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IMAGINED STATES

Nationalism, Utopia, and Longing in Oral Cultures

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Edited by

Luisa Del Giudice

and

Gerald Porter

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Cover illustration: oil painting by Filippo Falciatore, entitled *Cuccagna al Largo di Palazzo* (cf. figure 15). Electa Archive, Elewood SpA, Milano. Reproduced from *Settecento Napoletano* 1994, 136.

Chapter display images taken from *Il Mondo alla Riversa* (Upside Down World), Rome: Anonymous Italian, c. 1650. Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Milano. Reproduced from Bertarelli 1974, 60 (figure 38).

Contents

Introduction

Luisa Del Giudice and Gerald Porter

This volume explores the role of phenomenological and existential others—human, animal, political, and mythic—in the process of cultural self-identification. The organizing and empowering metaphors for this process are the *"imagined states,"* by which humankind constructs and locates itself in those worlds, places, and territories of the mind. States may function metaphorically or designate the psychological and the mythic as well as actual geographic and political entities. The difference is not significant, as Benedict Anderson showed in his groundbreaking work *Imagined Communities* (1991), to which this book is indebted for more than its title. Shurmer-Smith and Hannam point out that "all places are imaginary, in the sense that they cannot exist for us beyond the image we are capable of forming of them in our minds" (1994, 59).

It is our purpose in these pages to demonstrate various sociopolitical, historical, and ethnographic contexts of such states, and their interdependence. Central to this collection of essays are these questions: How are "states" (national, utopian, or existential) imagined or constructed? How do their permutations create (or collapse) boundaries between ethnic or national groups, between genders, or between the human and animal worlds? How and why does this process frequently entail the demonization or idealization of such oppositions in oral cultures. Consider, for instance, the national type of the Irishman (the stereotype is invariably male), demonized in the English broadside tradition in the same way as the American gringo is in the Mexican border *corrido*. Various essays herein examine the ideological construction of the four-nation United Kingdom (Porter), the racial stereotyping of Turks in Germany (Cheesman), and the role of colonial folklore discourse in the construction of a de-historicized Indian identity (Naithani).

Il Paese di Cuccagna, the Italian variant of Cockaigne—also known, in American tradition, as the Big Rock Candy Mountain—engages a process of idealization, drawing on a centuries-old gastronomic utopia, the mythic land of plenty, known all across Europe, that expresses basic human needs and hence represents a "poor man's paradise" (Del Giudice). This topos of a mythic Cockaigne, firmly embedded in immigrant imaginations as they sailed for America from Norway, Italy, Germany and beyond, inversely reflected the actual living conditions of the European lower classes, whose lives largely comprised

penury and starvation. Thus such imagined topographies, providing alternate and parallel possible worlds, closely linked real and imagined states.

Idealized states may be more modestly expressed, as Norwegian railway navvies glorified the workplace and the itinerant life of freedom (Kvideland and Porter). Faced with social stigmatization from the larger society, a life of harsh living and working conditions, and real physical danger, this occupational group created a compensatory imagined state in which they constructed inverted and opposing values for themselves. In this idealized existential space, positive emic values of generosity substituted for the etic label of spendthrift ways, just as vagrancy was reinterpreted as freedom, and so forth. Positive occupational cultural identification in Norwegian navvy songs, food utopias as expressed in the Italian folk worldview and immigrant cultural practices, existential equilibrium attained through bodily metaphors of the human vis à vis the bovine in Celtic agricultures (Griffin-Kremer), or the existential and familial refuge of pre-marital Latvian women disrupted by "marriage as exile" (Vīķe-Freiberga) are all powerful examples of the various imagined states which communities have created with the purpose of humanly sustaining themselves. Such are the cultural spaces this collection of essays explores.

This volume draws on narrative traditions, largely on still little-known oral and broadside ballad traditions, to create an innovative, interdisciplinary narrative of its own. Yet even though these essays are all well grounded in traditional ballad studies—of both print culture and live performance—they go far beyond textual analyses of narrative songs to situate texts in broad historical, literary, and anthropological contexts, and integrate recent scholarship in cultural studies, gender studies, ethnicity and immigration, social history from medieval times to the present, the history of print, folklore, food history, and even agronomy.

Imagined states are both constructed of and within the *symbolic* order. This is evident not only in specifically historical contexts, such as the resurgence of mythic pasts in nationalistic movements like the Italian Risorgimento (unification), but also in the apparently timeless, idealized set of rural practices centered on Celtic cattle herding, rural Latvian marriage practices, or Italian immigrant foodways. The kinship with the bodies of bovines felt by traditional cattle-herders in Ireland and Britain has been disrupted but not displaced by the emergence of modern industrial food production and other developments concomitant with that of the centralized state. Cow bodies become symbols and reminders of existential equilibrium, social harmony, and the interdependence of the human and animal worlds.

In Latvia, the patriarchal nuclear family, the most cogent organizing and symbolic principle of rural society, contributes a powerful metaphor of marriage (which breaks that primary family bond in women's lives) as banishment from happiness, of marriage as bitter exile. The first imagined state posited here is the

foreign land mentally constructed by all exiles—a land of strangers to which they can never belong, so they become citizens neither of a past nor a present land. The mythic homeland, with the further passing of time, increasingly becomes imagined as well, for nostalgia and longing play parts in such cultural constructs.

Cuccagna remains in Italian immigrant food practices and collective psychology as a symbol of perpetual abundance. Through the persistently reenacted festivalization of the quotidian or the search for abundance, Italian immigrants discover the paradox of a place that does not exist and that risks obsolescence through the very act of discovery and enactment. The attainment and the destruction of this particular imagined state, Cuccagna, coincide.

Imaginings of states not only evolve out of, or are constructed by, cultural collectives themselves, they also are sometimes imposed upon them by others— professional scholars (anthropologists, folklorists, and cultural historians) among them. We might call this an "anthropologizing state," whereby rural practices, observed and rewritten from an urbanized perspective, give us supposed (and largely imagined) access to "the real" through discourses of authenticity. It is a typical feature of such observations that they function metonymically. For example, the writings of nineteenth century collectors of Indian folktales frequently featured gross generalizations drawn from the study of a minuscule geographic area at a specific point in historical time. This Orient, suspended in unchanging space and time, as classically described by Said (1978), therefore itself became a folktale.

Imaginings of this kind, of course, often involve a severe reduction of the human element in the constructed landscape. Indeed, humanity could be eliminated from the imagined landscape altogether: Eldorado was not a country where gold was mined with great human effort but one where it lay in the streets waiting to be picked up. Where they did appear on the topography, men and women featured as abstractions, represented as either primitive or degenerate, the first showing no signs of civilization at all, the second relegated to a conveniently distant past. In both cases they were represented as resigning themselves to passivity. Such scripts naturally required revision in the light of well-organized uprisings like that in Jamaica in 1865 and in India in 1857.

The question of agency and voice is a significant one. Who speaks in these narratives? Who constructs? Who destroys? In the cases of the Turks in German *Bänkelsanger* (broadsides), the narrators of the folktale called "India," and the Scottish "loons" in London street ballads, neither the Turks, nor Indians, nor Scots speak directly. All are spoken *for* through repeated acts of cultural ventriloquism. In this dialectic of discourse *for* and *by*, ideology maintains its momentum: these cultural constructs, these imagined states, "directly or indirectly contributed to the processes of social and political impoverishment and disintegration" (Naithani, this volume).

The creation of a modern state demands precisely such symbolic ordering of reality, an ordering which is constantly contested and remade in the interests of established power. Such vigilant realignments are surely reassuring, for they legitimize the sanctioned worldview and the interests of the power structures. Such a process has, and still does, involve both the demonization of outsiders and the idealization of safely distant, imagined, and therefore unattainable territories. Thus, during the construction of the artifice that is the modern British state, Englishness was defined by its relation to diminished outsiders like the Irish and Indians, while Germans became equally obsessed with Turks, for similar reasons. And while Italian peasants dreamed of Cockaigne in America, Europeans peddled the same narratives of the land of plenty to Africans, to lure slaves to a land (the very same land, America) that was anything but ideal (Minton 1991, 39–47). Upon their arrival on American shores centuries later, of course, Italian immigrants themselves learned of the bitter gulf between imagined states and actual ones.

Ricoeur (1986) distinguished between the revolutionary change in the structure of experience implied by the utopian model, and the perfecting of that structure through refinement. On the other hand, Oscar Wilde wrote famously that "a map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing" (1963, 924). Utopias grow out of both personal and societal dilemmas. In the life of any individual, they pose a fundamental question, whether to grow up, recognize "reality," and give up childish pleasure, or rather to change that reality in order to recover lost sources of pleasure. As Del Giudice notes, wild-eyed dreamers, the natural audience for Cuccagna narratives on the many piazzas of Italy, were regular targets of social opprobrium. But as she also demonstrates, dreams of alternative reality for Italian peasants produced *real* instances of liberation, like the legend of the "flying Africans" did for African American slaves. Dreamworlds do set us free, for legends and myths of this sort planted mental seeds of hope for freedom and fulfillment. Many African slaves did indeed escape along the Underground Railway, and many Italian peasants did find their land of plenty in America, but never without great effort, and always at personal risk. Imagined worlds, however, also coincided with real societies in negative ways, as they did for Latvian peasant women for whom marriage in a virilocal society became the equivalent of perpetual exile (Vīķe-Freiberga). And like the political exile, the Latvian woman's fate was to live in the netherworld of longing for her homeland while condemned to be surrounded by strangers. Her past became a mythic and idealized state of bliss forever blighted by the life passage into marriage.

While utopias characteristically involve a displacement in both space and time: a distant land, a place that cannot be found on maps of the known world, the ends of the earth, the top of the highest—but nonexistent—mountain, they always betray the imprint of their source, for they inversely reflect that source.

On utopian landscapes we recognize many of our own known points of reference. J. R. Tolkien's Middle Earth, for instance, is a recognizable and comfortable version of the Home Counties of southern England. And so too, through the inversion principle of utopian thought, Cuccagna, the land of plenty, inversely reflects its source, Italy, as a land of hunger, particularly from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, a period punctuated by frequent famines and food scarcity. Idealized topographies often, of course, coincide with actual territories: both Said (1978) and Anderson (1983) emphasized just how much of the "reality" of geographical space is based on the imaginary and the ideological, and their conclusions have since been extended to the realm of nature as well (Plumwood 1993).

Postmodernism, with its flamboyant celebration of the power centers of modern life, maintains that utopia is already here. Conversely, this complacent statement has been subversively echoed by the counterculture, which has found in Stonehenge, for example, a center of popular resistance to the market-driven values of modern society. And even the twentieth century political state can offer its counterpart to this discourse in, for instance, Beatrice and Sidney Webb's eulogy to *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization* (1935), which was written at the height of Stalinism, when political exiles in the labor camps were writing more personal narratives and wistfully looking back at the homes they had left behind. As Vīķe-Freiberga points out, in reflection on the astonishing abundance of Latvian *dainas* about the bride who has to leave her childhood home, such narratives also involve oversimplification and nostalgia for the premarital state. They often construct carefree worlds where it never seems to rain and which are, not coincidentally, settings removed from time and change, neatly counterposed by the inevitably bleak postmarital state of internal, and external, exile, which is where the constructed and the real actually coincide.

In transporting us from the everyday to the ideal and back again and by switching our mindsets from one referential code to another, utopias cause us to journey and to cross borders. We are *of* our own limited worlds but not limited *by* them. This same dualism is inherent in the uncertainty about identity, both personal and national, which leads to the construction of demonized others. Examples of this political strategy abound, most strikingly in the metaphors adopted from 1945 onward during the Cold War, culminating in Ronald Reagan's 1980s image of a City on a Hill resisting an Empire of Evil—a curious blend of Biblical and Hollywood imagery. Sartre wrote that the individual self becomes aware of itself by perceiving its distance from others. Shurmer-Smith and Hannam added that "it is in the act of differentiating that repression begins, for 'appropriate' behaviors, thoughts, degrees of autonomy are granted according to constructed categories of age, gender, race, ethnicity, class and sexuality; along with notions of the appropriate go notions of both appropriation

and inappropriateness" (1994, 1). Two of the papers here (Cheesman and Porter) consider these acts of differentiation within a European context. In German street ballads the landscape of fear created—sometimes literally, for they were often accompanied in performance by painted multi-scene placards—projects backward to the wicked Grand Vizier of the orientalized folktale and forward to the demonization of both *gastarbeiter* (imported laborer) and Arab leaders in our own time. Cheesman argues that because the identification of a generalized *Auslander* or foreign enemy is rooted in a sense of one's own identity, representations of that outsider will change according to how precarious that self-sense is. Thus the trajectory of representations of the Orient changes and comes to reflect, or correlate, at each historic moment, with the state of German national consciousness, that is, with the condition of the imagined community of the German nation itself.

Such political processes of enemy-making may have at their root psychological issues resulting from a crisis of identity. An analogous process might be seen in the expressions of inevitable loss and estrangement experienced by women in traditional marriages. In the Latvian daina, the contrast between the parents' place as home and the husband's homestead as a foreign land is highly dramatic. The native home is presented as warm, beautiful, and well-loved, while the new place of residence is perceived as alien, unattractive, and hostile. Psychologically, the "imagined," or mental, state of the bride in marriage is expressed as a kind of ennui or indifference to her changed status: the bride constructs a postnuptial world in which love will have no place and the emotions will be deliberately deadened. It is a world of practical tasks in which the familiar, the childhood home, becomes estranged, represented only by some faded flowers still clutched in the hand.

The daina powerfully demonstrates how surroundings become integrated into the self: they are just as significant a part of the conscious experience of self as the awareness of one's clothing, body movements, thoughts, or feelings. In the same way, the interrelationship between traditional herders and their cattle created a mental world which enabled them to define themselves through comparison and opposition, as well as to envision access to a beyond-human condition—immortality. Making the cow the measure of a working person's land and labor (such as through place and occupational names) involved assimilating the state of nature into a cultural context—a process through which nature and culture were both differentiated and conceived (see Ursula Le Guin's "ecotopia," *Always Coming Home* (1988), for a further exploration of this relationship). The human/animal connubium is particularly significant during childhood, for the child's play of "being" an animal demonstrates the effort to cross the body boundary by creating bonds of relatedness and consciousness in what is related

yet other, thereby allowing the child to both define individual identity and transcend that identity through exploration and play.

The following papers therefore travel through a variegated landscape of imagined topographies, projections of human longing or loathing. National and ethnic stereotypes, social stigmatization, poverty, hunger, and alienation prompt various cultural coping mechanisms. Though constructions of possible and alternative worlds or projections of distant utopias permit escape, other avoidable spaces of ethnic undesirability confirm and bolster the group. Imagined states therefore, can represent as much acts of cultural resistance and reinforcement as acts of collective quest. They comfort, console, or disturb, as the cultural and sociopolitical case may be.

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Idealized States

Mountains of Cheese and Rivers of Wine: Paesi di Cuccagna and Other Gastronomic Utopias

Luisa Del Giudice

If you travel for seven months—four by sea and three by land—you will arrive at a gate. There is a guard at that gate, and only if you promise to obey the law of the land, will he let you pass through. Here are what the laws command: you must promise never to speak of work, only of eating, drinking, sleeping, playing, and dancing. You must never mention the words: war, tilling, weaving or sewing. If you look carefully, over the gate, you will read this inscription: *chi più dorme più guadagna* [he who sleeps most earns most].

Once you have entered, and as you walk the streets, you will see some curious sights: rivers flow with wine, houses have walls of sausage and cheese, roast chickens fall from the sky, fish jump out of the pond and into your arms. From the trees hang shoes, stockings, hats. There are caves of gold coins, and you can gather all you want. If you insist on speaking of work, the guards will immediately seize you and take you to prison which, by the way, is made of cheese. There is a large palace of pleasure with beautiful women and perfumed beds. And right in the center of this land is a huge mountain of cheese. A cauldron sits on top and *maccheroni* and *tortellini* spew forth all day long, roll down the Parmesan mountain and land in a pool of rich capon broth. Every fruit you can imagine grows in this place in all seasons. Hens lay 200 eggs a day, sheep eliminate ricotta cheese, ovens continually produce bread, cakes and pizza, and you can find marzipan trees and cookies of every kind. There is no sickness or poverty, everyone has the title of baron or duke, and there are no tariffs. Therefore, if you are hungry and tired, my friend, forget your salads and vegetables, and come with me to *il Paese di Cuccagna* [the Land of Cockaigne].

So reads a Neapolitan broadside, here selectively paraphrased, entitled *La piacevole historia di Cvccagna* (The delightful story of Cockaigne) dated 1715, sung by a street performer, Giovanni il Tranese, but itself only one of the many reworkings of earlier broadsides on this theme (Zenatti 1884; Scherillo 1884; figure 1, herein).

Gastronomic Utopias

The Paese di Cuccagna, Cockaigne/Lubberland (England), Schlaraffenland (Germany), Cocagne/Panigons (France), or Oleana (Norway) is a mythic land of plenty where rivers run with "milk and honey" (wine, beer, coffee, or rum), food falls like manna from heaven, work is banished, and no one ever grows old. It represents one of the most persistent desires for a return to a terrestrial Paradise Lost.[1] The archetypal pattern of humankind's harmony with the divine and nature, followed by transgression and fall from grace, recurs widely in religious narratives (cf. Cocchiara 1956; Graf 1925; Cioranescu 1971; Costa 1972). That the myth of Cuccagna became, in the European folk worldview, a strictly sensual paradise and, in Italy, an essentially gastronomic utopia, confirms, through the inversion principle of utopian thought, that it was a "collective dream of the hungry masses" (Camporesi 1978). The Land of *Plenty* inversely reflects the Land of *Hunger*. In other words, utopian visions hold up a mirror reflecting that which the utopianist's society lacks and desires.[2]

Food, of course, is essential to most Edenic (and many Infernal)[3] representations, where nature gives forth its riches abundantly and without toil. In the Paese di Cuccagna however, nature becomes surrealistically hyperactive and magical: cows give birth to four calves a day, hens lay two hundred eggs, donkeys excrete gold coins. And while Adam was condemned to till the earth to feed himself, here poltroonery becomes the law. Further, unlike social utopias à la Thomas More, this poor man's paradise projects from the stomach rather than the mind, and satisfies basic needs: food, shelter, sex.[4]

In Italy, references to Cuccagna recur with the greatest frequency from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries and begin to wane during the eighteenth century (Camporesi 1978; Cocchiara 1956; Zenatti 1884). They were found in street literature,[5] in oral tradition (such as song and tales), and in high literature alike. Yet, that the largest number of attestations, and the most detailed, were destined for the public piazza, suggests in and of itself, that it had the widest currency among a popular audience. Indeed, Cuccagna was sustained largely in the popular imagination through vernacular genres such as street performances of song, broadside prints, and oral narratives. Further, the persistence of Cuccagna in Italian oral and popular tradition seems to document a condition of basic deprivation among the lower classes, which remained a constant in Italy well into the twentieth century (see Teti 1976, 1984; Del Giudice 1993, 2001). It is my contention that Cuccagna survives and animates Italian immigrant culture still.

Cuccagna may be considered an archetypic "imagined state." Its geographic ubiquity and historic longevity may be attributable to its expression of basic corporeal aspirations. It will survive at least as long as hunger and other deprivations continue. Cuccagna, as a powerful metaphor for abundance, has

found myriad representations as it metamorphosed and evolved, in surprising, unexpected ways, and has variously functioned in a range of societies throughout its long history. But beyond expressing a basic aspiration for adequate nourishment, the power of Cuccagna as symbol rests firmly in its ability to imagine, and thereby construct, an alternative social order. That is, while Cuccagna largely described this imagined state as an edible paradise, it also abolished social ills and constraints while it celebrated values that were both anti-Christian and in tune with the social margins. As such, it remained a persistent symbol of possible and alternative worlds. Although this imagined state was largely a projection of bodily cravings, articulated through edible spatial metaphors, as a dream of social change and escape, it nonetheless animated Italian popular consciousness for centuries and sustained a craving for the imagined land of plenty, subsequently realized in actual journeys such as Italian mass-migrations to America.

This essay then, concerns itself primarily with the Italian street variants of the myth as expressed through popular print and in oral tradition. It examines the sociohistoric and ethnographic foundations of this folk utopia, as it reflected the tension between social classes in the old world, as well as the role this driving myth behind mass emigration to America (otherwise known as Cuccagna) has played in Italian immigrant foodways and worldview.

Gastronomic utopias reflect culturally determined tastes and shared cravings. Northern European variants, for instance, differ widely from the Italian in the matter of diet and hence utopian foods. Scandinavian Oleanas may feature rivers of sour cream and mountains of porridge,[6] while the French land of Panigons has trees of butter, rocks of melted cheese, and pigs stuffed with chestnuts, and the Mexican variant presents tortilla hills, fountains of olive oil, and *sopaipilla* (fritter) trees (see, for example, Robb 1980, 337–38). The American hobo's vision of "hog heaven," alternatively known as Ditty Wah Ditty, Oleana, or simply Nowhere (as expressed in the song "The Big Rock Candy Mountain," written by Harry K. McClintock in the early twentieth century; cf. Rammel 1990), projects the American taste for sugar and whiskey,[7] whereas in Brer Rabbit's "Garden of Eatin," at least in a Disney version (presumably adapting the African American tradition), we find hams, a chicken gravy river, hotcake plants, and a forbidden pork chop tree (Disney Enterprises 1992, 9–10; figure 27, herein). Italy's Paese di Cuccagna instead frequently displays a cheese mountain with a cauldron on top bubbling over with tortellini, ravioli, or maccheroni (which historically were gnocchi),[8] rivers running with fine wines (such as Malvasia), and meats in great abundance (figures 2, 3, 4, 5, 8). The high frequency of cheese and meat make protein and animal fats the most prevalent feature of Cuccagna. Rarely are vegetables mentioned. The centuries-old dietary norms of the lower classes—a diet based primarily on grains,

legumes, and vegetables (the now fashionable Mediterranean diet)—is thereby inverted.

Cuccagna Between Written and Oral Culture

Although the first written attestations of Cuccagna appear in the literature of the late Middle Ages (for a thirteenth century French fabliau of this name, see Vaananen 1947), it should be assumed that this utopia was *un atteggiamento mentale prima ancora che una prassi della scrittura,* that is, "a mental *attitude* before it became [fixed] in the written word" (Zaganelli 1989, 146; cf. Cocchiara 1956, 160–61).

While many Italian literary authors have, in varying degrees, written of Cuccagna (cf. Camporesi 1978), often referring to it with an ironic, satiric, or moralistic twist (for example, Calandrino the fool in Boccaccio, *Decameron* VIII, 3), the "penny" press variety appears more indulgent (and less severe) with its willing audiences. Here instead lavish and detailed descriptions prevail. *Description*, in fact, is often featured in the titles themselves of the continual reworkings of this popular motif: for example, *Descrittione del Paese di Cuccagna vicino a S. Daniel, città del Friuli, stato della Repubblica Veneta* (Description of the Land of Cockaigne, near San Daniele, city of Friuli, state of the Venetian Republic) (anonymous, Correr Museum, Venice); or *Discritione del Paese di Chvcagna dove chi manco lavora piv gvadagna* (Description of the Land of Cockaigne where he who works least earns most) (Remondini di Bassano, seventeenth century, in Bertarelli 1929, 51).

Cuccagna's widening appeal, in fact, coincided with the High Renaissance, just as real problems of poverty became more acute, with an ever greater proportion of the population excluded from the natural resources of forest and pasture (Montanari 1987, 12; Montanari 1993, 118–21). Note that in Cuccagna, nature's bounty is free to *all.* Against the images of wealth, patronage and self-celebration in the Renaissance, we can envision, at the margins of the grand tableaux, the beggars and vagabonds who now became endemic. Prisons and hospices for the poor grew, as did concerns over ways of feeding their vast numbers. Social historian Camporesi best describes this underworld of the poor and the *culture* of hunger in *Il paese della fame* (The land of hunger)—Cuccagna's mirror image (Camporesi 1978). It was precisely among the lower classes that the imagined land of Cuccagna gained enormous popularity. Of course, the humorous, ironic, and perhaps seditious aspects of this myth (in the worldview of vagrants) may have served to seduce the collective imagination toward an irregular life of leisure, indulgence, and freedom from the established social order.[9]

Famines in the mid-fifteenth century became especially acute as the search for new foods to stave off large-scale starvation (such as corn and potatoes from

the new world) came to fill treatises on agronomy. Meat consumption decreased all over Europe, and bread made from the lower quality grains became the mainstay of the poor. Monotony and poverty of diet for the lower classes became the norm in Italy during the seventeenth century and remained so well into the twentieth century. Monotony of diet and reliance on a single staple were to cause real catastrophes all over Europe, since one bad harvest could mean death (as in Ireland) or else chronic vitamin deficiency and lingering disease (for example, pellagra for northern Italians).

Camporesi (1980a) describes in nauseating detail the adulterated breads and the health hazards accompanying the use of lower quality grains (some actually hallucinogenic), as he does the many forms of aberrant social behavior spawned by hunger, from cannibalism to collective deliriums (see, for example, the chapter headings in Camporesi 1980a: "Vertigini collettive," [Collective Vertigo]; "Sogni iperbolici," [Hyperbolic Dreams]; "Paradisi artificiali," [Artificial Paradises]; "Il pane papaverino," [Poppy Bread]). Unwittingly, therefore, many Italians may have participated in the delirious visions other cultures attained through the intentional, sometimes ritual, use of known hallucinogens. One may conclude that a delirious and somnolent people could dream of such far off places literally with its eyes wide open, and that the sort of relief Cuccagna song texts might have provided was akin to an addictive drug. This delirium could manifest itself in a variety of ways: from imposing food visions on the landscape, (such as cheese mountains, wine rivers, money trees)[10] or the constructed environment (ships, houses) to projecting foods on celestial bodies (such as Menocchio, the Friulian miller and heretic who imagined the earth as a fermenting, wormy cheese; see Ginzburg 1976), or human physiognomy (such as Arcimboldo's food "portraits"). Such flights of food fantasy suggest a constant play between reality, illusion, and wish fulfillment. Yet food mirages were not merely figments of imagination: they actually reflected facts of social hierarchy.

The images of richly draped lords and merchants and splendid tables set with every imaginable delicacy are common enough in the history, literature, and iconography of the Renaissance, and they frequently found their way into the popular imagination via other genres as well (as in the marriage banquets that close many a folktale). The codification of social rank became important in every aspect of life, from the clothes one wore to the foods one ate, all carefully monitored through sumptuary laws. One should eat, for example, "according to one's social status" (*mangiare secondo la qualità della persona*; Montanari 1993, 105). In other words, proper to a peasant's physiology were roots, coarse breads, and salt pork, while the noble's physique required fresh meats, fish, fruit, white bread, and strong wine. To subvert this "natural" hierarchic dietary order was to subvert the social order. Cuccagna, instead,

abounds anarchically with the finest wines, white breads, cakes, and noble fowl.

Yet nobles were not to be deterred from ostentation and display. Ingenious architectural food fantasies and other sumptuous dishes were frequently paraded around the public piazza before the gaze of the common folk, then consumed by the few (Montanari 1993, 115–18).[11] How could the Renaissance banquet not emerge as a never-never land of glut and satiety? Were the mountains of cheese or the edible palaces so fantastical if we consider that princely guests were often regaled with actual edible landscapes in the form of sculpted marzipan castles or fountains of wine or with fowl cooked and dressed in its own feathers?[12] Such culinary tours de force find their way into the iconography of Cuccagna dreamscapes.

Is it any wonder then that mere lists of food, the insistence on vast quantities and on variety, might have entranced the street audiences in a mirage-like Paese di Cuccagna? Indeed, many of the texts meant for popular "consumption"—such as those of the street performer G. C. Croce (cf. Del Giudice 1998)—provided vicarious and surrogate gustatory pleasures, filling *mental* larders, creating *virtual* food,[13] through descriptions of foods which would never be actually tasted, but were only imagined. Broadside texts cataloguing long lists of delicacies must indeed have had a hypnotic effect on the famished audience. And all this "bounty" for mere pennies, with the purchase of a broadside. Street performers' very livelihoods, of course, depended on providing what the audience wanted, since the sale of the broadside was the prime objective of any performer. The large number of surviving Cuccagna broadsides, gives de facto evidence of the theme's popularity through time.

Can words be eaten? Contemporary readers of cookbooks may ask themselves a similar question, as might anyone who has ever participated in other virtual food experiences, such as discussing menus or recounting memorable repasts. And which ethnic group has cultivated the food narrative more than Italians? They, for example, readily engage in food-related discourse, often while in the very act of consuming food, compounding gustatory pleasures both virtual and real. In that gustatory space, what complex sensory response to food may be simulated? This curious mind/body phenomenon seems to engage both psychological and physiological responses (as captured in the phrase and experience: "it makes my mouth water"). Cuccagna song and prose narratives may find their modern-day counterparts in restaurant reviews and other professional food writings, while today's equivalent of lavishly depicted cuccagnesque prints may well be found in the (quasi-pornographic)[14] art of food photography—which has the late twentieth-century virtue of satisfying without adding calories. Nonetheless, "faux foods" are a latter twentieth-century marvel: titillating to the senses but noncaloric.

Figure 1. First stanzas of *La piacevole historia di Cvccagna, Posta in luce per Giouannino detto il Tranese* (The delightful story of Cockaigne, brought to light by Little John, alias the man from Trani), Naples: Nicolò Monaco, 1715. Reproduced from *Giambattista Basile*: *archivio di letteratura popolare*, Naples, 2, no. 11 (Nov. 15, 1884), 84–85.

Figure 2. *Discritione del paese di Chvcagna dove chi manco lavora piv gvadagna* (Description of the Land of Cockaigne where he who works least earns most), Bassano: Remondini, 1606. Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Milano. Reproduced from Bertarelli 1929, 51.

Figure 3. *La Cvccagna: descrit-*
tione del gran paese de
Cvccagna dove chi piv dorme
piv gvadagna (Cockaigne:
description of the great Land of
Cockaigne where he who
sleeps most earns most), Rome:
Anonymous Italian, 17th centu-
ry (rpt. 1799). Civica Raccolta
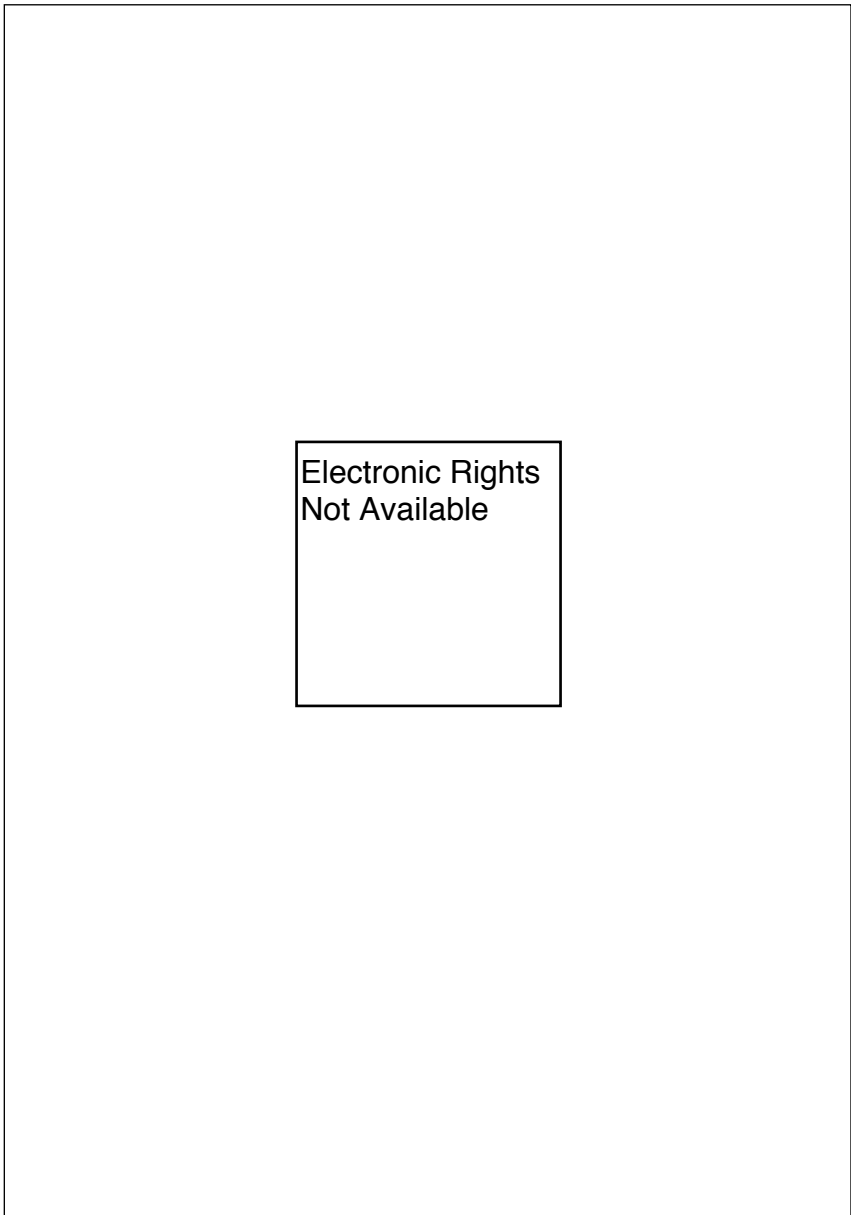delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli,
Milano. Reproduced from
Bertarelli 1974, 62.

Figure 4. *Il paese di Cvchagnia dove chi manco lavora piv gvadagnia* (The Land of Cockaigne where he who works least earns most), two engravings joined for *ventola*, 'fan,' Bassano: Remondini, 1730. Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Milano. Reproduced from Bertarelli 1974, 63.

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Figure 5. *La Cvcagna nvova, trovata nella Porcolandria l'anno 1703 da Seigoffo, qvale raconta, esservi tvtte le delitie, e' chi dessidera andarvi, gli ariva prestissimo con il pensiere con tvtta facilità. E finalmente qvi chi sempre vive mai more* (The new Cockaigne, discovered in Porklandia in 1703 by Youreadolt, who recounts all its delights, and he who wishes to go there, may easily get there with his mind, and in no time at all. And finally here he who always lives never dies). G. Mitelli. Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Milano. Reproduced from Bertarelli 1940, 111 (figure 553).
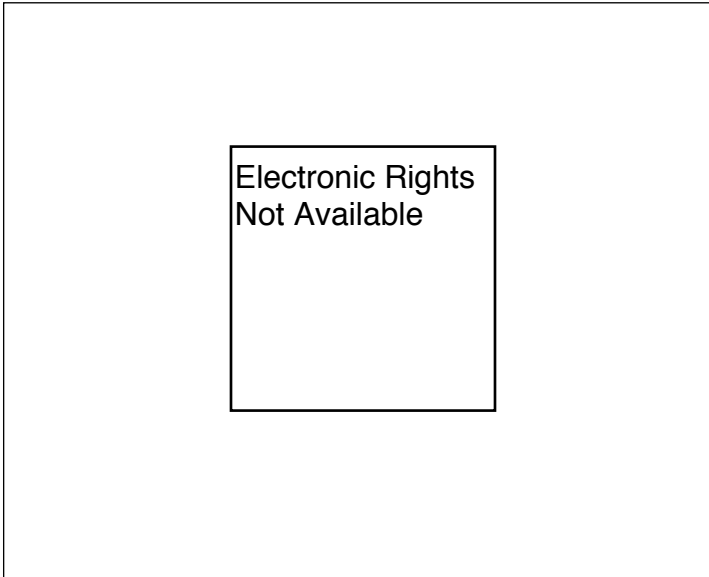
Figure 6. *Il trionfo de Carnavale nel paese de Cvcagna* (The triumph of Carnival in the Land of Cockaigne), Venice: Ferrante Bertelli, 1569. Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Milano. Reproduced from Bertarelli 1929, 25.
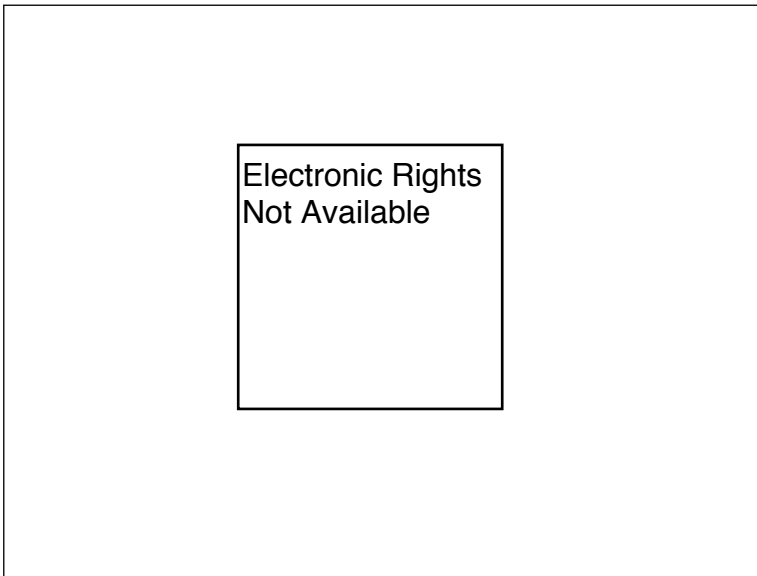
Figure 7. *Il triomfo del Carneval* (The triumph of Carnival), Venice: Ludovico Siletti. Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari, Rome; IV, 7, d, number 01964. The fat king Carnival reigns in the land of Cockaigne.

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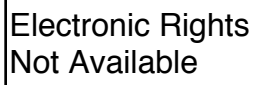
Figure 8. *La vera descritione del paese chiamato anticamente Scanza Fatica et hora sie nominato Chvcagna delle donne* (The true description of the land once called Shirk-Work, and now known as the Women's Cockaigne), Rome, circa 1650. Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Milano. Reproduced from Bertarelli 1929, 50.

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Figure 9. *Il Mondo alla Riversa*
(Upside Down World), Rome:
Anonymous Italian, c.1650.
Civica Raccolta delle Stampe
Achille Bertarelli, Milano.
Reproduced from Bertarelli
1974, 60 (figure 38).

Figure 10. *Gioco della Cvcagna che mai si perde, e sempre si gvadagna* (The game of Cockaigne where you never lose and you always gain), G. Mitelli, 1691. Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Milano. Reproduced from Bertarelli 1940, 131.

