in Russia was Georg Hegel.[414] His belief that nations are unique collectives which develop in accordance with their own principles is pivotal in articulating the nationalist doctrine. If each nation is distinct from all others, then it is requisite to cultivate and defend its particularity. Specifically, Hegel argued that each nation had a mission to humanity: to make a contribution to the Absolute Idea. Accordingly, history is a progression from a state of mere consciousness towards the perfection of the Spirit.[415] Therefore, if a nation matured to the status of an 'historical' nation, it would rise to global prominence and bestow its unique qualities upon mankind. Hegelianism supplied Russian intellectuals with a purpose. Among the Russian elite, there was doubt about the path taken by the Russian Empire. Political suppressions, lack of basic liberties, and industrialisation led to an existential crisis, characterised by Pyotr Chadaayev. 'Russia has no past', he asserted, 'no framework of intellectual habits or traditional values: she has come onto the stage of history like an illegitimate child.'[416] Hegelianism's mission was to provide a glimpse of hope that, despite a lack of scientific or literary accomplishments, Russians could still shape the future of the world.

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[412] Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York, 2006), p. 268.
[413] Hermann Kinder, Werner Hilgemann, *The Penguin Atlas of World History: From the French Revolution to the Present* (London, 1978), p. 51.
[414] Derek Offord, *Journeys to a Graveyard: Perceptions of Europe in Classical Russian Travel Writing* (Dordrecht, 2005), p. 115.
[415] *Ibid.*
[416] Brygida Pudełko, 'The Roots of Chaadaev's Philosophical Thought', *Logos & Ethos*, 43:2 (2016), p. 69.

However, in order to complete its mission, the Spirit had to be defined and preserved. Duality, which was at the heart of Hegel's rationale, provided pan-Slavism with ideological frameworks to obtain it. Hegel understood the universe as a field of polar opposites within which a universal balance could be found.[417] An entity in any realm could be defined by what it was not; that is to say by an opposite. Hegel stated an example of holiness which was delineated by sin.[418] The struggle against sin represents the struggle for holiness. This Hegelian duality offered a self-definition to the Russian intellectuals, who underwent an incredible identification crisis in the first half of the nineteenth century.[419] By defining the West, they thought, they could discover what the Slavic Spirit encompassed. Allegedly, Slavic culture was the antithesis to Western individualism and capitalism, meaning it had to profess unity and cooperation. Most importantly, these Hegelian foundations gave life to pan-Slavism.

Geopolitical Concerns

Pan-Slavism was undeniably reactive to its perceived threats. Pan-Germanism, which went from strength to strength until its culmination in 1870, was pivotal in moulding pan-Slavic thinking. The Germanic culture was seen as a threat to Russia's political and cultural security.[420] The systematic settlement of German migrants eastward since the Middle Ages, with German minorities as far East as Georgia or Samara, was evidence thereof.[421] In similar fashion, the *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East) was voiced by German nationalists who yearned for expansion into the Russian Empire to guarantee living space for the German nation. The Russian elite feared these aspirations would be reinforced by a unified German state. A vivid example propagated by pan-Slavists was that of Bohemia, where the Czech language became increasingly assimilated to German and Czechs reportedly began to lose their 'Slavic' identity due to German subjugation.[422] Danilevsky's *Russia and Europe,* hailed the 'Bible of pan-Slavism', channelled these fears with a near scientific accuracy.[423] His theory of historical-cultural types compared each nation to a biological species competing for supremacy. The unification of the Germanic culture was a threat to the Greco-Slavic historical-cultural type. Therefore, to preserve its culture, the Slavs too had to unite to contain the Germanic might. It is difficult not to connect Danilevsky's historical-cultural types to Hegel's historic nations, as noted by historian Robert MacMaster.[424] They are essentially alike with the scientific undertones underscored by Danilevsky, whose biologist background evidently comes to the fore. By highlighting the paradigm of competition between nations as comparable to organisms in nature, *Russia and Europe* was a logical progression of Hegelianism.

By the same token, at the core of pan-Slavic thinking was an even stronger threat of Western culture. This feature is indisputably a product of Slavophile agitation which took place in the 1830s and 1840s. Often, it is mistakably claimed that Slavophilia and pan-Slavism are interchangeable terms. The former was a Russian movement which, despite its name, was not interested in Slavs as such; it did not envision political unity or cultural kinship of Slavdom. Slavophilia expressed the love of the Russian language and romanticised the rural way of life,

[417] Offord, *Journeys to a Graveyard,* p. 116.
[418] *Ibid.*
[419] *Ibid.,* p. 115.
[420] Hans Kohn, 'The Impact of Pan-Slavism on Central Europe', *The Review of Politics*, 23:3 (July 1961), p. 325.
[421] Walter Ze'ev Laqueur, *Russia and Germany* (London, 1965), p. 293.
[422] *Ibid.*
[423] Kohn, 'The Impact of Pan-Slavism on Central Europe', p. 332.
[424] Robert MacMaster, *Danilevsky: a Russian totalitarian philosopher* (Harvard, 1967), p. 61.

arguing that the peasantry was the cradle of the Russian spirit.[425] Nonetheless, pan-Slavism owes much to Slavophilia, with historian Michael Petrovich calling it a 'generational continuation.'[426]

A turning point which prompted a more acute antagonism with the West was the Crimean War (1853-6). Pan-Slavists saw great unfairness in the treatment of Russia by Western powers. According to Danilevsky, the Russian Empire was only protecting the rights of Christian Slavs in the 'barbaric despotism of Turkey.'[427] Meanwhile, the West came to the aid of Muslim Ottomans in the name of their selfish economic and geopolitical interests. Russian sincerity met with Western betrayal in the form of inaction on the part of Austrian and Prussian allies and an intervention of Christian France and Britain. Thus, Danilevsky asserted that 'the mutual hatred [between West and East] is so profound' and asked rhetorically, 'why is Europe inimical to Russia?'[428] Pan-Slavism embodied a logical conclusion that, if the West was deceitful, only people with similar *Weltanschauung* (that is, the Slavs) could understand Russia and be a faithful ally. Mikhail Pogodin, a key figure for pan-Slavists, remarked that 'one has only to understand that West is West, and East is East!', highlighting the underlying civilisational discrepancy between both cultures.[429] It is essential to note the Russophilic dimension of the movement, since it is Russia and its *raison d'etre* which prompts the apocalyptic necessity of pan-Slavism. The remedy to the worsening international position of Russia was recognised in a Slavic state which could counterweight the 'Latino-Germanic' imperialism. Invariably, the genuine relation to other Slavs is portrayed by the Polish Uprising of 1863-4. Most Russian pan-Slavists sided with the Tsar and saw the Poles as 'Unslavic' and corrupted by the Latino-Germanic culture.[430] It was of little to no significance how the Poles viewed Tsarist rule; Russian interest had preponderance.