Figure 11. *Plumpodingo alla napolitana* (Neapolitan plum pudding). Reproduced from Vidari 1981, 40 (detail of figure 1).

Figure 12. *Il Vesuvio delizioso in occasione dell'annua fiera, e festa Popolare della Porchetta fatto rappresentare nel primo anno (1665) della legatione dell'Em.mo Sig.r Cardinale Caraffa, sendo Confaloniere l'Illmo Sig.r Marchese Balì Ferdinando Cospi, dagli Ill.mi/ed Eccelsi Sig.ri Anziani, li Sig.ri Gio Battista Sanuti Pellicani Dottore, Comendator Carlo Banci, Co. Annibale Ranuzzi, Andrea Buoi/Zotto (?) Guidalotti, Ermete Bargellini, Odoardo Zanchini, e Co. Cesare Malvasia* (The delicious Vesuvius on the occasion of the annual fair, and public Roast Pork festival assembled during the first year (1665) of the legation of the most Eminent Cardinal Caraffa, being Gonfalone the most Illustrious Marquis Balì Ferdinando Cospi, by the most Illustrious and Excellent Elders, Lord Gio[vanni] Battista Sanuti Pellicani, Doctor, Commendator Carlo Banci, Commendator Annibale Ranuzzi, Andrea Buoi/Zotto Guidalotti, Ermete Bargellini, Odoardo Zanchini, and Commendator Cesare Malvasia), G. M. Mitelli F. Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Milano. Reproduced from Bertarelli 1940, 55 (figure 292).

Yet another example of a festive Vesuvius, a mountain of delights, spewing forth riches (it is not clear whether edible or not) on the occasion of public festivities, here in Bologna. The Festival of the Porchetta (or roast pork), was held from August 15 to 24, and on the last day (St. Bartholomew's Day), a roast pig was thrown to the people, in commemoration of August 24, 1281, when the city was liberated from a bloody civil war.

Figures 13–22. Various prints, renderings of festive monumental, food-encrusted Cockaigne "machines" (*macchine della Cuccagna*) erected in Naples, on the square before the Royal palace, between 1729 and 1733, to commemorate various royal occasions: figures 13 (1729), 14 (1730), 17 (1731), 19 (1732), and 21 (1733) for the name day (November 4) of Charles III and VI, king of Spain; figures 15 (1730), 16 (1731), 18 (1732) and 20 (1733) for the birthday (August 28) of Empress Elizabeth Christina; and figure 22 for the visit of Bourbon king Charles to Naples on May 16, 1734. With the exception of figure 15 (designed by Domenico Antonio Vaccaro and sculpted by Francesco di Grado; cf. figure 23) and figure 22 (by Nicola Tagliacozzi Canale and Bartolomeo de Grado), all other monuments were designed by Cristoforo Rosso and sculpted by Neapolitan Francesco de Grado. Collection of Festival Prints, courtesy Getty Research Library P910002. Cf. *Settecento Napoletano* 1994, 352–3; Mancini 1968, 1979.

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Figure 13

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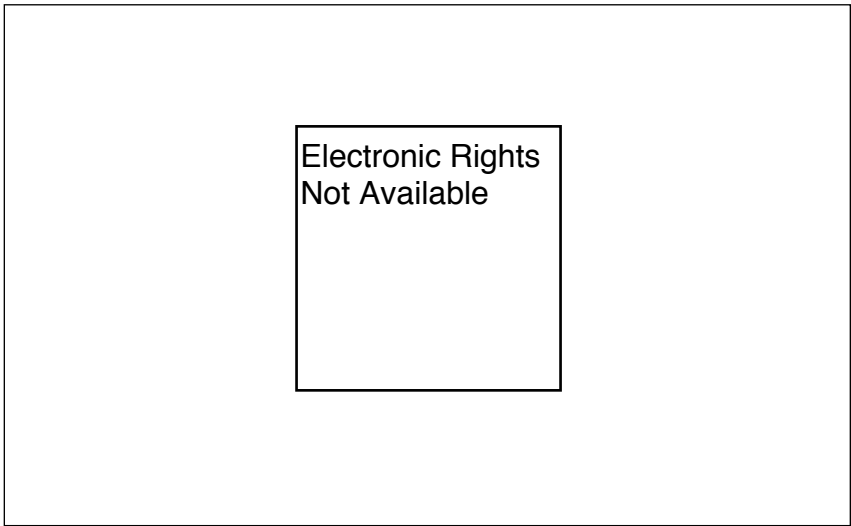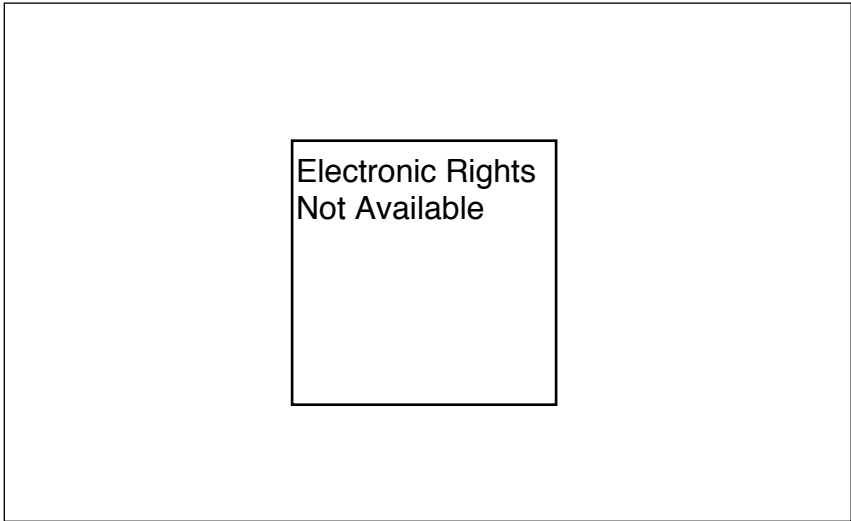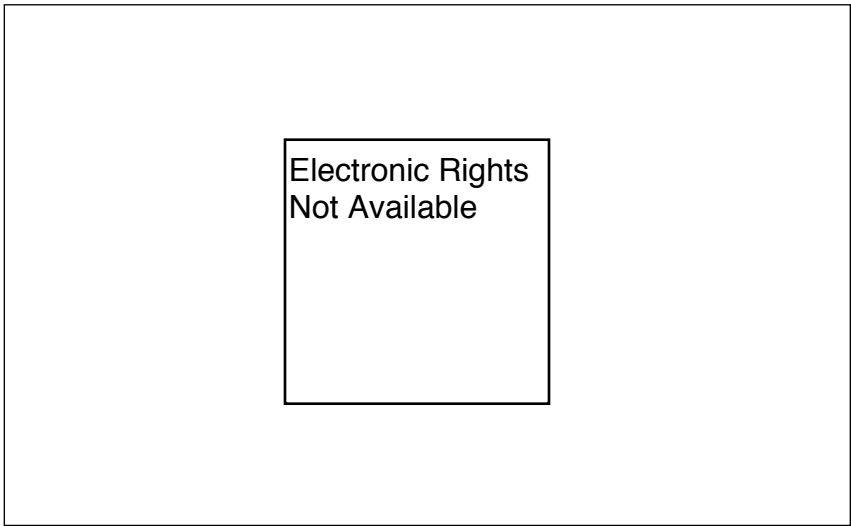
Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16
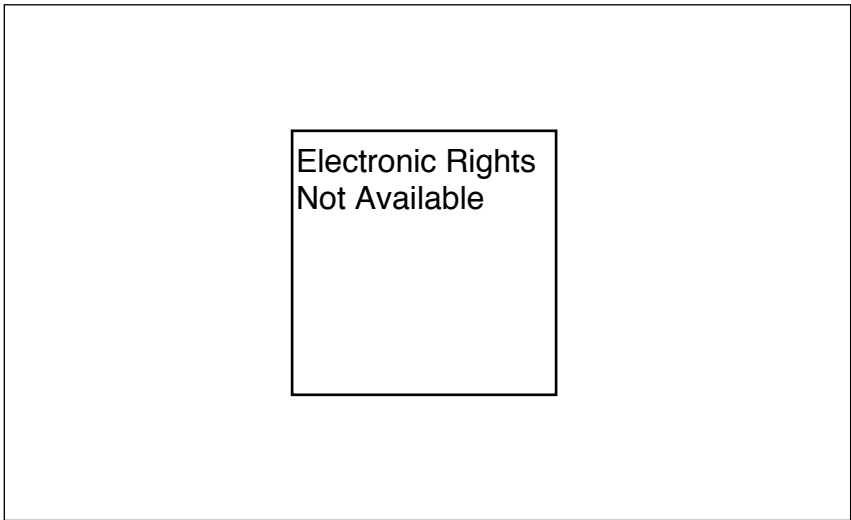
Figure 17
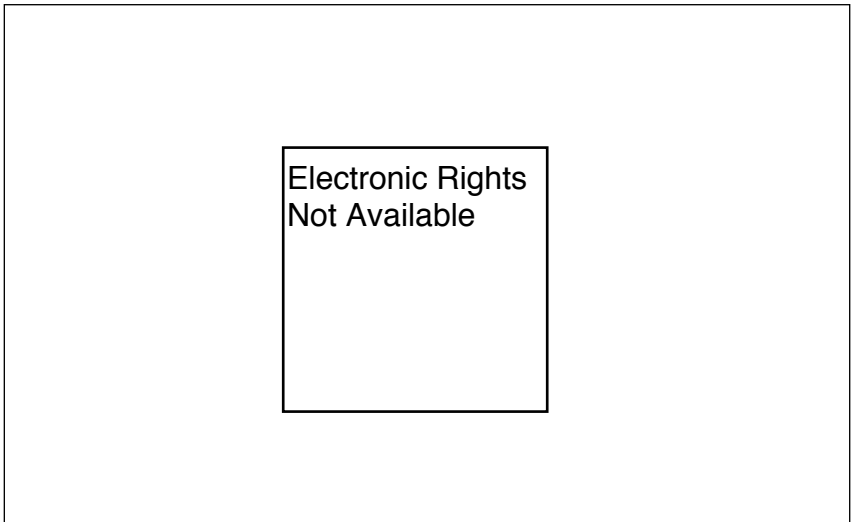
Figure 18

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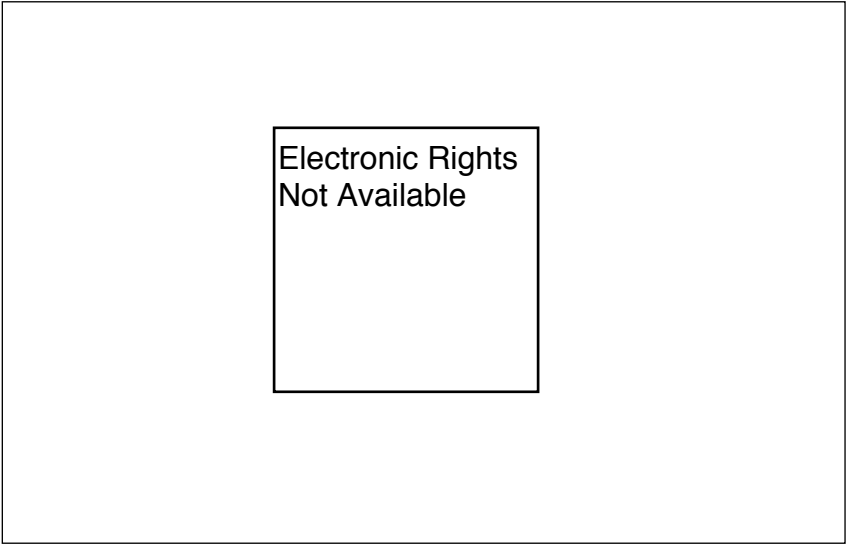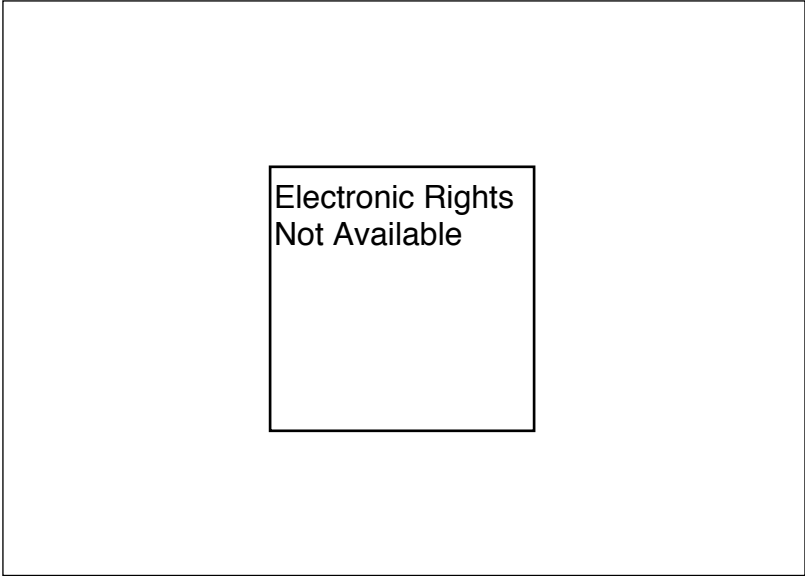
Figure 22
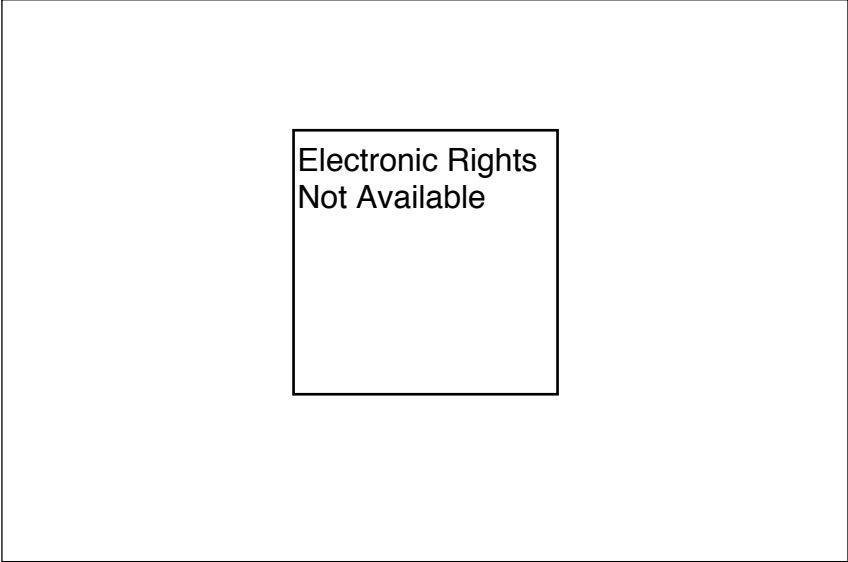
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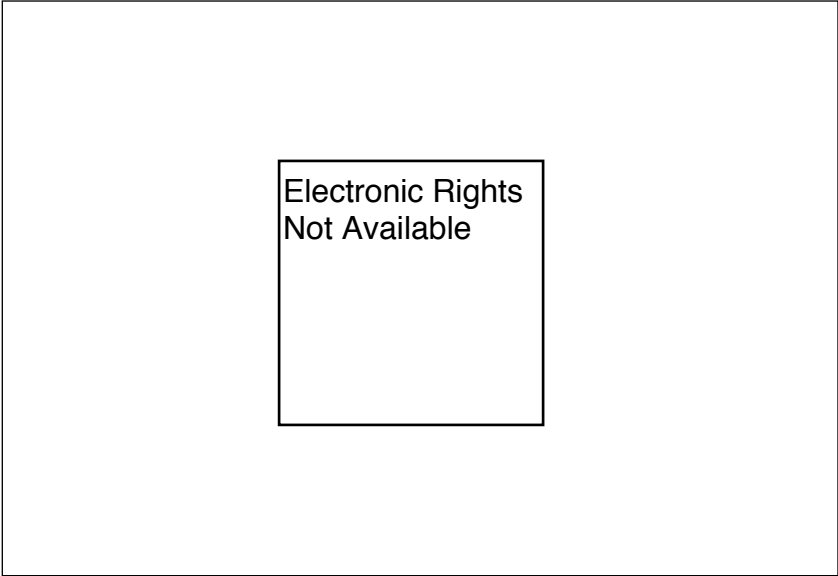
Figure 23. Oil painting by Filippo Falciatore, entitled *Cuccagna al Largo di Palazzo* (cf. figure 15). Electa Archive, Elewood SpA, Milano. Reproduced from *Settecento Napoletano* 1994, 136.
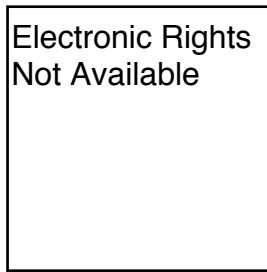
Figure 24. *Albero della Cuccagna* (Cockaigne pole). Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari, Rome, IV, 7, a, number 250.
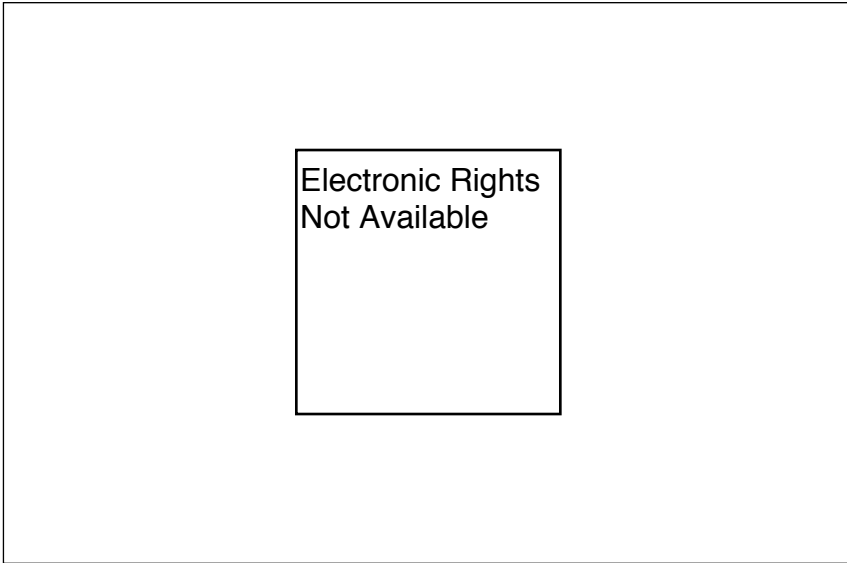
Figure 25. Anonymous Italian, *L'albero della Cuccagna* (Cockaigne pole), 19th century, oil painting, private collection. Reproduced from Fortunati and Zucchini 1989: figure 17. A satirical, pornographic, and mysogynistic version of the greased Cuccagna pole. It might easily have been entitled *Cuccagna delle donne* (women's Cockaigne) since it seems to be aimed at/against diabolical women and their insatiable sexual appetite. Traditional Cuccagna representations normally present palaces of pleasure in which males are sexually catered to. Yet another example of the *Roverso mondo* (upside down world)?

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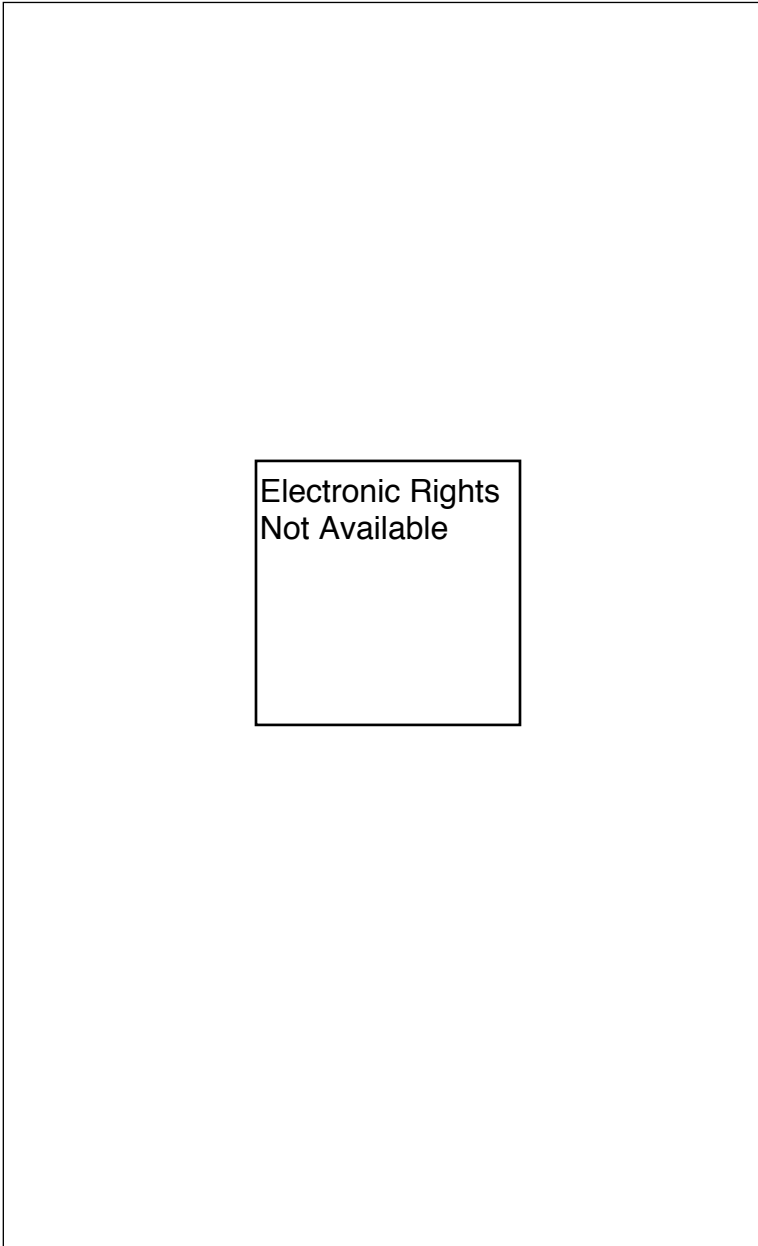
Figure 26. *Albero della Cuccagna*. Example of Cuccagna pole in Italian festival setting.
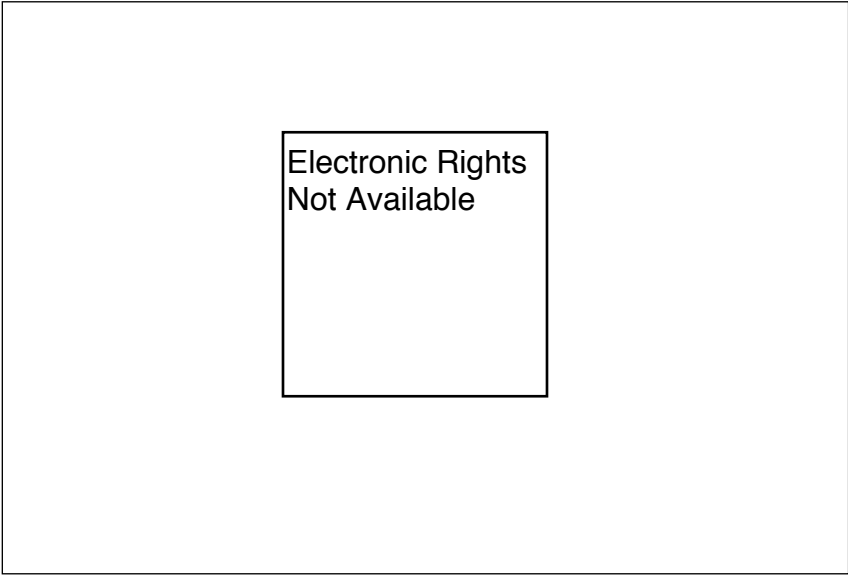
Figure 27. "Garden of Eatin'" from *Walt Disney Presents Uncle Remus and His Tales of Brer Rabbit*. © Disney Enterprises, Inc.
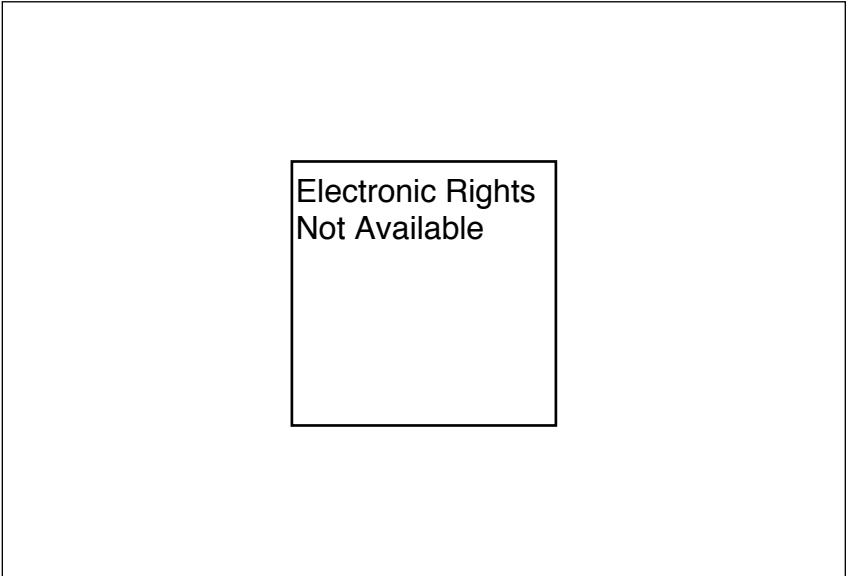
Iconography: Constructing Edible Paradises

The myriad iconographies of Cuccagna may be more powerful even than the broadside song texts they frequently accompany (cf. Pezzini 1989, who instead cautions us not to view them as subordinate). Some narrate via vignette and caption, in a decentered, comic strip manner (e.g., figure 9 for *Il Mondo alla Riversa*), while others instead stand on their own as elaborate and detailed illustrative popular prints (figures 2–6, 8), yet all favor detailed captions to orient the viewer. Such depictions of Cuccagna landscapes are among the most enduring remnants of a collective popular print tradition, together with illustrated proverbs, the Roverso Mondo (Topsy Turvy World; figure 9), the Ship of Fools, *mestieri ambulanti* (itinerant occupations), and others.

The artist/architect's ingenuity here comes into play as he gives marvelous shape to popular food fantasies. He constructs these fantastical ships, palaces, pyramids, cities, islands, mountains, with wondrous edible building materials (just as Arcimboldo constructed "thematic" portraits out of food, flora, books, and so forth). Besides wine rivers and cheese mountains, these materials included ricotta and cheese walls, cobblestones of cheese, cooked capon stairs, roofs of *cialde inzuccarate* (sugared biscuits). Edible ships might feature a rudder of salami (*soppressata*), nails of fennel stalks, planks of mixed innards (*frittaglie*), rigging of pork intestines (cf. Rossi 1888, 406–7). Textual utopias were sometimes even accompanied by actual maps, helping the "pilgrim" negotiate the way. Indeed, each Cuccagna text seems to be generated by "its own more or less explicit geography" (*una propria geografia più o meno esplicita*; Pezzini 1989, 279).

Cuccagna plays with the whimsical through iconographic and linguistic acrobatics: for example Pierre de la Maison Neufve's *Familière description du très vinoporratimalvoisé & très envitaillegoulementé Royaume Panigonnois, mystiquement interprété l'Isle de Crevepance* (Firsthand description of the very vinoporragimalvoisied and very envictualigullemented Panigonnois Kingdom, mystically interpreted as the Isle of Bustbelly) (Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center 1994, 400, and plate 9). The Italian iconographic tradition,[15] beginning as early as the sixteenth century, seems as well to revel in the playful and the pleasurable (and at least once, in the pornographic—see the nineteenth century *L'albero della Cuccagna*, figure 25) and refrains from the visual moralizations found in some northern European variants (such as Brueghel's *Land of Cockaigne* or the "women's Cuccagna" represented in figure 25), just as its textual street variety typically differs in tone from literary texts.

What role did the street performer specifically play in the construction of Cuccagna as an imagined state? Street performers, it is well to remember, shared the social stigmatization of itinerants of all kinds. They were often perceived as vagrants themselves, living on the social margins, and hence suspected of sharing and promoting counter- or sub-cultural values.[16] They may indeed

have had a vested interest, therefore, in promoting imagined and alternative "states," both existential and social. Did Pied-Piper bards of Cuccagna not seek, after all, to lure their audiences, however light heartedly, to follow them on journeys, and to abandon the status quo (as did, for example, Giovanni il Tranese, above)? The ongoing battle the church and civil authorities waged against street performers had its own political significance, corroborating that the performers were perceived to be dangerous and capable of destabilizing the social order. Certainly, the repertoires of street performers have often featured, beyond pure entertainment, social commentary and have voiced sociopolitical views in tune with their socially oppressed audiences (cf. the journal *Il Cantastorie*, "Street Singer,"1981–). Their compositions were not only subject to constant surveillance, as *con licenza dei superiori* ([published] with the permission of authorities) attests, but the street performers' freedom of movement and performance as well was carefully monitored and often curtailed, until very recently (Ghidoli 1985). The constraints placed on their freedom of expression probably resulted in a preponderance of performances in a comic or satiric vein, such as G. C. Croce (Del Giudice 1998). In the case of Cuccagna texts, we might ask, were street performers merely inducing a deceitful and compliant somnolence in their audiences in order to sell them their wares, or were they instead helping to keep an impossible dream—partly their own—alive?

An imagined state which proposed complete idleness (and perhaps imprisonment) for the industrious worker, represented a profound subversion of social, as well as theological, values. The Cuccagna tradition in fact found its place in various social movements relating to, for example, labor and immigration. In its Scandinavian (and Anglo-American) traditions, which highlighted monetary wealth and the laborless utopia, Cuccagna became part of labor and occupational cultures of the nineteenth century (cf. Blegen and Ruud [ca. 1936], 187–91; cf. Reimund and Porter, herein). According to Pianta (1989), in Italy it was the image of the "triumphing" of the socially marginal in Cuccagna that provided a backdrop for the Communist anthem, "Bandiera rossa" (Red flag). Cuccagna indeed promotes counter-Christian ideals inasmuch as it does not support the virtues of resignation, self-sacrifice, and mortification of the flesh but rather celebrates the sins of gluttony, licentiousness, and idleness.

It has been widely affirmed that Cuccagna presents a static and conservative worldview and does not aspire toward social reform,[17] that it does not attack the social hierarchy or institutional injustice head on. In Cuccagna instead, the peasant merely wishes to live as the lord is perceived to live: idle and well fed. Rather than abolish the aristocracy, here instead everyone has the title of duke or count. Yet lest we are lulled into thinking that Cuccagna's long life is merely a series of tired and repetitive representations, basically unchanged throughout, let us recall, as Kunzle (1978) has shown for its sister

topos "The World Upside Down," that the broadside press, by its very nature, was primarily concerned with the flux of history, suggesting it had an urban audience which observed and participated in the process of history. Within the "formulaic" *contrasti*, vignettes, and so forth, there was room for innovation, nuance, and satire. "'Pure' formal fantasy and subversive desire, far from being mutually exclusive, are two sides of the same coin" (Kunzle 1978, 89).

Although the Cuccagna motif may have found itself assisting sociopolitical goals, it did not generally itself engage in overt political discourse. Cuccagna as an imagined state represented primarily a gastronomic utopia and therefore was content to revel in the carnivalesque—an abundant and meat-based diet, conventional expressions of social inversion, and the joke, only to return to social order once the escape valve had been turned off and the performer moved on to another piazza. Cuccagna, indeed, came to be closely associated with Carnival and through this association came itself to co-opt aspects of social criticism always implicit in carnivalesque "reversible worlds" (cf. Babcock 1978). As Bakhtin has amply shown, though, laughter forms such an integral part of folk culture that the culture of fools is an important ingredient of festival generally, Carnival specifically, and represents ultimately a means of compromising authority through social inversion (Bahktin 1968).

Cuccagna and Ritual: A Time for Feasting

Between Carnival and Cuccagna is much semantic overlapping (or "reciprocal contamination," according to Pianta 1989, 31). At times, Cuccagna broadsides make this connubium explicit (see *Il trionfo de Carnavale nel paese de Cucagna* [the triumph of Carnival in the Land of Cockaigne], in Bertarelli [ca. 1929], 25; Toschi 1964, table 55; figures 6 and 7, herein; *Trionfo dei Poltroni* [Triumph of the Poltroons] in Zenatti 1884). Carnival revelers (see figure 7) even find their place in the iconography of Cockaigne (cf. Pianta 1989; figures 2, 3, 4, herein). Cuccagna celebrates a perpetual Carnival of abundance and indulgence, while meatless Lent, as stated in at least one northern European Cockaigne variant, occurs but once every twenty years. Cuccagna represents festive time run amok. Like Carnival—at least in its latter in*carn*ations—Cuccagna features pigs,[18] sausages, and other pork products (in other words a winter diet) and a fat king "triumphing" in a procession of cooks and scullions (figures 2, 3, 4), but unlike king Carnival, Cuccagna has no calendrical restrictions, and hence never dies.[19]

Carnival, as folk drama and as elite spectacle, ranged from "grotesque eating performances"[20] to *commedia dell'arte*, and was accompanied by rich oral and literary traditions. Primary among the carnivalesque literary and oral traditional genres, however, were the many *contrasti* (or mock battles) between Carnival and Lent (cf. Lozinski 1933, Grinberg and Kinser 1983), battles

between a *carn*ivorous and rotund boyish Carnival and a mean, piscivorous, and haggard Lenten crone. But the relentless alternation of feasting and fasting, of abundance and hunger, in the liturgical calendar, never adequately balanced in the actual lives of peasants, which instead tilted heavily toward the latter states.[21] The battle of the proteins (meat versus fish) impinged little on their diets alas, since fish was seen on their tables almost as rarely as meat. Italians had long been "vegetarian by necessity and not by choice" (Pellegrino 1952, 24).

Cuccagna's ritual dimensions are clear, and even in common parlance Cuccagna has remained a term for abundance and celebration. Linguistic remnants of Cuccagna in many Italian dialects reduce the once richly articulated place to simply *festa*, "feast" or "good time," as in *che Cuccagna!* expressed as *che pacchia!* "what a great time!" To Italians, this altered state of feasting, the much craved "time out of time," continued to be obsessively and endlessly replayed in immigrant life until the festa itself became redundant and practically obsolete (Teti 1984; Del Giudice 2001). Indeed, ritual abundance, and hence Cuccagna, is reenacted with every life- or nature-cycle celebration (such as a baptism or wedding), weekly and seasonal markets or fairs (for example, St. Martin's as it is celebrated in Sant'Arcangelo in Romagna in Sobrero 1994), harvest festivals and saint's days (on *sagre*: see Vidari 1981, 44; on food altars, for example, see Del Giudice forthcoming), and even Sunday dinners. All replicate, celebrate, and give thanks for the miracle of prodigious nature and divine goodness. The altar of Christianity is a dinner table. The last act of God on Earth was to break bread together with disciples in the Last Supper. God himself *is* food (in the Eucharist). As Gandhi once noted, food is the only form in which God dare appear to the poor.

But while the cuccagnesque is implicitly part of any festivity, rituals making *explicit* reference to Cuccagna are rarer. A significant example may be found in the greased Cuccagna pole (*l'albero di/della Cuccagna*, figures 24, 26) which is still featured at many public festivities in Italy (see Maggini 1977, 9–11; Coltro 1982, 152–59; Ciceri 1983, 172) and among immigrants (see Noyes 1989, 1995, 449–52),[22] and provides yet another spatial metaphor of distance and unattainability. Typically, hanging high atop a greased pole or *albero*, "mast" or "tree" (perhaps either recalling the Ship of Fools or the magical trees of the Cuccagna landscape), are prizes—the symbolic remnants of those vast territories of yore: salami, sausage, or prosciutto (that is, pork products recalling the carnival pig), wine (as in, former cuccagnesgne rivers and fountains), a bag of money (recalling caves of gold coin and gold-excreting donkeys), pasta (for the giant Cuccagna cauldron), cheese (for a mountain), and so forth. But in at least one recent instance, in the Verona area, the Cuccagna pole yielded coupons for free gasoline, rather than food (Parks 1993, 210)!

Cuccagna may not be a *u*-topia so much as it is a *poli*-topia. It is nowhere and everywhere. It is a movable feast. For Goethe it seems to have been Italy;

for the Lithuanians it was Hungary; to immigrants it was America. How do these realignments occur? Let us consider one very significant case for its Italian contexts.

Naples as Il Paese di Cuccagna

In seventeenth-century Italy it was Naples which became explicitly associated with the Paese di Cuccagna and with Carnival. Indeed, Naples' magnificent and irreverent Carnivals were famous all over Europe during this time. There are several reasons for imagining Naples as a Paese di Cuccagna. As it was then, it has remained: a "Land of Plenty" for the few and the "Land of Misery" for the many. The axis upon which the world of Cuccagna turns is that of social inequality. Yet, where there is misery, there too is the hope of abundance. The topography of Cuccagna required peaks and abysses. These peaks were frequently rendered in architectural constructions stressing vertical height (cf. Barletta 1981; figures 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, herein). More specifically, however, the Mountain of Cheese spewing forth maccheroni seems to be none other than Vesuvius, a (gastronomic) emblem of Naples, the by-then maccheroni-eating capital of Italy. There are other gastronomic Vesuvii one may cite, such as a volcano-like *Plumpodingo alla napolitana,* "Neapolitan plum pudding," presumably served hot, since it is depicted as emitting a plume of smoke from its crater (Vidari 1981, 40; figures 11, 12, herein).

During the earlier part of the seventeenth century, Neapolitans themselves *literally* replicated this landscape in popular Carnivals in the form of the Cuccagna "mountain," *"il monte di Cuccagna"* or *"coccagna,"* (Mayer [1840] 1948, 234–235). Like a Vesuvius, it emitted maccheroni, sausages, *focacce* (flat breads), and other foods which slid down its sides and were gathered—fought over—by the common people. These mountains were moveable *carri* (floats) which made their way through the city (Mancini 1963). Unlike the ideal of endless bounty however, in practice the competition for limited goods was a typical feature of this ritual, as it continued to be in the subsequent contests to scale greased Cuccagna poles.

It was the Spanish (and then Austrian) regimes of the latter Settecento in Naples, which best capitalized on the Cuccagna concept however. Intuiting the importance of this theme for the populace, these regimes actually staged periodic Cuccagna festivals in the public piazza before the royal palace. These were no longer given by the people by members of their own class, but rather *for* the people *by* the ruling class (Scafoglio 1994). This politically astute use of Cuccagna, which wove together traditional motifs and celebrations—but bending them to official objectives—began to take hold under what were, arguably, the most oppressive regimes Neapolitans have ever known. The evolution of the festivity

began with the suppression of the moveable carri, traditionally offered to the populace by the various *arti* and *mestieri*, that is, guilds and artisans (especially the food-related ones: millers, bakers, butchers). During the first decades of the 1700s, these floats were converted into a single, fixed architectural structure, strategically placed in front of the Royal palace (Scafoglio 1994, 12; figures 13–23, herein). Contrary to official rhetoric, they were not bestowed from above but rather continued to be financed by the corporations. At this time, however, it was the royalty who commanded full attention, at the expense of the corporations, thereby denying the latter a direct rapport with the people. The king himself became the festivity's focal point: *Cocagne c'est moi*, he might have said (cf. figure 18, with a royal portrait displayed at the apex of the structure). The once egalitarian spirit of the popular Neapolitan Cuccagna festivities (such as the itinerant floats) now confirmed and heightened the social hierarchy. This case merely provides another example of how the absolutist regime in Naples elaborated in numerous variations the "fiction of sovereign generosity and abundance" (Feldman forthcoming),[23] in theater (*opera seria*), on the piazza, and elsewhere.

Grand apparati called *macchine della Cuccagna* (Cuccagna machines) were assembled as ephemeral, edible structures, encrusted with various foods, and consumed by the hungry crowd on each of the four Sundays of the Carnival season. As seen in one contemporary oil painting (figure 23, herein, from *Settecento Napoletano,* 1994), the king and the aristocracy could view the frenzied, famished struggle to dismantle the Rococo marvel of food from the balconies of the Royal Palace, while the official guards controlled the crowd below. The king's guard gave the signal of attack and in 5–8 minutes the structure was completely demolished and picked apart by the hoards of beggars (*lazzari*) who sometimes knifed each other in the process—all under the entertained gaze of the royal court (Scafoglio 1994, 35). The structure was patched and reassembled, and the sack was repeated on the three successive Sundays of Carnival. This ritual spectacle created for the people, became a spectator sport for the bestowers who, one is sometimes reminded in the literature, either enjoyed it as hidden voyeurs, or could snicker at the spectacle of barbarism and uncouthness in full view from the royal balconies and could thereby publically reaffirm their social superiority.[24]

Such Cuccagna monuments were erected on other occasions of royal commemoration, such as weddings, birthdays, and so forth (cf. banners on prints in *Settecento Napoletano* 1994, and in the Collection of Festival Prints [Getty Research Library]; figures 13–22, herein). They frequently took on the form of temples, mountains, or ships, interweaving mythological motifs, and invariably emphasizing *verticality*. The mythological recollections of a Golden Age, as noted by Barletta (1981) and Feldman (forthcoming), were intended to cast the king in the role of bestower of all riches and social harmony.

Of what foods did this feasting consist? While the quality of the foods (primarily meat and bread) may not have been high, the quantities needed to be vast (Barletta 1981, 33–34). Some of the animal carcasses were quartered and pinned to the structure while other live animals were hunted down. The violence, cruelty, and barbarism of this Neapolitan festivity was inevitably noted by tourists on "the grand tour." De Sade, for one, in search of strong festivals, described one Neapolitan Cuccagna in great detail: the intentional collapse of the *macchina*, with the subsequent death of many, the pinning of live animals to the monument, the general waste of animal (and human) life, and the transgressive aspects of the festivity. He concluded that the very essence of this festival was cruelty and its enjoyment (in Scafoglio 1994, 37–38).

Coinciding as it did with the great famine, the 1764 festivities marked the turning point for Neapolitan Cuccagna as it resulted in tragedy—and insurrection (Scafoglio 1994, 57–87). During that Cuccagna season, some of the bolder participants did not wait for a royal signal but, under the eyes of the king, impudently attacked the structure itself. The violence which resulted from such a desperate situation was quickly snuffed out, but did not resolve itself in any institutional change from above. Rather, in a collective ritual expiation of guilt, the people both prayed for forgiveness and pleaded for a miracle—not to the king, but to San Gennaro, Naples' patron saint. This penitential resolution was well-liked by Church and Court alike. Cuccagna, thereafter moved quietly and progressively farther away from the Royal Palace, and by the end of the following decade (1779), was substituted with the traditional (and safer) distribution of dowries to poor girls (i.e., *maritaggi*).

Such rituals explicitly linking the city of Naples (and the king himself) to the imagined state of Cuccagna, created and sustained a fiction, a *mask* of royal magnanimity, while ignoring the ongoing plight of its poverty-stricken citizenry. Since Carnival was the traditional time for donning masks, after all, and it is well to remember that while Charles VI played King Carnival, the people's traditional (i.e., commedia dell'arte) mask—in perfect opposition to the rotund reveler—remained Pulcinella, the perennially-starved and scurrilous maccheroni-eater, who is even today an emblem of the city. During the seventeenth century in Naples, as part of a general crackdown on the more pagan aspects of festivities all over Europe this campaign also translated into the Church's attempt to banish Pulcinella (Scafoglio 1994, 42–45).

Even into the nineteenth century, though, when the Cuccagna machines had been put aside for over a century, Naples was still associated with Cuccagna by at least one novelist. In her 1891 novel, *Il Paese di Cuccagna*,[25] the Neapolitan writer Matilde Serao insightfully used Cuccagna as a metaphor for the widespread lottery mania that was devastating the rich and poor of that city. Serao here continued a time-honored *literary* tradition of moralizing on the Cuccagna

theme and focusing on its darker and dangerous side. The desire for a material paradise on earth varied according to class. By playing the lottery, a nobleman wished to restore his family fortunes, a merchant to open a pastry shop in a more fashionable quarter of Naples, but to Antonietta, of the urban poor, to win the lottery would mean to eat maccheroni and meat morning and night, every day! A rather modest dream, one might say, and yet one which eluded Italians until the post-WWII era.

Serao here describes the psychology of Cuccagna as a preying Lotto agent reflects:

> He saw again [in his mind] the weeks of Christmas, of
> Easter, when the game became frenzied, fierce, so great was
> the desire of the people to enter into the long-dreamed-for Land
> of Cockaigne and he saw himself again, always happy over those
> delusions which ended in painful disappointment; happy that the
> mirage blinded the weak, the foolish, the sick, the poor, the
> hopeful—all those who longed for the Land of Cockaigne, happy that
> of all those who had been infected by the disease, none would be
> saved; delighted that during major feast days, the rage increased, and
> gaming increased, as did his percentage [of the sales].[26]

Such delirious dreams have, and always will, comforted the poor and over-worked. The sharp rise in American gambling, from bingo and state lotteries to full-fledged casinos, painfully corroborate that such dreams of instant wealth are thriving yet. Early immigrants to this country, and others, (Bernardi 1994, 122–23, 133) had similar dreams. The flight to Cuccagna, the Land of Plenty, in fact, became the propelling myth behind Italian mass emigration, a mass exodus at its height precisely as these pages of Serao's were being written in the 1890s. Many purchased steerage class tickets to paradise, boarded ship at the port of Naples itself, and headed for the "new world"—to America, where the streets were said to be paved with gold,[27] and where they believed they would never go hungry again. But, as one wit has it: they quickly learned that not only were the streets *not* paved with gold, they were not paved at all, and furthermore, the immigrants themselves would have to pave them (cf. *Italians in America* 1998)!

The theme of hunger was widely present in the literature of the nineteenth century since it was, after all, a painful reality of Italian streets from north to south. But hunger had been a staple of oral traditions long before (see, on narrative, Beduschi 1983; Bottigheimer 1986; Tatar 1992; on lullabies, Del Giudice 1988, 276–77). How many classic tales spoke of great famines whereby a hero/ine would venture out into the world to find their way; or the horrific—but

all too common—cases of attempted cannibalism at the hands of ogres and witches, mirage-like gingerbread houses, or lavish wedding feasts ending many a happy-ever-after tale? Traditional narratives are especially important sources for understanding ethnographic food systems. In the Italian tradition, many are the magic tablecloths, sacks, or pots which produce food whenever asked to do so (Cusatelli 1982; Luciani 1994; Milillo 1994). Numerous Italian tales begin with the scattering of large families due to famine; children (often brothers) are sent into the world to seek their fortune (Calvino 1956, introduction; "Jump in My Sack," tale 200). For Italians, a people with a long history of emigration, these tale types take on curiously ethnographic undertones, and may indeed be considered emblematic tales of immigration. Not surprisingly, they have endured among immigrants themselves both as tales (see Agonito 1967, 52–64) and as oral histories—corroborating Calvino's maxim that *le fiabe sono vere* (folktales are true). Not only were these tales "true," but so were the fantastical fictions of Cuccagna and Upside Worlds (partly) materialized through the immigrant experience.

An Evolving Topos: Cuccagnesque Journeys and Immigration

Cuccagna has proven surprisingly resilient: it has come to assimilate a wide range of motifs and genres in literature and oral tradition, as well as intersected ethnographic and historic realities. Cuccagna indeed is a cauldron into which new ingredients have been continuously added over the centuries (Cocchiara 1956). Therein can be found the Ship of Fools (Barca dei Rovinati, Galea di Cuccagna), Topsy Turvy Land (Il Roverso Mondo),[28] and especially Carnival, not to mention myriad minor oral expressive and literary genres. Cuccagna's most recent metamorphoses however, may be found in Italian immigrant culture, and in children's literature (see Del Giudice 1997, 1998). It is on its place in immigrant culture that the remainder of this paper will focus.

Cuccagna tales circulated in oral narrative, illustrated street songs, and kept an imagined state alive, but certainly did not coincide with any on the Italian political map. Progressively, they helped shift its geographical configuration from the "old" world to the "new." Italians came to associate Cuccagna with America as it was *imagined* and as immigrant propaganda—and immigrant narrative itself—came to depict it: the land of plenty, the land of opportunity, and the land of equality.

Oddly, it may be Cuccagna's intersection with the travel tale, so prevalent during the Renaissance, an "age of discoveries," which may have provided a distant source for future journeys. In that earlier narrative genre, which characteristically merged truth and fantasy in marvelous tales of discovery, new and surprising worlds (largely "imagined states" of their own) came to present

themselves as possible, alternative worlds. Some depicted abundant, verdant landscapes, laden with all manner of fruits and edible wildlife. Others spoke of clement and benign nature where natives lived in a state of innocent bliss and in social harmony. This literature fed the growing body of utopian literature.

Whereas fantastic voyages had been, as we have seen, a staple of oral and literary traditions, masses of Italians, from the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, found themselves aboard *real* ships bound for North and South America, as well as the farther reaches of the world (such as Australia). The banner on one Cuccagna print in particular, might well be describing an immigrant ship sailing to the Americas were it not for the fact that it was published centuries earlier: "The ship of the destitude which departs for Trebisbonda, where all the failed, the ruined and consumed, and those who cannot show their faces on account of bad debts, are invited."[29] Might echoes of this Ship of Fools have stirred somewhere in the subconscious of immigrants boarding trans-Atlantic freighters to the New World, ships on which literally millions of Italians sought passage to a new Cuccagna?

Somewhere between folly, desperation, and wish fulfillment lies the existential state of Cuccagna. In truth, even the street variety had always pointed to the fact that Cuccagna was an elaborate lie, a tall tale, a fiction not to be taken too seriously. Had it not frequently been given facetious place names such as Nowhereland (as well as *dietro le Alpi che non si trovano mai,* "behind the Alps which are never found"), and hadn't its various authors borne fictitious names such as Messer Bugia (Mr. Lie), Bugiardello (Little Lier), or signor Valcercha (Mr. What-have-you)? These expedients did not make the people dream of such marvelous places with any lesser fervor. The dream for a better life and a better state—in the political as well as existential sense—fueled the mass emigrations from Italy. This was a dream of profound renewal, fully embodied in the imagined land of Cuccagna, but only partly found in the new land of America.

How do such patently fictional and fantastical dreams come to be believed by a people? How do such lies actually prompt to action? Consider this analogy: the legend of the "flying African" in African American folk culture did much to fuel a belief in the possibility of breaking the chains of slavery and escape. The belief in the ability of early-arrived Africans to take wing and fly back to their homeland—but in reality (and only later) on the "underground railway" to the North—had real and positive consequences. "The story of 'flying Africans' was so important to slaves, because it provided them with the magical powers needed to escape brutal reality, and the legend's metaphorical use provided the ability for psychic survival. It taught that escape was possible. And many slaves did escape." Metting goes on to claim: "oral traditions . . . protect and empower readers through lessons on survival, identity, and health" (Metting 1994, 1995, 285–86). The belief in Cuccagna did as much for Italians escaping to the

New World—emigrating, despite official resistance to the mass exodus, despite the many accounts of danger they would encounter.[30] From the discovery of America onward, a desire for *renovatio* (renewal), and the marvelous descriptions of a *nuovo mondo* (new world) circulated among the peoples of Europe, and when mass migrations were finally possible, brought millions of the destitute to the New World (Honour 1975; Chiappelli et al 1976; Franzina 1995). Immigrant narratives are full of such aspirations. Conversely, and on a more sinister note, it was precisely the fiction of Cuccagna, narrated in all its appealing detail, which helped Europeans lure and enslave many Africans during the age of slavery (Minton 1991).

Myriad representations of America as a mythic land of plenty may be found in immigrant personal narratives and correspondence, but also in propaganda literature, in tour books, in immigrant agents' brochures, in nationalistic political writings, and in the popular literature of the nineteenth century. For Italians, America was alternatively known as Il Nuovo Mondo (the New World), La Terra Promessa (the Promised Land—and one should not discount the literal sense of this term, for peasants turned immigrants sought land, cultivatable land. Del Giudice 1993, 55), and Cuccagna (Vecoli 1988; Franzina 1992).

A basic aspiration, however, and one abundantly elaborated in the landscape of Cuccagna, was the desire to feed a hungry body. As Teti (1984, 9) succinctly summarizes the immigrant's relationship to food (in this case, speaking of Toronto Italians): "they carry with them the traditional culture and values of the peasant world, but especially bodies marked and undernourished, an ancient hunger, the aspiration toward a better world, toward a world of abundance that in the old country could not be achieved."[31] The most dramatic change that occurred in the life of every immigrant to the new world, in fact, regarded diet— a most immediate and tangible gauge of success and literal fulfillment. Writing in an immediate post-WWII milieu, Pellegrino looks back on his own family's migration in the 1930s, and personally recalls "an experience in which millions of immigrants to American have shared" (1952, 33): "I found, first of all, the meaning, the consumable, edible meaning, of a simple word, lost in the dictionary among thousands of others—the meaning of the word *abundance*" (Pellegrino 1952, 27). Pellegrino recounts some of the (tall) tales told about America/Cuccagna which he later experienced to be true: tree trunks so large several couples could dance around them, wheat fields so vast no train could cross them in a single day, meats, sweets, fine clothes for *everyone* (so that one could not distinguish the rich from the poor—a recurrent cross-cultural theme in immigrant narratives), and incredible waste. Literally, therefore, one could find not gold but food in the streets. Furthermore, nature may have given up many of its riches freely in the new land, but not without toil. Pellegrino and his family, residing on the edge of a forest in Washington state, lived off the fat of

the land, collecting edibles (nuts, mushrooms, wild game, berries, etc.) and firewood at their pleasure.

Immigrants and food are indeed firmly linked in American consciousness. Culinary metaphors for ethnic immigrants themselves abound. In the great cauldron of immigrant America, itself a "melting pot," a homogeneous stew sits bubbling, while, nonetheless, food continues to set social boundaries and contribute to ethnic stereotyping. Folklorists recognize the truism "you are what you eat" as a means of marking a group by its most basic (or its oddest) food. In America, where ethnically mixed communities are common, this is an especially marked tendency. The dominant culture has labeled the French *Frogs*, the Irish *Potatoes*, the Germans *Krauts*, and the Mexicans *Beaners*. Italians have continued to be gastronomically stereotyped as pasta-eaters or *Spaghetti-Benders*. On the other hand, Anglo-Canadians, are known as *Mangiachecchi* (mangia-kaykee)—"Cake-Eaters"—or simply as *Cakes* to Toronto Italians.

Italian (and other) immigrants came to this land, in part, to escape hunger. Those who emigrated during the post-WWII wave could not have known that a decisive turning point for all Italians, even in Italy, was just around the corner. It came to be known as *il Boom economico* (the economic boom) or *il miracolo italiano* (the Italian miracle) of the 1960s. During these miracle years, Italy suddenly became a Cuccagna of its own (cf. Parks 1993, 60, 82–84, 210). Only then did the eating habits of common Italians profoundly change, and the long-held desire for meat finally become appeased. Meat became a daily staple (Somogyi 1973; Montanari 1992) as vegetables, legumes and even pasta diminished somewhat in importance. As a negative outcome, of course, national health surveys marked an increase in coronary disease.

Cultural History and Personal Experience

A look at Italian immigrant foodways, narrative, and worldview, immediately makes evident that food became the primary focus of their lives as immigrants (cf. Teti 1984, Chairetakis 1993, Del Giudice 1993, 2000, 2001, and forthcoming). Italian immigrants' obsession with food seems indeed to document and embody centuries-old mass traumas. I am coming to the conclusion however, that the legacy has farther-reaching effects than imagined. That is, not only can we readily find its imprint on those peasants-turned-immigrants themselves, who personally experienced hunger, but in their third and fourth generation progeny. These latter-day, peasant-derived Italian Americans, have creatively metamorphosed this basic preoccupation with food in far more "evolved" ways. They may no longer tend vegetable gardens, make their own wine, cure their own olives or prosciutti, or stock cantinas, but they still display this attachment to food through occupations as high-end restaurateurs, vintners, food distributors,

food critics, writers of cookbooks, and so forth. On a personal note, I too have found myself progressively on this trajectory, as I come to understand for instance, *how* and *why* the immigrant experience has moved this present research and involvement in food organizations such as the International Slow Food Movement.[32] Ultimately, these combined activities corroborate my thesis that Cuccagna animates immigrant consciousness still, mine included.

How many ways had I experienced firsthand, the central role of food in my family's life and worldview? While growing up in the 1960s and 1970s in the Toronto Italian community to which I had immigrated as an infant of four months, it seemed to me that an inordinate percentage of discourse revolved around food (favorable markets and costs), as did the amounts of time spent on food-related activities (making wine, bread, pasta, cheese, planting a garden, gathering wild foods, fishing, hunting). Most socialization occurred around a table (family dinners, picnics, and visits from *paesani,* "fellow townpeople"). At the very center of all family and community ritual moments, both sacred and profane, there was food, from the obligatory, twice-yearly Catholic Eucharist at Christmas and Easter (followed by major feasting), to the lavish wedding banquets, baptismal parties, and even Sunday dinners. Around the dinner table itself, food discourse and food narratives were common: the pre-immigration personal experience narratives regarding my father's life as a peasant *and* a fisherman (both food-centered occupations); war stories on both sides of the front, stealing potatoes from under an official's nose while in a German prisoner of war camp, as told by my father, or the ongoing trauma of procuring food during the war years, and of watching her father fail and eventually die (essentially from starvation), as told by my mother. These bleak narratives occasionally alternated with the more wondrous, and truly cuccagnesque, tales of food literally falling from the sky (as fish were deposited on the beach during a hurricane), or gutters gushing with olive oil (from a carter whose load of oil jugs had crashed in the streets (Del Giudice 2001).

It was in response to these specific personal and communal immigrant experiences that the need to search for traces of a coherent peasant cultural past was awakened. Although it was in library and archive alike that I found the mythic land of plenty known as Cuccagna, it was through lived experience, that I found it to be *true*. This dialogue between recent and remote past convinces me that cultural historical research of this sort is strictly relevant to the present, that it actually contributes to writing the history of a people in large measure without a written historical record. Furthermore, it confirms the importance of personal life experiences and field work for folk cultural research, as well as, for conventional, historical inquiry. That is, folklore research combined with oral historical methodologies and archival research, make a mutually sustaining and convincing partnership.

Cuccagna indeed, became a concise and eloquent emblem onto which could be hung many personal, but also common, experiences of peasant and immigrant life. I believe it makes a powerful symbol for Italian immigrants. How far had the songs which spoke of a mythic land of plenty, sung by street performers in the public squares of Italy over the centuries, and told in folktales shared among family and community, taken a people! On many far-flung shores, Italians translated this *imagined* state, first into hovels, and ultimately into dreamhouses . . . a brick at a time (Del Giudice 1993). But unlike the laborless utopia, they learned to construct it with their own hands. It is no coincidence that Italians came to so dominate the food and construction industries in many lands, so eager were they to realize their imagined world (and so had their own strong artisan traditions given them the skills to accomplish this realization). On those new domestic landscapes food reigned supreme and Cuccagna was re-enacted at every possible turn, for while hunger itself may have been vanquished, the fear of hunger and scarcity kept cuccagnesque practices alive (Del Giudice 1993, 2001). Little did they realize the paradox of *Cuccagna* however: in the very act of festivalizing the quotidian, they would exorcise, and thereby render, Cuccagna—never actually a place but the *desire* for place—obsolete. Through the literal embodiment of this imagined state into their own flesh and blood—by their overindulgence in cuccagnesque abundance—Cuccagna, they have discovered, may indeed be detrimental to personal and cultural health. Yet, should the search for mountains of cheese and rivers of wine be abandoned, might not the very center of Italian folk cultural practice and identity, so bound up in food—and in the search for its abundance—unravel?

Notes

Achille Bertarelli, Milano; the Disney Publishing Group; Getty Research Library; Elemond SpA, Milano; Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari (MNATP), Rome.

All following translations into English, if not otherwise noted, are mine.

1. Paradise apparently derives from the Persian *paradis*, an otherworldly prize for the Muslim warrior, wherein lies a luxurious garden with fruit trees and plentiful beasts to be hunted. If these such edible paradises indeed are the heavenly goal, Vidari speculates, *"la religione esprime forse il ricordo di fami terribili,"* ("religion perhaps records the memory of terrible famines"; Vidari 1981, 40). Richter sees in Cockaigne a flowing together of literary and mystical Judeo-Christian and Islamic sources (Richter 1989). On Schlaraffenland see Ackermann 1994, Richter 1989; on Cocagne: Delpech 1979, Delumeau 1976.

2. For example, a crime-ridden society might crave an orderly, harmonious, and peaceable kingdom, whereas a developing society might project cuccagnesque visions such as the one here described.

3. In the literature and iconography (and hence in the popular imagination as well) of Christian Europe, Hell, too, was frequently depicted as a kitchen in which evil souls were roasted, fried, fricasseed, or eaten raw by a voracious, cannibalistic Satan.

4. This is not to say, however, that dietary concerns do not form part of literary utopian writings as well (see, for example, Chiarotto 1982, on More, Campanella, Bacon, etc.), although the perspective is markedly different and may concern systems of food production and distribution, for example. Indeed, the differences between these two utopic models and their value systems are rather marked: indulgence vs. sobriety; the individual vs. the public good; a full belly and idleness vs industriousness (cf. Richter 1989).

5. See the many food-related games found in the prints of Mitelli (in Bertarelli 1940): *Gioco della Cucagna*, (The Cuccagna game; p. 131; and figure 10, herein); *Il gioco importantissimo del fornaro, banco, che mai falisce, chi hà robba da mangiar sempre hà moneta*, (The most important game of the baker, bank which never goes bankrupt, where one who has food to eat never loses and always has money; p. 133); *Gioco della Signora Gola*, (The game of Lady Gullet; p. 137); *Gioco Nuovo di tutte l'osterie che sono in Bologna*, (The new game of all the taverns of Bologna; p. 138). See also Camporesi 1975.

6. On this motif in Scandinavian tradition, see Blegen and Ruud [ca. 1936] 187–91; Amundsen and Kvideland 1975; Wright and Wright 1983, 221–23); see also two sound recordings of "Oleana": Harvey 1986; side 2, track 6, and Glazer 1991; side 1, track 6.

7. Even, though, according to Rosella Mamoli Zorzi (1989), in the Anglo-American world, asceticism and puritanism prevented the American utopia from focusing on food and pleasure, and therefore it became more symbolic, or figurative (Eldorado, Golden Land). The Big Rock Candy Mountain, however, does seem to be an exception, since it features the hobo's vision of streams of whiskey, stew, and candy—as well as no work or police and bulldogs with rubber teeth.

8. Note that maccheroni in the Middle Ages referred to gnocchi, "dumplings" of fresh flour (not of potatoes, obviously, since they were a later "New World" addition to the European diet). Note too that the parmigiano cheese onto which they

were rolled was their prime condiment (since tomatoes too were added after the "discoveries"; (Montanari 1987; 12; cf. Messedaglia 1942).

9. Pianta 1989 and personal communication. Other occupational (and antioccupational) groups, sharing a similar worldview, such as Norwegian navvies (cf. Kvideland and Porter's paper, herein) and American hoboes (cf. Rammel 1990), may have been attracted to such motifs for similar reasons.

10. On the other hand food often does appear on the landscape in the form of toponomastics, see Desinan 1982.

11. Indeed, Montanari contends, hunger can only be understood through the binary opposition of hunger and abundance, hence the title of his work, *L'abbondanza e la fame* (1993, 120).

12. The recipe "Per far pavoni vestiti con tutte le sue penne" (How to make peacocks dressed with all their own feathers) is reproduced in Guerrini [1879] 1969, 293–94. For other recipes on such culinary feats, see Giovann[i] de Rosselli's cookbook: *Opera nova chiamata Epulario, la quale tracta il modo de cucinare ogni carne, ucelli, pesci, de ognisorte, et fare sapori, torte, pastelli, al modo de tutte le provincie, [et] molte altre ge[n]tilezze, co[m]posta p[er] maestro Giova[n]n[i] de Roselli, Fra[n]cese* ([1574] 1974, 6 Rpt.).

13. This is not to say that this exercise was not also somewhat sado-masochistic, for merely filling one's ears was little consolation for not filling one's stomach. An Old Irish *Vision* recounts the bound Cathal forced to listen to long lists of food without being fed: "Though grievous to Cathal was the pain of being two days and a night without food, much greater was the agony of listening to the enumeration before him of the many various pleasant viands, and none of them for him!" (*The Vision of MacConglinne* 1936, vision 573). I thank Victoria Simmons for this reference.

14. It has been stated somewhere that the modern illustrated cookbook is "pornography for women." I thank Gerald Porter for this note.

15. Significant Italian iconographic representations may be found in Angeleri 1953, 122, n. 159, and 131–32, n. 184; Bertarelli 1940, n. 605; Bertarelli 1974, figure 13 and n. 553, figure 14; Camporesi 1978, 228–32; di Mauro 1981, 97 n. 169, and 120, n. 239; Morelli 1969, 139; Segarizzi 1913, 236, n. 258; Toschi 1964, figure 105; Vidari 1981; Many related depictions from other traditions as well as the Italian may be found in Harms 1983; Harms and Kemp 1987; Fortunati and Zucchini 1989; Rammel 1990; Foster and Palomino 1992, 9–10.

16. Until recently, for instance, they were closely associated with markets and fairs and hence, as itinerants, shared in their negative social status (Leydi 1978). On the Pavese street performer, see Callegari's account of his father shaming his farming family by becoming a street singer (Centro di Studi 1978, 310–12).

17. It has also been noted that it was precisely during times of severe strictures and social repression that topoi such as Cockaigne, Feast of Fools, and Carnival—that is, *temporary* safety valves—became most necessary and efficacious, for example, during the times of Rabelais, Cyrano, and Marivaux (cf. Trousson 1989, 35). The evolution of Cuccagna, for instance, during the seventeenth century was, in part, due to the increasing rigidity of economic conditions, the reaffirmation of social class and privilege, and the culture of the Counter Reformation, intent on quashing all expressions of presumed immorality and licentiousness (cf. Montanari 1987, 12).

18. In northern European versions, in fact, Carnival's emblematic animal, the pig, is frequently depicted running about with a knife in its back, ready for carving.

19. For King Cockaigne in the German tradition, see the illustrations in Harms 1983, n. 28, and Harms and Kemp 1987, n. 41, likely derivative of the Italian *Il trionfo di Carnevale nel paese di Cucagna*, 1565.

20. On "gluttony artists" and "performing omnivores," compare Cheesman 1992, 1993, and 1996. Cheesman contends that they actually document large-scale social trauma (Cheesman 1992, 51–52), just as the ongoing preoccupation with food in immigrant cultures seems to do, I might add.

21. Sanga sees in the worldview of marginals, hobos (and peasants and immigrants as well), the reflection of these "paleolithic [biological] rhythms," and a worldview therefore dominated by the philosophy of the *crapula*, that is, to glut whenever the opportunity arises (cf. Sanga 1994, 39–40).

22. This *albero* may originally have been a Maypole, a phallic symbol (cf. *L'albero della Cuccagna* in Fortunati and Zucchini 1989, figure 25), decorated with flowers (cf. Barletta 1981). On the "planting of the tree" (the ritual pole) in traditional contexts see the forthcoming work by Domenico Scafoglio, "Le radici dell'albero." For print depictions of the *Cuccagna* pole see Toschi 1964, 147, figures 24–27. and in the Getty Collections (Vol. 1: Amboise-Ferrara), two variants of *"alber[i] della Cuccagna,"* dated 1735 and signed G.A. Belmondo.

23. This was the age of ingenious *apparati* and mechanisms, capricious and inventive techniques that enhanced, indeed made, theater and spectacle—on the public piazza as well as in the theater proper. Any occasion (baptisms, funerals, births, marriages) provided a pretext for erecting them, and major architects and artists, with a solid artisan tradition at their disposal, were set to work on the design and construction of these often "most capricious creations," (*creazioni capriciosissime;* Mancini 1964, 3). The art of *scenografia* (stage sets) was born from such an Italian milieu, and its identity merges with architecture during the Baroque period (cf. Mancini 1964, introduction; see also Mancini 1968).

24. Similar spectacular feedings of the poor at the public trough could have been witnessed in many parts of Italy. The traditional dispensing of dowries, for instance, was often followed by a public banquet; for example a print entitled *Banchetto dato ai Giardini Pubblici a duecento sposi*, "a banquet given in the Public Gardens for 200 newlyweds," shows couples seated on *palchi*, raised planks built for the occasion on the public square (Bertarelli and Monti 1927, 218). Under the gaze of refined citizens, the inelegant and uncouth country brides and grooms must have once again provided good fun.

25. Published in 1891, and during the previous year as installments in *Il mattino*, Naples. A more recent edition, edited by Mario Pomilio was published in Florence by Vallecchi in 1971 (Serao [1891] 1971). On Naples and Cuccagna, see also Serao (excerpted from her *Il ventre di Napoli*) in Carabba 1976.

26. "[R]ivide le settimane di Natale, di Pasqua, in cui il giuoco diventa furioso, feroce, tanto è il desiderio del popolo di entrare nel sempre sognato Paese di Cuccagna e si rivide sempre lui, contento di quelle illusioni che finivano in una dolorosa delusione, contento che quel miraggio acciecasse i deboli, gli sciocchi, gli ammalati, i poveri, gli speranzosi, tutti quelli che desideravano il Paese di Cuccagna, contento che tutti, tutti quanti fossero attaccati da tale lebbra, che niuno se ne salvasse: contentissimo, quando, nelle grandi feste, cresceva l'ardore, e cresceva il giuoco, e

cresceva il suo tanto per cento" ("Don Crescenzio's via crucis," Serao [1891] 1971, 535–36).

27. Of course, the Gold Rush itself did much to reactivate that part of the myth, as many Europeans (not necessarily of the lower classes this time) made the trans-Atlantic journey as goldseekers. And wealth has remained the substance of the American Dream, one might add.

28. On this motif, see Cocchiara 1963; Kunzle 1978; and Lafond and Redondo 1979; on the general topic of inversion, see Babcock 1978.

29. "La barca de' rovinati che parte per Trebisonda, dove s'invitano tutti i falliti, consumati e male andati, e tutti quelli che non possono comparire al mondo per li gran debiti" (Croce 1946, 287).

30. On Italian songs of emigration, see Savona and Straniero 1976. One song in particular, "Mamma, mamma, mamma, dammi cento lire" (Del Giudice 1989, tape 1, side B,9), popular among immigrants, warns against the journey and ends in shipwreck.

31. "Si portano dietro la cultura e i valori tradizionali del mondo contadino, ma soprattutto i corpi segnati e denutriti, una fame antica, la tensione a un mondo migliore, a un mondo dell'abbondanza, che in patria non avevano potuto realizzare" (Teti 1984, 9). I was delighted by Teti's writings, found after the substance of this paper was already completed, for they corroborated many of my own intuitions and findings on Toronto Italian immigrants.

32. This represents an international movement to safeguard local foodways and food producers while educating the public on global food economics and their impact on biodiversity and food traditions (see <www.slowfood.com>).

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Prefaced Space: Tales of the Colonial British Collectors of Indian Folklore

Sadhana Naithani

In 1869 appeared *Old Deccan Days*, the first collection of Indian folktales made by a British resident of colonial India, Mary Frere, daughter of the Bombay presidency governor. It was published in London and attracted considerable attention. The second collection, *Indian Fairy Tales*, followed, by the very young Maive Stokes, daughter of another senior civil servant in Calcutta. Simultaneously came the collection *Legends of Punjab* (1884–85) by Captain R. C. Temple, and the last two decades of the nineteenth century saw the publication of many collections of Indian folklore by British missionaries, civil and military officers, and their family members in India. While none were professional folklorists, they had often studied anthropology at prestigious British universities and with the publication of these collections became recognized as scholars of *Things Indian*, to cite William Crooke's title from 1906. While the history of British orientalist writing in India was already more than a century old, the folklore collections started and were popularized mainly from 1869, a decade after India had received a new Queen, Victoria. Thus, while the orientalists had introduced versions of the classical and religious texts and pasts of India to European readers, the folklore collectors claimed to be presenting another India, "the real India" (Gordon 1909, v).

The collections of Indian folklore compiled by British officers, missionaries, and others almost always featured a long preface to the volume, written either by the collector or by another colleague-friend who was considered to be more knowledgeable—though not necessarily about Indian folklore. These prefaces, some of which are the subject of the present analysis, sought to introduce to the intended European readers not only the tales in the collection but also India, her folk, folklore, culture, and history. Although the tales in these collections were essentially regional in nature, having most often been made within the limits of a district or within the area under the collector's administrative control, a small dot on the geographically and culturally varied subcontinent, the folklore collector, while writing the preface, applied his observations and conclusions to a much wider area and generally to India. The folklore itself was seen as the "mind of the people," and the collector's prefaces attempted to place this mind in its social, cultural, and historical milieu for a readership that, for the most part, had not seen India. The folklore collector thus defined the comprehension of the folklore texts.

What distinguished these prefaces from earlier British orientalist writing was the claim that their subject of study was "the real India—the India of the villages" (Gordon 1909, v). It was the discovery and understanding of the "interior," the "hinterland"—culturally, geographically, and socially—which was emphasized. This expansion of knowledge boundaries corresponded with the expansion of British political, administrative, and military influence in the physical interior of the subcontinent. The relation between these two phenomena needs to be studied, but the collectors' consciousness towards the social (read colonial) importance of their work shows that this correspondence is not merely coincidental.

These images of India were not based on pure imagination or fantasy, as the collectors were temporarily or permanently living in India, nor were they the first to write on Indian culture. The writings of the British in India and their reception in England formed an orbit in which the *imaginings* of India traversed the continents. This orbit also shaped the fantasies, perceptions, and writings of the average male folklore collector: he grew up in the United Kingdom, in his youth prepared himself for a lucrative career in the colony and in the process (Morrison 1984,148–49) imagined India on the basis of the images generated by the early orientalists and travelers and also by traders and governments. On reaching India as an officer or missionary, his relationship to Indian reality was channeled ideologically through the media of British colleagues and superiors and through the overwhelming numbers of the Indian staff—from personal cooks and barbers to clerks and secretaries. When he thought of collecting folklore of the region of his residence, he was conscious, as is evident from the "prefaces," that his writing would produce images which could affect the deliberations of the government and the people back in Britain, especially those preparing to leave for India. In this orbital generation and communication of images, the real India with her real people did not directly figure in the scheme of this discourse. Unlike the imagining of other states (such as Turkey in German folklore; see Cheesman's paper in this volume) this discourse was generated in India with her own resources but was not meant for her. Thus the British folklore collector was free of the real India, since the representation had to communicate not with the represented but with those ignorant of the real. The real could be (and needed to be) fantasized, both for the pleasure of the intended readers and because of the limitations of the collectors' own knowledge.

Examples of the prefaces to collections of Indian folktales made by British missionaries, administrators, and military officers in the second half of the nineteenth century have been randomly chosen but two types of closely associated material have been specifically excluded:

1. Despite essential similarities between their perceptions and those of the English men, the prefaces to folktale collections made by the wives and

daughters[1] of the officials remain a distinct category and merit separate treatment, taking the women collectors' gender status and thereby the generated structures of relationship with the colonial enterprise into account. Reference to their works will be made in the analysis because quite often the prefaces or introductions to their collections were written by the father, husband, or male folklorist friend.

2. Prefaces to ethnological works and reports written as part of official government duty and policy, such as surveys, censuses, and compilations of details of tribes have not been included, although these may contain information on folk customs and beliefs.

The conditions of employment determined a British official's or missionary's place of residence and therefore also the place of his folklore collecting. The differences in their social and political status and in the nature of their official work determined not only the course of their interaction with but also their experience of the narrators. Yet the similarity among them is striking, not only in their perception of the people and their culture but even in their linguistic expression of them. Even regional differences of their subject matter become blurred by a set of phrases and idiomatic expressions which by their omnipresence seem to be prescribed.