On the other hand, anti-Western sentiment was prevalent long before the Crimean War and can be traced back to the slow-paced Westernisation of the nineteenth century. Slavophiles and later pan-Slavists propagating Hegel discerned Westernism as a threat to the organic Russian way of life, which would undermine its Spirit.[431] Westernisation risked the dissolution of the true Slavic Spirit, therefore making it impossible to rise to power and contribute to the Absolute Idea. Hegel's rationale put pan-Slavists at odds with the so-called Westernisers, who advocated for an acceleration of the processes of industrialisation and political liberalisation. Incompatibility between the West and Russia is conveyed by Danilevsky, who notes that 'Russia neither belonged to Europe nor did it have reason to entertain any such pretensions.'[432] He identified Latino-Germanic culture as capitalistic, meaning that the Western pursuit for profits led to selfishness and dehumanisation.[433] The Crimean War was a result as opposed to a cause of this behaviour. The Western feudal or capitalist systems were one and the same, exploiting others for their own gain and seeking protection by means of the law. The fact that the Russian Empire had an enormous serf population was irrelevant, because it was a Western-borne system.[434] Supposedly, the ancient Slavic Russia was a land of small communities which asserted unity, supported each other and guaranteed individual freedoms. Pan-Slavists argued

[425] Offord, *Journeys to a Graveyard,* p. 117.
[426] Petrovich, *The emergence of Russian Panslavism 1856-1870,* p. 34.
[427] MacMaster, *Danilevsky,* p. 191.
[428] Petrovich, *The emergence of Russian Panslavism 1856-1870,* p. 69.
[429] *Ibid.,* p. 32.
[430] Michael Boro Petrovich, *The emergence of Russian Panslavism 1856-1870* (New York, 1956), p. 83.
[431] Offord, *Journeys to a Graveyard,* p. 117.
[432] Petrovich, *The emergence of Russian Panslavism,* p. 71.
[433] Tolz Vera, *Inventing the nation: Russia* (Oxford, 2001), p. 83.
[434] MacMaster, *Danilevsky,* p. 190.

that Russia was characterised by its ancient Slavic Spirit, which had been under attack since the reign of Peter the Great, who unleashed the forces of Westernisation.[435] Ultimately, pan-Slavism grew in reaction to the West and pan-Germanism. Although the origins of this stance are ambivalent, the ideological foundations of Hegel were prominent in shaping these sentiments.

Orthodox Church

An equally significant aspect of pan-Slavism was Orthodoxy. There are several reasons pointing to the unquestionable prominence of faith. Unequivocally, it established a bond with the Southern Slavs under Ottoman control. The Serbs, the Montenegrins and the Bulgarians were all followers of the Orthodox faith. As a result, it established a stronger cultural unity between them and the Russians, reaching further than linguistic similarities. There is a consensus among historians that Russians knew little of their fellow Slavs in the Ottoman Empire before pan-Slavic agitation.[436] The emphasis on similarities in religion and language helped to mould awareness of and empathy towards the Southern Slavs. The pan-Slavic propaganda campaign against the decimation of Bulgarians by Ottoman irregulars in 1877 led to mass calls for intervention, which prompted thousands of voluntaries and vast donations.[437] These were gathered and partly coordinated by Orthodox Churches across Russia. Religion provided pan-Slavists with organisation, but also with a strong foundation for unity.[438]

Furthermore, Orthodoxy carried an indispensable ideological weight within Russian autocracy. Its legendary position can be traced as far back as the Grand Duchy of Muscovy. The marriage of Ivan III and the Byzantine Princess Sophia Palaiologina in 1472 was deemed proof of continuity between the religious tradition of Constantinople and the Rurikovich and later Romanov Dynasties.[439] Thus, it justified the position of Russia as the sole legitimate defender of the Orthodox brethren. The reference to Moscow as a 'Third Rome' indicates the pivotal role the city played in the minds of the Russian intelligentsia.[440] The epic link between the Roman and the Russian Empires remained a core component of the pan-Slavic dogma. Danilevsky advocated not merely for a Slavic historical-cultural type, but a Greco-Slavic, and called for Constantinople to become the capital of a federation of such people.[441] Once again, it is evident that pan-Slavism acts as an extension of Russophilia. The combination of Russian autocracy with contemporary nationalist self-determination demonstrates the desire for Russian expansion rather than genuine Slavic unification, where the people in question would replace Ottoman or Austrian masters with Russians. The Slavic Congress of 1867 in Moscow hints at the true intentions of Russian pan-Slavists: Slavic unity outside of the Empire's borders was reasserted, while snubbing the Slavs within by ignoring Poles or Belarussians and inviting only four Ukrainians, all of whom were from the Habsburg Empire.[442] Orthodox faith was a useful tool with which to weaken Vienna's and the Porte's grip on their Orthodox subjects.

[435] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[436] Petrovich, *The emergence of Russian Panslavism,* p. 21; Alena Eskridge-Kosmach, 'The Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the Attitude of Russian Society (Based on Memoirs, Diaries, and the Epistolary Heritage of Contemporaries)', *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies,* 29:3 (2016), p. 455.
[437] Benedict H. Sumner, 'Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-Seventies', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 18:1 (November 1935), p. 51.
[438] *Ibid.,* p. 50.
[439] Vera, *Inventing the nation: Russia,* p. 12.
[440] Brygida Pudełko, 'The Roots of Chaadaev's Philosophical Thought', p. 67.
[441] MacMaster, *Danilevsky,* p. 183.
[442] Petrovich, *The emergence of Russian Panslavism,* p. 91.

Correspondingly, Orthodoxy helped to justify and underline the differences between the West and the Slavic world. In their travels to the West, Russian intellectuals observed an utter degradation of public life.[443] Beggars, poor housing and filth stood out to the pan-Slavists, who attached the blame for these injustices to the Protestant faith, inasmuch as it weakened the connection to religion and thus degraded society.[444] In contrast, Russia was still unscathed by social consequences of rapid urbanisation and pan-Slavists did not want change. Therefore, it became obvious that a strong position of the Church was a necessity to establish a truly Slavic federation. Moreover, Orthodoxy was the logical conclusion in the search for a definition of a pristine Slavic Spirit. An average peasant was viewed as a 'pious Orthodox Christian and a bearer of brotherly values.'[445] Therefore, if peasantry was the last remnant of ancient Slavic life, then their deep allegiance to Orthodoxy indicates how a true Russian ought to conduct oneself. Yet again, pan-Slavists looked through the prism of Hegelian thought: the necessity to preserve the uniqueness of Slavic culture. The Orthodox Church was to guide the spiritual life of the Slavic nation and ultimately tend its Spirit to finality. Despite the ambiguous role of Orthodoxy within pan-Slavism, it is evident that ideological frameworks were once again established by Hegel.