Collectors' narratives are constituted of three abstractions: India, the folklore collector, and the folktales. The first constituent, India, mainly comprised the geographical identification of the locale of the folktale collection, highlights of its history (whenever possible),[2] and the description of the state of mind of the people. The second, the folklore collector, took the form of an in-depth account of the collector's efforts and an expression of his aims in the work. The folktales were identified according to the ethnicity of their carriers, and almost every collector attempted a theoretical position on the issue of their antiquity. Similarities are the norm in the treatment of these three subjects by different folklore collectors in the second half of the nineteenth century in colonial India, while differences are limited to descriptions of the geographic locales. Taken together their narration generated a discourse from whose deconstruction emerges the following three "tales" of this article:

Tale One
A Folktale Called India

"Wonderfully beautiful" (Swynerton 1892, xii) *and plentiful, but extremely difficult to reach is the countryside where these tales are narrated. Its wealth attracted European greats like Alexander, Columbus, and many others, but none of them could ever possess it. In this fertile land live people who are poor, "rude and*

unlearned" (Swynerton 1892, xii), *"superstitious"* (Swynerton 1892, xi), *and "ignorant"* (Beams 1869, viii) *of their ancient cultural heritage. They are otherwise self-involved and practice artistically unique folklore traditions and tell tales which are "of course (of the) highest possible antiquity . . . being . . . older than history itself"* (Swynerton 1892, xi). *Thus, in folklore too, their land is "not surpassed in fertility by any other country in the world"* (Knowles 1888, v). *From these tales much about their history can be learnt, but they themselves do not know this. They are also "unfortunately not safe guides in questions relating to their own past history . . . (owing to the) extravagantly legendary character of much that is recorded"* (Beams 1869, vi–vii). *This is extremely puzzling and most disquieting. So there is a "veil" "lying heavily over India's past" which has to be "lifted"[3] by the collection and publication of her folklore. These tales, songs, and legends have been "faithfully handed down by people rude and unlearned who have preserved them through all the vicissitudes of devastating wars, [and] changes of faith"* (Swynerton 1892, xi). *These tales have to be collected in order to "save them from the clutches of oblivion to which they would otherwise have been consigned"* (Knowles 1888, v). *The people are thus asked to narrate their tales, which they do, in the most picturesque of surroundings—"round the leaping log fire"* (Swynerton 1892, xii) *in the cold nights of the Himalayan foothills, "by the bonfire"* (Gordon 1909, vii) *in the jungles of central India, "by the sunset"* (Steel and Temple 1884, 2–3) *under the trees in the limitless Indo-Gangetic plains, and "under the dewless sky"* (Swynerton 1892, xii) *in the summers of south India. "All and every one" of these people are "entirely free from European influence"* (Knowles 1888, ix), *although their beautiful land and fertile fields are being ruled by a European—British—power and although "(in the ryot's [tenant farmer's] mind) his superstitions, his tools and his rent are all mixed up"* (Beams 1869, x).

A tale in conflicting dualities? The land is marvelous, but the inhabitants are not; the history of this land is old and in ancient times it has seen many philosopher-kings, but at present it is enveloped in darkness; the folklore is abundant, ancient, and well-preserved, but its carriers and creators are stupid and ignorant; the claim that the *real* Indian folk are the source of the collection enhances its trustworthiness, but the folk themselves are untrustworthy and become understandable only through the mediation of the folklore collector; they are uncorrupted by European influence but easily communicate with the British folklore collector; their folklore has been preserved since the dawn of history, but it is at present in danger of being lost to the world; their superstitions and revenue are mixed up in their mind, but they do not see that the revenue collector and the folklore collector are the same person; and so on.

These not-so-obvious dualities of positive and negative attributes reflect the essential logic of orbital communication in the context of the colonial empire.

These dualities of the tale called "India" lead the multitudes of arguments to a single conclusion, that is, to an argument in favor of the individual, religious, and national colonial enterprise: the country is beautiful and thus a lure to all those who may want to come; the people are stupid and thus not only *ruleable* but also in need of being ruled; the field of folklore is rich and fertile in collectable material and thus a lure even to those seeking knowledge;[4] since people don't know their own past and history, all of the folklore collector's judgments are correct and establish him as a scholar; their lore is being lost, and thus the collector is performing a historical task, that of preserver!

Each and every one of the intended readers has a role to play in this India: for the adventure seeker, there is a geographically varied country; for the militarily-oriented, a conquerable people; for the scholarly-inclined, the possibility of experiencing, researching, and representing an ancient culture and publishing the *first ever*[5] volumes on its various aspects; for the trader, a wealth of natural resources, agricultural produce, antique handicrafts, and art objects; and for the (British) nationalist, pride, for no other European power could ever rule this ancient civilization. There is something also for the glory of collective (English) martyrdom—all this which is available in plenty is not very easily *haveable*: traveling through this beautiful land is very difficult; the climate is tortuous; the rivers unnavigable and unpredictable; the languages too numerous; the people secretive, misleading, and confused; and their history itself a problem for it does not exist in digestible records. For the ultimate moral justification of colonization, there is a lot to be done in this India, such as bringing "civilization," which may wipe out the existing folklore. Folklore therefore ought to be collected *ahead* of the march of (European) civilization and published in English translations in London.

No one has anything to lose, only everything to gain—materially, intellectually, and morally. The real space of India is thus imaginatively *prefaced* for the advancement of colonial intervention in various spheres of her social, cultural, and political life. The two obvious sides of this imagining of India are that it is being imagined *by* the British residents of colonial India and it is being imagined *for* the general populace, scholars, and government institutions in England. The orbit in which the imaginings travel, however, revolves not around the imaginary but around that real India which is under British colonial rule and with the resources with which the British society and economy are variously involved. It is this involvement which has to be both projected and hidden. This is thus a tale in conflicting dualities: a folktale about India, which, while luring the readers to her, safeguards against an overenthusiastic appreciation of her society and culture.

The folktale called India is not yet complete because the moving force, the dynamic character in this stagnant India, has not been portrayed, and that is the

folklore collector, whose primary role is the representation of British colonial interests, whether as missionary, district administrator, revenue collector, military officer, or a combination of these roles. The similarities in their perception and explication of India find parallels in their depiction of themselves, their work, and their life in the colony. This depiction is a tale about the collection of folklore in India and is again meant for the general public, government ministries, and other specialists in England.

Tale Two
A Colonizer Called the Folklorist

After endless travails of a lonely journey, a British officer or missionary reaches this socially stagnant, geographically beautiful, and (in remote history) great land. He has been trained to understand the aims of the government or the institution he is representing and to rule the people under him, but he does not understand this people, their culture, nor in most cases their language. So he gets "busy" doing the former and attempting to master the latter. Infused with the spirit of connecting this far-off land with global trade, he collects handsome revenues from the fertile land for the government in the center of his world—London—and simultaneously reaps a "rich harvest" (Temple 1884, vii) *of gems by digging into the "mine of folklore." Or else, he is zealously spreading "the religion of Christ"* (Gordon 1909, vii) *amongst people who practice many different faiths and simultaneously gathers stories of their faith about nature, life, and gods. His task is a very difficult one, mainly because the collection of folklore is to be done alongside official work. So it is generally done in the evening "by lamp-light"* (Knowles 1909, vii), *when no other form of entertainment is otherwise available. He personally records the tales, and sometimes, while on an official tour of the countryside, he has the villagers called to his camp[6] to narrate their traditional tales and local stories about neighborhood shrines and monuments. At other times he visits the villages and sees and hears people in various kinds of gatherings listening to traditional tales.[7] He takes notes: some are stories for the collection while others are information for direct administrative purposes. The power of the folklore collector over these people is complete and they are his obedient servants, but he still has reason to mistrust them. Moreover, they confuse him with all their idiosyncrasies like telling different versions* (Swynerton 1903) *of a tale or discrediting each others' versions; demanding special treatment before beginning narration (like a heavy dose of opium, or a letter of reference for some official favor)* (Temple 1884, x), *and even expecting him to have complete faith in their stories.[8] There are many other difficulties besides these in the path of this folklore collector whose "lot is cast in India,"[9] such as being far away from the libraries of London. But he carries on his task, realizing*

that he is digging into a gold mine and with a threefold objective: informing those of his countrymen who have not seen India about the colony and his own role therein, guiding those who come to spread the "religion of Christ," and helping in the expansion of his Queen's empire. He also hopes to contribute to the enrichment of science (i.e., anthropology) back at his alma mater and to establishing the science of folklore.[10] *In this heroic task he is helped by British colleagues. Soon he is able to collect an impressive quantity of tales from "the officiating governor, the poor farmer, the learned Pundit, the ignorant Musulman, the physician, the barber, the daily labourer, the old man gray-headed, and the dirty little boy"* (Knowles 1888, ix). *"A careful classification" is then "prefixed" and "an index added"* (Swynerton 1892, ix) *to the tales by the folklore collector. Thereafter he "sends forth"* (Gordon 1909, vii) *his collection for publication, of course, after having written a long preface to it in which, while narrating the saga of his adventures in India, he narrates a tale about India and a tale about the tales of India.*

It is a tale of victory against odds: the journey was difficult and lonely but he reached his destination; the language and dialects were unknown to him but he learned them well enough even to collect the folklore; people were confused but he made sense out of their ramblings; there were no libraries but he still made scientific collections and indices; and above all, despite being a "busy Indian official," he managed to learn much about the culture of India. The victories and odds are again in fine balance: the victory is rewarding and the odds are not insurmountable for the British official or missionary in India. They encounter difficulties along their way, but not impossible situations; the colony is uncomfortable, not hostile; the narrators are confusing, not resistant; the problems of understanding this culture are due to its being enveloped in darkness and not due to the ignorance of the collector.

These dualities too formed a harmonious whole: the folklore collector was greater than the folk and the folklore he studied. The folklore collection was itself a statement about his being more than a mere official and representative of the state and its institutions, and it assigned to him an identity as a scholar of Indian culture. Such "scholarly" works from officials not only added to the knowledge about the colonized people, leading to their division in census categories, but also lent a humane image to the colonial state itself, that of being interested in the culture of the colonized land and not just in its economic exploitation. The folklore collector could not have been very wrong in his aspirations because most such Indian folklore collectors on going back to England were recognized as such scholars: were given honorary appointments in cultural institutions, asked to edit various books on India, became respected members of the Folk-Lore Society, and were even given titles such as, "Chief of

Fairy Tale Men."[11] They had qualified in the European test of "knowledge about India."

In this tale about himself the folklore collector never revealed that such voluminous works were not the result of an individual's labor but of the active assistance of a large Indian staff.[12] In the case of missionaries, the number of these may have been smaller, but help was generally provided by the British officer of the area. The missionaries often lived in the houses of the British officers. These Indian assistants were those knowing a modicum of English and, obviously, the local language and dialect and could therefore act as scribes, interpreters, and translators. More often than not, they were themselves the source of various stories.[13] When the folklore collector mentions the list of his informants, from the barber to the grey-headed old man, he does not say that they were in his regular service and not discovered on the streets. He also never mentions any social or political disturbance in the country of his residence, nor even any sign of resistance to British authority.[14] Nor is any criticism of the colonial government ever reflected in these writings, not even when they say that the coming of civilization—implying European civilization through British rule—would wipe out the rich and "colorful" folk traditions they are studying.

If India is a mirror of any part of the Indian subcontinent, then likewise the folklore collector is symbolic of the colonial state as a whole. And while this parallel is never consciously drawn, the story of so many folklore collectors leads one to imagine administrators, spiritual leaders, and rulers who, in an alien land, are trying to achieve difficult targets, learn the languages of the people, make them known to the world, contribute to the growth of the sciences, and record oral narratives which may soon vanish. The essence of the folklore collector's depiction of himself seems to be the colonial state's rhetoric of "bringing civilization" to the colonies, the nature of the task being the "white man's burden."

In prefaces to the collections of folktales, the British missionary and officer as folklore collector also threw "a few gleams of light" on the tales in their collections, without which their image as folklore scholars would have remained unformed. As mentioned earlier, the collections generally carried tales of a particular region and sometimes only of a particular community, but the similarity in their categorization and their claims to authenticity are strikingly similar.

Tale Three
A Tale of Tales

These "quaint legends and stories" are "essentially the tales of the people." "As folktales they claim of course the highest possible antiquity" and have remained "unchanged for thousands of years" (Swynerton 1892, xi). They are stories about nature, animals, gods, saints, and legendary heroes and thus

reveal the "mind of the people." They have not only not changed for centuries but have also remained "almost ungleaned" (Knowles 1888, v). Thus their "field" is "ripe for the harvest" (Swynerton 1892, xv). The collector has "availed (himself) of the opportunities afforded (him) through a . . . residence" (Knowles 1888, vii) in the land. These tales delight young and old alike, who listen to them in groups under trees, beside blazing logs of fire, in the village guest house, and almost anywhere else. "The subject of scientific value" (Knowles 1888, ix–x) of these tales should be left to the experts, as also the question whether these tales originated in the East or in the West. The latter is however not an important issue. The similarities in tales found in India and in Europe should be attributed to the similarity of human mind and needs. Of course, crosscultural influences are present in every country. The idea that India is the homeland of folktales is an "absurd conclusion."[15] These age-old tales of India will contribute to that increasing stock of folklore which is doing so much to clear away the clouds that envelop much of the practices, ideas, and beliefs which make up the daily life of the natives of our great (British) dependencies, control their feelings, and underlie many of their actions (Beams 1869, vii).

To this tale of tales, some British folklore collectors of colonial India prefixed a classification and added an index whereby the focus was on the discussion of themes and characters. The regional identity of tales was most often explicit in the title of the book itself, but simply identifying them as "Indian" was also not uncommon. Their religious basis, too, was generally specified. Besides this, the comprehension of the tales and narrative traditions is similar in the writings of these collectors. Once again, the logic of conflicting dualities presents itself anew: the tales being old, even older than history itself, and not having changed for thousands of years, is a positive attribute of the collection, but since they reveal the mind of the people, the people are unchanged and quaint and thus need to be colonized.

The question of the age of the Indian tales is an interesting one as it seems to concern each and every collector. How old these tales are in comparison with European folktales is a question whose answer is not *sought*, but *commented upon*. Thus, while claiming at the beginning of their discussion no expertise on the subject and also no wish to enter into the scientific aspects of folktales, all the collectors make direct or indirect reference to Theodore Benfey's theory, popular at the time, that India is the *Ur-Heimat* of folktales. Whereas all other conclusions about Indian society and history are confidently drawn, Benfey's proposition is subjected only to doubts, leading to its negation. Here is another conflicting duality: the tales of India are old, older than history itself, but not older than the European folktales.

This duality is at its most complex in W. R. S. Ralston's introduction to Maive Stokes's *Indian Fairy Tales* (1880). Selecting many examples of tales common to India and Europe, he argued that they were of Indian origin because they could not be explained through the religious and mythological beliefs of the European people, not even of the pre-Christian populace, but definitely could be through those of the East, "especially India." The conclusion of this long introduction ponders the issue of the origin of tales in a manner typical of the colonial folklore collectors and theorists. In the following quotation each statement is refuted by the next, and the final position is an understanding of history arising from the nineteenth century power equation between the East and the West:

> It does not, of course, follow that, because a story is found both in Europe and Asia, therefore the western version has been borrowed from the east. . . . but it is not unreasonable to come to the conclusion that such stories [which cannot be explained "by the mythologies of the heathen ancestors of the European peasants"] have been borrowed by the West from the East. . . . Far more difficult is it to believe in . . . a triumph of independent development, than to place reliance upon a statement to the effect that *the wave of story-telling, as well as of empire, has wended its way westward* (Stokes 1880, xxi–xxx; emphasis added)

While emphasizing the antiquity of the tales, British folklore collectors are reluctant to date them in real time and space. Having control over an ancient and well-preserved folklore is a matter of pride, but accepting it as the progenitor of one's own is uncomfortable in the collectors' overall sociopolitical context. They are only old enough to make themselves attractive entertainment and provide knowledge about the age-old ideas of the colonized subject.

The tale of tales does not tell us much about the tales. The folklore collector having taken enough space in the prefaces in telling the tale about himself, about India, dedicates the book to relatives or to inspiring British colleagues, for whose expansion of knowledge and entertainment the collection was meant anyway.

Conclusion

The prefaces to the collections of Indian folklore by British missionaries and officers in the second half of the nineteenth century were prefaces to the geographical and political space called India—the British colony. In this game of hide and reveal, a narrative is created which is universal in its application and particular in its implication. "A Folktale Called India," "A Colonizer Called the Folklorist," and "A Tale of Tales" are three aspects of *one* narrative created by a large number of "folklorists," even though they may not have known each other. The depiction

of India, the Folklorist, and the Tales is couched in terms of universal beauty, zeal, and antiquity, and were this place not called India, it could be anywhere in the world. It is nevertheless identified as "India," which has real associative meanings in the context of communication and, thereby, implications relating to political and intellectual dominance. Unless the implications of this identification (of which the writers themselves were conscious) are taken into consideration, the need for this imagining of India by British colonial officials and missionaries for the European public and scholars may be ignored as reflective of the state of (under)development of European folkloristics. One would further argue that for this reason even the scholars of the time were unable to pose the following questions: Why should people be poor in a resourceful land? Why should their stories be storehouses of wisdom while they themselves are ignorant and stupid? Why should their folklore, which they have preserved for thousands of years, be threatened with oblivion now? Why does it not sadden the folklore collector that European civilization is threatening the existence of those traditions he is so zealously collecting? How can a "scholar" of folklore himself be the agent of that change which is causing its disintegration?

Contemporary European scholars could not have seen the conflicting dualities in the writings of these folklore collectors and could not have asked these questions. They could not have asked these questions, not because of limitations of knowledge and information, but because they saw the development of their field of study as a boon of colonization. Folklore collections by British "overseas folklorists" were not only made possible by colonization but were its inherent need. These were the motivating factors not only for the British folklore collectors in India but also at various other levels of debate. E. Sidney Hartland, president of the Folk-Lore Society and a man who had himself collected materials amongst African tribes, crystallized these possibilities and needs in the colonial context in his presidential address of 1901:

> the Anthropological Institute and the Folk-Lore Society have joined to urge upon the Government the importance of seizing those opportunities [for the advancement of the anthropological sciences] in the countries we have lately added to the Empire. . . . and we believe that by no means as effectual as the methodical study of the people and their customs and beliefs can their proper government be secured. No ruler who does not understand his subjects can govern them for the best advantage, either theirs or his. . . . But we have ventured to urge another consideration—the interests of anthropological science—interests only to be subordinated to those of actual government. For when in all directions the speculative science of to-day becomes the practical and applied science of to-morrow, who shall venture to deny such a possibility to anthropology? . . . The government of India, under the

guidance of Mr. H. H. Risley, and thanks to the statesmanlike grasp and
energy of Lord Curzon, is taking measures for an Ethnographical Survey of
that teeming Empire. . . . The mother country in her turn will surely show a
just appreciation of the duties of a civilized nation. *We are helping to
macadamize the world for the benefit of modern commerce. . . . It will cer-
tainly destroy much that can never be replaced, much that is picturesque,
much that is capable, rightly construed* . . . . To have missed an opportunity
like the present of accumulating a large body of evidence within and
beyond . . . our new possessions, will then be seen to have incurred a
responsibility and a reproach which we are seeking to spare our country and
our government." (Hartland 1901, 97; emphasis added)

The transition of orality into writing has often led to fixed definitions, but
in the colonial context this transition was political as well. In other words, the
political authority could also claim intellectual authority over the ruled. In the
process of shaping this knowledge, new structures of power emerged: the folk-
lore collector could henceforth be considered more knowledgeable about the
colonized folk than they were about themselves. Moreover, his conclusions
were to become not only a means of defining but also of effectively governing
them.[16] While the folklore collectors' political and administrative authority
ended with their service, their intellectual authority continued long after.

In the postcolonial world, reflecting continuance of the ideological struc-
tures of power and scholarship in neocolonial forms, the British folklore col-
lectors of colonial India have retained their credibility amongst folklorists for
having done monumental work in a foreign land, often recording traditions now
extinct. Their evaluation is based on the history of European folkloristics, while
the history of Indian folkloristics remains, in a comprehensive and exhaustive
manner, untraced, unanalyzed, and unappreciated. Thus, in an extremely
Eurocentric evaluation of the British "overseas folklorists," R. M. Dorson
(1968) is highly appreciative of the work of every such folklorist and defines the
Indian context in the colonial terms of the nineteenth century:

> Unlike Australia and Africa, the homes of savages, India offered the special
> charm of an ancient high culture lurking behind the nineteenth century reali-
> ties of Hindu village castes and aboriginal hill tribes. . . . Here was the ideal
> ground to examine both survivals and diffusion. (Dorson 1968, 333–34)

Besides the fact that this is a rather meaningless statement about India, it is
surprising that it comes not from 1901 but 1968. Dorson's perspective is epito-
mized in his particular praise of R. C. Temple, whom he judges to be an "excel-
lent folklorist." After detailing what the British overseas folklorists contributed

to the development of European folklore studies and libraries, he concludes that "The cause of Indian folklore was now well established, and the decade of the 1890s proved equally fruitful" (Dorson 1968, 338). The first half of the statement needs the question how? and the second, for whom? In her short, crisp and intense article "India on the Map of 'Hard Science' Folkloristics," Heda Jason says, "The first to pay attention to the lore of the simple folk in India were the well-educated British ladies and gentlemen of the colonial administration in the last quarter of the 19th century" (1983, 105).

All these evaluations have been made without considering the fact that these gentlemen not only recorded the folklore of various parts and peoples of India for the benefit of the colonial state but also, directly or indirectly, contributed to the processes of social and political impoverishment and disintegration of its bearers and sponsors. However, the collectors' image continues to be based on their self-portraits and claims of "their untiring efforts and earnest purpose" (Dorson 1968, 348) and is appreciated long after "India" refused to be obliged by the goodness of colonial rule. The intellectual authority of the colonizer folklorists continued beyond his lifetime, even beyond the lifetime of the colonial system, in scholars' search for the positive sides of colonialism.

The British folklore collectors of colonial India not only continued to fuel the imaginings of India but also defined the pattern of research into Indian folklore: folklore material was collected in India on European theoretical models, and scholarship on these was generated and advanced in Europe. Heda Jason comments, "While, however, the tide of 19th century nationalism brought with it the development of the main social and academic tools and institutions (associations, archives, museums, publishing enterprizes and university chairs) for folklore research in Europe, India did not join in" (Jason 1983, 105). This is a statement of fact made without consideration of the politics of academic institutions. India did not "not join in"; the colony could not. It would be more correct to say that India, as a British colony, "joined in" as a raw material supplier to the industry of academic institutions, particularly that of folklore scholarship in Europe, but did not experience a reciprocal establishment of these institutions within her borders (Naithani 1997, 1–14). The British folklore collectors of India left without having established any significant institution of folklore studies in India. No wonder then that "Indian intellectuals joined the stream much later and in smaller numbers" (Jason 1983, 105). While the "wealth and colourfulness" (Jason 1983, 105) of Indian oral traditions is emphasized again and again, even in contemporary writings on Indian folklore traditions, and while more and more field work is done in India, Indian folkloristics is in its infancy.

The analysis of the writings of the British folklore collectors of colonial India is rendered necessary not, at least not primarily, due to their having collected material now extinct but mainly because the way they made their contemporaries

imagine India is a way reflected also in contemporary writings on India (Naithani 1997). Neither contemporary nineteenth century scholarship nor a large part of our own dissociates itself from the logic of conflicting dualities to see that through their writings on Indian folklore the British colonial officers and missionaries created in the second half of the nineteenth century a tale about India suited to the interests of the colonial state.

Notes

1. This is the subject of a paper I have under preparation.
2. The writers/folklore collectors make sweeping and poetic references to Indian history. John Beams: "It may be assumed that the Aryan nation entered India from the North West many centuries ago. . ." (1869, vii). Swynerton: "As we sit in the warm winter sun among the river-boulders at Ghazi, where several gold washers are busy rocking the sand in their rude cradles . . . we remember that all this land was once in the hands of a dynasty of Greeks, of helmed Menander, or lightening-wielding, Anti-Alkides. . . . Or again, listening to the murmuring of the river . . . we think of the great Buddhist convert Azoke *[sic]*. . ."(1892, xii–xiii).
3. Beams 1869, ix. Most other writers also use these terms with minor variations.
4. Many folklore collectors directly and indirectly invite students and scholars to India. Temple advises future scholars on how to recognize bards and collect legends in Punjab in his prefaces to "Legends of Punjab (1884)" (see Naithani 1997). Beams cautions against the superstitions of the natives. An almost official invitation comes from H. H. Risley, in charge of the ethnographical survey of India: "Now that anthropological and ethnographic research in India has been placed on a footing which promises to lead to regular and uniform progress, we may hope that the unrivaled facilities which that country offers to inquirers will appeal to European students and induce them to visit India in quest of classical parallels . . . . A student engaged in such research may count on the most hospitable reception from all Indian officials; and he would find the administration ready to place ample facilities at his disposal for studying the institutions of the country under the most favourable conditions" (Risley, "The Progress of Anthropology in India").
5. Every collector emphasizes that he is the first to collect these tales, which may be correct in the modern sense of collection of folklore.
6. "Most of the tales have been collected during winter tours in the districts. . . . A carpet for the operator is spread under a tree in the vicinity of the spot which the Magistrate has chosen . . . near enough to let the village idlers approach it . . ." (Steel and Temple 1884, ii).
7. Temple (1884) claims to have attended fairs and festivals. The manuscripts in this collection, now in the India Office Library (IOL), London, do not establish this as the source of any legend (Temple Collection, IOL, MSS Eur F 98). During his travels through the villages, Swynerton, (1903) sees tales being narrated and people listening in rapt attention; so much so that they do not seem to have noticed the arrival of the foreigner!

8. Gordon (1909) narrates being awakened at night to listen to the roaring of a tiger whom the villagers believed to be the soul of a dead and deadly Rajput.

9. An expression common to many writers, including those not discussed in this paper.

10. These aims are common to most collectors, although the emphasis varies; e.g., the officers do not normally include the spread of Christianity as their goal but sometimes acknowledge help given by a particular missionary in the collection of tales. However, matters of administration do seem to be the concern of the missionaries.

11. Two examples are those of R. C. Temple (1850–1931) and William Crooke (1850–1924). Temple, on his retirement in 1904, went back to England and "entered upon the most fruitful period of his literary activity" (Enthoven, *Dictionary of National Biography*). In the same year he gave the prestigious inaugural lecture of the Board of Anthropological Studies, Cambridge University, titled "On the Practical Value of Anthropology,"and drew heavily on his experiences in India. He edited several books on Indian subjects and was elected fellow of the British Academy in 1925 and in 1928—president of the Jubilee Congress of the Folk-Lore Society, London. "Chief of Fairy Tale Men" was the title of Temple's interview on the occasion of the Jubilee Congress in the *Daily Express*, 25 Sept. 1928, London (IOL, MSS Eur F 98). William Crooke was president of the Folk-Lore Society from 1910 to 1911; edited the Society's journal *Folk Lore* from 1915 to 1924; was elected fellow of the British Academy in 1923, and edited and wrote several books on India. Similar or more glamorous career records may be found in the personalities of Ibbetson, Grierson, and Risley.

12. Indian staff ranged from personal attendants to office clerks and thus surrounded any British officer all through the day. Many of them are on record for having contributed in the collection as well as translation of tales. They themselves contributed tales (see following note 13). Often what they told the officer in day-to-day communication about their beliefs and practices also became material for folklore collections. In a way, the Indian employees who guided the research in different roles simultaneously were anthropological objects subject to observation.

13. Crooke credits many of his attendants and assistants for various stories in many of his works. R. C. Temple's *munshi* not only collected and translated tales for "Legends of Punjab" (Temple Collection, IOL, MSS Eur F 98) but also contributed to Temple's journal *Punjab Notes and Queries* (1883–90) and continued doing so even after Temple left Punjab in 1885 and *Punjab Notes and Queries* became *North Indian Notes and Queries* under the editorship of William Crooke.

14. Instances of resistance are reflected in people's refusal to narrate under religious and ritualistic pretexts. A. C. Burnell, wanting to document "The Devil Worship of the Tuluvas" in southern India, had to depend on the observation of his office clerks as he was not allowed to observe the ritual. Finally, a Christian convert amongst the community of Tuluvas organized the performance of the ritual at his home, which Burnell "believed" to be the same as the regular ones (Temple Collection, IOL, MSS Eur F 98).

15. Temple was one of the collectors who emphasized the "scientificity"' and analysed the tales in his collection "on the plans of the Folk-Lore Society, London." (See prefaces to vols. I & II of *Legends of Punjab,* 1884–85. See also Steel and Temple, 1884).

16. Temple, in his lecture "On the Practical Value of Anthropology" on the occasion of the inauguration of the Board of Anthropological Studies at Cambridge

University in 1904, detailed the advantages of anthropological knowledge for every section of the British population in the British colonies based on his Indian experience: "It is a common commercial saying that trade accommodates itself to any circumstances. So it does, but he who profits first and best is he who knows the most of mankind and its ways. . . . To the administrator and the magistrate and to judge especially, there is an apparently small accomplishment which can be turned into a mighty lever for gaining a hold on the people: the apt quotation of proverbs, maxims . . . they (proverbs) are a powerful force working for influence" (Sir R. C. Temple: Miscellaneous Papers. British Museum Library, London).

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Working the Railways, Constructing Navvy Identity

Reimund Kvideland
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IDEALIZED EXISTENTIAL SPACE: THE SCANDINAVIAN TRADITION

The heyday of railway construction in Norway lasted about fifty years, running from 1880 to 1930, when the main railways were built. Approximately ten to twelve thousand men (and a few women) earned their living through railway construction. They led a transient life, with no fixed residence, working their way from one completed railway project to the next. When no new railroad construction work was available, they moved on to working the mines or to road construction.

A Nordic, or at least a Norwegian-Swedish, labor market already existed at this time. In both languages a neologism was newly coined to designate this occupational group. These navvies came to be known as *rallar*, probably based upon the English word "railway." Most were the younger sons of farmers and fishermen and, as an occupational group, relegated to the very bottom of the social ladder. The work itself was backbreaking, while working conditions were abysmal. Their brief period of social acceptability lasted a mere few weeks or, more precisely, as long as their money lasted. Only when a construction project was completed and they got their wages did they enjoy some social reprieve from a life of marginality.

During this historic period the railway navvies constructed their own history by means of epic songs or ballads. In the mid-twentieth century, scholars showed great interest in the history of this socio-occupational class. Oral life stories were collected and published both in Sweden and in Norway as part of major fieldwork campaigns aimed at collecting the life histories or autobiographies of various occupational groups. This period produced significant archival and published materials (e.g., Bull 1961 for Norway, Rehnberg 1949 for Sweden, Haugbøll 1955 for Denmark).

As a genre, railway songs are heavily influenced by the preexisting songs of sailors (Lönnrot 1978, 20), lumbermen, and soldiers. The general themes were more or less to be found in all such songs, and all were sung to the well-known melodies of cabaret and popular songs. They were, of course, transmitted orally

or by way of broadsides. It was largely thanks to a university librarian, Hanna Lund in Oslo, herself of a railway navvy family, that many such songs were collected and partly published during the 1920s and 1930s. Having perhaps a vested interest in the cultural image of the railway workers, Hanna Lund painted a positive and romantic picture of this occupational group (Lund 1934). The ballads themselves, however, provide the main source for the writing of this group's history, revealing a mentality, worldview, and mode of expression, in tune with the life they lived, the words they spoke, and the ballads they sang.

These ballads are, to be sure, little known outside Scandinavia, and even less popular in Denmark than they are in Norway and Sweden themselves (cf. Rehnberg 1944, 307). Curiously enough, they appear to be altogether unknown in Finland. One possible explanation is that Finland was under Russian rule during the time of its railway construction, and further, in Finland, the railways were built by the Russians. In the German tradition, they were scarcely known at all (Steinitz 1954–62, 1:295–303). Palmer notes for the English tradition that "songs about the navvy's work and his life are very rare," a fact confirmed by Porter's study of the English occupational song genre (Palmer 1974, 45, Porter 1992, 66–72, passim; Coleman 1969). Despite a reference to laborers "carolling and singing" as they went to work on a trench in New Ross, Ireland, as early as 1265, hardly any songs survive from the time of the railway boom (Shields 1993, 41). Few such songs are included in Cohen's anthology of American railway songs (Cohen 1981).

In the following pages, I draw upon the pioneering work by Ina-Maria Greverus, *Der territoriale Mensch* (1972), and on her hypothesis that all human actions, including those actions intended and planned, take place in real or imagined space. Every such location is always a specific and definite space which humanity imbues with its own values. Even utopian fantasies are aimed at real space wherein humanity's wishes may come true (Greverus 1972, 51).

As literary manifestations, these ballads give us an understanding of the struggle for cultural identity and for a respectable social niche by an occupational group leading a shiftless existence, doing gruelling work on a contract basis, with no fixed address, and plagued by its own marginal socioeconomic status. But to appreciate and fully understand this worldview and this struggle, some historical context is necessary, as is a close examination of the themes expressed in these songs and of the functions they served.

Norwegian railway ballads frequently describe the actual construction of a particular railroad or else certain episodes of construction projects. They sing the fate of individual workers as well as speak of the railway worker's living conditions in general. The songwriter often presents himself through rather formulaic phrases, either in the opening or closing verses. He may open as follows: "*En rallare jag är förvisst*" (I'm a navvy indeed; Lund 1934, no. 1), or "*Jag föddes i en*

koja" (I was born in a cottage; no. 20). Or he may end his song like this: "*Ty jag är blott en rallare från Blekinge, ni förstår. Mitt namn är Albert Palmberg; min ålder tjugo år*" (I am just a navvy from Blekinge. My name is Albert Palmberg; I am 20 years old; Lund 1934, no. 18). Naming the songwriter, of course, is intended to give the songs a mark of authenticity and to corroborate their veracity. Indeed, one of the most important issues of these ballads is to establish their credibility.

The central theme of this occupational song genre, work, must be presented in a positive way, or at least, it must provide a positive understanding of the reasons for the particular construction project. The railway navvy is proud of his manual labor. He has mastered the art of building solid and beautiful stone walls, of cutting and dressing stones, of blasting through tunnels. The railway between Oslo and Bergen, for instance, is described in the following words:

> Her reises et verk i den evige sne
> som fremtidens slekter med stolthet kan se.
> (Lund 1934, no. 32)
> There they erected a creation in the perpetual snow
> That future generations can proudly look at.

The mine of Sulitjelma in northern Norway was called "*den største bergs-drift på vår ort, den er et mesterverk jo, av sluskehender gjort*" (the greatest mine in our land, a masterwork built by the hands of navvies; Lund 1934, no. 31). That they were able to work outdoors was also considered a blessing, even though songwriters seldom reached great heights in descriptions of nature.

The actual working conditions as described were anything but ideal, for the work itself was hard and dangerous. It took place on steep mountainsides at the constant risk of rock slides. Explosions that blinded or mutilated workers for life were a fact of daily life. Yet these circumstances too were seen in a positive light and did not diminish their praise of work well done. The clanging of sledgehammer on mallet and the explosion of dynamite was like music to their ears.

Living conditions were likewise bleak. Navvies normally lived in primitive barracks, cramped and drafty, but described them instead as castles of freedom. Food was miserable, since they did not have the money to buy good food, and the females employed to prepare their meals were anything but fine cooks. Further, management-employee relations were a source of resentment for navvies. Employers did not respect their workers, were not interested in their welfare, and were concerned only with extracting the maximum amount of work out of the men for as little payment as possible. Social relations with other occupational groups were likewise vexed. Storekeepers and farmers, for instance, considered navvies socially inferior and swindled them whenever possible. A frequent complaint according to these ballads and, to the navvies' way of thinking,

the greatest crime in the world was being overcharged on the price of snuff—without which no navvy could live:

> Treti fyra öre är det för sitt snus den jäkeln tar
> Millioner årlig han från slusken drar.
> (Lund 1934, no. 26)
> Thirty five pence he takes for the snuff,
> Out of the pockets of the navvies millions he steals.

Navvies were welcomed while they had money in their pockets, for they were open handed, and while it lasted, hard liquor flowed and girls gathered around. When the money ran out, so too did friends and women.

Railway workers displayed a remarkable degree of solidarity. One incident in particular, for example, which took place on the Narvik railway, tells us a great deal on this topic. During the arrest of a navvy, a policeman struck him on the head with a stick, and the next morning, the prisoner was found dead in his cell. The navvies gathered and determined to take vengeance on the policeman, but they did not have that satisfaction, for the authorities helped their own and found the policeman passage for his escape to America. Undeterred, the navvies took up a collection of money, it was told, and sent an armed man to America, who tracked the policeman down and shot him dead (Bull 1961, 230; cf. Lund 1934, no. 26). This sense of solidarity, hardly noticed or valued by their contemporaries, was a life source in times of urgent need. Since railway work itself was so dangerous, many of the men frequently suffered serious accidents. Neither health insurance nor disability pension was the social norm, and mutual aid was the only resort. It was only on one's colleagues that an invalid could rely—colleagues whose strong sense of solidarity prompted them to give any help they could, as best they could. Very often, when a disabled worker had been blinded, a young boy had to be found to lead him to the construction site.

However, many were too proud to beg for money. Instead, they wrote or commissioned songs telling their life stories, with emphasis placed, of course, on their accidents and sad lots. Such songs were written in the broadside ballad style, full of pathos and semiliterary diction. Armed with song, disabled workers would travel the country over, singing and selling their broadsheets. In fact, many such singers were blind men due to occupational accidents. One of the last and best known singing navvies was Blind Fredrik (1878–1954), who traveled throughout northern Norway. The song he wrote about the accident that blinded and crippled him was banned by the police, but he went on singing it nonetheless. In his final years he focused on the singing and selling of his own ballads. Again and again he would visit construction sites, and with songs and good humor he was always a welcome guest (Skogheim and Sandvik 1977). His

songs and the songs of other crippled navvies criticized management and the lack of social security, not the navvies' working conditions.

Since disabled workers had nothing to fear from management, for they had neither security of employment nor health benefits, they could allow themselves to openly criticize both working conditions and the lack of insurance benefits. On the other hand, a navvy *with* a job had to choose his words carefully in order to protect himself. The voicing of an explicit criticism was usually translated into getting the "black cat," meaning that they were immediately fired and blacklisted and were never again able to get another job. Such was the fate of Johannes Birkeland, who wrote a song about the Flekkefjord railway in southern Norway. He described the terrible working conditions and pitiful wages on this job site and criticized inspectors and foremen alike. But worst of all, he ended his song with an appeal to workers to abandon their work. He was fired and two years later died of tuberculosis—the fate of many a navvy.