Conclusion

In summary, this paper has shed a light on the ambiguous nature of Russian pan-Slavism. Undoubtedly, Slavic distinctiveness and traditions were pivotal in formulating the pan-Slavic doctrine. Nevertheless, the ideological frameworks were based on Hegelian thought. The hostility towards the West was powered by geopolitical and cultural realities unique to Russia, but the intellectual considerations were based on Hegelian notions of duality. In similar fashion, the Orthodox faith defined the Eastern and Southern Slavs and helped to tend to their Spirit. The necessity to do so, however, was voiced by Hegel and his notion of an Absolute Idea. Ultimately, pan-Slavic hopes came to little. In 1877, after Tsar Alexander II caved in to the pan-Slavic sentiment to intervene in the Balkans, the result was not a Southern Slav Union, but a mildly enlarged Montenegro and Serbia and a divided Bulgaria, which achieved unity in 1886 after much turmoil. Alexander III outlawed pan-Slavic Committees after the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, and pan-Slavism never recovered from the blow.[446] Nonetheless, Danilevsky's dream of a Slavic federation did materialise somewhat in 1945, after the defeat of Hitler's pan-German project. It is questionable whether pan-Slavists would endorse the Slavic union of Stalin in the form of the Eastern Bloc, but it was the closest attempt that any pan-Slavist ever came close to. Essentially, pan-Slavism was a product of its time – that is to say, of the age of nationalism, industrialisation, and imperialism. It embodied the desire for self-determination, the fear of Westernised society, and a hope for international glory. The ambiguity of pan-Slavism only serves to show the globalisation of intellectual thought, which crossed borders with ever increasing ease.

[443] Offord, *Journeys to a Graveyard,* p. 128.
[444] *Ibid.,* p. 186.
[445] *Ibid.,* p. 117.
[446] Sumner, 'Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-Seventies', p. 35.

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Thomas Williams

What was the modal revolution?

Informally speaking, a proposition is called 'modal' if it expresses a 'mode' of truth – one of several substantively different ways in which a proposition can be true. There was a time before c.1970 when (alethic) modal terms – terms concerning necessity and possibility – were treated with an almost prejudicial suspicion in analytic philosophy. Nowadays, philosophers employ modality unflinchingly. Similarly, modal logic arguably did not reach full legitimacy until 1962, lagging behind classical logic, which had been on roughly solid footing at the turn of the twentieth century. Tracing this sea-change, the 'modal revolution' of the twentieth century is important to understanding the state of contemporary logic and philosophy. Why was there controversy about terms that seem uncontroversial in everyday life, how were these divides crossed in logic and philosophy, and what was the relation between the two?

Here are two important features of classical logic:

(1) The Principle of Bivalence: all propositions are closed under two mutually exclusive truth-values: true or false.
(2) Truth-functionality: all logical operators can be defined as functions from the truth-values of *n* propositions to a resultant truth-value. Take 'not-', for instance: *p* is true, just if not-*p* is false; if not-*p* is true, then *p* is false.

Modal notions are jointly incompatible with these two properties; they cannot be defined truth-functionally in a bivalent logic. We formalise '*p* is necessary' as $\Box p$. It is unclear how to infer $\Box p$ from the mere truth or falsity of *p*. Some logicians, therefore, rejected bivalence, and developed many-valued logics from which modal operators could be then defined as truth-functions. Hugh MacColl and C. I. Lewis, however, pioneered modal logics that were not truth-functional, but preserved bivalence.

MacColl's logic was a response to perceived insufficiencies in classical logic's treatment of the notion of implication. Classical logic uses the *material implication,* $\Rightarrow$: '$p \Rightarrow q$' is true if '*p*' is false, or '*q*' is true - because '$p \Rightarrow q$' is false just if '*p*' is true and '*q*' is false. This capture something intuitive about implication, namely that a true proposition should never imply a false one. After all, 'my dog, Max, bites everyone $\Rightarrow$ Max is friendly' is definitely false; there's no way a dog can be aggressive and amiable at the same time.

Here is MacColl's problem: for any two propositions, one always materially implies the other.

1. all propositions take a truth-value,
2. if *p* and *q* share a truth-value then they both imply each other,
3. if just one is false then it implies the other. For instance, if *p* is false and *q* is true, then $p \Rightarrow q$ *is true,* but $q \Rightarrow p$ *is false.*

p	q	$p \Rightarrow q$	$q \Rightarrow p$
T	T	T	T
T	F	F	T
F	T	T	F
F	F	T	T

Figure 1. *Truth-table for material implication*

You can substitute p or q for any proposition, about Max or otherwise, and at least either $p \Rightarrow q$ is true, or $q \Rightarrow p$ is true, as above.

Now, let p = "he is red haired" and q = "he is a doctor". Does one of these really *imply* the other? No fact about having red hair implies something about being a doctor, or vice versa. It feels intuitively wrong to say that the material implication captures implication as we normally think of it in this case. This is MacColl's conclusion: the truth-functional distinctions do not deliver on the ordinary notion of implication. [447]

MacColl suggests that implication has a modal character, it expresses a sense of certainty that one proposition follows from another. Consequently, MacColl goes beyond the classification of propositions as merely true or false, to also describe them as certain (always true), impossible (always false), or *variable* (sometimes true, sometimes false). "He is red haired" does not imply "he is a doctor", because it is not *certain* that a given red-haired person is a doctor – there are instances where it is true that someone is red-haired and false that they are a doctor. MacColl is surveying the conceptual connection between being a doctor and red haired, whereas the material implication focusses on the relations between extant objects; the former is an *intensional* notion of implication, the latter *extensional*.

MacColl also argues that logic can express the distinctions between the actual and the merely possible. He invokes the distinction to characterise the ontological commitments of certain propositions. For instance, when we assert that 'The King of France is bald', we might ask whether we committed to the existence of the King of France? MacColl asserts that there is some level of commitment. He claims that assertions imply objects called *symbolic existents*. Symbolic existents are either real objects or merely possible objects (possibilia).[448] So, some assertions about the King of France might well have in mind an actual monarch, but in *our* case, we might well be talking about a *merely possible* monarch.

But MacColl's critical influence was highly limited. A lot of his work never reached publication, and his published works were not met with particular fondness.[449] Had modal logic died with MacColl, it may have died a lonely death. MacColl's legacy is his heavy influence on Lewis's criticism of Bertrand Russell, which established the early axiomatised systems of modal logic.[450]

[447] Hugh MacColl, "'If' and "Imply"', *Mind XVII*, no. 1 (1908), pp. 151–52.
[448] Hugh MacColl, 'Symbolic Reasoning (VI)', *Mind XIV*, no. 1 (1905), pp. 77–78.
[449] Michael Astroh, Ivor Grattan-Guinness, and Stephan Read, 'A Survey of the Life of Hugh MacColl (1837-1909)', *History and Philosophy of Logic* 22:2 (2001), pp. 93-4.
[450] C. I. Lewis, *A Survey of Symbolic Logic* (Berkeley, 1918), p. 292.

MacColl and Lewis share the same gripe: material implication entails that certain strange propositions are valid. Lewis's example is that a false proposition entails every true one. But Lewis brings together two aspects of MacColl's work, by letting possibilia articulate the intensionality of implication. Lewis's *strict implication*, $\prec$[451], is the result of generalising a material implication across merely possible objects. The strict implication was a much neater way to express the notion of necessity, both in terms of its legibility (MacColl's symbols were famously hard to read), and conceptual simplicity. Lewis' biggest contribution was the now standard systems of strict implication, S1-5. Contrary to MacColl, Lewis worked from a respected position within the academy, influencing many philosophers, including important figures in this narrative, such as Rudolf Carnap and W. V. O. Quine. The comparative historical significance of Lewis' contribution is evident in the common misattribution of MacColl's arguments as originating with Lewis.

MacColl's most influential critic was Russell. Regrettably, Russell did not interact substantially with Lewis, perhaps because he felt he had exhausted criticism of modal logic with MacColl.[452] Russell held that bivalence is an important logical feature throughout his career.[453] But Russell is wary of *intension*, suggesting in his major logical works that propositions should be treated extensionally, logic truth-functionally. His influential views left no room for necessity.

Now to Russell's arguments. Russell distinguishes propositions from propositional functions – where propositions are unambiguous because the object it is referring to is specified and a propositional function results from generalising the proposition to any possible object.[454] For Russell, 'John has red hair' is a proposition, but '*he* has red hair' is a proposition function if it is not specified who 'he' is.[455] Speaking of propositions, there will always be a material implication of some direction between 'John has red hair' and 'John is a doctor' because the truth-values are definite for John (cf. Fig. 1). Consequently, Russell suggests that the modal notions like certainty, impossibility, and variability are just descriptors of propositional functions, as opposed to *modes* of truth for a proposition. This seems to exculpate material implication from the concerns raised by MacColl, by showing that the supposedly concerning properties are acceptable at the level of propositions.

As for 'symbolic existents', Russell does not agree that logic should be in the business of handling possibilia.[456] He has argued that merely possible statements should be treated as false because a necessary condition of true statements is for them to reference actual objects. This is to refuse that 'possibly false' is a *mode* of falsehood. Russell's logical rejection of possibilia corresponds to his philosophical stance. His influential theory of descriptions suggested that language has a hidden, underlying (classical) logical form. For instance, 'The King of France is bald' looks to consist of a name 'The King of France' and a predicating verb '…is bald'.[457] However, Russell believes that this disguises several assertions, one of which is whether there

[451] $p \prec q \equiv \Box(p \Rightarrow q)$; p necessarily implies q.
[452] Nicholas Rescher, 'Bertrand Russell and Modal Logic', *Studies in Modality, American Philosophical Quaterly Monograph Series 8* (Oxford,1974), p. 90.
[453] Bertrand Russell, 'Mr Strawson on Referring', *Mind* 66:263 (1957), pp.388-9.
[454] Bertrand Russell, *Principle of Mathematics* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 12-13.
[455] Bertrand Russell, '"If" and "Imply," a Reply to Mr. MacColl', *Mind* 17:2 (1908), pp. 300–301.
[456] Bertrand Russell, 'The Existential Import of Propositions', *Mind* 14:55 (1905), pp. 486–7.
[457] Bertrand Russell, 'On Denoting', *Mind* 14:56 (1905), pp. 479–93.

even is such a King.[458] Given that there isn't, Russell claims that 'The King of France is bald' is false *simpliciter*. The theory plays the convenient philosophical role of dispensing with any commitments to possibilia that may seem intuitive in our ordinary ways of speaking.

The logical positivists were influenced by Russell's philosophy of language, logic, and his articulation of empirical knowledge.[459] They developed a *verificationist* criterion of meaning; for a sentence to be intelligible, it must be verifiable by observation. Carnap, for instance, claims that metaphysical claims appear to be fact-stating because they mimic ordinary ways of speaking, but they are actually meaningless because they are unverifiable.[460] Statements about *merely possible objects*, for instance about 'the non-existent unicorn of this sentence', seem impossible to verify by empirical means. Where could we search for a unicorn that does not exist?

A notion of necessity that is substantively metaphysical could not thrive in the early twentieth century. Necessity, therefore, came bundled up with the relatively non-substantive notion of analyticity: a proposition is *analytically true* just if it is true by virtue of its meaning alone. But the philosopher who said that there are necessary truths *about the world*, instead of language, would have been perceived as '*unintelligible*' because they had been beguiled into metaphysical thinking by the naïve syntax of natural language. Rather than their being any dogma against modality specifically, the dogmatic anti-metaphysical, empiricist attitude present for the first half of the century was a philosophical commitment that made the notion of necessity either obviously unacceptable, or quite uninteresting.

By the 1920s, after debate about the strict implication softened, modal notions remained more or less untouched and progress in modal logic became the technical work of few logicians.[461] 1946, however, saw the publication of the first quantified[462] system of modal logic by Barcan Marcus, and the first semantic approach by unlikely modal logician Carnap. Carnap wanted to use the framework to systematically investigate *meaning*, i.e. *analyticity*. What was novel in Carnap's system was to define $\Box p$ as true just if p is true for all *state descriptions* of a language – a state description being an assignment of truth values to all formulas of a language. This was the first *possible worlds* semantics, named due to a phrase from the early modern logician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.

Carnap's logic avoided 'unintelligibility' by aligning necessity with language and not metaphysics, and by dispensing with *possibilia* hence, at least at first, evading the charge of having an unverifiable ontology.[463] Although, Carnap's research made the reduction of modality to extensional vocabulary less pertinent, quantifying over possible worlds (state descriptions) *does* articulate the relation between contingent and necessary propositions extensionally. This does demonstrate a congruence between modal logic and the extensional theme of early formal logic.

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[458] *Ibid.*
[459] Paul Arthur Schlipp (ed.), *The Philosophy of Rudolf Carnap* (Illinois, 1963), pp.12-16; 23-4.
[460] Rudolf Carnap, 'The Elimination of Metaphysics through Logical Analysis of Language', edited by A. J. Ayer, translated by Arthur Pap, Free Press (1931;1959), pp. 60–81.
[461] Adam Tuboly, 'The Early Formation of Modal Logic and Its Significance: A Historical Note on Quine, Carnap, and a Bit of Church', 39:3 (2018), p. 296.
[462] Quantified logics use *quantifiers*, i.e. 'for all x' and 'there exists x', to talk about a given range of possible values for x. Consequently, they are a great deal more complicated that propositional logics.
[463] Rudolf Carnap, *Meaning And Necessity* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 64-8.