In a few late railroad ballads we find a new political discourse, especially in the ballads written by C. A. Bernström. Born in Sweden in 1849, Bernström later went to Germany as a young man, where he was influenced by the new Socialist ideologies. When he found his way to Norway, working as a navvy on the construction of the railroad between Bergen and Voss, he became one of the pioneers of the labor movement headquartered in Bergen. He consciously made use of songs and broadside prints as a tool of political agitation. One of his songs[1] was printed in six editions between 1881 and 1892. Early in 1999, I discovered two well-used copies of this song in a private collection. In the introduction Bernström characterized the song as

> En bidende ironisk Kritik over Arbeidsforholdene paa Banen, tilligemed Arbeidernes Livsvilkaar og Kontraktørernes og andre Tyranners hensynsløse og graadige Udbytning.
> [A biting ironic criticism of the working conditions at the railroad, as well as of the living conditions and of the ruthless and greedy exploitation of the workers through contractors and other tyrants.]

It would be wrong, however, to characterize the ballads of the navvies primarily as songs of social criticism. They were first and foremost a vehicle for the creation of occupational identity and social pride. How was this accomplished? By the rather unusual means of interpreting in a *positive* way, a lifestyle which society generally judged *negatively*. That is, their worldview inverted the normal state of affairs and values. To be without roots and homeless was described positively in terms of a life of freedom. Similarly, the dangerous working conditions were a source of pride, for there one displayed courage. That the navvies' work was impermanent and their wages low, that

their living conditions were unhealthy and overcrowded, that there was no social network to speak of, and that the navvies bore a strong social stigma were all factors that were somehow inverted. Neither were navvies able to save money or marry. On the contrary, navvies considered squandering money, drinking freely, and brawling in barrooms, to be positive habits. Their shiftless lifestyle was the mark of a free man, their spendthrift ways signs of a generous spirit, and the unmarried man was something of a ladies' man.

In conclusion, these ballads actively construct a narrative of identity and of territoriality. They could also be considered an argument for identity. Greverus argues that:

> Das Territorium ist zuvörderst Identifikationsraum, wozu notwendig gehört, dass es funktional auch den Schutzraum und den Aktionsraum darstellt. Die Vertrautheit des Territoriums gründet auf der Vertrautheit mit seinen jeweils gültigen Werten und Normen, ihrer Bedeutsamkeit und Verhaltensforderung. Das satisfaktionierende Territorium für das Subjekt Mensch beruht auf der Erfüllung der territorialen Bedürfnisse durch 'ungestörtes', erfülltes Sich-Verhaltens-Können in einem sozio-kulturell gegliederten Raum. Dazu gehört neben der 'ideellen' und anerkannten Einstellungs- und Rollensicherheit auch die materielle Sicherheit, einerseits als der Biologisch notwendige Nahrungsraum und andererseits als die kulturell normierte, statusgewährende 'wirtschaftliche Position', sowie die Möglichkeit, Konflikte in diesem Territorium lösen zu können. (Greverus 1972, 382)
> [First and foremost territory is the space of identification necessarily comprising the space of protection and of action. The familiarity of the territory is based on the familiarity of its values and norms, its meanings and its demands on behavior. The satisfying territory for the subject man is rooted in need satisfaction through undisturbed, fulfilled behavior in socio-culturally structured space. This includes, in addition to the "ideal" and recognized certainty of attitudes and roles, also material security as biologically necessary feeding space on the one hand, as well as culturally defined, status-providing "economic position" and in this space the possibility to be able to solve conflicts.]

Of what space do these ballads speak? Contrary to the songs of sailors and emigrants, in these songs there is no departure from a specific place, no tearful leave-takings, no homesickness. The place of birth is mentioned only casually, as the starting point for the song, but it is not longed for nor is it criticized. It is the construction site which becomes a kind of locus of self-identification, even though it is a place of only temporary affiliation. It is interpreted as an ideal, as imagined space—one which holds personal satisfaction and where all negative
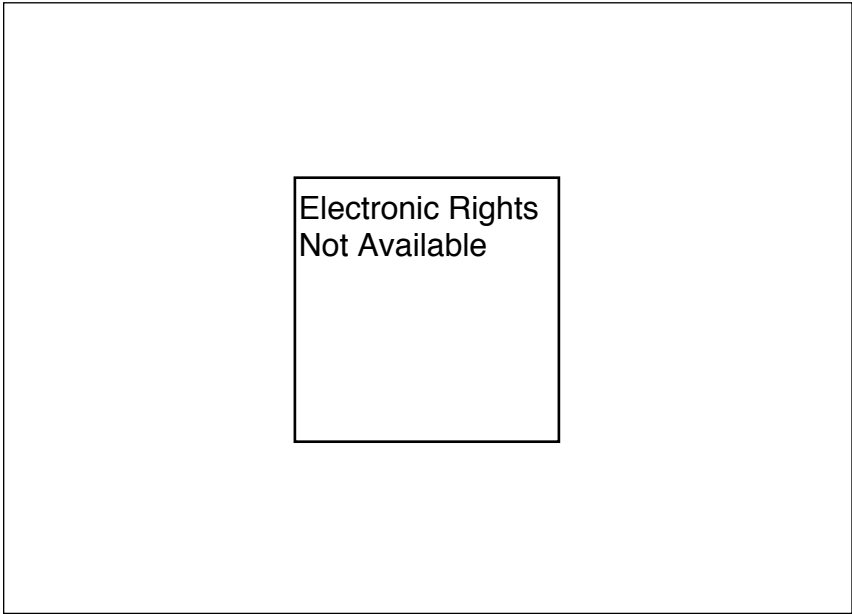
Figure 1. Navvies in Romsdal, Western Norway—probably local workers. Photographer unknown. Norsk Folkemusem, Oslo, Norway, L.48.942.
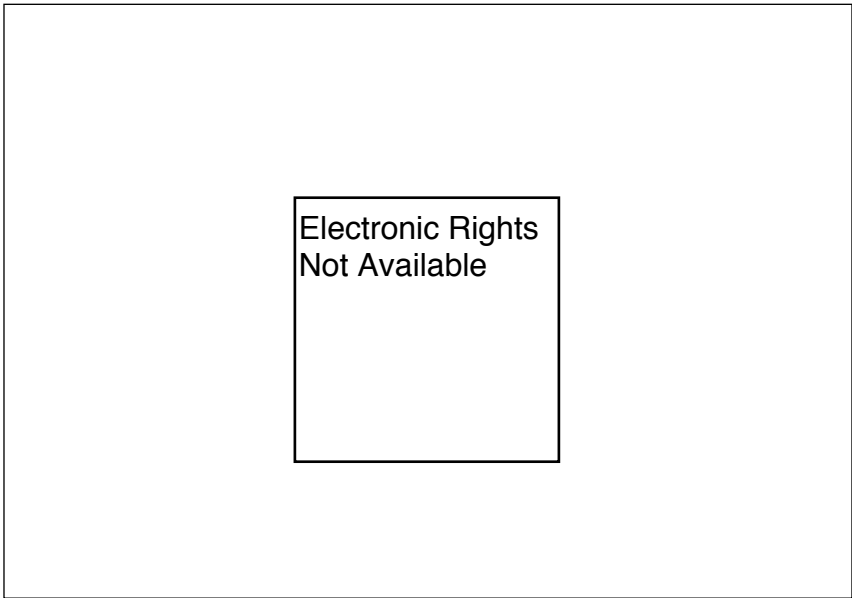
Figure 2. Coffee is served, navvies on the Bergen railway. Photographer unknown. Jernbanemuseet, Hamar, Norway, no. 5131.
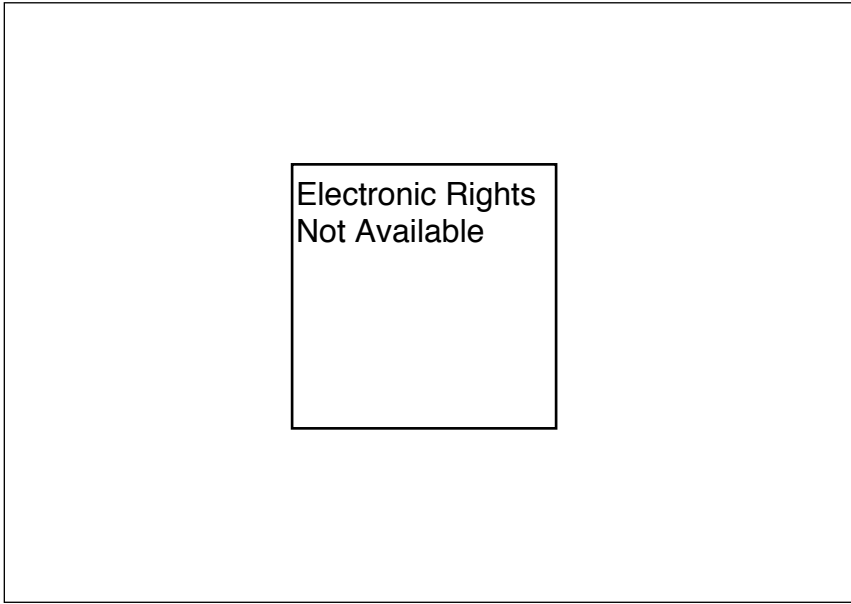
Figure 3. A female cook at work. Photographer unknown. Jernbanemuseet, Hamar, Norway, no. 5132.
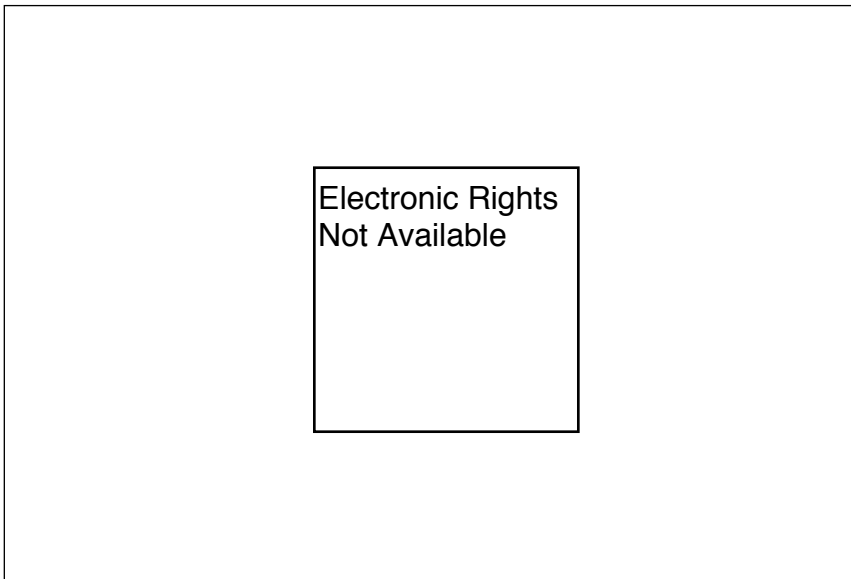
Figure 4. The era of the navvies is coming to an end. Living conditions have changed for the better. From the Rauma railway 1922. Photographer unknown. Norsk Folkemuseum, Oslo, Norway, L. 48849.

reality can be transformed into positive values. It is not the space itself which gives optimal satisfaction, but it is a space where the harsh living conditions may be reduced to a minimum. History shows that such a situation can lead to aggression, at worst to war, in order to expand one's territory or annex a new one. In the railway ballads, aggression, instead, is turned against management, as well as against other segments of society. Revolt is averted through the idealization of the situation. Through criticism of establishment norms, values, and lifestyles, itinerant navvies created alternative cultural space, their own territory, where their inverted values reigned. In the final analysis, it is freedom which the navvy holds up as the decisive advantage of his way of life. While he may lead a life of hardships, he is *not* bound to the farmer or the shopkeeper's life of "imprisonment," tied to the land, linked to the shop, and tethered to money-grubbing. When a job is over, he is free to move on. He has no family and property and hence no chains to a place. And with his money he is free to enjoy liquor and girls and to play "king of the heap" for a few hours. At the same time, and paradoxically, the songs are also a defense of a life without rights, without discipline, and with no possibility of expressing real criticism.

In contrast to other songs with themes of territoriality, in the songs of the railway navvies there is no question of a nostalgic return to the land and to place of origin. It is rather a question of creating a *compensatory* territory. Therefore, death cannot be depicted as a return to the original territory, to an idealized home. It is perhaps for this reason that death does not figure as a significant motif in these songs, despite the fact that it was an ever-present possibility, for accidents, fatal and otherwise, were a daily fact of navvy life. The navvies did not fear God nor the devil. In one song, a navvy who took part in the river driving of logs was taken by a waterfall. As he disappeared in the waterfall he cried out: "Gapa nå, fan! Her får du en jækla bit!" (Now, open your mouth, devil! Here comes a bloody fine bite; Lund 1934, 142). On the other hand, the navvy songs reveal a hope that God will punish the farmers and the shopkeepers. On the day of the last judgment, God will say to the farmers:

Ni gav ei Kalle föda,	You did not give Charles food
ni lot ham ute stå!	you let him stand outside
Gå därför ner til Belzebubb,	So go down to Beelzebub
där stekt ni blir med rubb och stubb,	where you will be grilled with bag and baggage
mäns hela Himlens frydesal	while the whole joyful hall of Heaven
står kvar för Glada Ka'l.	is open for Happy Charles.
(Lund 1934, no. 5)	

The imagined space is in this case extended to include heaven. God himself defends the navvies against the farmers.

These songs are limited to a dimension of illusion and unreality, for they do not express a longing for real places, and they are remarkably free of place-related nostalgia. This is probably why they did not attract the interest of other occupational groups to any great extent and why they certainly did not interest the middle classes.

Space for Self-Identification: The English-Speaking Tradition

This dimension of illusion and unreality was not confined to Norwegian navvies. Both in Britain and the United States, those constructing the vast network of railroads, a few decades earlier than in Norway, also labored to create a positive cultural space of the kind described by Greverus. They thereby contested the actuality of conditions working on the cuttings, tunnels and viaducts and in the overcrowded shanties. For example, in Northamptonshire, England, in the 1880s, a laborer was charged fourpence a night for a bed, a penny to sleep on a table, and a halfpenny for the floor (Coleman 1969, 85).

Since the settlements and worksites were in a constant state of flux, the workforce was repeatedly on the move. One result of the great migrations of those seeking work was the rapid spread of a body of working lore through the huge network of migrant laborers that had moved from canal building to the railways, lore which was to reemerge in the twentieth century with road-builders.[2] The navvies were an "anarchic elite" whose work was likened, in terms of material shifted by hand, to the building of the pyramids.[3] Their space for action was not the bounded line of the stone monument but the seemingly infinite time and space of a network of iron that would hold the whole planet in its embrace: navvies traveled all over the world, often in their original gangs, on contract work.[4] By 1851 200,000 navvies were working on building the railroads in Britain alone (Burnett 1974, 25). Despite the great differences in working conditions between gangs on the Erie railroad in the United States and those battling against subsidence on the Leeds to Selby railroad in Yorkshire, England, Irish laborers were working on both, and "Paddy Works on the Railway" was sung on both lines (Porter 1992, 66–70). The most famous navvy song of all, "John Henry," spread so rapidly through the United States, despite segregation, that classifying it as a "black" or a "white" song has no meaning (Cohen 1981, 61–89). Opening lines like "I'm an Irish [or jovial or English] navvy" and the expression "working on the line/railroad" became so widely diffused that we can almost regard the singing culture of the navvies at any particular time as one vast synchronic text.

The creation of such a body of songs was in part a necessary response to the way bourgeois discourse treated the navvies as outcasts. This description is from an early account:

These banditti, known in some parts of England by the name of "Navies" or "Navigators," and in others by that of "Bankers," are generally the terror of the surrounding country; they are as completely a class by themselves as the Gipsies. Possessed of all the daring recklessness of the Smuggler, without any of his redeeming qualities, their ferocious behavior can only be equalled by the brutality of their language. It may be truly said, their hand is against every man, and before they have been long located, every man's hand is against them; and woe befal any woman with the slightest share of modesty whose ears they assail.[5]

Negative stereotypes like these are also found in contemporary songs written from the point of view of those whose lives were disrupted by the building of the railways: in "The Oxford and Hampton Railway," a woman whose home has been demolished to make way for the line complains that she has not only lost her vegetable garden but that her daughter has run off with a navvy (Raven 1977, 52). A parliamentary commission in 1846 confirmed in more measured terms the havoc wrought by the navvies:

The great amount of outlay already thus made, its suddenness, its temporary concentration at particular localities, often spots before but thinly inhabited, have created or developed evils (touching both the welfare of the labourers employed, and the interests of society) the taint of which seems not unlikely to survive their original cause.[6]

In the face of such characterization as folk devils in both popular and official discourse, one response contains an almost brutal realism:

I'm a navvy, I'm a navvy, workin' on the line
Choppin' up the worms, makin' one worm into nine.
Some jobs is rotten jobs, other jobs is fine,
But I'm a navvy, I'm a navvy, working on the line.
(Coleman 1969, 158)

I'm a navvy, you're a navvy, working on the line,
Five-and-twenty bob a week,
And all the overtime.
Roast beef, boiled beef,
Puddings made of eggs;
Up jumps a navvy
With a pair of sausage legs. (Summerfield 1970, 138)

However, space was also opened up for other, more positive versions of that same reality, expressed through jokes, tales of heroic labor, and songs. For

example, a broadside from Norwich, where the navvies were a strong political force, offered an ironic idealization of the world of the railway directors:

> Let's not forget railway directors, and from all harm they will protect us,
> They'll study never to neglect us, so dearly they love locomotion.
> It's for our good they take such pains, and never do they think of gains,
> And, if a few hundred should be slain, our wives and children they'll
>   maintain.
> Then happy and thankful may we be, such blessed inventions we've lived
>   to see;
> To all other travel bid for ever goodbye, but the wonderful Eastern
>   Railways. (Palmer 1974, 60)

The presence of internal rhymes points to an Irish source for this savage characterization of a system which could assume "a few hundred" deaths to achieve its goals.

As in Norway, the creation of cultural territory was often associated with the worker as an exalted and carefree individual:

> I am an English navvy, and I tell the tale with glee,
> Though thousands curl their lip in scorn, and mock at chaps like me;
> But round and round our kingly isle, on meadow, glen and hill,
> Ten thousand mighty monuments proclaim our strength and skill.
> (reprinted in Coleman 1969, 158)

This evident attempt to affect one's personal mood or inner space, combined with resignation towards what were seen as ineluctable social conditions, is found in a number of songs which set out to raise personal well-being with a bluff image of cheerfulness and pride. Another, in a broadside printed in Manchester, proclaims that "we are jovial banksmen all. . . . We don't give a damn whether we work or no" (Raven 1977, 28–29). However, there is no firm evidence that either of these songs, both from printed sources, were ever popular among the navvies themselves.

One significant difference between the Norwegian songs and those in English is that no attempt was made to collect songs actively during the high summer of railroad navvying, which was between 1830 and 1880 in both Britain and the United States. Most of the songs quoted here were not collected until long after the railroad boom was over, in some cases as late as the 1960s, when the network was already being radically reduced. Contemporary texts are confined to published songsters, broadsides, and booklets, and most of these were more or less didactic, such as *A Navvy, Saint of God*, offered at 8s. 6d. (about

60 cents) a hundred. "I am an English navvy" is clearly one of these, since its second verse reveals it to be a temperance song:

> Yes, I'm an English navvy; but oh, not an English sot,
> I have run my pick through alcohol, in bottle glass or pot,
> And with the spade of abstinence, and all the power I can
> I am spreading out a better road for every working man.

As Terry Coleman comments laconically, "it is unlikely that this song commended itself to more than a few" (1969, 158).

Another song, "Navvy on the Line," was published as a broadside in Preston near Manchester. Describing himself as "happy Jack," the navvy offers his life as a version of Utopia:

> I've got a job of work in the lovely town of ———,
> And working on the line is a thing that makes me merry.
> I can use my pick and spade, likewise my old wheelbarrow;
> I can court the lasses, too, but don't intend to marry.
>   I'm a navvy, don't you see,
>   I'm a navvy in my prime;
>   I'm a nipper, I'm a tipper,
>   And I'm working on the line.[7]

Though idyllic, this is rooted in the actuality of a particular job of work: the space in the first line is for the singer to insert the location of the current job, and the reference to the nipper and the tipper would have meant nothing to an outsider.[8] This is most clearly seen when we look at the fantasies of other groups associated with the railways. The imagined paradise of the hobo, for example, was very different:

> I'm going to a better place where everything is bright,
> Where handouts grow on bushes, you can sleep out every night.
> Where I will not have to work at all, not even change my socks,
> And little stream[s] of whiskey come flowing down the rocks.[9]

Unlike such jocular sentimentalizing, "Navvy on the Line" suggests a person securely anchored, in lifestyle and culture, within a group that is itself not threatened. This hardly applied to the fractured, discontinuous life of the migrant laborer. However, the presence of navvy jargon in the refrain shows an inwardness that one associates with the development of group consciousness.

Special status was also derived, almost supernaturally, from navvy material culture, in particular their distinctive clothing: moleskin trousers, felt hat, rainbow

waistcoat, and above all the hobnail boots needed for the rough terrain. In "Navvy Boots," widely sung in Scotland and Ireland, the laborer visits his lover at night (a common topos, of course, in traditional song) but refuses to remove his boots. The significance of this is emphasized by the refrain to every verse:

> I am a young navvy, I works on the line,
> And the places I live are no palace of mine,
> And well I remember the night of the fun,
> Twas the night that I slept with me navvy boots on. (Dawney 1974, 42)

He does not represent his shanty as a castle of freedom like his Norwegian counterpart. Instead, he endows his boots with both a metonymic and a fetishistic significance, transferring the physical strength and endurance of the workplace to the sexual arena, where they function as a talisman of sexual power.

Similarly, a number of songs emphasize the superior desirability of navvy work over other occupations. This is often seen as part of a process of social advancement. In northern Ireland, the daughter of a ganger (or foreman) falls in love with a "Navvy Boy." Her mother is very scornful:

> For navvies they are rambling boys
> And have but little pay;
> How could a man maintain a wife
> With fourteen pence a day? (Raven 1978, 34)

The daughter reminds her mother that her father, the ganger, had started as a navvy. Providentially, he dies soon afterwards and leaves the couple five hundred pounds. In this fable of marrying the boss's daughter, the only realism lies in the figure of fourteen pence a day and the fact that after her wedding she will have to "go and tramp it."

These songs maintain in their variety the economy of representation that is characteristic of the occupational song, which depends for its force and deeper meaning on an envelope of cultural reference, including the context provided by other, contiguous, singing repertoires, where such songs of sexual preference are common.[10] At the same time, "The Navvy Boy" has a complexity of its own. Though sung by the navvies themselves, the perspective throughout is a woman's, and by avoiding circumstantial detail, the song manages to speak simultaneously at an individual and a group level. As in most occupational songs, love and labor are fused, but untypically, the blunt message is that such relationships are ultimately based on money.

Of the few occupational songs sung by American navvies, most were intended to accompany work rather than for recreation. They emphasize the distance between the employers' world and the tracklayers' own:

> The captain don't like me,
> Won't allow me no show. (Cohen 1993, 345)

The boss's contempt was particularly seen in the low value given to human life. Accident reports, according to the title of one song, would record that the victim was "Only a Navvy" (Cohen 1981, 173). At the end of the nineteenth century, the song "Drill, ye Tarriers, Drill!" gave the comment of the Irish "tarrier," or dynamiter, on the serious accident record. It was widely sung across America in localized versions:

> Now the new foreman was Jean McCann;
> By God, he was a blamed mean man!
> Last week a premature blast went off,
> And a mile in the air went big Jim Goff.
>
> The next time pay day came around,
> Jim Goff a dollar short was found,
> When he asked what for, came this reply,
> "You were docked for the time you were up in the sky."
> (Fowke and Glazer 1973, 87)

The grim humor of the last line is just one of many contemporary references to the way unorganized workers were cheated of their full wages, but it also suggests a world in which natural laws operate differently, a world apart. This is powerfully suggested in the American "rolling" (wheelbarrow) worksong "Roll on the Ground":

> Work on the railroad, Sleep on the ground,
> Eat soda crackers, And the wind blowing around.
> Work on the railroad, Work all the day,
> Eat soda crackers, And the wind blowing away. (Wade 1997, track 23)

Here a kind of wry sense of fate has taken the place of the unfocussed cheerfulness of the British songs.

The ultimate world of the imagination was, of course, heaven, and broadside publishers early exploited the metaphor of a spiritual railway which led there. Cohen and Neuberg have documented some of the many songs on the theme, which appear to have originated in evangelical circles in the United States and were reprinted in England (Cohen 1981, 596–644; Neuberg 1977, 128–29). Henry Such of London published "The Railway to Heaven" in the 1840s: "This Line runs from Calvary through this vain world and the Valley of the Shadow of Death, until it lands in the Kingdom of Heaven" (Cohen 1981,

599). These pious allegories do not appear to have entered navvy circles, but at least one navvy song extended imagined space to include heaven in the same way as its Norwegian counterparts. The song projected heaven as an ideal work-site, a utopian version of a very different life. "Poor Paddy Works on the Railway," collected in the locomotive sheds of Hellifield in West Yorkshire, describes an Irish navvy's experiences on various sites, from the Erie Canal in New York State to the Leeds and Selby Railway in Yorkshire. Although these projects were completed in the 1830s, each stanza opens with a date in the 1840s, the years of large-scale emigration from Ireland. The sequence of events has the marks of a personal narrative, an insider's view of the work involved:

> I was wearing corduroy breeches,
> Digging ditches,
> Dodging hitches, pulling switches
> I was working on the railway. (MacColl [1954?], 2)

The refrain is far less ebullient, and indeed gives the song its commonest American title, "Weary of the Railway":

> I'm weary of the railway,
> Oh, poor Paddy works on the railway. (Ibid. 20)

The shift from the first person pronoun to the generic "Paddy" shows a person in dialogue with himself. However, full resolution is only found in the last verse, which shifts the conflict to another arena altogether, where he had a chance of surviving:

> In Eighteen hundred and forty seven
> Poor Paddy was thinking of going to heaven
> Poor Paddy was thinking of going to heaven
> And working on the railway. (Ibid. 20)

It did not escape the navvies, however, that, wherever the line might be going, its route ran through a very different region where, as "Poor Paddy" put it,

> Me belly was empty, me hands were sore
> With working on the railway. (Ibid., 20)

This "vain world ," as the broadside described it, was a territory more like hell. In America, a locomotive was routinely described in songs of the time as "some fettered fiend of hell" or "a death-fiend" (Cohen 1981, 43, 45). Ultimately,

therefore, the imagined state of the navvy was an aspect of personal identity: as the sexual adventurer in "Navvy Boots" sang, "the places I live are no palace of mine" (Dawney 1974, 42).

The migrant railway workers were and have remained a stigmatized group, exactly as they depicted themselves through their own ballads. No one but the navvy imagined his own way of life, and his constructed mental space, as anything but unappealing. By creating an imaginary space, the navvies attempted to build a bridge across the insuperable abyss between their real life and the socially accepted ideal—after all, construction was their work.

Notes

An earlier version of the first part of this paper was read at the 29th International Ballad Conference, Aberdeen 9–15 August 1999. A German version is published in Schmitt 1999, 157–64.

1. Broadside print with the title *Den gamle velbekjendte Jernbane-Vise om Jernbanen fra Bergen til Voss. Digtet af en Jernbanearbeider Aar 1881. Omrevideret 1892 og nu udgivet i et, 6te Oplag - 2000 Exemplarer.* Bergen.
2. See *Song of a Road*. 1999.
3. Palmer 1974, 44. In 1839, Peter Lecount made elaborate calculations to show the labour involved in building the London to Birmingham Railway to be greater than that involved in building the Great Pyramid (Coleman 1969, 36–37).
4. Coleman 1969 cites the experiences of navvies in India, Argentina, South Africa, and the Crimea (pp. 212–20, 228).
5. Peter Lecount, *The History of the Railways Connecting London and Birmingham* (London, 1839), quoted in Palmer 1978, 21.
6. *Report of the Select Committee on Railway Labourers* (1846), vol. 13.
7. Palmer 1974, 42–43.
8. A nipper was a navvy's assistant, while a tipper carted earth to an embankment, usually from a nearby cutting.
9. Cohen 1981, 367. For this dream of a very earthly paradise, see Del Giudice on Cuccagna in this volume.
10. These include fishermen and above all, miners (Porter 1992, 77–80).

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Demonized States

"Who Talks of My Nation?" The Role of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland in Constructing "Englishness"

Gerald Porter

INTRODUCTION

"Who talks of my nation?" The question that the stage Irishman, Captain Macmorris, puts indignantly to the Welshman Fluellen in *King Henry V* (3.2.127) serves as a reminder that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the concept of the nation was in a process of redefinition. In his book on nationalism, Eric Hobsbawm asks the question, "Why and how could a concept so remote from the real experience of most human beings as national patriotism become such a powerful political force so quickly?" (1992, 46). Like many modern movements, the rise of English nationalism in the seventeenth century was not based on a strong ethnic consciousness, since the English were already a highly mixed breed. Instead, a sense of "Englishness" had to be improvised from the materials at hand. The simplest means was to emphasize the literal "outlandishness" of the Irish, Scottish, and Welsh.

The construction of Englishness was not the project of either the royal bureaucracy or the Parliament in the seventeenth century. The state-centered nationalism of Great Britain was a creation of the eighteenth century. In 1660 there was no "high culture" of the sort we take for granted in the form of public concerts, art galleries, professional authors, or newspaper reviews. Instead, it was popular cultural forms such as ballads that set in place the tenets of protonationalism, as Hobsbawm calls it (1992, 75). Since this nationalism could not be based on blood, it was defined negatively as difference. This process is very close to the development of protofascism in the twentieth century: "To people who feel deprived of a clear social identity, Ur-Fascism says that their only privilege is the most common one, to be born in the same country. Besides, the only one[s] who can provide an identity to the nation are its enemies" (Eco 1995, 14). A sense of ethnicity only arises when two or more different groups or societies come into contact with each other, and is strongly linked to coercive practices and attempts to dominate and establish superiority (Bacal 1994, 10). This was undoubtedly one of England's aims in gradually setting up the union of four nations on its own terms in the early modern period. A former Plaid Cymru (Welsh Nationalist) MP, Dafydd Elis Thomas, has written, in some exasperation,

> The national question of England is so taken as read it is not asked. This means that the whole construction of the British state as a multinational state, whose multiness has been suppressed by a mainly English ruling class, is not perceived. . . . The fact that English nationalism does not specify itself as such, but applies the adjective *nationalist* only to those nationalisms which conflict with it (that is, Irish, Welsh, Scottish) is not an indication of the absence of such English nationalism, but is rather a tribute to its over-domination of the whole scene. (Thomas 1982, 34)

In other words, the historical creation of Great Britain was the establishment of a Greater England.

The construction of national identity is above all a cultural project. Edward Said writes that "Culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation or the state; this differentiates 'us' from 'them,' almost always with some degree of xenophobia. Culture in this sense is a source of identity, and a rather combative one at that" (1994, xiii–xiv). Furthermore, as Benedict Anderson remarks, "those active in nationalist movements are usually those whose professions are concerned with the handling of language" (1991, 74).

The idea of the nation is characteristically appealed to as a unifying force where ideologies are in conflict. The nation state in the sense of a constructed identity of economic and ideological interests is a feature of nineteenth-century Europe. In seventeenth-century England, on the other hand, there was no single voice of central authority, and what we would now call the creation of hegemony was a struggle that continued throughout the century. The Puritans attempted to capture this ground by associating their ideology with patriotism rather than by presenting it as universal (as religious fundamentalism, for instance). National and religious goals were presumed to coincide. Because Puritanism was presented as a state, rather than a fundamentalist, doctrine, the occupation of large areas of Ireland was not accompanied by the forced conversion of Catholics, but millennial movements like the Diggers that resisted state power were put down by force. The attempt to establish Puritanism as the state ideology by insurrection eventually failed because of its too close association with the interests of a single class.[1] English nationalism, on the other hand, had potentially universal support within the country.

Broadsides and Hegemony in Wales

The rise of nationalism depends on its not being itself regarded as an ideology, and in England this demanded the creation of an other who could stand for the antitype of the Englishman or woman. Selves and texts are defined by their relation to hostile or diminished outsiders. The Welsh fitted the bill perfectly. Wales

and England had been united in 1535, when Wales still lacked a national polit-
ical identity. It therefore had a "cultural" rather than a "national" existence
(Thomas 1982, 34). After the Act of Union, which was never presented as a
union of equals, a polarization between the cultural territories of the dominant
and the dominated was noticeable not only in areas where it might be expected,
as in the relative official status of the two languages, but also in fields that have
been regarded as relatively autonomous, like broadsides and street ballads. The
pressure on the writers of broadside texts to articulate establishment values was
overwhelming, and frequently enforced by law. Control was exercised quite
specifically by a system of licensing ballads introduced soon after the Union as
a section of the Act for the Advancement of True Religion (1543) and strength-
ened by the founding of the Stationers Company in 1557. Between that time and
the removal of the last restrictions in 1696, all printed ephemera had to be reg-
istered and approved. Since only presses in London, Oxford, and Cambridge
were licensed, it was illegal to print broadsides in Wales. The broadside trade
was never, of course, simply a mouthpiece for establishment views, but the
effect of these restrictions on the popular press was considerable.

This section considers seventeen surviving London broadside ballads from
the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries which have Welsh men or women
as the leading figures. They are to be found in Samuel Pepys's collection of
broadsides in Magdalene College, Cambridge, England,[2] and they correspond
very closely to other popular songs of the time, for example, the six songs for
the theater collected and printed in Thomas D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth, or, Pills
to Purge Melancholy* (1719–20).[3] None are news or occasional songs in the
sense of being linked directly to current events. Wales was not an especially top-
ical issue in the Stuart seventeenth century in the way that it was in the Tudor
period, and these ballads represent only about 1 percent of the total in the Pepys
collection. This compares with more than five times as many songs about
Ireland, which was three times invaded by England during the century.
However, as we shall see, the Welsh often had *representative* status in ballads
such as "The London Lasses Folly" or "The Female Frollick" featuring people
from several nations or occupations (Day 1987, 3: 236, 246).[4]

Welsh figures in the popular press draw on, and help to construct, the same
stereotypes as the character of Fluellen in *Henry V*. Despite its evident praise of
the monarchy, the play is not the univocal piece of English propaganda it has occa-
sionally been presented as. King Henry himself cuts off the soldier Pistol's bluff
English complacency at one point with the remark, "I am a Welshman" (4.1.51).
However, Shakespeare is preoccupied in the play with questions of national iden-
tity. There is a famous comic exchange where Fluellen forces Pistol to eat a leek,
the Welsh national food (5.1). Nationalism is a central arena of male display and
combat, temporarily concealing an anxiety about self and identity, and the comedy

derives from the incongruity of the leek being a symbol of power and prestige in this way. Many, of course, would today consider the image of the British bulldog, dating from the 1850s, an even more absurd symbol of manly strength.

The leek continued to be the central icon of Welshness for the broadside ballad printers of the seventeenth century. The standard woodcut, used in five of the broadsides, all from different printers, shows Cadwallader, the last of the kings of Britain, with a leek in his hat. He is heavily armed, with a pike, a sword in his belt, and a dagger in one hand. His implied enemy is absent, an imagined "us" against a representative "them," and his threatening appearance is deconstructed by his action: his dagger is spearing a piece of toasted cheese (a joke going back to *A Hundred Mery Tales* in 1527). He is tending goats in a mountainous landscape (figure 1): goats were frequently associated with the Welsh in insulting contexts (see *Henry V*, 5.1.29). This parodic representation is found extensively in English popular culture later than the seventeenth century as well. An early eighteenth-century chapbook relates how on 1 March (St. David's Day) a bundle of rags would be hung out of a window, representing a Welshman mounted on a red herring with a leek in his hat (Opie and Opie 1951, 401).

In addition to the woodcuts, more than half of the broadside texts refer to leeks, and it acts as a defamatory index of the Welsh even in ballads which make no other reference to Wales. The refrain of "Every Man's Condition," for example, runs,

If you will shunne shame,
Then love your own fame,
as a Welchman his lake [*leek*] or his Onion.
(1: 220, lines 71–73)

In contrast, other ethnic signifiers such as dress and music play a very insignificant role. Welsh costume is the subject of one of the woodcuts (4: 320; figure 1, herein), and "Hugh the harper" appears in "The Welch Wedding" (4: 109), but I have traced no other references. This contrasts with the prominence in Scottish oral tradition at this time of the "kings owne sonne," the Welsh harper Glas Keraint (Child [1882–98] 1965, 2: 136–42, no. 67, "Glasgerion"). The popular association of the Welsh with music (and particularly song) came only in the nineteenth century in England.

If Fluellen can barely be parted from his leek, he is, at least, a distinctive personality: he is a captain who is well read in Latin writers on warfare. The broadsides, on the other hand, suggest that "Welshness" is a very narrow concept indeed. The union of the English and Scottish crowns in 1603 effectively extinguished Wales as a nation. The Red Dragon of Wales was removed from the royal coat-of-arms and James I (James VI of Scotland) declared that the

union between Wales and England had been so successful that there were no distinctions between them (Ellis 1968, 48). Thereafter, the differences were cultural rather than political or national, and cultural difference was expressed in terms of personal, not group, attributes. In the broadsides considered here, the Welsh appear largely as isolated but unindividualized figures. As Peter Lord writes in his study of visual images of the Welsh at this time, "after the end of the Civil War, comment on Welsh individuals and events was almost non-existent in London prints for nearly a century [1650–1750], reflecting a period in which the nation itself all but ceased to exist in the English mind except as the most generalized stereotype" (1995, 43). This stereotype was based on isolated figures who were supposedly representative of their suppressed nationhood. Wales is only once represented by more than a single individual, and of those individuals, all but one are represented comically.[5] Deprived of the context and the company that gives them their identity, they are not even personalized in the role-play type of "self-presentation" ("I'm a rover"), with its particularization in situation and episode, which Natascha Würzbach describes as being characteristic of the street ballad (Würzbach 1990, 185).