Despite the mathematical success of celebrated extensional systems such as Russell's, the fact that they did not give strong accounts of intensionality opened the door for modal logics to be a serious enterprise. Intensionality is wrapped up with notions of *concept-hood* and *meaning*. Given that the predominant interpretation of 'necessary' was as 'true in virtue of meaning', modal logic recommended itself for the logical analysis of meaning. Ironically, what had been a stigma against modal logic also initiated its revolution.

Quine, the last of the great anti-modal figures and a radical extensionalist, bore a Russellian torch deeper into the twentieth century. Quine saw propositional modal logic as "a misleading way of representing metalogical and semantical notions", a view apiece with Russell's suggestion that MacColl's modal operators were mistaken propositional representations of features of propositional functions.[464] Quine, however, saw quantified modal logic as akin to sin, and volunteered several arguments against it[465]:

(1) <u>The Interpretation Problem</u>: Quine was concerned with the 'referential opacity' of modal contexts.[466] Generalisation of modal formulae seem to lack consistent interpretations because they are referentially opaque. One example contrasts the following:
    a. Necessarily if there is life on the *Evening Star* then there is life on the *Evening Star*
    b. Necessarily if there is life on the *Evening Star* then there is life on the *Morning Star*
    c. There is an *x* such that, necessarily if there is life on the *Evening Star* then there is life on *x*.

    It turns out, conveniently enough, that the Morning Star and the Evening Star are both names for the planet Venus. Hence, substituting one occurrence in a sentence for the other should give the same truth value. Yet, if necessary truths are analytic truths, then 'a.' is true but 'b.' is false (because not true *by definition*) which leads to confusion about a plausible interpretation of the object *x* if 'c.' is true – because if the object is the Evening Star then it is also the Morning Star and 'c.' is false.
(2) <u>Possibilia</u>: One option to escape (1) is to stipulate an object for each occurrence of an equivalent phrase. Instead of having 'The Morning Star' = 'The Evening Star' referring to Venus, we have a Venus-concept, a Morning Star-concept and so on. In doing so, conceding possibilia, one accepts an ontology founded on linguistic misunderstandings, Quine thought[467].
(3) <u>Essentialism</u>: Quine claims that quantified modal logic is committed to essentialism in order to make sense of sentences such as 'c.'. Essentialism is the claim that an object *x* has some necessary language-independent properties. However, a commitment to essentialism is incompatible with the analytic conception of necessity, it would solve the interpretation problem by allowing non-analytic statements to be necessary truths.

The Interpretation Problem brings out the trouble that modal logic has parsing identity relations, and Quine is trading on the purported unacceptability of possibilia or essentialism as

[464] Ruth Barcan Marcus, *Modalities* (New York, 1993), p. 190.
[465] W. V. O. Quine, *From a Logical Point of View* (London, 1961), pp. 139-59.
[466] A sentence, "Jack believes he is in London" is referentially opaque because substituting 'London' for 'Londres' does not guarantee that "Jack believes he is in Londres" – for instance, when Jack knows no French.
[467] Quine, *From a Logical Point of View*, pp. 1-19.

the exhaustive as solutions. Quine hopes his reader concludes that quantified modal logic is a hopelessly confused enterprise. In logical circles, however, Quine's work was received as a challenge, not a damning problem.[468] The most relevant solutions came thanks to revolution in the possible worlds semantics.

In 1963, the publication of expressively powerful 'Kripke' semantics was the (independent) culmination of a push by many logicians of the late 1950s, such as Stig Kanger, Jaakko Hintikka and Arthur Prior.[469] The gist is to talk of necessity and possibility as *relative to* a given possible world. For example, $\Box p$ is true in the actual world just if p is true in every possible world that the actual world 'accesses.' The type of modality involved (necessity, obligation, provability…) varies with what 'access' means. For example, every world in system T accesses itself, hence '$\Box p \Rightarrow p$' is valid in T – every world where p is false, accesses some world – itself – where p is not true, so $\Box p$ is false in every world that p is false.

In 1961, Ruth Barcan Marcus responded to Quine that all identities are *necessary*. She claimed, contrary to Russell, that names can directly refer to objects as mere 'tags', without disguising a logical description.[470] Using a tag to express an identity – 'Venus is Venus' – gives a necessity. So, substituting 'Venus' for any other tag should yield a necessary identity: 'Venus is the Morning Star.' It is a contingent, empirical fact that two different descriptions are used to refer to the same object – we could always have used different words as tags. It is, however, necessary that two tags referring to the same object substitute in for each other in identity claims, because the actual object is necessarily self-identical. Marcus rejects that identity is necessary in virtue of meaning. After all, knowing that the meaning of two tags coincide comes out as contingent in her view. Identities are necessary because the world could never logically have been otherwise.[471] This thought is congruent with Kripke semantics, which suggests there is no world in which the Morning Star is not the Evening Star. But by pursuing a new variant of analyticity, Marcus' necessity involves the outside world more than logical positivism would grant as intelligible.

Outside the modal corner of 1950s philosophy, however, logical positivism was being challenged. Among others, ordinary language philosophy disagreed that formal logic can capture the semantics of nature language. This included the rejection of Russellian descriptivism, which translated natural language names and into logical descriptions. Ordinary language philosophers often took a marginally pro-metaphysical stance, where metaphysics is at most descriptive – never revisionary – of the common-sense philosophy of ordinary language.[472]

In 1970, Saul Kripke delivered his seminal *Naming and Necessity* lectures. He argued against descriptivism on the grounds that it contradicts common-sense about how we use, and *might have* used, names; these are modal arguments. The strong reception of *Naming and Necessity* contributed to weakening analytic philosophy's self-image as mere logical analysis of

[468] Adam Tuboly, 'The Early Formation of Modal Logic and Its Significance: A Historical Note on Quine, Carnap, and a Bit of Church', *History and Philosophy of Logic,* 39:3 (2018), pp. 301-2.
[469] Rob Goldblatt, 'Mathematical Modal Logic: A View of Its Evolution', in Dov M. Gabbay and John Woods (eds.), *Handbook of the History of Logic, Volume 7: Logic and the Modalities in the 20th Century* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 34-36.
[470] Barcan Marcus, *Modalities,* p. 11.
[471] Sanford Shieh, 'Modality', in Michael Beaney (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Analytic Philosophy* (New York, 2013), pp.1073-4.
[472] Timothy Williamson, 'How Did We Get Here from There?', *Belgrade Philosophical Annual,* no. 27 (2014), pp. 12-13.

language; it suggested that metaphysics is both substantive and intelligible. It is difficult not to look at this as the culmination of the anti-positivist trend of the 1950s.