No single Welsh temperament is offered by the broadsides. Homogeneity in the other would draw attention to the lack of it in oneself. At a time when the concept of "Englishness" was a fiercely contested site, it would have given Wales a certain authority to suggest that there was a national character, however comical. Instead, the generally parodic treatment of Welsh language, dress, and temperament conceals a preoccupation with difference. The broadsides represent the Welsh, in the name of political modernity, as historically obsolete figures, living off past glory. This was a common representation of Welshness at the time, appearing in Fluellen's quaint pedantry and in the proverbial seventeenth-century saying "as long as a Welsh pedigree" (Wilson 1970, 479). They present an uninterrupted series of images of degradation.[6] The Welsh are typically represented as bumpkins, examples of that standard urban broadside theme, ignorant country people unable to cope with city ways. Yet the list is full of contradictions. The Welsh are easily fooled but sharp at business. They are simpleminded yet sometimes called on to predict the future.[7]

This last broadside, "The Welsh Fortune-Teller, or, Sheffery Morgan's Observation of the Stars, as he sat upon a Mountain in Wales" (figure 1), is one of only two broadsides to be set in Wales itself. It refers to the association between the Welsh and magic that goes back to Merlin and Owain Glyndwr's reputed ability to "call spirits from the vasty deep" (Shakespeare, *King Henry IV Part 1,* 3.1.50). However, in the great majority of the sheets, the protagonists are not only seen out of context but struggling within the power structures of another culture, England. In such a world, these national territories belong exclusively to the natives, who keep strangers in their place (Hobsbawm 1992, 35).

In the broadside system, this means comic humiliation. So one of the most popular, and strangest, broadsides of this period, "The Maidens Frolicksome Undertaking To Press Fourteen Taylors," describes how six London women, all under twenty, punished some tailors who had been stealing pieces of cloth from the garments they were making.[8] However, this potentially feminist project is soon drawn into the familiar parameters of English nationalism. The comedy derives not only from the way members of this traditionally mocked trade are pressed into the navy, but from the fact that they include French, Welsh, and Irish tailors, who are not described as such but given the usual nicknames "Monsieur," "Shon-a-Morgan," and "Teague" (4: 277, line 54). True to type, Shon-a-Morgan starts spluttering "by St Taffy" (Answer, line 46), and refuses to change his thieving ways. In "The Country Squire Deceiv'd," a Welsh family servant is promised a new suit of clothes if he should bring news that his mistress has been delivered of a boy to his master in London. When a girl is born instead, he journeys to London with the desired news that it is a boy, hoping to get the new suit anyway. On the master's return, of course, the truth is revealed, and the servant defends himself by saying

> let her but stay
> Till her grow to her fifteen or sixteen years prime,
> And if her han't got her a Cock by that time,
> E'ne take her and Hang her. (4: 361, lines 68–71)

By broadside standards, this is fairly sophisticated verbal quibbling. However, once again, the convention that all Welshmen are provincial clods, reinforced by the inevitable woodcut of Cadwallader, overrides any questioning of the principle of prenatal preference.

The charge of provincialism was also brought by contemporary broadsides against the Scottish and Irish, men and women from the English north and west, and even a girl from Chelsea, which was then a village some way outside London. However, the Welsh were the almost unvarying targets in this respect. It is true that in the accepted sense of the word, they could not help being provincial, because the Renaissance was a culture entirely preoccupied with urban values. It needed a capital city to make sense at all; and the only capital Wales had was London (Conran 1967, 65). However, Wales was not, and never has been, a province of England, and it maintained strong independent contacts at that time with countries like Spain and France. The radical English singer Billy Bragg knew what he was doing when, in the 1980s, he recorded the Internationale with a Welsh brass band and choir.

It is significant that the Welsh gentry is not attacked in any of these broadsides. After the Act of Union, members of the Welsh gentry came to England in considerable numbers to improve their fortunes. Jesus College, Oxford, was set

up in 1571 to educate the Welsh, in English, in a way that had nothing to do with their native learning. They gave up their language and became rapidly assimilated. This is possibly the reason why their presence in London does not come in for ridicule in the street ballads. They acquiesced in the marginalization of their own people, although occasional attempts to suggest Welsh connivance in the construction of their own parodic identity, such as the "Ll. Morg." who signs the ballad "Every Man's Condition" (1: 220), must be regarded as bogus.

The stupidity of the Welsh had already been made proverbial in England: from at least the beginning of the century, the cuckoo was referred to as the "Welsh ambassador" (Wilson 1970, 879–80). However, instead of the assimilated gentry, those targeted are mostly skilled workers. For example, a Welsh miller is robbed by a "Female Frollick," who adds further humiliation by parodying his speech (3: 246, lines 33–36). Even though skilled workers were typical of the broadside readership and must have formed only a tiny proportion of the Welsh in London at that time, they were clearly perceived as a threat (Porter 1992, 33–34). In "The Trappan'd Welsh-man," the comedy derives from the kidnapping, with robbery, of a Welshman who has come to the capital "some pretty fashions for to see." In the 1660s, the word "trepanned" appeared in a large number of broadside titles to describe visitors to the capital who were the victims of practical jokes (it is not recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* with this sense before 1715). The full title runs, "The Trappan'd Welsh-man, Sold to Virginia. Showing how a Welsh man came to London, and went to see the Royal Exchange, where he met a Handsom Lass, with whom he was Enamoured; who pretending to shew him the Ships, Carried him aboard a Virginia Man [of War] and Sold him, having first got the Welsh-mans Gold, to his great grief and sorrow. To the Tune of, Monsieur Misfortune" (4: 31). Sometimes, an attempt was made to justify these assaults by giving them a context of alcoholic excess. So the "Jolly Welsh-Woman," drinking at the Crown Inn in London, is deceived by the tapster into believing that her mug of ale is bottomless, "for Joy of which hur sung the praise of Old England, resolving never to return to Wales again" (3: 75). In this way the only individualized woman in this broadside group is fooled and humiliated by a barman.

Where national pride is undermined, it must be reasserted in a new territory. The humiliation of the Jolly Welsh-Woman is an example of the way power is experienced and exercised both socially and discursively. The women incorporate racial and gender meanings simultaneously. Their bodies "speak" subordination (Porter 1996, 49). This is seen in a joke at the expense of the bride in "The Welch Wedding" (4: 109). For more than a century, public or ritual life in Wales, such as weddings, was only described in the broadsides in terms of drunkenness and "mad merriment."[9] In "The Welch Wedding," the guests at first enjoy the spread of food, which includes "A good Welsh Pudding" (line 39), but

the limited nature of the feast soon becomes evident. The guests start brawling and stripping off the bride's clothes:

> Her Welch friends they were soon her foes,
> For, as we very well may suppose,
> What was the reason of Ripping and Stripping,
> The Bride had borrow'd her Wedding Close. (lines 65–68)

Here the poverty of the Welsh people is regarded as comical: the jocular expression "Welsh rabbit" was coined at about this time for the (meatless) dish of melted cheese on buttered toast,[10] and to give your horse "Welsh bait" on reaching the top of a hill was a seventeenth century saying for giving it a rest but no food (Wilson 1970, 880). "The Unfortunate Welch–Man," whose visit to England results in a brawl in which a Scot is murdered, is regarded as "so vile and ragged a rascal" that a gentleman highwayman refuses to be hanged next to him (2: 173).

In general, however, the ballads of the time still stop short of equating Welshness with criminal activity in the way *Nancy Cock's Pretty Book for all Little Misters and Masters* does in 1780. In the west of England, the Welsh (known generically as "Taffy") were accused of border raids to steal cattle. One rhyme in the book is a classic expression of mistrust between two nations with unequal economic development:

> Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a cheat,
> Taffy came to my house and stole a piece of meat;
> I went to Taffy's house, Taffy was away,
> I stuffed his socks with sawdust and filled his shoes with clay.
> (Opie and Opie 1985, 400)

While the broadsides do not associate a single trait of character with the Welsh in this way, they do assert a single voice. Language, and specifically the spoken language, is the most important signifier of Welshness in the broadsides studied here. Today Welsh is the most viable Celtic language in terms of mother tongue speakers. Although it had no official status in the country for four hundred years, between the Act of Union and the Welsh Language Act of 1967, it was the language of the great majority of the population until the nineteenth century, still spoken by 90 percent of the population in 1870 (Ellis 1968, 49). Language is featured to some extent as a marker of Welsh national identity in all fifteen ballads, but as a distorted way of speaking English rather than a mother tongue. Only two of the ballads use any Welsh words. One, from a London printer like the others, is a parallel text in English and Welsh, and the other has a Welsh refrain ("Byd y Bigail," 1: 457; "Two Welsh Lovers," 1: 270). Significantly, both present positive images of Wales and the Welsh.

"Welsh English," on the other hand, was the language of a tiny minority. In the sense of a mother tongue, it barely existed before the nineteenth century, when the first influx of migrant workers arrived in the steel towns and mining valleys. Nevertheless, all the ballads offer grotesque specimens of English spoken in Wales:

> Splutera-nails; hur will fetch her weights and scales;
> Hur will not do, hur will not go, hur will not take hur else . . .
> Do not take hur for a Vool, by Saint *Taffys* three leg'd stool
> Her too light money wants a penny of her weight in full.
> ("Conscience by Scruples," 4: 307, lines 19–20, 23–24)

This is "stage Welsh," a manufactured speech that stood in for the real thing in the same way that stage Irish constructed a nation exclaiming "begorrah!" and "top o' the morning" for the amusement of audiences from Elizabethan to Victorian times (Bliss 1978, 550–52). A case in point is the phrase "spluteranails" (God's blood and nails) in the passage quoted above. For a hundred years it was the standard example of Welsh speech in popular culture. It appears in various forms in almost every one of the ballads studied: cots-plot (Day 4: 31, line 7); cots plutter (4: 109, line 3); Cottes plues (3: 236); cud's plutter-a-nails (4: 66, line 46); cuts plutter (3: 75, line 3); Cuts-plutter-a-nails (4: 245, line 85); Odsplutter (4: 361, line 13); plutter a nails (4: 31, line 19); splutter a-nels (4: 368, line 45); and splutter'd (3: 246, line 35). The *Oxford English Dictionary* says that the phrase was "a form of oath, usually attributed to Welshmen" (1991, 1860), but no empirical evidence of this has ever been produced. In fact, the earliest citation, "by cottes blut and her nayle," is found in an *English* jest book dating from 1526 (OED 1991, 344). The first association of the phrase with Wales appears more than a century later, in a popular chapbook *The Welch Traveller*, published in London in 1671, and since the earliest example in the Pepys collection is from the 1670s, it seems possible that the broadsides derived their authority from that. The latest use of the phrase I have found is in "The Valiant Welshman," a street ballad in the Madden collection in Cambridge which can be dated from its woodcut to the 1770s at the earliest (Holloway and Black 1975, 271–73). Then there is silence, perhaps because its manufactured nature became too evident. The phrase was in fact literary shorthand for Welshness, an intertext constructed within another system that did not have any necessary basis in contemporary usage. To my knowledge, no study of representations of Welsh speech of the period has taken account of the street ballads.

The tendency for parodic texts to imitate each other may apply equally to other forms, such as *sh* for *j* ("Shack wore not born a Shentleman," Day 1987, 4: 31, line 16), *hur* for all forms of he—"hur will not take hur else" (4: 307, line 20)—and others. They do not correspond to known modern features of the
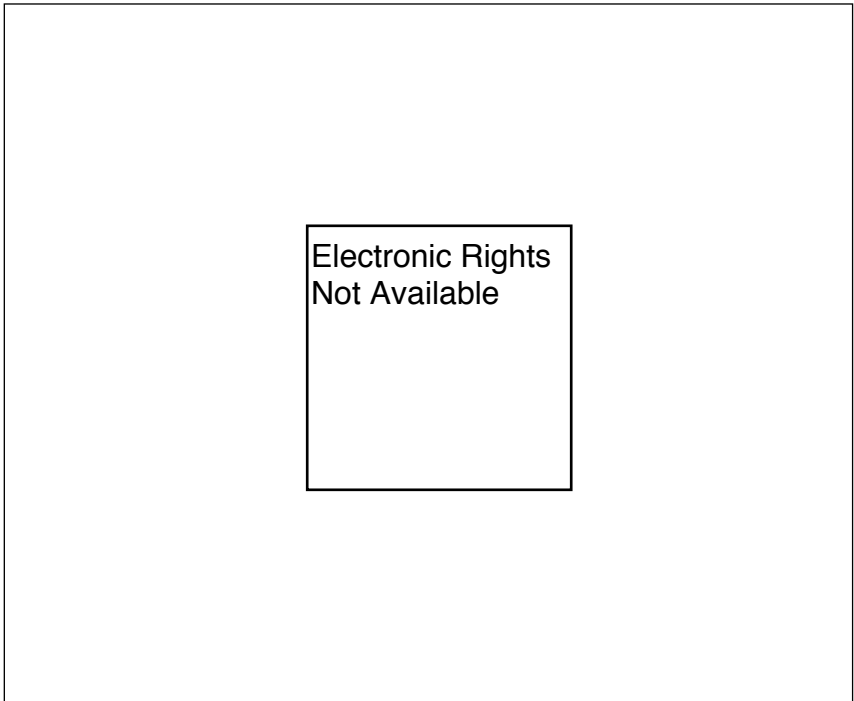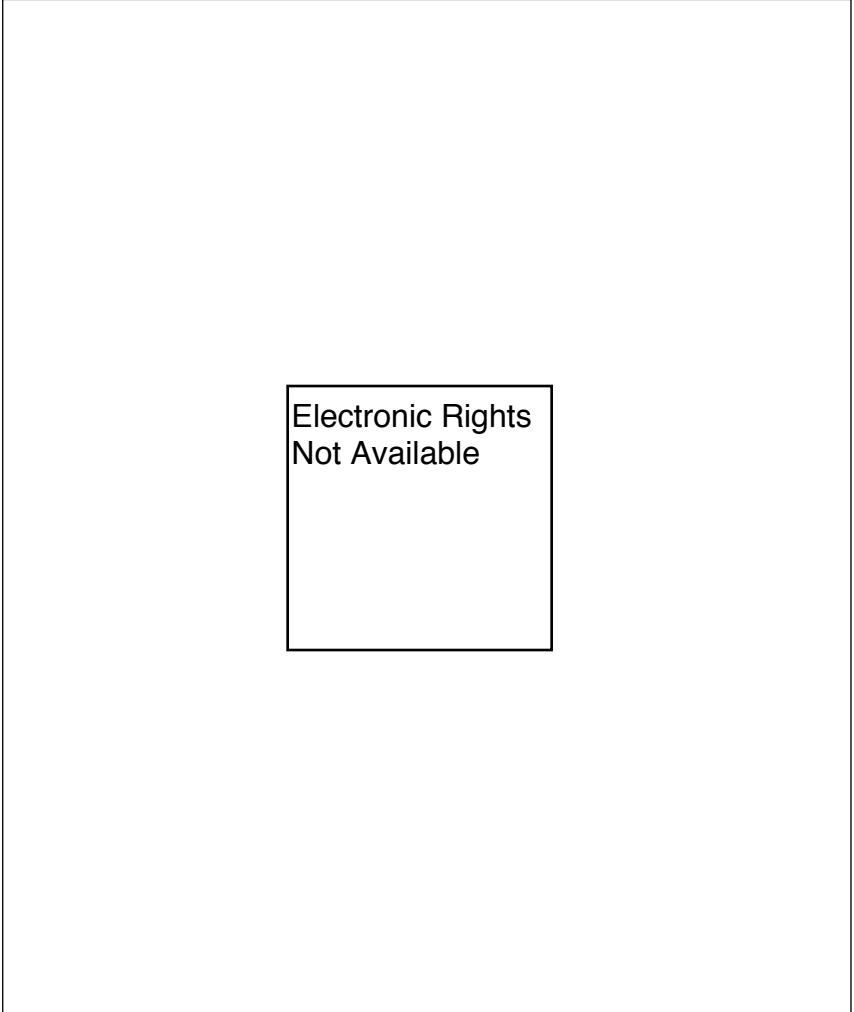
Figure 1. Illustration of "The Welsh Fortune-Teller, or, Sheffery Morgan's Observation of the Stars, as he sat upon a Mountain in Wales." By kind permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, England (Ballads IV/320).

Figure 2. Illustration of "The Fortunate Scotchman," a London broadside ballad, ca. 1707, now in the Madden Collection, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, England.
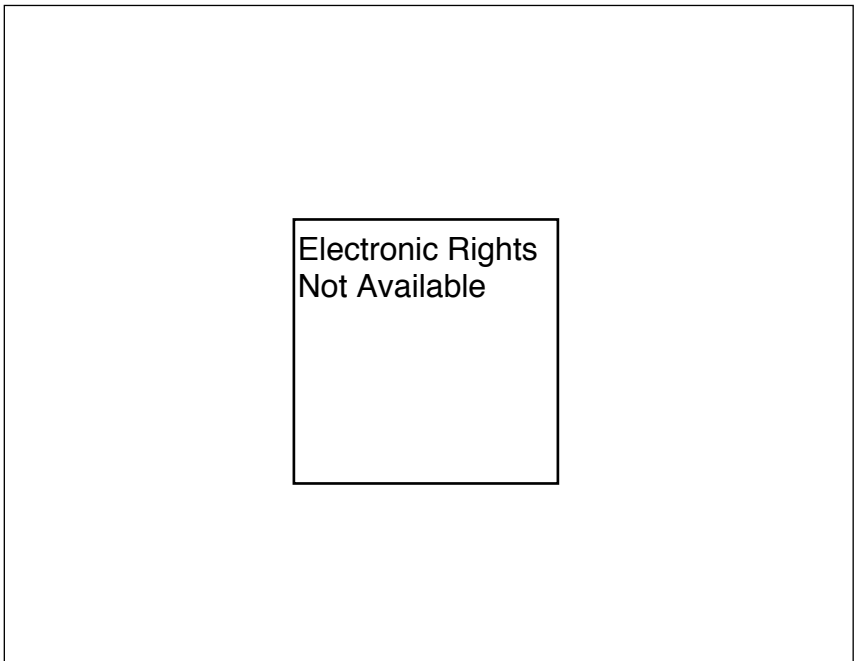
Figure 3. Illustration of "The Protestants Great Misery in Ireland." By kind permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, England (Ballads II/332).

dialect, but they were convenient linguistic marks of the other, which by their very bizarreness strengthened the power of the center.[11]

One must admire the sheer intricacy and inevitability of these exchanges between culture and power in the Anglo-Welsh broadsides. Beyond the Welsh stereotypes, English identity is seen as a gap, a lacuna that only exists by being the negation of the crude simplicity of others. This could only be achieved through reductionism of the kind found in an unnamed ballad of the later seventeenth century, which unites most of the key signifiers of dialect, drunkenness, and faded gentility. "Being partly vext," a Welshman draws his dagger in a tavern argument, boasting,

> Cuts-plutter-a-nails . . .
> A Welshman is a Shentleman,
> Come Hostis fill's the other Can. (4: 245, lines 85–87)

The project of the broadsides at this time was not to contest such parodies (as they contested the hegemony of Puritanism, for example) but to reinforce them—an example of the ambivalent relations between popular culture and power.

SAWNEY, MOGGY, AND ALL THE CREW: REPRESENTATIONS OF SCOTLAND

Although sometimes hostile to democracy, nationalist movements invariably have been populist in outlook and have sought to induct lower classes into political life. This is because a plurality of aspirations is presumed to coincide with the goal of nationhood. Like class and gender, race is one of the categories by which we attempt to erase our social differences. The attempt depends, of course, on race being perceived as a self-defining category, not as the ideological fingerprint of a particular class within the ethnic group that it invariably is. Thus, in its most typical version, Scottish nationalism has assumed the form of a restless middle-class and intellectual leadership trying to channel popular class energies into support for a new state (Nairn 1977, 41). This section's true subject though, is, once again, English, not Scottish, nationalism. In this respect the following discussion aligns with recent attempts to turn the telescope around, to "observe the observer" and "re-define the definer" (Bacal 1994, 1).

I have studied the fifty-three broadsides in the Euing Ballads (1971), Pepys, and Roxburghe (Chappell 1871–80) collections that have Scottish themes.[12] Most are narratives, although only four gained admission to Child's collection.[13] They all have the tragic and heroic qualities characteristic of his view of the traditional ballad. Only four of the broadsides are news, or occasional, ballads in the sense of being linked directly to current events.[14] Street ballads on

Scottish subjects were quite common at this time: they are much more numer-
ous than the songs about Wales, for example. This compares, however, with
more than twice as many ballads about Ireland, which was invaded by English
troops on at least three occasions during the century. The accession of James VI
of Scotland to the English throne in 1603 naturally made Scotland a topical
issue. However, with the exception of two Child ballads and one other,
"Jockie's Lamentation" (4: 345), that alludes to military defeats during the Civil
War, I have not found any ballads on Scotland from the first half of the seven-
teenth century. A contemporary describes the prolific ballad maker Martin
Parker (d. 1656?) as one "who made many base ballads against the Scots," but
no ballads of his that fit this description appear to survive.[15]

With these few exceptions, therefore, the broadsides that dealt with
Scottish subjects appeared between 1675 and the end of the century, a period
when fake "Scotch songs" in dialect were very popular in London. My reading
of the broadsides and other songs does not assume the identity of the geopolit-
ical entity with the textual one. On the contrary, "Scotland" in the ballads is a
construct that should perhaps be left in quotation marks throughout. All the
broadsides were printed in London,[16] and therefore, even though there is a like-
lihood that some of the ballad sheets were distributed in Scotland itself, they
are in every sense examples of English popular culture. Street ballads, like
other popular texts, have an ambivalent relation to the forces of the dominant
and the dominated. On the one hand, they were produced to make money for
their publishers and were subject to surveillance by the authorities. In this
respect, they stood for "top-down" power. The effect of the licensing restric-
tions on the popular press was considerable. For example, the seventy surviv-
ing London broadsides on the Irish campaign of 1689–92 are all without
exception anti-Catholic and anti-Irish, making use of every available racial
stereotype and abusive epithet. On the other hand, street ballads also acted as
the voice of "bottom-up" power that was resisting or evading such authority.
Their estimated market of twenty thousand buyers (Williams 1965, 182) and
much larger readership included supporters of the popular movements that
contested with the new voice, or rather voices, of central authority. The results
of this conflict of interest are to be found in the ballads themselves.

Edward Said contends that understanding and working to change the ideo-
logical process of misrepresentation are the main tasks of the "oppositional crit-
ic" (1994, 53). This process of misrepresentation is crucially tied up with the
construction of national identity, a complex concept not to be confused with the
modern category of nationality. Such identity is by definition collective and
shared. The union of the English and Scottish crowns in 1603 did not bring assim-
ilation into such a shared identity. The Scottish parliament ceased to exist, but in
other respects, little changed. Scotland's language and culture remained distinct.

She kept her separate *kirk* (church), legal system, and educational system. Although the union of the crowns increased the Scottish presence in London and the Act of Union completed the political integration of the two countries a century later, union with England did not bring Scotland prosperity or increased influence but rapid economic decline. The seventeenth century, with its continual religious conflicts, was a period of growing poverty and cultural stagnation there. As a result, despite the lack of an uncontested power center, Scots repeatedly showed their powers of concerted action during the period just preceding that of the ballads, above all in a national revolt against English rule in 1638 and an invasion of England in 1648. Yet, since racism operates by reducing the frame of the subordinated, the Scots appear in the broadsides as isolated, often comical figures. Scotland is only represented by more than a single individual in those ballads featuring a love relationship. Rather than in Scots as a group, the broadsides' concentration on the outlandishness of Scottish language, dress, and temperament shows a preoccupation with difference from the English.

Scots are portrayed variously in the broadsides as stupid, lecherous, cowardly, and quarrelsome.[17] However, unlike the Welsh, who are presented in an uninterrupted series of images of degradation, Scots may also appear in a positive light, but in a severely simplified way which makes no reference to the complexity of Scottish social organization and *habitus*, to use Pierre Bourdieu's term.[18] In almost every case, a single signifier stands for all. With few exceptions, Edinburgh is the only setting. A clumsy parody of Scottish speech is achieved by the liberal use of *gang* and *muckle*.

Scottishness is frequently marked with various stereotypes in the fifty-three broadsides with Scottish themes. A quarter of the ballads refer to Scottish men as "loons," a northern dialect word for men which had already acquired pejorative associations in England by Shakespeare's time.[19] Typically, men are given the status of representative examples of the other with the name, "Sawney," "Jockey," or "Jemmy," the last a familiar version of James, the name of the Scottish king. Scottish women are generally called "Jenny" or "Moggy" but are not otherwise described. Virtually all the street ballads mentioning Scotland include one or more of these names. The title of a broadside from the 1690s offers four of the five together:

Coy Moggy:
or,
The Scotch Lass's Lamentation
for the
Loss of her Three Lovers,
Jemmy, Jocky and Sawny,
Whom she lost by her Cruel Frowns. (5: 265)

Ethnic signifiers such as dress and music play a significant role in the broadsides. In particular, the broadsides continually refer to the Scottish bonnet and represent it in woodcuts. For over two hundred years, until the bringing to prominence of the kilt, the "blew-cap" was the badge of Scottish male identity: "I was wounded by a Laddie, and his bonnet was blue" (Holloway and Black 1979, 23). This song, "Bonnet so Blue," became popular in the eighteenth century and has remained so to this day. In "A Blew Cap for me" (Hindley 1873, 100–106), a Scottish girl from Falkland rejects in turn suitors from England, Wales, France, Ireland, Spain, Germany, and Holland. Each one is described in terms of racial stereotypes, including the by now overfamiliar vain Welshman:

> A Welchman, that had a long sword by her [*sic*] side,
> red pritches, red Tublet, red Coat and red Peard,
> Was make a creat shew with a creat deal of pride. (lines 25–27)

The girl rejects them all in favor of her Scottish lad, suitably attired in his blue cap. However, the earlier broadsides generally used the wearing of the bonnet for comic effect, the comedy deriving from the supposed incongruity of its being, like the Welsh leek, a symbol of power and prestige.

One of the few aspects of Scottish life to be presented seriously and with any attempt at fullness is the music. One broadsheet reproduces a "new Scotch Jigg" (4: 37), while another has a description of a wedding, accompanied by a woodcut:

> Fu's me, what a muckle ado was there,
> When they for the wedding did thus prepare,
> Her Daddy and Mummy and Sister Sue,
> With Sawny and Moggy, and all the Crew:
> Was blith upon his wedding-day,
> The Lads and Lasses they were gay,
> The Pipers and Fidlers they did play
> The Scottish Jigg and the Irish Hay.
> (4: 9, closing stanza)

As with the Welsh, no single Scottish temperament is offered by the broadsides. Above all, the popular association of Scots with stinginess is nowhere found, and it is likely a modern racial fabrication.[20] Only one broadside attempts to suggest a national trait for the whole "breed"—unfaithfulness—and even this is a case of bluff. When the courtship of (inevitably) Jockey and Jenny starts to founder, Jockey declares:

> Talk not of Wedding, fair Sweet,
> for I must have Charms that are softer,
> I'm of the Northernly (*sic*) breed,
> and never shall love thee well after. (5: Loose 56)

However, Jenny offers determined resistance:

> Although you tickle my knees,
> my Maiden-head still I'll save it. (lines 41–42)

Jockey capitulates immediately and promises to go "unto a geud Kirk, and be Wed" (line 63).

The arbitrariness of attempts to delineate the Scots as foolish, stubborn, carnal, or argumentative[21] is shown by the fact that they differ significantly from the characterizations in contemporary proverbs, which emphasize deception and hardheartedness (Wilson 1970, 243, 353). Not only are such stereotypes highly unstable but they also have unclear borders: the character traits of Cumbrians and Northumbrians are often very similar.

As in the broadsides with a Welsh theme, the way of speaking is a key indicator of Scottishness, and Scots words appear on nearly every broadside. This anticipates more recent attempts to treat nation and language community as synonymous. Ironically, neither Gaelic nor Lowland Scots are indigenous to Scotland, but both had developed to the point of being distinctive Scottish languages long before the seventeenth century. As early as 1512, in the prologue to his great translation of the *Aeneid*, Gavin Douglas had insisted that his language was *Scottis* rather than *Inglis*.

Language is featured as a marker of Scottish national identity in eight out of ten broadsides with Scottish themes, but again in almost every case it is as a distorted way of speaking English rather than a mother tongue. In all but a handful of cases, dialogues are constructed around the same handful of Scots words, such as *gang, muckle, guid*, and *lass*. Here is the opening of "Coy Moggy":

> Gid faith Ise was a blith and bonny Lass,
> Before Ise o're the twenty Year did pass,
> Ise then had mickle Suiters fine and gay,
> Who gang'd with Moggy, ev'ry Holiday. (5: 265)

This, like stage Welsh, is a manufactured speech. It contains only token elements of Scots. In addition to the use of words drawn from the tiny store of Scots expressions known to Londoners, the printer has made an attempt to reproduce Scots speech phonetically. However, such an attempt, like

Dickens's representation of Sam Weller's Cockney speech in *The Pickwick Papers*, is still far from the known features of the dialect. It is not consistent: *guid* (good) is spelt *geud* and *gued* as well as *gid*, none of which correspond to the standardized modern spelling. It is a convenient linguistic mark of the other, which by its very strangeness and plenitude strengthens the power of the normative center.

At the same time, inconsistencies like these suggest that the stereotypes were more in oral than in written circulation. Orthography was not standardized until the eighteenth century. However, broadsides, chapbooks, and other ephemeral literature often use forms unknown elsewhere, and given the known association between street ballads and popular song, it is fair to infer that many of these are attempts to render the spoken language. "Wae's me," for example—equivalent to standard English "Woe is me!"—appears in seven of the broadsides (reflecting the generally tragic subject matter of the love ballads) with six different spellings:

> Ah waes me! way's me, waa is me, wa is me, Au's me, wey's me.

Some words are found for the first time in the broadsides.[22] On the other hand, none of the ballads uses any Gaelic words, and even though Scots varied enormously from region to region—in proportion, broadly speaking, to the local importance of either Norse or Gaelic—no attempt is made to distinguish between varieties.

There are a few exceptions to the minimal use of Scots referred to above. Two are historical, a woman's lament on the execution of the outlaw Gilderoy (Day 1987, 5: 354) and the remarkable "reply and challenge of King Robert the second . . . unto Henry the fourth [read Edward the third] King of England" (5: supp. 2), which moves confidently between Scots and English in representing the dialogue of the two medieval kings. Its imaginative reconstruction of a dispute between the countries three centuries earlier (1371–77), lays bare the contemporary dialectic of the union of the Scottish and English crowns:

> But Scotland yet I dare well say,
> Is ever free unto this day;
> And never brought in subjection
> Exceptin man-sworn of your crown. (lines 123–26)

This is the only one of the broadsides to mention the union of the crowns, albeit in a historically displaced form.

The other instances of extended Scots usage are both in the context of descriptions of Scottish weddings. In the case of Wales, public or ritual life, such as weddings, was only described in terms of drunkenness and "mad merriment,"

where, characteristically, the poverty of the Welsh people was regarded as comical. Scottish weddings, on the other hand, are described from within, with a recourse to Scots that is far more informed than the scattering of stereotyped expressions in the typical broadside:

> Then good sir, Donkin, by your leave,
> a Wadding we mun have;
> Dost see the Skippets [baskets] and Belloons [?],
> with Lads and Lasses brave?
> Ise Jockey take thee Jenny true,
> to be my wadded Wife;
> Forsake my Loons and Lubber-Lowns,
> to please thee all my life. (4:110)

All in all, the higher the proportion of dialect, the more inward and complex the understanding of cultural difference.

From the very beginning, many Scots refused to accept union with England. Some went abroad, such as the financier and adventurer John Law, who established the first bank in France and went on to control a large part of the French economy. In Scotland itself, a continuing sense of cultural loss led to increasing calls for an end to the union. The Highlanders in particular, with their developed clan system, led the resistance. With their powerful and long-established sense of what may be called tribal ethnicity, they did not resist the imposition of the modern state, national or otherwise, but that of *any* state (Hobsbawm 1992, 64). This included Ireland, whose historic ties with the Highlands were broken at this time (Trevor-Roper 1983, 19).

Although England's aim was for the Highlands to be assimilated into the new British state, the ballad makers were of two minds about the matter, drawn to the comic possibilities of anything unknown and therefore strange, but conceding the existence of a distinct and homogeneous culture. While they did not, as we have seen, distinguish between individual Scots, the Highlanders were occasionally given special treatment. In exceptional cases, one of the Highlanders was named, or their bravery was commented on.[23] More commonly, however, they were the targets of satire. In "Jockies Lamentation," which describes the defeats of the Scottish army at the time of the Civil War, the Highlanders were singled out for particular ridicule:

> The High-landers having so mickle a Reach,
> Did find that the pellets did lite in their Breech. (4: 345, lines 82–83)

Moreover, the broadsides offer evidence of a divide-and-rule policy of setting Lowlander against Highlander, particularly after the rebellion of Graham of

Claverhouse in 1689. A cross-dressing broadside, describing one of the "maiden-warriors" who joined the ranks of the army, appeared at the time with a tale of how Moggy joins "her entire love" Jockey to fight the Stuart rebels. As might be expected from the origin of the broadside, her patriotism is clearly of the London rather than the Edinburgh variety:

> Hark! Ise hear the Trumpets sound,
> We shall be aw with Conquest Crown'd;
> Let the Highland Rebels brag and boast,
> Death in Triumph shall ride through their Host.
> (3: 308, lines 53–56)

Assimilation of the Highlander into lowland Scottish life was not, however, the answer. Those who made an appearance in the cities and affected the manners of the court were derided in the broadsheets. "Coy Moggy" describes how she rejected one such fop in Edinburgh:

> Gid faith he was a Laird of mickle geer,
> With Sward and Bonnet how he did appear,
> Exceeding all the *High-land Scottish* Race;
> Sweet sonnets could he sing, Dance with a grace,
> His Service unto me he would devote,
> Yet Ise not let him touch my Petticoat.
> (5: 265, lines 17–22; italics in original)

Highlanders fare even worse when they attempt to breach the English class system, as in "The Scotch Lover's Complaint: or, Jockey's Lamentation for His unkind Usage by his coy Lady, at Epsom-Wells" (5: 356). After spending time at Dorking fair, a Scottish "Lord of muckle high degree" (line 42) makes an attempt to infiltrate the aristocracy at nearby Epsom, a well-known spa. Assuming, with some justification, that the possession of property lies at the heart of success in love in such a place, he boasts to one English lady about his "house and land with muckle geer" (line 27). However, as the title has anticipated, his canny bid meets with "unkind Usage":

> But she reply'd, I need not talk any more,
> For my proffers great she vallu'd not,
> Nor would she embrace a High-land Scot:
> Oh! that killing story
> Blasted all my glory,
> Never did Ise feal such grief before. (lines 40–45)

Conscious now of his humble social station as a Scot, he returns to his "young Jenny" in Aberdeen. The implication, reinforced by the reference to him in the title as "Jockey," is that a Scottish laird is a commoner south of the border. This is significant in terms of power relations within the broadsides, since few of the broadsides are set in Scotland. The protagonists are not only seen out of context but, as with the Welsh *arrivistes*, struggling within the power structures of another culture, England.

The London broadsides dealing with the Highlands go some way towards confirming Hobsbawm's case that nations are "constructed essentially from above, but . . . cannot be understood unless also analysed from below" (1992, 94). In this respect, Hugh Trevor-Roper's account of an "invented" tradition of the Highlands is incomplete. He rightly showed that "traditional" Highland dress was an invention of an English iron-smelter seeking a uniform for Highlanders after the Union of 1707 and enthusiastically taken up by Scots again in 1782 when they were again permitted to wear distinctive dress. The tartans came from English weavers and were only assigned to clans by Sir Walter Scott for a royal state visit (1983, 19). However, the broadside evidence of the previous century suggests that this construction of a Highland identity was not primarily a clumsy assertion of nationalism, as he suggests, but an attempt to resist a stereotype that had already been set up by the English popular presses. England's aim was no less than the assimilation of the Highlands. This was a project that still needed restating two hundred years later, when John Stuart Mill wrote, "[better for the Scottish highlander to be a British citizen] than to sulk on his [*sic*] own rocks, the half-savage relic of past times, revolving in his own little mental orbit" (quoted by Hobsbawm 1992, 34).

As Hobsbawm has pointed out, racial differences have frequently functioned as horizontal dividers as well as vertical ones, territorial as well as social ones (1992, 65). In the case of Scotland, the ancient aristocracy and the clan system both conflicted with the idea of the permanently subordinate Scot. Few upper or middle class Scots, therefore, appear in the broadsides. Even skilled workers, the group that made up an important part of the broadside readership, are largely unrepresented. "Jockey" is socially as well as racially subordinate. As often happens where class is at issue, differences are represented as cultural rather than social and are expressed in terms of personal, not group, attributes.

The most typical kind of love ballad with a Scottish theme is the dialogue. By far the largest group of broadsides, sixteen in all, is cast in the form of a discussion between a pair of Scottish lovers. Debates of this kind are very common in English folk narrative and are found elsewhere in Europe, as in the Italian *contrasto*. They often involve a debate between the powerful and the disempowered over contested territory which could hardly actually have taken place outside a courtroom. Such dialogues are frequently between men and women, and not only in the form

of amorous exchanges—the protagonists of the nineteenth century "Coal-Owner and the Pitman's Wife" debate issues arising from a miners' strike and the coal owner is of course completely routed (Pinto and Rodway 1965, 185–87).

In the case of Scottish lovers, no such unequal exchanges are found: the couples are evenly matched. Those songs where "Slighted Jockey" is complaining about "Coy Moggy's Unspeakable Cruelty" (5: 274) are almost exactly balanced by those where he is himself on the defensive before "Moggie's Jealousie" (4: 32). The latter is a bland dialogue of "Moggie" threatening to go to Edinburgh "to spie [look] for a Lad that is true" (line 14). Jockey's promise of marriage soon reconciles her to him, and the sheet closes with a bland exchange of vows to be faithful to one another. The contrast with the political, religious, and other cross-gender debates in the broadsides is highly significant. The broadsides were printed in London,[24] but many of them were sold in Scotland: Edinburgh and other centers lay on the routes followed by the chapmen who distributed them (Thomson 1974, 94). It is possible to see in these sanitized dialogues an attempt to replace the gender-based roles of dominant and dominated in favor of the larger category of a subordinate Scottishness.

In this context, it is significant that the Scottish ruling class is not generally attacked in the broadsides. After the union of crowns in 1603, members of the Scottish gentry came to England in considerable numbers to improve their fortunes. They gave up their language and became rapidly assimilated, thereby, like the Welsh gentry, accelerating the marginalization of their own people. This is possibly the reason why their presence in court circles does not usually come in for ridicule in the street ballads. The erasing of cultural and social differences once Scots cross the border, as in "The Scotch Lover's Complaint" above, and their reduction to a single national stereotype also, of course, imply the antithesis, the complexity of English urban codes, which the laird is unable to understand, let alone penetrate.