As for modality, Kripke argued that the notion of necessity is separate to semantic notions like analyticity; necessity is metaphysical. Kripke's rejection of previously dominant linguistic-turn traditions enabled his metaphysical proclivities, which included *essentialism*. It is ironic that, by subsuming his critique of necessity as one of analyticity, Quine's challenge seems to have led to acceptance of a notion of necessity that is not analytic because thoroughly metaphysical. But Kripke thinks that his essentialism is the default, pre-theoretical position and credits the development of possible world semantics for articulating the intuitiveness of modal thought.[473] If Kripke's notion of necessity is an articulation of common-sense, then, remove a logico-semantic apparatus akin to the theory of descriptions or verificationism, and it would be impossible show that these ordinary ways of thinking were secretly routinely false or meaningless. Quine, for instance, would struggle to argue that Kripke's metaphysical position was indefensible, because more and more philosophers were working with a comparatively tolerant conception of intelligibility. To this extent, the modal revolution in philosophy was an opportunistic biproduct of the death of one great semantic tradition and the birth of many others.

In this paper, I hope to have shown the deep ironies present in the historical exclusion of modal logic and modality from their respective mainstreams. Intensionality and analyticity, once reasons to sideline modal logic, catalysed its development as a new, legitimate semantic discipline. Criticising the link between analyticity and intensionality as the anti-metaphysical, in the way Quine did, did not reveal it as a confused enterprise. Rather, it kickstarted the seminal metaphysical discussions of contemporary philosophy. Modality's strongest critics have also directed its proponents to develop strong positions in strange new places.

But what was missing for MacColl and Lewis that was present in 1970? For modal logic, it was the presence of technicians working towards a goal. Since 1946, many industrious logicians saw the promise of the semantic conception of modal logic. At the turn of the century, there was a lack of interest and direction, in part because of the promise of extensional systems in the preceding century. Philosophically speaking, the early twentieth century was dogmatically eliminative of metaphysics, and hence modality. From the 1950s onwards, this style of philosophy became increasingly contested. Eventually, verificationism had fallen out of fashion and intelligibility was no longer decided on empirical grounds. Kripke's remarkable challenge to older philosophy of language was articulated modally. By 1970, there seemed no good reason to dispense with modality; in fact, it would be far more costly to do so.

[473] Saul Kripke, *Naming and Necessity* (Oxford, 1981), p. 3.

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William Tuckwell

Crossing Borders: A Left-Wing Extremism?

Introduction

The study of extremism emerged after the events of September 11th 2001, as a method of discussing the motivations of terrorists without appearing to justify them. This field has been historically skewed towards Islamist extremism, with other forms of extremism receiving little academic attention. This article wishes to improve on this by examining the foundations upon which the characteristics of a left-wing extremism rest. This article will argue that two historical movements of anti-fascism and anti-racism show indicators of left-wing extremism. These movements are Weather Underground and the anti-fascist movements of 1970s Britain.

This article grounds its analysis in the characteristics of two historical movements, rather than serving as a conceptual discussion of the broader characteristics of anti-fascist and anti-racist thought, a task beyond the scope of this essay. Furthermore, while groups discussed in this essay objected to contemporary forms of racism and fascism, it is not claimed here that opposition to this was in of itself extremist. Characteristics of the movements studied here. which separate them from other traditions of opposition to fascism and racism, are observed as important. This framing of the topics discussed ensures that this article does not argue all opposition to racism or fascism is extremist.

Extremism can be defined as a deviant category of ideas which oppose the foundational values of the society they exist in. This definition mirrors the work of Peter Neumann, who arrived at a similar definition, chosen because this will propose a set of characteristics to determine the nature of left-wing extremism.[474] It is reductive to exclusively describe a movement extremist because it engages in violent behaviour. Extremism is only a valuable concept when it can be identified in relation to nonviolent extremism. This is because it would be possible to identify violent extremism exclusively by its tendency to engage in violence. If extremism could not be separated from violence, then the descriptor of "violent" would accurately describe all movements otherwise characterised as extremist. For extremism to be an important descriptor, it must be distinct from violence. The measurement suggested acknowledges that defining foundational values is contentious and, to an extent, reflects the perceptions of society. Arun Kundnani has suggested that popular definitions of fundamental values are incoherent and designed to serve the security interests of the state.[475] This article argues that claims about foundational values do not become less true because they are adopted by security services, or are popularised within the media. Support for the democratic framework, a pluralist society, the rule of law, and freedom of expression are some of the important foundational values which will be discussed further.

Secondly, this article will use Bobbio Norberto's idea that the left support social equality and egalitarianism, and have an opposition towards hierarchies.[476] This definition identifies the key characteristics of the left which correspond with the ideological aims of the groups studied.

[474] Peter Neumann, *Prisons and Terrorism Radicalisation and De-radicalisation in 15 Countries* (London, 2010), p. 12.
[475] Arun Kundnani, *The Muslims are Coming!* (New York, 2014), p. 14.
[476] Bobbio Norberto and Allan Cameron, *Left and Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction* (Chicago, 1997), pp. 35-40.

Both organisations believed that the principles of equality would be undermined by the groups they were opposing.[477] Furthermore, this definition was produced in contrast to a definition of 'right wing', helping to identify characteristics which are uniquely left wing.

This article has proposed two case studies of Weather Underground and the anti-fascist movements of 1970s Britain to begin to build a framework for left-wing extremism. It is important for the reader to note that both Weather Underground and the anti-fascist movements emerged from the student radicalism in the late 1960s.[478] Student origins shall be referenced as a method of understanding the group's ideological origins. Firstly, a case study methodology is appropriate because this allows the article to avoid making the reductive argument of using extremism as a byword for terrorism. Comparing these two different manifestations of political violence improves the possibility for detecting nonviolent extremism because it will not exclusively rely on the outcome of a group's violence to denote its extremist characteristics. Secondly, anti-fascism and anti-racism remain relevant ideological groupings in modern left-wing politics.[479] There remains popular discussion as to whether these ideas could be classified as a form of extremism.[480] This case study should therefore be relevant for modern interpretations of this question. One problem of this approach is that it is difficult to make theoretical generalisations that go beyond the groups studied. This new approach is therefore prove most useful in helping future researchers to conduct more general studies of left-wing extremism. Finally, this methodology is robust because it combines a range of primary source material with the broader secondary literature.

Historical Left-Wing Extremism

It could be argued that Weather Underground and anti-fascist movements shared two characteristics: they rejected a pluralist democracy, organising against Conservatives and believed liberal democracy to be fundamentally incoherent, with state actors engaging in activities which undermined the principles of liberal democracy. This argument was especially relevant to their critique of police forces. The above characteristics provide the foundation for a left-wing extremism.