In the handful of ballads which show an awareness of the Scots' use of language, there is often a corresponding element of class and gender politics. In a typical dialogue, "The Scotch Wedding," garnished inexplicably with two woodcuts of the seals of Cambridge University, an egalitarian Scotland is offered. Assuming, like the Epsom laird of "The Scotch Lover's Complaint," that the possession of property lies at the heart of success in love, Jockey offers his Jenny "Five Acres of good Lond, / both sheep and muckle Kine" (4: 110, lines 21–22). However, she proudly declares that she has no fortune and that he must take her as she is. In a passage of interesting realism, Jockey then indicates to Jenny with pride the true simplicity of his own possessions:

Ise have a pail to milk the Ews,
    two Dishes and four Spoon,

Besides Cheese-Fats [vats?] the Curds to serve
    A Pot and two new Shoon:
A Ladle, Spit and Dripping-Pan,
    two Stools and one Straw-Bed,
On which poor Jockey wad full fain
    get Jenny's Maiden-head. (4:110, stanza 5)

She replies that as far as she is concerned, she is happy "To fry Tripe on the Wadding-day, / If Jockey be the Man" (lines 47–48). This proves decisive, and the narrative concludes with the description of the wedding feast (without tripe) quoted earlier.

As with Wales, the Act of Union between England and Scotland (1707) was never presented as a union of equals. However, Scotland, while she lost her political independence, experienced a regeneration of her intellectual, cultural, and commercial life. With very few exceptions, the London ballads of the new century treat Scotland as a newly defeated and colonized nation and Scots as contemptible and boorish fools. "The Fortunate Scotchman" (figure 2), which may have been published soon after the union, catches the new note of colonial superiority:

Sawney, Sawney, wether away,
A word or two I prithee now stay,
How came you so bonny and gay,
And went a begging the t'other day
    Bonny Scot witness can,
    England has made you a Gentleman. (lines 1–6)

The whole song hinges on the contrast between English and Scottish dress. The woodcut, of a Scottish man and woman, shows the man in what appears to be a belted plaid and trews, both of tartan. This was the dress that was considered so inseparable from Highland identity that wearing it after the 1745 rebellion was a political act banned by law. The text of the broadside seems to refer more to a member of the Lowlands gentry than to a Highlander—a possible exception to the convention that the Scottish ruling class is not generally attacked in the broadsides. "Sawney" (a corruption of Alexander always used derisively)[25] is "fortunate" through now being able to enjoy the lace and frills of a greater civilization. The extensive detail of the comparison is of interest to cultural anthropologists, but the connotations are the familiar ones of the dominant and the dominated that were put in place in the seventeenth century:

The shirt thou wore on thy back,
Was made of the webb of a coarse hop-sack,

> Now 'tis turn'd to holland [linen] so fine,
> Bought with brave English coin. (lines 11–14)

Each stanza describes some shabby article of Scottish apparel—cuffs "scarce washed three times a year," a waistcoat "where many a Louse has harboured in," and shoes "made of the hide of an old Scotch cow"—and replaces it, not with plain English woolsey or felt but with luxury items and expensive imports from the Continent. It is made clear that the way for a Scot to rise socially, or at least to avoid humiliation, is to cross-dress, to ape the manners of the master.

The assumptions that are still implicit in "The Fortunate Scotchman" appear as open racism in "The Curse of Scotland" from the same period:

> We have got no dinner, alas! what shall we do,
> For we are all true Englishmen, and cannot eat burgoo [broo, or porridge],
> For Monday that's a Scotchman's day, for they have a jovial feast,
> Burgoo is fit for Scotchmen, but for no other beast.
>
> If you should go to Scotland, and leave your native home,
> Be sure you take with you hogs-lard, brimstone and a currycomb,
> For if you chance to catch the itch, as all the Scotchmen have,
> They catch it in their cradle, and carry it to their grave.
>
> When the pig dies of the measles then they may have roast pork,
> But then they are at such a loss for the use of a knife and fork,
> For they have neither knife nor fork, dish, platter, spoon nor pan,
> They gnaw their meat like English dogs, and sup their broth with their hand.
>
> If you should chance to catch the itch, anoint yourselves full well,
> And rub it in, and scrub it in, but you must not mind the smell,
> If you stink worse than an old polecat, and think you are perfum'd,
> They'll think you've been at Edinburgh dance, or grand assembly room.
>
> So God keep me from Scotland, and all that mangy race,
> For it is a nasty, mangy, lousy, itchy, dirty place.[26]

The professed subject is the difficulty of finding dinner in Scotland, but all the elements of the diminished other are now in place. The Scottish are undifferentiated: the itch is a disease which "all the Scotchmen have" (line 7). They are physically offensive ("that mangy race," line 17) and threatening to outsiders, who must carry "hogs-lard, brimstone and a currycomb" to protect themselves (line 6). Above all, they are more brute than human, "beast[s]" "worse than an

old polecat" who "gnaw their meat like English dogs" (lines 4, 15, 12). This degraded image of the Scots appears in several contemporary representations. The popular ballads here clearly diverge from popular song of the kind found in D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth, or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1719–20). The negative stereotypes were largely transferred to the Highlanders, and Scots became partly subsumed into a pre-Romantic type of pastoral bliss.

Both the view we have of another culture and the creation of our own are intimately connected with processes of social and cultural reproduction. What Orvar Löfgren calls "culture building, the constant production and reproduction, negotiation and change of culture" (1993, 8) proceeds very unequally. At the end of the seventeenth century, there was only one broadside printer in Scotland but forty in England. There was also an effective system of licensing. Such an unequal development with its unequal possession and distribution of "cultural capital" creates the conditions for capitalism. Within a few years these Scottish stereotypes had entered the literary system to the point where Samuel Johnson (1709–84) could make the degraded nature of Scots a topos in his conversation.[27] However, cultural subordination may also, as Frantz Fanon showed, have a consciousness-raising aspect: in the case of Scotland, it contributed to the evolution of a nationwide sense of common purpose but also led to two major rebellions within thirty years (1715 and 1745).

"POOR TEAGUE IN DISTRESS": DOMINATION OF THE RACIAL OTHER IN IRELAND

For Ireland, questions of national identity were irrelevant in the context of the struggle for survival. Even when Mazzini drew up his principle of nationality in the nineteenth century, it only applied to nations of a certain size. His principles did not extend to smaller nations like Ireland, Scotland, or Wales (Hobsbawm 1992, 31). The independence struggles of such nations often had to develop without support from disaffected elements of the center. However, as we shall see, the imposition of colonial power rapidly led to a sense of national identity through a common struggle.

Compared with Scotland and Wales, far more broadsides of the period take Ireland as their subject, and of these, the great majority deal with current events. This is evidently because Ireland was then, as now, a topical news story with a direct relation to power struggles currently raging: England as well as Ireland was being reluctantly brought under the power of the new money lords (Morton 1974, 263). Irish land was still being seized and granted to settlers from Scotland and England, a confiscation whose repercussions can still be seen today. By 1700, at the end of this period, 75 percent of Irish land was in the hands of English and Scottish landlords. These broadsides

have as their background a country permanently at war: there was almost continuous fighting in Ireland from 1534 to 1592 (Morton 1974, 261), and it was invaded by English troops on at least three occasions during the following century. The broadsides were themselves a part of the English war propaganda machine: in the late seventeenth century, there was only one part-time printer of broadsides in Ireland, a Protestant,[28] and forty in England. Here too there was an effective system of licensing, and this accounts for the uniformly hostile position of the London broadsides towards the Irish during the Irish campaign of 1689–92.

George Eliot writes in *Middlemarch* that "prejudices, like odorous bodies, have a double existence both solid and subtle—solid as the pyramids, subtle as the twentieth echo of an echo" (Bk. 5, ch. 43; 1965, 473). In the case of the Irish, solid prejudice focused on matters of appearance and behavior, but without consistency. Any insult, it seemed, would do:

> Teague was before a silly Rogue,
> Poor and dispised was the Dogg:
> But this Make-Kill so much in vogue
> Has drown'd him in a Kilmore-Bogg.
> (5: 57, stanza 4)

This is a classic expression of mistrust between two nations with unequal economic development. Racism always has an intertextual element, stereotypes being readily transferable. Broadsides stood at the interface of oral and literary production (Porter 1992, 38–39), and when, in another ballad, the Irish protagonist mistakes a windmill for St. Patrick's coat, it is clear that the balladmaker has taken over the still-recent adventures of Don Quixote, first translated into English (in part) in 1612. Teague goes up to the windmill:

> Under this geud Holy Cross will I faul
>   and say Pater Noster and some of our Creeds.
> Teague began with great Devotion
>   for to adore St. Patrick's Cross;
> The Wind set a blowing and turn'd the Sails going
>   & gave my Dear-Joy a damnable toss. (5: 270, stanza 4)

The most obvious physical sign of Irishness was the wearing of brogues or stout leather shoes: six ballads mention them. They were used above all for running across the bogs, an activity referred to in nine of the broadsides:

> O Teague, O now prepare your Brogs,
> To Trot a cross your Irish Bogs (5: 40, lines 29–30)

The term "Bog-trot" came to be used as a generic word for the Irish at this time (e.g. Day 1987, 2: 352). Choosing a practice associated with the poorest members of society as the basis of a deliberately insulting epithet reminds us of the relation, in Marxist terms, between racial oppression and class exploitation, of the horizontal as well as vertical dividers. Thus in behavior the Irish were undifferentiated. They were inclined to thieving (5: 44) and even bloodsucking (2: 70). However, apart from always being unfavorable, these are generally wild shots without a consistent pattern. The modern stereotype of the quarrelsome, hard-drinking Irishman is encountered only once, in a stray ballad dating from the early years of the century (1: 248).[29]

While the broadsides could not agree on consistent individual traits, they could reduce the Irish to a single *collective* identity. Most attempt to reproduce the distinctiveness of Irish speech. Whether they spoke Irish or English, their language was coarse and rough and often represented in a way that bears no resemblance to other reproductions of Irish speech of the time (by Swift, for example):

> De Boggs dey vill signify little to us,
> For being so Loyal to Second Yeamus,
> Although dat our Priests and our Shesuits swore,
> Dat ve should have Lands and Livings Gillore, etc. etc.
> (5: 69, stanza 7)

Usually when they spoke English (which they do in nearly half the broadsides), they confined themselves to a handful of endlessly repeated exclamations: *ohone* (from the Irish cry of lament *ochoi*), seven examples; *hub bub* (from Irish?), five examples; "be Chreest," nine examples; "begar" (corruption of "By God"), six examples; "(by my) shoul," nine examples.

This list shows that more than a third of the broadsides have a "begorrah" type expression that was later to be typical of stage Irish. The broadsides made great comedy of Irish attempts to pronounce English, particularly the *s*- and *th*-sounds, but the jokes had already been used of others. Shakespeare had a French doctor in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, mixing up "third" and "turd" more than a hundred years before the Irish "Catholick Brother" does the same (*Merry Wives* 3.3.219; D'Urfey 1719–20, 6: 277). This mockery of Irish speech was particularly misplaced as it came at a time when no standard version of the English language existed. The fact that in most cases the parodied word was the same (corruptions of "salvation" three times, "dey" three times, and so on) suggests that the makers of the broadsides were copying from each other rather than describing any known practice. Nevertheless, the ballad makers were thereby conceding the existence, in fact the preexistence, of the Irish nation, since in recent years, in both

the United States and the former Soviet Union, language has been considered the decisive evidence of nationality and also its guarantee (Isayev 1977, 37–38).

The attempt to give the Irish a single collective identity also appears strongly in naming practices. Naming brings with it not only power but also an intensified sense of difference. When they were identified, most Irish bore the same name, "Teague" (a corruption of the Irish name *Tadhg*), which appears in nearly half the broadsides. Two other terms for the Irish account for the rest: "dear-Joys," an expression which had a brief life between 1688 and 1699 and appears on fourteen sheets, and "Tory" (from Irish *toiridhe*, "pursuer"), which also appears on fourteen sheets but was at this time beginning to be applied in a political party context.

At a time of war, it is usual to call the enemy proud and boastful, and five of the ballads do so.[30] Inevitably too, they are characterized as cowards, although such a charge brings with it the risk of undervaluing one's own bravery. Six of the ballads represent the Irish as running away from the field of battle:

> Teague shall run away for fear,
> Curse his Fate and hang his Ear,
> And houle out, Lero, Lero. (2: 343, stanza 5)

Their brogues are said to be made of "running Leather" (5: 54, line 60) so that, inevitably, they can "fly to the Bogs" (2: 360, stanza 5).

Significantly, there is no trace in the ballads of the traits characteristic of a subordinate nation. The historians Hayden and Moonan represented the state of the Irish after fifty years of occupation in this way: "The Catholic population grew as a serf-population does grow, cringing, shifty, untruthful. They were lazy because they had nothing to work for. . . .Not such had been the Irish of the old times, praising truth as the highest of virtues" (quoted in Jackson 1976, 88).

Unlike the Scots and, above all, the Welsh stereotypes, the physical Irish type was not settled enough for representation. While plaided Highlanders and Shone ap Morgans with leeks stuck in their caps were standard subjects for woodcuts, none of the illustrations on the Irish broadsides attempts to represent an Irish man or woman. It was not until the late nineteenth century that the broadsides and *Punch* started developing the stereotype of the "stunted, ill-fed, low-browed, monkey-muzzled Celts of Connemara."[31]

Since at this time defense of one's religion was synonymous with defense of one's life, it is surprising that religious differences are not prominent in the broadsides. Although their titles may refer to the Protestant cause,[32] only nine of the street ballads (14 percent of the total) even mention it as an issue. Theocracies have had little success as the basis of nations: the Guelphs in the nineteenth century were unable to build the Italian nation around the papacy (Hobsbawm 1992,

72), and the scenario of an English king riding at the head of his army was a more powerful nation-building image than heavenly choirs of angels cheering him on. There are, however, a number of ballads recording atrocities inflicted by one religious group on another. The first, preceding the start of the Irish campaign of King William in 1689, reads very much as if it had been written to whip up a sense of public outrage against Catholics which could be channeled into support for the campaign ("The Protestants Great Misery in Ireland," Day 1987, 2: 332). It chronicles, and depicts (figure 3) instances of rape, arson, and murder by Catholics, but reassures its readers, "the English army is on their way" (stanza 9). The claim that the arrival of an army would put an *end* to acts of rape, arson, and murder rather than increasing them is particularly hollow, since other ballads defend acts of sacrilege and genocide committed by the same English army: "England's Glory" and a "New Song" call on "London boys" to come and help hang Catholics before pulling down their altars and burning their "Virgin Psalters," whatever they might be (2: 289, stanza 6; 293). "The Protestant Victory" (1690?) celebrates (inaccurately) the killing of five thousand Irish at the Battle of the Boyne (2: 361). It is written in doggerel couplets: the survivors flee crying, "bub bub a boo what shall we do" (1: 23) and there is an uplifting woodcut of a Christian battlefield. "The Soldiers Catch" records with approval the rape of Catholic women (5: 68, stanza 4) . "England's Triumph," with a woodcut of the English King slaughtering mitred Catholic bishops, describes even St. Patrick as mocking the Irish army and advising them to take to their heels:

> By my Shoul then says St Patrick,
>   you're a pack of Silly Rogues,
> If you do not leave your Shack-Boots
>   and take you to your Brogues,
> When the King to Ireland he comes, he comes,
>   when the King to Ireland comes. (2: 308, stanza 8)

This ridicule of Catholic religious practices, as in the reference to their "wooden Gods" (2. 363, stanza 8) or the broad dialect humor of the "Irish-Men's Prayers to St Patrick" (5. 69), is assumed, but only one of the sheets actually deals with the sort of abuses that Martin Luther had targeted. The 1689 ballad "Here, Here, Here is Pig and Pork" is a narrative of how a corrupt priest pursues a shopkeeper's wife with his "Catholick engine." As its subtitle expresses it, the ballad describes

> How a Lustfull Roman Bore
> Made a delicate Piggin Riggin a Catholick Whore;
> Whereby you may see, if you are not stark blind,

>That the Priests will never Marry while some Wives are so kind.
>Giving an account of Father Wisely, the Popish Bishop of Kildare in Ireland,
>and a Shop-Keeper's Wife in High-street, Dublin. (2: 315)

This ballad is the only one to feature a narrative with an individualized Irish man or woman (in this case, both) and one of only two that admit the existence of Irish women. It is also the single surviving example of a seventeenth century broadside printed in Ireland itself. However, in other respects the broadside is true to the anti-Irish stereotype: it is difficult to say which is more corrupt, the church or the ballad.

Only on rare occasions is there any evidence that the broadsides are based on even slight acquaintance with Irish realities. In the late "Teague the Irish Soldier" there is a single stanza which suggests some personal observation:

>On a Galloway Tit [pony] I'll trot it away,
>With Bridle and Crupper of Thumbrope of Hay:
>In a Cot daub'd with Cow-turd, I'll lie me down warm,
>In my Bed with each Feather as long as my Arm. (5: 72, stanza 8)

Given this distance from, and distortion of, their subject, it is not surprising that these broadsides failed to pass into the repertoire of traditional singers either in London or along the routes followed by the chapmen who sold them in rural England. Robert Thomson, who studied the way broadsides and singers interacted, estimated that of a total of over a hundred thousand broadsides issued by British presses between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, perhaps one in seven passed into the oral tradition (Thomson 1974, 23–24). By this yardstick, we would expect about fourteen of these street ballads to enter the repertoire of traditional singers. Yet only one was taken up,[33] and with such enthusiasm that it made up for the obscurity of all the others. One of the broadsides quoted earlier describes how a soldier runs from the scene of battle crying "O hone O hone" to the tune of "Lilliburlero" (2: 308, stanza 3): "Lilliburlero," as unpleasant a piece of religious intolerance as one is likely to meet, makes Protestantism, and thus morality, synonymous with Englishness. It probably represents the best justification of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun's contemporary claim that whoever controls the repertoire of popular song has no reason to worry about controlling the legal system. This is particularly true in this case since, while the identity of nation and ideology is an impoverished and incoherent philosophical concept, it is powerful as a political concept (Anderson 1991, 5). The song was so successful as propaganda that it is estimated to have driven the Catholic James II from power in three kingdoms (Friedman 1977, 286). Today it survives, a still-potent mark of Protestant supremacy, as the theme music of the BBC's World Service radio news.

Nationalism, the ideology that proclaims difference as central to politics, is based on a set of largely invented positions relating to history, land, people, and so forth. These positions are fiercely contested, never more so than in the England of the seventeenth century. The identification of an enemy, Ireland, therefore represented an alternative, the creation of a simplified national identity in another that would by default strengthen the power of the center. Its effect was precisely the opposite. As we have seen, while glorifying the field of battle, the ballads did not call for either of the two modern nationalist paradigms, genocide and assimilation, which seek to extinguish ethnic minorities as relics of the past. Instead, the role of otherness in the Irish that was constructed in such texts as the London broadside offered the Irish an ethnicity that had been suppressed since the Statutes of Kilkenny three hundred years before. Ironically, the cultural subordination implied by songs such as "Lilliburlero" coalesced into the solidarity that led to such uprisings as "the '98," the rebellion that was itself to become a major source of nationalist songs.

Conclusion

A recent (non-English) critic, Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, has questioned the way "Black, Asian and Irish Britons are urged constantly to think obsessively about their ancestral and religious identities. But when the English quietly start wondering about themselves they find no understanding" (Alibhai-Brown 1997, 24). This essay has shown how contemporary ideas of English identity are still founded on the negations established in the seventeenth century and greatly augmented during the period of Empire. During the final years of the Raj in India, a version of "Englishness" was created by colonials which was not only incorporated into Indian elite culture but imported into Britain as part of a middle-class culture of exclusion from an increasingly affluent working class (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam 1994, 82). Today, as Alibhai-Brown comments, "hanging on to the idea of Empire when the Empire is gone has become a pathology, most of all for the English, because they do not have other aspirations to invest in, like the Scottish, Irish and Welsh" (Alibhai-Brown 1997, 24).

The role of oral and popular culture in such creations is large. According to Juri Lotman, there is an "aesthetics of identity" in orality similar to that in the modern media, which rests on the assimilation of stereotypes floating in the unstable milieu of lived experience (Zumthor 1990, 202). Stereotypes of the other, such as the Scottish or the Welsh, are not given but constructed, in gestalt terms, as the reverse mirror of the ideal, which gains in complexity from their simplicity. Ultimately, Englishness was the negation of a negation. Identity was confirmed by the discovery of reverse selves.

This was not only achieved through crude reductionism. The broadsides I have studied here have no single voice. They are not part of a conspiracy or an "orchestrated campaign" (to use a favorite media cliché of our time), and they do not suggest that the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh are the same (although they do suggest each nation speaks in the same way). Nevertheless, their portrayal is a simplified and reductionist one, not in the "innocent" sense of ignorance about what is outside everyday experience, but as part of an evident project to belittle the areas of recent English expansion.

Broadsides were never, of course, simply a mouthpiece for establishment views. Ballad singers included supporters of the popular movements which were in conflict with the new voices of central authority, and we have seen that love ballads in particular gave positive images of Scots. However, where print achieved hegemonic status as the medium of commercial and ruling class interests, it transformed popular culture into a safe image, charged with stereotypes, of its own value systems. This was indisputably true of the popular ballads and songs relating to the Irish, Scots and Welsh at this time, and has a continuing resonance today. The force of the sentiments which led groups of "us" to give themselves an ethnic/linguistic identity against a foreign and threatening "them" was part of a project to create an unequally weighted union which still (just) survives. In a world where, in Eric Hobsbawm's words, "xenophobia has become the most widespread mass ideology" (1992, 170), it is all the more important to recognize its constructed and timebound nature.

Notes

1. Margaret Spufford has shown how Puritan debates made less impact on the subject matter of broadside ballads than on the pamphlets often coming from the same presses, with their slightly different readership (1981: 11–13).
2. Reprinted in W. G. Day, ed. 1987. *The Pepys Ballads*. 5 vols. Cambridge.
3. D'Urfey 1719–20, 2: 172, 4: 186, 263; 5: 5, 274; 6: 93. "Cambrian Glory" (2: 208) is a significant exception in that it is pro-Welsh.
4. Unless otherwise identified, these broadsides are hereafter referred to by their volume and page number in Day (e.g., 4: 287), which corresponds to Pepys's own numbering.
5. "The Welch Wedding" (Day 1987, 4: 109); "The Two Welsh Lovers" (Day 1987, 1: 270). Despite its title, one of the lovers is English.
6. The only exception, "The Two Welsh Lovers" (Day 1987, 1: 270), is a sheet from early in the century (1620?). It describes how a Welsh shepherd is deserted by an English girl, and his cry in Welsh "Due gwin"("black and white") forms the refrain.
7. "The Trapann'd [deceived] Welshman" (Day 1987, 4: 31); "Conscience by Scruples" (4: 307); title (3: 75); "The Welsh Fortune Teller" (4: 320).
8. Day 1987, 4: 66, 276, 277, 368.

9. A London print of 1796, "A Welch Wedding,'" shows the same kind of grotesque abandon among Welsh people of a higher class (Lord 1995, 72).

10. The first citation in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) is from 1724. The word is not a corruption of *rare bit*, as is often claimed.

11. One possible explanation for the use of 'hur' for 'he' is parodic reversal: the Welsh female pronoun 'hi' sounds the same as English 'he'. However, this seems on the face of it too subtle for a racist parody.

12. The full number is 70 (out of a total of approximately 3,700 in the three collections), of which 17 are duplicates.

13. "A Memorable Song on the lamentable, bloody and unhappy Hunting at Chevychase" (Child 162; Day 1987, 1: 92 and 5: supp. 4); "A True Relation of the Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton, Pyrate" (Child 167; Day 1987, 1: 484); "John Armstrong's Last Good-Night" (Child 169; Day 1987 2.133) and "The Life and Death of Sir Hugh of the Grime" (Child 191; Day 1987, 2: 148).

14. "Bonnie Dundee" (Day 1987, 5: 262) is a parody of a 1680s episode in the life of the fugitive Graham of Cleverhouse. "The Maiden-Warrier" [*sic*] (Day 1987, 3: 308) describes a woman's experiences during the same rebellion. "Jockie's lamentation" (Day 1987, 4: 345) alludes to military defeats during the Civil War in the 1640s. "Jockey's Journey into England" (Chappell 1871–80, 3: 94) deals with the events of 1681.

15. "Martin Parker," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 15: 252–54.

16. Of the more than 3,700 broadsides, only a single example is printed in Scotland— "The Complaint of Scotland" by Robert Sempill, printed in Edinburgh about 1570 (Chappell 1871–80, 3: 49).

17. See, for example, "Jockies Lamentation," "Jockey and Jenney," "The London Lasses Folly," and "Teague and Sawney" (Day 1987, 3: 236, 5. Loose 56; 4: 345; 5: 270).

18. Bourdieu uses the term to describe the complex of practices and properties developed by people living within a particular economic space (1986, 101).

19. For instance, "The devil damn thee black, thou cream-fac'd loon!" (*Macbeth* 5. 3. 11). There are thirteen instances each of bonnet wearing (including six woodcuts) and the use of the word "loon" in the broadsides studied.

20. The earliest example recorded by the *OED* (under "Scotch") is from 1906. Only one passage in the broadsides, from "The Crafty Scotch Pedler," can be read as indicating meanness: "In barns they lye / And scarce spend a tester [small coin], / From Easter to Easter" (Day 1987: 4. 326).

21. Compare "The Northern ditty; or, the Scotch-man Out-witted by the Country Damsel" (Chappell 1871–80, 2: 374), "The London Lasses Folly" (Day 1987, 3: 236), etc.

22. In the fifty-three texts studied, three words were found which are not included in the *OED* or *Scots Dictionary* at all—the exclamation *od's bread,* "God's bread"; *cragg,* "a jug"; and *belloon*? (Day 1987, 4: 110), one with a new sexual sense (*mow*), and three significant antedatings, two of them more than two hundred years earlier than the previous "first use" references.

23. "Shakum Guie" is the protagonist of "Scotch Moggy's Misfortune" (Day 1987, 3: 288). For Highland bravery, see "Bonny Dundee" (Day 1987, 5: 262, line 78): "They valiantly fought, as High-landers can."

24. Edinburgh had only one broadside printer before the nineteenth century.

25. John Lacy's play *Sauny the Scot*, an adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, was performed in about 1677.

26. A London broadside c. 1707, now in the Madden Collection, Cambridge University Library. Reprinted in Holloway and Black 1975: 79–80. The second and third stanzas should probably be transposed.

27. Although James Boswell is anxious to underplay this antipathy, the well-known account of their first meeting in 1763 confirms it: "Mr. Johnson, (said I) I do indeed come from Scotland, but I cannot help it. . . . That, Sir, I find, is what a very great many of your countrymen cannot help" (Boswell 1965, 277).

28. See Day 1987, 3: 215. The earliest recorded broadside produced in Ireland dates from 1626, but they were not widespread until the end of the eighteenth century (Neilands 1991, 209).

29. A reference to "Irish Teague that silly sot" in a later ballad is inconclusive, since the word "sot" was still used with the meaning "fool" at that time (Day 1987, 2: 321, stanza 2). Quarrelsomeness seems to have been proverbial by 1732: "Like Teague's cocks that fought one another although they were on the same side" (Wilson 1970, 94).

30. Day 1987, 2: 299, 300, 303, 305, 366.

31. From the Christmas 1871 MS diary of Lt. Col. Charles William Thompson (1817–91) in my possession.

32. In fact, twelve do so.

33. More than a hundred years later, on a visit to northern Ireland, Keats describes how he heard an old man sing a song on the Battle of the Boyne (Page 1965, 139), but this is unlikely to have been one of the broadside ballads.

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The Turkish German Self:
Displacing German-German Conflict in
Orientalist Street Ballads

Tom Cheesman

*Foreign peoples or cultural universes are loved or hated, not as the
result of loose passions, but for reasons rooted in the observer's own
society. The images held pass through the usual prism of ideological for-
mation and evolution. This process represents a vast field of inquiry
whose study has scarcely begun.*

—Rodinson 1988, 129

*It appears that the most western oriental culture is always the most
forcefully excluded by the west, because it brings the repressed into con-
tact with Europe's conception of itself. This is one important reason for
reawakening this bewitched and repressed portion of Europe's memory.*

—Şenocak 1994, 97

*The Eastern Question, in so far as it concerns peoples and forms of gov-
ernment situated, so to speak, outside the circle of European civilization
and having no future, ought to have no interest for Europe apart from the
consequences that it can have on the relations of the great European
powers with each other.*

Bismarck, in 1878

INTRODUCTION

The postcolonial criticism of orientalist discourse was placed on the interdisci-
plinary agenda of cultural studies by Edward Said's now famous *Orientalism*
(1978)[1]; it has since been elaborated in a host of publications in the English-
speaking world and beyond.[2] These explore the ways in which orientalism
works not only in oriental studies but in the arts, media, and politics and within
the "master discourses" of racism and sexism to create an imaginary geography
placing the "East" (with the "South") in a position of subordination and back-
wardness, thus shoring up the self-assurance of a powerful, modern "West" and
"North." But *German* orientalism has been relatively little studied, perhaps in

part because Said himself suggested that it amounts to little more than a study-bound scholars' and poets' rehash of French and British more "actual" oriental-ism, since Germany lacked the experience of colonial encounter (1978, 18–19).[3] Certainly, much of German ideology or German culture in any domain is a variation on transnational Europe themes. On the other hand, it remains to be proven that German orientalism was or is as second-hand as Said implies. At the very least, the long history of contact—mostly conflict—between the Holy Roman and Ottoman Empires (and to a lesser extent the alliance between the Ottoman and Wilhelmine Empires) bequeathed certain quite specific cultural traits in Germany, which have acquired a new significance since the mass recruitment of "guest workers" from Turkey in the 1960s.

The dominant German metonym for "the oriental" has long been "the Turk."[4] This concept in popular discourse tends to subsume the entire Muslim, Middle Eastern and even Arab worlds, that is, everyone immediately outside the borders of Europe and Christendom. And since Early Modern times the Turk embodies the "enemy of the nation": the *Erbfeind* (hereditary enemy)[5] of the Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation (Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation). The Ottoman Empire is the major threat to Christendom as seen from German territory. Even today, much German discourse on the Turk reveals the continuing, poisonous potency of this legacy of folkloric memory. It is undoubtedly a major factor hindering the German state's recognition of the rights of Turkish migrants and their second- and third-generation descendants, nine out of ten of whom, some two million people, do not have citizenship.[6] If the Turk is defined as the enemy of the nation, representations of the Turk will change as concepts of the nation change. It is this process which the present essay seeks to track, focusing on street ballads of the nineteenth century, but also taking into consideration the older traditional ballads on which the street ballads are often based. The essay investigates the ways in which popular orientalist texts figured German-German conflicts in terms of German-Turkish or, latterly, Turkish-Turkish conflicts.

Such displacement was necessary because the nation is an "imagined community" (Anderson 1991) premised on an ideal equation of territorial integrity, sovereignty, and homogeneity of culture which was first posited by the Treaty of Westfalia in 1648 (Oommen 1997, 4) and premised further, since the American and French revolutions, on the ideal of equal participation by all citizens in determining the community's fate. Not only in Germany, but particularly obviously in the various territorial and political entities subsumed under that concept, these ideals have been utterly at odds with geographical, political, and cultural realities: "A fleeting glance in a historical atlas suffices to show that the idea of a compact 'German people' is entirely groundless. Its function can only be to support, by means of fictions, an especially fragile national identity"

(Enzensberger 1992, 48). For a variety of reasons, some continuous and others conjunctive, none of the German nation-states of 1871, 1919, 1933–45, 1949, or 1990, could realize nationalist ideals. So ideological work is necessary before, during, and after the creation of nationalist movements and nation-states (which by no means necessarily come into being as the results of nationalist movements)—ideological work which creates and sustains fantasies of unity. Orientalism is one of the discourses in which such work may be done: representations of encounters with the exotic other can help mask the heterogeneity of the imagined community of self. In other words, "internal" conflicts based on differences of class, gender, locality, generation, religion, and so forth can be simultaneously repressed and provided with fantasized resolutions when they are staged in terms of external conflicts.

As in my earlier work on street literature, I shall be tracking ideological change in a diachronic sequence of thematically related fictional ballads, considered as an intertextual set. By "fictional" ballads I mean those which may pretend to present news (using pseudo-reportage rhetoric and design features such as the typical cover formula "Printed this year") but which in fact purvey human-interest dramas designed to be marketable over many years, decades, even generations. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, fictions in this sense constituted the vast majority of the German street ballad repertoire (Cheesman 1995a,1998).

Considering the orientalist street ballads published between the close of the eighteenth century and the period of the Weimar Republic, one might assume that changes in their motif patterns and ideological discourse would be linked to contextual changes in international politics, such as changes in German-Turkish relations or stages and turning points in the German-speaking public's perception of the orient/Turkey in response to historical contact events. This proves not to be the case. Historic events occurring in the orient were only occasionally reported in nineteenth-century street ballads, and there is no discernible historical correlation between the contents of fictional orientalist ballads and, for example, the moments of the Greek War of Liberation, the Crimean War, the various "oriental crises" of the later nineteenth century, or the First World War. Certainly, such events—or rather, their representations in German media—left traces in fictional ballads in that they created bodies of presumably popular knowledge, so ballad writers used personal and place names and other references drawn from current news and from popular history in order to enhance the impression of verisimilitude. But changes in the orientalist repertoire correlate not with oriental events but with German events, with moments of crisis in the coming-into-being of German nationhood. So, for example, the Greek War of Liberation is the setting of many orientalist ballads not because of any popular philo-Hellenism but because mobilizations of support for the Greek national

cause in the 1820s and 30s, and again at intervals over the following decades, were always expressions of a national sentiment which essentially concerned Germany. Express sympathy for Greek nationalism was a surrogate means of expressing German national aspirations. So the historical Greek-Ottoman conflict is used as a stock setting for texts which audiences certainly believed to be representations of real events but which only occasionally drew on reliable and factual reports in other news media and were far more often invented. But in any case, the underlying social and ideological conflicts which these texts imaginatively express are not the conflicts operative in the Balkans: they are the conflicts operative in Germany. If it had been otherwise, they would not have found a German audience.

A brief word may be necessary on German street ballads in general. They are predominantly crime and miracle stories, produced by an urban petit bourgeoisie under the watchful eye of state and church censors (and sometimes promoters) and designed for consumption by the urban petit bourgeoisie and their social inferiors, workers and the rural population, those strata who met, mingled, and traded at markets and fairs. Thus they are a channel of what I have elsewhere (1995b) called "intersubcultural dialogue" between a historically shifting, and locally various, set of social groups equipped with differing degrees of cultural, economic, and political power, and involved in various kinds of activity as print producers, consumers, and oral (or manuscript) recreators. These groups ranged from illiterate young women farmhands through laborers, soldiers and sailors, artisans, shopkeepers and the like, to the small-town teachers and priests who were in many cases the authors and beyond them to the policemen and state officials acting as pre- and post-publication censors, whose powers over street ballad sellers ensured that only a tiny minority of published texts articulated anything approaching an oppositional consciousness. The stories take the form of *exempla* (concretizations of general moral principles) which work by demonizing "others." Tales of the just rewards meted out by the state and/or divine justice to criminals and sinners (who were almost always working class) helped create the sense of an imagined moral community. I have shown elsewhere how, in the case of infanticide stories, this community came to be figured as a lynch mob, and was identified in that form with the moral authority of the imagined nation (Cheesman 1995a, 150).

It must also be mentioned that "street ballad" is an inadequate translation of the German term *Bänkelsang*. As in Italy (from whence the tradition derives) it featured a specific form of performance, using painted multi-scene placards illustrating the story, which was first recited in oral prose before being sung in ballad form. In the nineteenth century, the typical print publication was an eight-page pamphlet (a twice-folded octavo sheet) featuring a prose narrative of up to two thousand words followed by a ballad recapitulating the story.

Zaara's Story

The performance repertoire of the last generations of traveling *Bänkelsänger*, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, had become fairly static, consisting of "evergreens" of the late nineteenth century. One of these standards was: "Two Lovers Find One Another Again and Are United on the Battlefield of Larissa."[7] (See appendix, text 1: transcriptions of three German texts are appended; translations are given in the body of my text.) Two early twentieth-century placards illustrating the Larissa text are extant, as are several variant editions of the prose-and-song pamphlet. It was almost certainly first published in or shortly after 1881, when Larissa, along with the whole of Thessalonia, was annexed by Greece (Öztürk 1997a, 17).

The story is set among Muslim Turks in Constantinople/Istanbul (both names appear) and in Crete and Thessalonia, against an indeterminate historical background recalling the Greek War of Independence. It is about the romantic fate of a young woman, Zaara, "the Rose of Istanbul." The daughter of a noble family, she loves and is betrothed to one of two brothers, sons of another such family. Her beloved, Adrian, a morally upright, "educated" young gentleman, inherits part of his father's property in Crete and goes there, whereupon he converts to Christianity. Meanwhile his wicked, jealous, deceitful, and brutal brother, Hussar, takes Zaara captive as she sets off for Crete, imprisons her in his harem, and then—when she steadfastly resists his advances—throws her into a cell with his hungry pet tiger. However, the tiger (like many a beast in martyrological tradition)[8] recognizes Zaara's moral purity, befriends her, helps her to escape, and remains her companion and protector. Once at liberty, she dresses in men's clothes and joins the army: for meanwhile, the two brothers are commanding officers in Christian and Muslim armies preparing to meet in battle at Larissa. Zaara serves under her beloved, unrecognized by him. At the climax of the battle, the tiger kills the wicked brother as he is on the point of killing Zaara; it dies from its wounds. Zaara reveals her identity to Adrian, and also her inward inclination since childhood (due to her nursemaid's influence) towards Christianity. A priest is summoned, and the two are immediately married.

The ballad recapitulates the prose story. My translation cannot capture all the awkwardness of a text which inexpertly uses an elevated literary idiom, characterized by syntactic inversions, abstract vocabulary, and unusual compound words, or the grammatical and lexical solecisms, such as the shifts between past and present tenses in the final stanza, which are forced by the demands of rhythm and rhyme.

1. Two brothers, full of courage and strength, daring in mind and beautiful of body, who had already carried out heroic deeds, burn with love for a tender woman. One addressed his supplications to the Prophet and was full of

vengefulness and cunning; the other defended those in danger, was a noble man, a good Christian.