Firstly, the evidence suggests that both organisations undermined pluralism. They did this through opposition to conservatism. Paul Wilkinson argues that a pluralist democracy is partially defined by its ability to incorporate competing political interest groups within the same legal framework.[481] The argument suggests all attempts to impose political objectives outside the democratic and legal system necessarily undermine pluralist democracy. Some scholars have uncritically examined the roots of anti-fascism. Mark Bray uncritically presents all manifestations of anti-fascism as opposing fascism.[482] Liz Fekete argues that narratives around anti-fascism have prevented anti-fascists from being able to form opposition to fascism, which liberal democracies traditional democratic structures are not capable of doing.[483] This argument suggests that some anti-fascist movements have not organised in opposition to legal

[477] Alex Carter, 'The Dog That Didn't Bark? Assessing the Development of Cumulative Extremism Between Fascists and Anti-Fascists in the 1970s', in Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds), *'Tomorrow Belongs to Us' The British Far Right since 1967* (New York, 2018), pp. 81-104; Michigan, Internet Archive, New Left Notes, You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way The Wind Blows, June 18, 1969.
[478] Claire Bingham, *Witness to the Revolution* (New York, 2016), pp. 114-136.
[479] Stanislav Vysotsky, *American Antifa* (New York 2021), p. 1.
[480] Seth Jones, *Who Are Antifa, and Are They a Threat?* (Washington, 2020) p. 1.
[481] Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State* (London, 1986), pp. 25-27.
[482] Mark Bray, *Antifa The Anti-fascist Handbook* (Brooklyn 2017), pp. 3-128.
[483] Liz Fekete, 'Anti-fascism or anti-extremism?', *Race and Class*, Volume 55 (March 2014), pp. 29-39.

ideas working within the democratic framework. The tendency to view anti-fascism as arising exclusively in opposition to fascism is due to a scholarly tradition of undermining the ideological coherence of fascism, and therefore including groups other than fascists within the remit of anti-fascism. This particular debate is noted by Evan Smith, where anti-fascists debated whether Conservatives were legitimate targets of anti-fascism.[484] This trend in scholarship can be traced back to Umberto Eco, who argued against ideological characteristics of fascism.[485] Eco argued that fascism should be understood according to characteristics, not ideological claims. It is incoherent to suggest movements which make different theoretical claims are part of the same ideology. Social democracy and social liberalism have many shared characteristics, but are distinct. Richard Grayson indicates that hesitancy towards the government power exercised through a welfare state is a key ideological distinction.[486] Literature which downplays the importance of theoretical claims in ideology is problematic.

The anti-fascist movements of 1970s' Britain trace their origins to the student movements of the 1960s. These movements emerged in opposition to the Conservatives, with the evidence suggesting that the tactics used against Conservatives were later employed against the National Front. Students used violence to shut down a speech by Enoch Powell at Essex University, whilst describing Powell as fascist.[487] Samuel Huntington experienced similar tactics when attempting to speak at Sussex University.[488] Testimony by conservative MPs described an increasing frequency with which 'no platform' practices were used.[489] Evan Smith argues that ant-fascist 'no platform' techniques used to disrupt the National Front were initially used against Conservatives.[490] The evidence shows how demonstrations against Conservatives acted as a period of recruitment for student anti-fascist movements. Primary source evidence suggests that, during the late-1960s, the number of students who engaged in no-platforming activities in response to Conservatives increased.[491] *Red Weekly* described action against the right as essential in the struggle against fascism, demonstrating the importance of a broad opposition to conservatism to the movement.[492] Smith argues that the adoption of the NUS 'no platform' policy was an institutionalisation of existing no-platforming practices, with the NUS recognising the no-platforming practices already underway. Smith's analysis narrates the growing adoption of 'no platform' policies by student unions.[493] This demonstrates that, by the mid-1970s, the Anti-Fascist movement had grown in significance amongst students.[494] The important conclusion is that anti-fascist movements were organised initially in opposition to Conservatives. This demonstrates the anti-fascist movement's objection to pluralist democracy, undermining the ability of Conservatives to conduct legal political activities. Furthermore, it places opposition to conservatism as important in the development of the anti-fascism of the 1970s.

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[484] Evan Smith, *No Platform, A history of Anti-Fascism, Universities and the Limits of Free Speech* (New York, 2020), p. 93.
[485] Umberto Eco, 'Ur-Fascism', *The New York Review* (June 22, 1995), p. 1. <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1995/06/22/ur-fascism/> [accessed 17/12/20].
[486] Richard S. Grayson, 'Social Democracy or Social Liberalism? Ideological Sources of Liberal Democrat Policy', *The Political Quarterly*, Volume 78 (March 2007), pp. 32-39.
[487] London, Hansard, Column 1984, University Students, March 15 1968.
[488] John Fairhall, 'Sussex Students Stop Lecture', *The Guardian*, London, 6 June 1973, p. 1 [accessed 17/12/20].
[489] Hansard, Column 1984, University Students, March 15 1968.
[490] Evan Smith, *No Platform, A history of Anti-Fascism*, pp. 65-111.
[491] Hansard, Column 1984, University Students, March 15 1968.
[492] Steve Webster, *Red Weekly* (London, 1974) p. 6.
[493] Smith, *No Platform*, pp. 65-111.
[494] *Ibid.*

The evidence also suggests that Weather Underground emerged in opposition to pluralist democracy. As an FBI-designated terrorist organisation, Weather Underground necessarily undermined pluralist democracy. Wilkinson argues that terrorism undermines this system because it jeopardises the investments other actors have made in the democratic process.[495] Weather Underground attempted to undermine the policies produced by American conservatism. The group opposed a pluralist democratic society with their objection to the political power of Conservatives supporting a revolutionary alternative.[496] They understood American conservatism as a powerful faction underpinning American imperialism. In their founding document, the organisation argued against an American imperialism, instead supporting an international revolution to oppose it.[497] An objection to American imperialism was also an objection to American conservatism. Sebastian Jungkunz argued that German left-wing extremism showed anti-Americanism and anti-imperialism as strong indicators of left-wing extremism.[498] Whilst these two categories can be assigned their own classification, a dominant variable of these attitudes is an opposition to conservatism. Jeremy Varon argues that the broad revolutionary movements of the 1960s saw conservatism as the most important obstacle to progressive policy.[499] He specifically references members of Students for Democratic Society (SDS), claiming that all American Conservatives who supported the Vietnam War were the problem. The view of Conservatives as integral to support for the Vietnam War is also supported by Sandra Scanlon, who claims that supremacy in Vietnam was tied to the Conservatives' anti-communism.[500] She concludes that Conservatives moved towards a "hawkish" foreign policy during this period.[501] The scholarship therefore suggests a strong connection between Conservatism and imperialism.

As a consequence of these ideas, between 1970 and 1976, Weather Underground committed terrorist attacks against the US government. They took credit for over twenty-five bombings, including one at the US State Department Headquarters.[502] Anti-fascist students disrupted Conservatives on university campuses. Both of these were motivated by an ideological opposition to conservatism and attempt to undermine a pluralist society by dislodging the perceived power of Conservatives outside of the electoral process. This is distinctly left wing. Colin Crouch argues that the traditional role of the left has been to exist in opposition to traditional forms of conservatism, moving societies towards egalitarianism.[503] My research has indicated that both movements opposition to conservatism was motivated by opposition to conservative arguments against progressive policy. Weather Underground explicitly advocated a left-wing revolutionary alternative.[504] Michael Higgs has argued that egalitarianism became a dominant characteristic of anti-fascism in the 1970s, and was one of their dominant reasons

[495] Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State*, pp. 25-27.
[496] Bingham, *The Revolution*, pp. 114-136.
[497] Michigan, Internet Archive, New Left Notes, You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way The Wind Blows, June 18, 1969.
[498] Sebastian Jungkunz, 'Towards a Measurement of Extreme Left-Wing Attitudes', *German Politics* 28:1 (June 2018), pp. 101-122.
[499] Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home* (Los Angeles, 2004), p. 138.
[500] Sandra Scanlon, 'The Conservative Lobby and Nixon's "Peace with Honor" in Vietnam', *Journal of American Studies* 43:2 (August 2009), pp. 255-276.
[501] *Ibid.*
[502] FBI, Weather Underground Bombings <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/weather-underground-bombings> [accessed 06/02/2021]
[503] Colin Crouch, 'Social Democracy in a Dangerous World", in David Coates (ed.), *Reflections on the Future of the Left*, (Winston-Salem, 2017), pp. 113-136.
[504] Internet Archive, New Left Notes, You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way The Wind Blows, June 18, 1969.

for opposing the political right.[505] This evidence suggests that opposition to conservatism was founded in historical traditions of the left.

Secondly, both movements saw the liberal democratic state as incoherent and incapable of resisting tyranny. Anti-fascists saw the liberal state as susceptible to fascism. Weather Underground saw the liberal state as structurally racist. Anti-fascism in the 1970s viewed the state as incapable of preventing fascism, and the police force as complicit in its rise. According to this perspective, the police would facilitate fascist political activity, and fascists would take advantage of political liberties. This perspective is shared by Fekete, who argues that anti-fascism is an essential counterbalance to fascism because the liberal state cannot respond effectively.[506] This argument is further supported by Bray, who paints a history of fascist political movements collapsing mostly due to the actions of anti-fascists.[507] This ideological justification explains the conflicts between the police and the anti-fascist movements of the 1970s. The first major confrontation between anti-fascists and the National Front was characterised by anti-fascist violence towards the police officers separating the groups. The investigation into the conflict concluded that anti-fascists had initiated conflict with police officers.[508] This is supported by Alex Carter, who argues that conflict between anti-fascists and the police was important in escalating the violence in the 1970s, as both sides showed tactical evolution with each other.[509] Carter demonstrates how tactics used against the IRA were first used in England against anti-fascists. Martin Walker argues that anti-fascists' experience with police forces in the early 1970s reinforced the belief that they were an ally of the fascists.[510] This evidence strongly suggests that suspicion towards the liberal state was a reason for increased conflict with the police and a general trend of escalating violence, thus demonstrating the significance of the distrust towards the police.

Weather Underground viewed American liberal democracy as conceptually incoherent, seeing the white majority as structurally complicit in the oppression of ethnic minorities, globally linking the international struggle of the proletariat with the struggle against racism. This argument situated the American state and society as conceptually incompatible with racial equality. Dan Berger develops this analysis when he argues that Weather Underground challenged the nature of the liberal state by redefining its white majority citizens as integral to its racial injustices, therefore challenging the role of white Americans in black liberation movements.[511] This point is repeatedly argued throughout in their founding document, and is made clearer with their specific focus on police forces as being agents of oppression.[512] The emphasis on the role of the police in sustaining a necessary structural racial inequality demonstrates this. Richard Sommer argues that this is reflected in their symbolic attacks on the Chicago Haymarket Statue, which demonstrated their objection to the symbolic power of the

[505] Michael Higgs, 'From the street to the state: making anti-fascism anti-racist in 1970s Britain', *Race and Class*, Volume 58 (July 2016), pp. 66-84.
[506] Fekete, 'Anti-fascism or anti-extremism?', pp. 29-39.
[507] Bray, *Antifa,* pp. 3-128.
[508] Lord Scarman, *The Red Lion Square Disorders of 15 June 1974: Report by the Rt Hon Lord Justice Scarman, OBE* (London, 1975), pp. 50-56.
[509] Carter, 'The Dog That Didn't Bark? 1967-1975', pp. 81-104.
[510] Martin Walker, *The National Front* (London, 1977), p. 163.
[511] Dan Berger, *Outlaws Of America: The Weather Underground and the Politics of Solidarity* (Pennsylvania 2006), pp. 260-280.
[512] Internet Archive, New Left Notes, You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way The Wind Blows, June 18, 1969.

police force.[513] This is important because this belief suggested that the liberal democratic state was not capable of delivering racial equality and its institutions would necessarily act to preserve racial injustices.

Both organisations viewed the structures of their society to be incompatible with the equalities promised. A key characteristic is the tendency to regard institutions as necessarily complicit in the perceived problem. This characteristic can be traced back to early left-wing anarchist critiques of state power. Rudolph Rocker argued that the state was an entity antithetical to the communities and cultures it ruled over.[514] Furthermore his criticism highlighted the unlikeliness of state power to be used for the protection of the working class. This early tradition of critiquing of state power is important because it demonstrates the distinctly Left-Wing nature of the above critiques of state institutions. Furthermore, John Solomos has argued, from a Marxist perspective, that Racism and other forms of prejudice have been tactics used to divide the working class.[515] This argument suggests that these are tactics of the elite and state designed to prevent class consciousness. This argument was noted by Carter when analysing the Anti-Fascist explanations for the emergence of Fascism and its relationship to the working class.[516] This demonstrates the Marxist and Anarchist routes of the belief that the liberal state is has reasons to resist progressive change. Therefore, denoting this characteristic as left wing.

Conclusion

This article has argued that a rejection of pluralist democracy and a rejection of the structures of their societies were indicators of left-wing extremism. In accordance with this article's definition of extremism, both factors analysed in this essay have been demonstrated to exist in opposition to the principles of liberal democracy. The relationship to liberal democracy and the subversive characteristics of both traditions have been understood as most significant. This essay has also demonstrated how each characteristic is derivative of left-wing political objectives.

[513] Richard M. Sommer, Glenn Forley, 'Dyn-o-Mite Fiends: The Weather Underground at Chicago's Haymarket', *Journal of Architectural Education,* 61:3 (Feb., 2008), pp. 13-24.
[514] Rudolph Rocker, *Nationalism and culture* (St Paul, 1937), pp. 117-125.
[515] John Solomos and Les Black, 'Marxism, Racism, and Ethnicity', *American Behavioural Scientist,* Volume 38 (January 1995), pp.407-420.
[516] Alex Carter, 'The Dog That Didn't Bark? 1967-1975', pp. 81-104.

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