2. It was Zaara whose love they tirelessly sought, but the girl's instincts inclined towards the Christian, not the Turk. Although born of Turkish blood, already as a child she had enjoyed the blessings of Christians and had escaped from heathenism.

3. Full of rage that she did not choose him, the Turk locked her in the harem; but though he tormented her daily, yet she never became his. A tiger that belonged to him, and who guarded the timidly resisting girl, was her only playmate in the grim night of her dungeon.

4. So she found herself a prisoner, until her tormentor grew angry that her heart always remained closed to his supplications and his love. He drew his sword to murder her, but suddenly another plan occurred to him and he thought to himself, sneering.

5. He offered her to the tiger, as food for its great hunger, but it approached her softly and did not harm a hair on her head. It broke open the prison and cleared a safe path of escape for her, and before her beloved had an inkling of it, she had approached him as a man.

6. She fought under his flag until the Turk got onto her track; he followed her on the battle road, unmoved by her supplications. Already he holds her in his arms. Then the tiger quickly leaps to her aid and tears the bandit pitilessly, wildly in two with his claws.

7. To the beloved hurries the beautiful woman and declares her love to him; now he blocks the sound of her voice by kissing her on the mouth. And as they were thus united, and the priest consecrates their bond, they cry out: "From dangers, love and loyalty have freed us."

As Petzoldt (1974, 77) has pointed out, this is a formulaic love story clad in exotic garb: the locations and names, the harem, the tiger, and so on add an orientalist patina to a conventional tale illustrating the concluding "moral of the story": that true love and loyalty (*Treue*) conquer all obstacles. Yet this commentary neglects the ideological import of the moral polarity imposed on the Christian and Muslim characters. Öztürk (1997a) also stresses that the text's theme is loyalty. He argues that it draws on a rich folklore which marks the Turk as an all-purpose negatively exemplary figure, so that the "conflict between the Cross and the Crescent" (the subtitle of the tale on one of the painted placards) is of only superficial significance: it merely provides an arbitrary context for the illustration of the truth about *Treue*. Although the text reinforces orientalist thinking—excluding the non-Christian world from the ambit of "civilization" and reinforcing a sense of dominant European-Christian identity in a manner than evidently compensates for a lack of confidence in any

such identity (Öztürk 1997b, 5)—this effect is, so to speak, a by-product. The text deploys and confirms longstanding clichés about the "barbaric Turk," the "infidel" who "deserves his punishment," excluding him in terms of "innocence, law, justice, loyalty" from the world of the reader, but it would be a mistake to view this as the text's central purpose, which is moral: to show that all who behave wickedly and cruelly are fated to suffer as painfully as their victims (Öztürk 1997b, 5–6).

This assessment seems accurate to me, as far as it goes. I would like to take the argument further, from the level of individual intention and response to that of collective imagination. The argument's premise is that the object of orientalist discourse is a fantasy figure, that is, a projection or displacement of some (unacknowledged, repressed) aspect of the discursive subject. "We" talk about "them" but in doing so mean "us." In the case of Zaara's story, I want to suggest that what is at stake here is not just European-Christian identity but specifically German identity: that the wicked other stands not merely for the disavowed wicked self but for an internal threat to the imagined community of the German nation.

Before setting this argument in the specific historical context it requires, let us first consider the genealogy of Zaara's story: the line of orientalist street ballads and older, related traditional ballads from which it descends.

THE COUNTS' STORIES

The orientalist ballad tradition goes back to the fifteenth century. Hundreds, maybe thousands, of street songs reported historical events in the interimperial struggle on the southeastern borders of Christendom (Buchmann 1983; Özyurt 1972). But just three *fictional* ballads involving action in the orient survived into the modern era.[9] They were still very much alive in the nineteenth century, and numerous modern street ballads are based more or less closely upon them. They are all about noblemen who leave home in order to travel east, whether as pilgrims ("The Noble Moringer"; "The Count of Rome") or as warriors ("The Margrave of Backenweil"). Individually and in conjunction, they serve to legitimate the Holy Roman Empire (it is surely no accident that one hero of these German ballads is the Count of Rome) in politico-religious terms as guardian of Europe's and Christendom's frontier against the heathen foe. But that is incidental to their main purpose. All are in fact domestic comedies. The eastward journey is not so much a journey *into* another space as a journey *away from* familiar space. The major theme in all three ballads is the relationship between husband and wife, which is tested by his absence and which finally passes the test. The hero returns home (twice thanks to a miracle, once thanks to his wife) and restores the marital status quo.

Important subsidiary roles are played by other motifs. "The Count Pulling the Plough" (*Graf im Pfluge*) features in a number of traditional orientalist tales: the nobleman is taken captive, enslaved, and forced to labor on the fields, even yoked to the plough. Here the orient is the World Turned Upside Down (WTUD): the motif articulates class conflict, expressing a revenge fantasy of the oppressed (especially clearly in a mainly prose narration of "The Margrave of Backenweil" from the 1920s: Röhrich-Brednich 1965, 20b). But just as when Carnival season is over, normal social order is restored, at the close of the story the count always comes back home and his traditional rights are no longer challenged.

The motif "Woman in Male Dress" works in a precisely similar way. The motif's transgressive and emancipatory potential in English-language balladry has been explored by Dugaw (1996), but at least within orientalist German ballads it is strongly embedded in patriarchal norms. The wife of the enslaved Count of Rome travels to the WTUD-orient disguised as a music-playing monk and secures her husband's liberty without revealing who she is. He arrives back home later than she does (having traveled on to Jerusalem and back) and soon learns of her unexplained absence in the interval. To avoid a scene of domestic violence, she presents herself to him in her disguise. Thus cross-dressing is plotted as a device ensuring the stability of the marital norm; the heroine's transgression is a means to the end of self-abasement.

In genres other than the street ballad, the Early Modern period produced some more complex variations on the "Turkish slavery" theme, among them the remarkable tale of the Count of Gleichen, which was adapted in nineteenth-century street balladry. This legend has a distinguished literary and operatic history: in and since the Romantic period it was covered by Musäus, Goethe, Arnim, Schubert, and Hauptmann, to name only the best known (Frenzel 1988; and see Petzoldt 1976, 26–27 on folkloric sources). This enslaved count is liberated by the daughter of the sultan or pascha who holds him captive, on condition that he marry her and take her back to Europe. There is a problem: he is already married. So they stop off in Rome on the way back home and request a special dispensation from the pope. Which is granted. And so—in the standard form of the legend—they all live happily together.

This love-triangle story implicitly questions the norm of compulsory monogamy, and what is more, it even gives an oriental woman the major role in determining the fates of the protagonists. In this form it is unsurprisingly absent from the repertoire of street balladry. It features in two late eighteenth-century literary *Romanzen*, written in the then popular style of the street ballad parody: here the joke is that the poor count must be pitied for having two wives to satisfy.[10] (This is a joke involving orientalist stereotypes which recurs in several drinking songs of the period, some of them very long living: one is still found today in some editions of the *Zupfgeigenhansl* songbook.[11] They address the pros and

cons of being a Christian as against being a Muslim—pope or sultan. Which is less endurable, a taboo on polygamy or a taboo on wine and beer? The answer, given the genre, is predictable.) Goethe wrote two endings to his Gleichen-based drama *Stella*: in the first version (1776), the hero and two heroines resolve to live together, and the open ending appears optimistic; in 1806, they kill themselves. A mid-nineteenth-century street ballad follows the latter pattern quite precisely.[12]

The tale of Zaara should be read in the context of such precursors in popular traditions and street ballads derivative of them. In all the story-songs mentioned so far, it is evident that the distant orient features as a screen onto which local conflicts are projected: especially conflicts of class and gender involving social and familial norms. Even in the case of the Count of Gleichen one should not lay too much stress on the notion that the oriental heroine succeeds in importing her different cultural norm into Europe. The earliest source for the legend dates from 1539, when it appears in correspondence among Reformers debating the formulation of their policy on divorce. The context of the story is interconfessional conflict among German Christians, and the narrative hinges on the pope's power (its holy transcendence or its diabolical perversity, depending on the point of view), rather than on the empowerment of the Turkish countess.

This reminds us that the most common pattern in such tales of travel to the orient is the one in which the German/European hero returns laden with booty, including a woman who has probably fallen in love with him.[13] This cliché is succinctly rendered in Pedro's song in *The Abduction from the Seraglio* (1782), an intentionally kitschy song which was soon available (in extended form) at street markets.[14] The opera is set in "Turkey," while the song opens with a reference to *das Mohrenland*, the land of the Moors—a variant in fantasy geography as well as a phonetic variant on *das Morgenland*, the orient:

> In the land of the Moors was held captive
> A maiden pretty and fine
> Looked red and white, her hair was black
> Sighed day and night and wept a lot
> Dearly wanted to be freed.
>
> There came from a foreign land
> A young knight;
> He felt very sorry for the maiden.
> Hey! he cried, I'll risk my head and my honor
> If I can rescue her.

The fantasy maiden is probably a "white slave" (a theme of at least one nineteenth-century ballad)[15], but she might also be an oriental. This matters little.

What matters is the opportunity for a hero to reaffirm the stereotypes of masculine heroism, that is, stereotypes of European, occidental, Christian culture.

Several factors transformed the general conditions of orientalist discourse in the eighteenth century. The threat to German territory from the orient receded swiftly after the high water mark of 1683 (when an Ottoman army reached Vienna), and at the end of the century, a new *Erbfeind* usurped the place of the Turk in the popular imagination: the Frenchman.[16] Meanwhile, a philo-orientalism developed in elite culture, producing figures such as the enlightened Pascha Selim in Mozart's opera, or the more complex Saladin in Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*. Such representations of "noble oriental savages" articulate educated critiques of local institutions and rulers (see Rousseau and Porter 1990). But they find scant echo in popular culture, which continues to imagine the orient essentially in terms of the Christian/heathen moral polarity, as a place of barbarism and a place of slavery for Christians living there or having the misfortune to go there.

LEWERER'S STORY

Within this continuity, however, there is a remarkable discontinuity, precisely in 1789. It is surely no coincidence that the year of the French Revolution saw the appearance of the very first modern orientalist street ballad. True, in November of that same year General Laudon's army seized Belgrade from the Ottoman Empire, a turning-point in the long *reconquista* of the Balkans which was duly celebrated in broadsides in the Hapsburg territories. But the new kind of fictional ballad about Turkish slavery which appears in 1789—founding a lineage of redactions, imitations, and variations lasting to the 1850s—is not responding to a perceived increment in the occident's advantage of power over the orient. Rather, it is responding in a mode of prepolitical fantasy to the emergence of a new politics of national identity.

It is a very simple "true story" (and one that may indeed be largely true) which is told in two extant eight-page pamphlets dated 1789, naming the author (highly unusual in this genre) as one Johann Jakob Lewerer, an apprentice wheelwright in Fürth (Lower Bavaria).[17] They give variants of a poem and a short ballad, and advertise a forthcoming third text, a long song which is extant in a pamphlet of 1818 (rpt. Braungart 1985, 98–108). Other redactions which appear to be of intermediate date are extant. These texts tell of a group of six journeymen from Liegnitz (Silesia), who were pressed into the navy in Amsterdam, taken prisoner by pirates on the Mediterranean, and sold into slavery in an oriental place (the Holy Land in Lewerer's texts, Algeria in the 1818 redaction). They are rescued after several years by a passing Knight of St John, a German, who arranges their journey home. One of them dies within weeks of arrival: his fate is the focus of the texts' religious rhetoric.

Lewerer expressly invokes the motif of the "nobleman before the plough," but his protagonists are workers before the plough. That is one departure from the existing ballad tradition: the substitution of a *group of workers*, of similar status to the audience, for a *singular nobleman* transforms a WTUD revenge fantasy into an allegory which permits two kinds of response. Imaginative self-comparison with the protagonists on the part of the audience is as well motivated as the notion that there's always someone worse off than yourself, which no doubt furnished much of the recipients' pleasure.

The second departure from tradition is the desexualization of the plot. Women are now simply absent. A purely male community of solidarity is imagined, bred of common status and place of origin, forged by a common fate, and celebrated in a common return home to the *Vaterland*.

This is a democratization and a dedomesticization of the theme of the ballads of counts: a deprivatization, indeed even a nationalization. It is most curious how the texts play on the concept of *Vaterland*—especially Lewerer's text, which remained in circulation across a very large portion of German-speaking territory throughout the revolutionary decades. This term is used variously to mean "the territory of the *Landesvater*," that is, of the local, traditional, feudal sovereign; the individual's homeland or home town (Liegnitz in Lewerer's texts), the place of the personal fathers who tearfully greet their lost sons; and also, in the phrase *"himmlisches Vaterland"* (heavenly fatherland), the place of God the father, in contrast with this earthly vale of sorrow. It does not appear in the modern sense of "national territory"; indeed, to have used it in this sense would have been precocious before the later 1790s and would have called down the wrath of censors in the service of particular sovereign states, except during the patriotic mobilization, backed by an alliance of states, of 1812–15. Yet this modern sense seems to be forcefully implied, not least when one considers the way the texts invite identification with the protagonists among audiences far from the narrative scene of return. What links Liegnitz and Fürth, and later a great number of other pairs of distant German places of the narrative and places of narration or publication, is a sense of identification which implies that particular *Vaterländer* may be generalized to the imagined community of all simultaneous consumers of a text in German about Germans.[18]

The return to the Vaterland is imagined as the summation of freedom: as escape from slavery. A slogan such as *liberté, égalité, fraternité* is dimly audible. True, this was not coined before 1791, and there is little evidence either of popular reception of French revolutionary ideals or of a popular nationalism in Germany in this period. Not until the foundation of the Reich in 1871, indeed, can one speak of a widespread nationalism (and then it was prescribed by national authorities). Yet the stratum of literate artisans represented by Lewerer, who advertises a lending library on one of his texts, is precisely one that would be most

open to such ideas (recall Edward Thompson's [1963] early working-class heroes), and purveyors of popular reading matter—street ballad producers among them—always had strong economic motives to support any politics which would enlarge their markets and simplify distribution. The Lewerer texts and their direct successors are not politically intended statements: note the role of a Knight of St. John, embodying the dual secular and religious authority of the *ancien régime*, as rescuer of the tragic workers. But the texts surely do articulate a prepolitical sense of change in the conditions under which cultural identities may be imagined.

In the new imagination, the Turk enters a new, allegorical role. He is no longer the simple adversary of the lone, noble hero (and/or the hero's wife). In fact, the "barbaric" Turkish slave-owner is conspicuously absent from these narrations, though the effects of his tyranny are dwelt on in great detail. His virtual presence in the socially reconfigured distribution of roles recalls less a figure who is radically other than a quite familiar, brutally exploitative authority: the cruel German prince, count, earl, duke, who treats his subjects like brute beasts, exploits their labor, imposes taxes to finance his luxuries which bring them to starvation, presses them into military service, sells them to foreign armies to be shipped overseas, or otherwise mistreats them. Many German working men had cause to identify with slaves under oriental despots. Their imaginative identification with the suffering protagonists of these tales was not just sympathetic. Without articulating an ideological position to which any censor could object, Lewerer's texts and those of his imitators help prepare the terrain, in the popular imagination, for national and class politics.

Babet and Zerlina's Story

The first half of the nineteenth century saw much recycling, in the ballad trade, of the stories discussed so far: variations of the older ballads with middle- and working-class protagonists[19] and new variations of Lewerer's formula.[20] The next real innovation in the orientalist ballad repertoire occurs in the aftermath of the abortive revolutions of 1848–49. This period saw a momentous shift in the character of German nationalism. All revolutionary national projects were brutally repressed and their organizations destroyed. Only a very few dedicated activists, all in exile, now entertained any hope that national unification, if it were to be achieved at all, would come from below and be associated with any model of democracy or republicanism, whether liberal-constitutional, socialist, or communist. As Prussia's power grew in the 1850s, the expectation increased that this state would achieve unification by force—as indeed, under Bismarck, it did. Thus national politics was detached from class politics.

The Lewerer formula accordingly disappeared from the repertoire in the late 1850s, and a very new story appeared in its stead. Here the female role, the

woman or women banished from the ballad tradition by Lewerer, erupts into the action in a singularly terrifying form—as a pair of identical twins waging a bloodthirsty campaign of anti-Turkish terrorism.

This is a story without precedent in the street ballad repertoire.[21] Its heroines are women in male garb, but their motivation is not that of finding a lost love: they are avenging the deaths of their parents and brothers at the hands of a Turkish mob. *Babet and Zerlina, or: The Terrible Ones by Land and by Sea*[22] (appendix, text 2) are the daughters of a rich silk manufacturer from Klagenfurt (Austria). He is introduced as a "German," which immediately establishes a pan-Germanist ideological context (this was a time of debate between *"kleindeutsch"* and *"großdeutsch"* maps of to-be-united Germany—small without or great with the German parts of the Habsburg territories). This man, we are told, emigrates to Serbia in order to provide work for German (and other Christian) emigrants who have settled there. Tensions with the local Turkish population (hardly surprising given his exclusory employment policy) end with the burning of the factory and the family—except for the daughters, aged twenty, who are out riding at the time. They call the surviving workers together and organize them into a robber band, which practices an ethnicist/racist social banditry: they rob and kill Turks (men and women, children and the aged) and give the booty to Christians. Over several years they extend their field of operations to cover the entire Muslim-dominated Mediterranean region, engaging in battle with Turkish and Egyptian armies, until they are captured "beyond Morocco" and executed. Yet (we are told) their men are still at work, and the names of Babet and Zerlina live on, "in Serbia, Albania, etc."

Even more than is the case with the ballad of Zaara, comprehension of the text of this song depends on first hearing or reading a prose version, and as with many such texts, the presence of a painted illustration is implied by "here" or "there" at several points:

1. O how horribly German noble courage must bleed here; the blood of poor Christians flows at the coarse hands of Turks. Gruesomely their cries of fear echo on the air far and wide.

2. Blood-red pillars of flame rise from house and roof; assailed by fear the daughters hurry, see this grief and woe. Oh! and cannot help, though their heart breaks.

3. There the horde of Christians unites itself with them in the palm grove. The pair of sisters stands before the holy stone with them, swearing an oath: revenge upon this pack of Turks who robbed us of all we own!

4. And soon with terror people name the names of Babet and Zerlina; only blood flows from their swords; the scourge and humiliation of the Ottomans, they avenge a thousand times the tribulations of all Christians.

5. Spare neither the old nor children, everything must be defeated by her. And though Turks are bent on revenge, always the Christians alone are victorious, until her hour comes too, where she lays down her heart.

6. But, dying, her mouth dreams of the destruction of all Turks, and the horde of Christians renews its old way of revenge; for by land and by sea they are known and dreaded.

7. And henceforth Turkish blood flows under Christian blows, Turkish courage is defeated; the effort to achieve their aim is all in vain, for they only fall, bloodstained.

The prose narrative is littered with the often garbled names of oriental places, military units and leaders, lifted from contemporary newspapers (typically, *die Osmanen*, the Ottomans, appears as *die Ismanen*). It enables German audiences to participate vicariously—if only as imaginary freebooters—in the imperial-colonialist adventures of other European nations, claiming a German role in the European-Christian mission to subjugate the orient and punish it for its wicked ways.

But why this uniquely extreme bloodthirst at this historical moment? A clue is provided by the initial characterization of the Turkish foe in the prose narrative: a mob that burns a factory and its owner and his family. Lewerer's Turkish slavemaster was a displaced representation of the German ruling class; now the Turkish mob is a displaced representation of the radical working class.

For the bourgeoisie, haute and petite, blame for the failure of the 1848–49 revolutions lay with those workers whose "violent excesses" (at, before, and since that time) provided opportunities for violent state repression of the middle-class liberal constitutionalists. Strikes, machine-breaking, and other workers' uprisings threatened social and political chaos. No wonder then that the brutal Turkish mob—and, later, poorly disciplined and superstitious oriental soldiers—are so strikingly contrasted with the model German (and other Christian) workers who obediently, with good discipline and prayers before each terrorist exploit, follow the manufacturers' daughters into action. It goes without saying that no tears need be shed over Turkish blood. But the blood that German petit-bourgeois thought is demanding is that of German workers, who in the 1850s still threaten the fragile solidarity of the emergent nation. The message for working-class audiences may be only subliminally perceived, but it is clear enough.

The construction of the double heroine Babet and Zerlina is particularly interesting with regard to this ideological agenda. They are a duo so undifferentiated that the narrator repeatedly switches between plural and singular pronouns and verbforms, mismatching them even within single sentences (for example in stanza five, the use of *ihr*, "her," where *ihnen*, "them," would be

expected, and of *sie*, "she," with a singular verb, where *sie*, "they," with a plural verb would be expected). Thus they form or she forms a symbol of a profoundly split unity—a highly appropriate emblem of German national identity. Moreover, the doubling allows them to be very effectively desexualized (no man can be a match for both of them), while their femininity allows them to appear as permanent victims of the initial traumatic loss of father, family, patrimony, and conventional prospects (what the ballad expresses, entirely materialistically, as *Hab' und Gut*: "all we possess," in stanza three). This then motivates a programmatic brutality which exceeds anything of which male figures in street ballads—even the most monstrous villains—are capable.

The women are ascribed supernatural powers by the prose narrator ("a goddess of love and kindliness" to Christians, a "Fury in satanic form," "the angel of death" to Turks) and are regarded as sorceresses by the superstitious foe. They are mortal, but their legend is immortal and so is their genocidal program: with their dying words to their executioners they promise that "your tribe" will be annihilated (compare stanza six). Of course it is chilling after the Holocaust to read this rhetoric of blood-belonging and exterminatory bloodshed. Indeed, in the Third Reich the Jew was officially identified with the old oriental *Erbfeind*, a move typified by the use of the Star of David on a medal struck in 1933 to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the siege of Vienna (Robins 1996, 66). Fifty years earlier, a Viennese cabaretist commented that battles between anti-Semites and "people like us" had taken the place of Ottoman-Habsburg warfare.[23] The notion that Turks are the new Jews of Germany is widespread today (though sometimes used too glibly: Solingen is not Auschwitz).[24] In the text about Babet and Zerlina, however, nothing suggests that the fantasy violence directed against the exotic oriental foe is a displacement of aggression towards the familiar ethnic minority labeled oriental and thus "deterritorialized"—finally in cattle-trucks. Rather, this violence is aimed at a class enemy within. The genocidal slaughter it envisages will be most nearly translated into reality in the suppression of the Paris Commune.

Rereading Zaara

Babet and Zerlina, then, embody the crisis of German bourgeois national sentiment in the 1850s: the sense of victimhood, rage, and resentment; the severing of the fantasy of unity from socially progressive thought; the association of that fantasy with repressive violence. The twins' story did not remain long in the repertoire: after the mid-1860s, it ceased to be reprinted. And indeed, during the years which saw Bismarck bring about unification, orientalism faded from the street ballad repertoire. It is as if the realization of nationalist fantasies obviated the need for displaced representations of them. When orientalism re-emerged, it

was in the form which became a "modern classic"—in the story of Zaara, the two brothers, and the tiger.

With less overt brutality, this story operates just like that of Babet and Zerlina to construct the polarity of occident and orient and to approve the annihilation of orientals: in the place of the twins' countless victims stands the wicked Muslim brother, Hussar—whose very name signals an indifference towards distinctions between eastern enemies, be they, for example, Turks or Russians. His death is "poetic justice," and its corresponding affective insignificance is aptly implied by the conclusion of a summary of the story, as performed by a latter-day *Bänkelsängerin*: "finally, the two men fight one another, and it all ends well, only [!] the poor tiger loses his life."[25] Both stories exemplify very well the notion that the perversity, sensuality, and brutality ascribed to the other are projections of unacknowledged traits of the self: the tiger is Hussar's and a sign of the primitive bestiality ascribed to the Turk, but it turns against him, ripping him limb from limb in order to satisfy the audience's—our—desire for vengeance.

But Zaara's story is more than just another variation on the familiar pattern of exclusion of the imagined orient from the imagined transnational community of Europe-Christendom-modernity-civilization. We have seen that orientalist ballads deal with conflicts within the German imagined community, especially conflicts based on differences of class, gender, and confession. And we have seen that changes in their motif patterns and discourse articulate shifts in the conditions under which German national identity is imagined. Zaara's story too reflects a particular national conjuncture—one which would be sustained for several decades.

A first point to note is that, after the achievement of unification, it is no longer obligatory to represent conflict between Germans and orientals in order to sustain fantasies about the distinctiveness of the former. Zaara's story is the first orientalist popular ballad with an entirely oriental cast of characters. It seems that, since German national identity has found political expression, its conflicts can be represented as conflicts among different kinds of orientals. Hence the absence of nonoriental protagonists. If the suggested date of production, 1881, is correct, this story appeared as Germany began to seek a "place in the sun" as a colonial power, midway between the Berlin Congo Congress on the "Eastern Question" (1878) and the Berlin Congo Conference (1884) at which the European powers carved up the global "white man's burden." So the text marks Germany's entry into the major league of imperialists precisely by occluding the figure of the German abroad: instead it represents orientals in the process of willingly embracing subaltern status, a typically colonialist fantasy.

But beyond that, the theme of religious conversion—splitting the good, friendly from the bad, hostile oriental—is timely in the Wilhelmine Empire and in the Weimar Republic, less because of this colonialist implication than because of the theme's national resonance.

Just as the success of the Risorgimento made Italy but created the task of "making Italians" (Hobsbawm 1977, 111), so too German unification was the beginning, not the end, of the question of national identity—as a question, now, of cultural policy in the new state (Eley 1986). The common external enemies against whom mainly Prussian armies had fought or threatened to fight did not suffice to bind together the multifarious tribes of Germans; nor was a permanent state of war against the ring of foreign neighbors practicable. So internal enemies had to be found. It is true that the central image on the placard illustrating Zaara's story shows Hussar on a rearing horse, in a pose strikingly reminiscent of the most famous image of Napoleon, David's "Bonaparte Crossing the Alps." An equation between the old and the new *Erbfeind* is suggested here. But while such a meaning may certainly have been mobilized on occasion, the logic of the text (which in any case precedes the image) points more toward an equation of Turks and Germans.

The outlawing of the Socialists and the *Kulturkampf* against ultramontane (transnational) Catholicism were the two most prominent expressions of a tendency in the Wilhelmine Empire to identify and suppress enemies within— Germans suspected of lacking the requisite patriotism. But it was characteristic of these efforts that they were directed against organizations with transnational links and that the individuals affected were deemed capable of freeing themselves from the stigma by choosing to assimilate to the ordained norm of Germanness. This "voluntarist" notion of Germanness was later obliterated by the biological definition imposed by National Socialism (which is still in force in the Federal Republic's *jus sanguinis*, denying citizenship to immigrants' descendants even though they may speak no language but German and may never have visited another country), but it underpinned the official ideology of national identity in the Wilhelmine Empire and the Weimar Republic.

Zaara and her beloved make the "right" choice of identification and are rewarded, while the wicked Muslim, who refuses to convert, is exterminated. In other words we learn that "Turks" (which are Germans potentially lacking the prescribed primary identity as Germans) can become "Christians" (meaning "proper" Germans).

The theme of *Treue* (loyalty) stressed by Petzoldt and Öztürk (see above) can be reread, then, in terms of political allegory. The subtext of the love story concerns the individual's relationship to the national state, a relationship of allegiance or its contrary, treason. She or he chooses to belong, and submit, or else chooses to face the drastic consequences of insisting on being different.

The final stanza of the song echoes the text's title in referring to unification:

To the beloved hurries the beautiful woman
And declares her love to him;

Now he blocks the sound of her voice
By kissing her on the mouth.
And as they were thus united
And the priest consecrates their bond,
They cry out: From dangers
Love and loyalty has freed us.

So Adrian, Zaara's beloved, silences her and brings her career as warrior woman to an end. In accordance with dominant norms, she embraces her own subordination. And the Orthodox wedding ceremony with which it all concludes, being neither Catholic nor Protestant, yet of course Christian, is an appropriate emblem of the religion of the nominally Christian state which is designed to subsume all confessional sectarianism within the secular ideology of nationalism.

Conclusion

This is written at a time when prominent German Social Democrats are playing the racist card, further boosting the support of neofascist parties, which have become accepted as normal players in the political game.[26] Of course this phenomenon is by no means restricted to Germany and the German-speaking countries. And against the wider political background it perhaps seems trivial, or overly politically correct, to complain that all the songs discussed here have been reprinted in popular anthologies, published by respectable publishers and, in some cases, academics, and that in no case does any commentary display even the dimmest awareness of a problem with exhuming such texts from the grave of the archive. One of the most horribly racist songs mentioned here, narrating the torture and killing of a Greek prisoner by Turks in 1821, was even supplied, in 1982, with a conjectured melody and guitar chords.[27]

The racist symbolic logic of blood-loss and blood-revenge in the song of "Babet and Zerlina" (insistently invoking *Blut*, "blood," and rhyming it with *Mut*, "courage or spirit," and *Hab' und Gut*, "property and wealth," and *Türkenbrut*, "brood, mob, or pack of Turks") is repeated in a very different, ostensibly humorous, register by a current item of xeroxlore, which has been in circulation since about 1990—that is, since Germany's post-Wall national identity crisis. This is a parody of the "Deutschlandlied" (appendix, text 3) articulating a "welfare racism" in which everything claimed or achieved by the Poles, the Lebanese, the Persians, the Yugoslavs, the Blacks, but especially the Turks, impoverishes and disempowers "us."[28] Blood is not mentioned, but of course it belongs with the other bodily fluids (milk, semen), which are expressly invoked. At stake here are income, fertility, potency, rights, and territory:

"They all live from our money"; "Yes, you (Germany) are the best milch-cow"; "Germany pays very well for every child; why should I work here, my male member can take care of that"; "When one day we go to cast our vote, ballot-paper in hand, *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*, soon this land will belong to us."[29]

This song—in its photocopied versions—has been declared by judicial authority not to constitute an incitement of contempt and hatred towards "foreign co-citizens" (*ausländische Mitbürger*: the officially preferred, deeply hypocritical term for resident aliens, including native descendants of immigrants to the Federal Republic); it merely "mocks" them. It is hardly surprising, then, that people reprinting what are, actually, old hate songs about Turks, should fail to consider that one in about thirty residents of the Federal Republic is now a Turk. Nor are the continuities in racist thinking, based on mythologies about bodily fluids which in all likelihood go back millennia, at all surprising. What might seem more surprising is the extent to which the presentation of fantasies about "them" is determined by conflicts, specific to historical conjunctures, within the imagined community of "us": the imagined other country is a mirror of what "we" imagine to be "our own." And "as far as the barbarians are concerned, we need not expect them at the gates. They are always already here" (Enzensberger 1992, 66).

Appendix

Text 1

"Wiederfinden und Vereinigung zweier Liebenden auf dem Schlachtfelde von Larissa" (DVA: Bl 9397)

[1.] Zwei Brüder, voller Mut und Stärke
Vom Geiste kühn und schön von Leib,
Die schon vollbrachten Heldenwerke,
Erglühen für ein zartes Weib.
Der eine flehte zum Propheten
Und war voll Rachgier und voll List;
Der And're war ein Schutz in Nöten,
Ein edler Mann ein guter Christ.

[2.] Zaara war's, um deren Liebe
Sie sich bemühten ohne Ruh',
Doch neigten sich des Mädchens Triebe

Dem Christen, nicht dem Türken zu.
Obgleich sie Türkenblut entsprossen,
So hatte sie als Kind doch schon
Der Christen Segnungen genossen
Und war dem Heidentum entfloh'n.

[3.] Voll Wut, daß sie ihn nicht erwählte,
Schloß sie der Türk' im Harem ein,
Doch, ob er sie auch täglich quälte,
So ward sie dennoch nimmer sein.
Ein Tiger, der ihm angehörte
Und der die Zagende bewacht,
War noch ihr einz'ger Spielgefährte
In ihres Kerkers grauser Nacht.

[4.] So mußt' sie sich gefangen sehen,
Bis ihren Quäler es verdroß,
Daß sich ihr Busen seinem Flehen
Und seiner Liebe stehts verschloß.
Er zog das Schwert, um sie zu morden
Doch plötzlich war in seinem Sinn
Ein and'rer Plan ihm wach geworden
Und höhnisch sah er vor sich hin.

[5.] Dem Tiger bot er sie als Speise
Für seinen großen Hunger dar;
Der aber nahte sich ihr leise
Und krümmte nimmer ihr ein Haar
Der brach den Kerker ein und bahnte
Ihr einen sich'ren Rettungspfad
Und, eh es ihr Geliebter ahnte,
War sie ihm schon als Mann genaht.

[6.] Sie kämpfte unter seiner Fahne
Bis sie der Türke aufgespürt
Er folgt ihr auf der Schlachtenbahne,
Von ihrem Flehen nicht gerührt.
Schon hält er sie in seinen Armen.
Da springt der Tiger schnell herbei
Und reißt den Räuber ohn Erbarmen
Mit seinen Tatzen wild entzwei.

[7.] Zu dem Geliebten eilt die Schöne
Und gibt ihm ihre Liebe kund;
Der hemmt nun ihrer Stimme Töne
Durch einen Kuß auf ihren Mund.
Und als sie so vereint nun waren
Und ihren Bund der Priester weiht,
Da riefen sie: "Aus den Gefahren
Hat Liebe und Treue uns befreit!"

Text 2

"Babet und Zerlina, oder: Die schrecklichen zu Wasser und zu Lande" (DVA: VI/1135–1,291)

1. O wie grausam mußte bluten
Hier der deutsche Edelmut;
Unter rohen Türkenhänden
Fließt der armen Christenblut.
Schaurig hallt ihr Angstgeschrei
In den Lüften weit und breit.

2. Blutigrothe Flammensäulen
Steigen auf von Haus und Dach,
Angstbedrängt die Töchter eilen,
Schauen dieses Weh und Ach;
Ach! und können helfen nicht,
Ob ihn'n auch das Herze bricht.

3. Da vereint die Christenschaar
Mit ihn'n sich im Palmenhaine;
Schwörend steht das Schwesternpaar
Mit ihm [sic] vor dem heil'gen Steine:
Rache dieser Türkenbrut,
Die uns raubte Hab' und Gut!

4. Und bald nennt man schreckenvoll
Babet und Zerlina's Namen,
Ihrem Schwert nur Blut entquoll,
Schmach und Geisel den Ismanen. [sic]
Sie vergelten tausendfach
Aller Christen Ungemach.

5. Schonet weder Greis noch Kind,
Alles muß ihr unterliegen.
Und ob Türken rachgesinnt,
Immer nur die Christen siegen,
Bis auch ihre Stunde schlägt,
Wo das Herz sie niederlegt.

6. Doch ihr Mund im Sterben träumet
Aller Türken Untergang,
Und die Chistenschaar erneuet
Ihren alten Rachegang;
Denn zu Wasser und zu Land
Sind mit Schrecken sie bekannt.

7. Und es fließt der Tärkenblut
Fortan unter Christenstreichen,
Es erliegt der Türkenmuth,
Ihren Zweck je zu erreichen;
Eitel ist nur ihre Müh',
Denn nur blutig fallen sie.

Text 3
"Das neue Deutschlandlied" (DVA: F8331)

Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles, über alles in der Welt;
Polen, Türken, Libanesen, alles lebt von unserem Geld.
Dann die Perser, Jugoslaven, auch die Schwarzen noch dazu,
Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles, denn Du bist die beste Kuh!

Nix verstehen, weil ich Türke, aber Kasse immer stimmt;
Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, zahlt sehr gut für jedes Kind!
Wozu soll ich hier noch schaffen, das erledigt doch mein Glied;
Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles, ach wie schön ist dieses Lied

Ja die Roten und die Grünen, machen es uns wirklich leicht;
Was die CDU verwehrte, haben wir jetzt schnell erreicht!
Wenn wir erst zur Urne schreiten, mit dem Zettel in der Hand,
Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles, bald gehört uns dieses Land!

Notes

1. Quoted in Craig 1978, 112. Compare Bismarck's reputed response on being shown a map of Africa by an enthusiastic colonialist: "My map of Africa is in Europe. Here is Russia and here is France and here we are in the middle. That is my map of Africa" (Craig 1978, 116–17).

2. See Hentsch 1993; Kabbani 1986; Lewis 1995; and (especially recommended for its historical and geographical breadth) Rodinson 1988. On questions of mutual misrecognition (orientalism and occidentalism) see Carrier 1995 and Armağan 1997. Following Shohat and Stam (1994) and other postcolonial critics, I refrain from granting orient and related terms the dignity of capitalization.

3. On orientalism in German literature and other arts see, however, Berman 1996; Buch 1991 (more broadly on exoticism); Fuchs-Sumiyoshi 1984; Günther 1988; Günther 1989 (painting); Maler 1990 (on exoticism in popular literature); Schmitt 1988 (opera); Shichiji 1991. On the social sciences, see Stauth 1993. Öztürk (2000) has now published an account of German orientalism based on popular cultural sources (in Turkish with a German summary).

4. In the Ottoman Empire, "Turk" was a disparaging term used for provincial peasants; it was adopted in Europe as a term of abuse.

5. A typical example is a news-song sheet printed in Prague in 1593: *Three True News Reports: The First: Of the Terrible Erbfeind the Turk, which he Recently Committed in Persia in the City of Morebel, and Horribly Murdered over 20 Thousand People*. . . . (DVA: Bl 4924). (Henceforth all primary sources are cited with reference signatures used in the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Freiburg, henceforth: DVA. Song-sheet titles are given in my translation and are italicized. Conventional song titles and opening lines are cited in the German as used for referencing purposes at DVA.) Almost 270 years later, nothing had changed. The following prose-and-song pamphlet was published in 1860 in Oldenburg: *The Horrific Murder of 11,000 Christians and the Bloodbath in Damascus in the Days from the 29th May to the 30th June 1860 Committed by the Druzes and the Turks*. . . ., and a second edition with an altered figure and altered dates is . . . *of 20,000 Christians*. . . *from the 8th to the 16th July 1860* (Kohlman 1990, nos. 454 and 455, and DVA: Bl 4630).

6. For discussion of these issues, see Horrocks and Kolinsky 1996; Şenocak 1992, 1994, 1996, 2000; Leggewie and Şenocak 1993; Özdemir 1997; Robins 1996; and the "Turkey and Germany" issue of *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 47,1–2 (1997).

7. DVA: Bl 9397, Bl 9420, Gr. 1: "Zwei Brüder voller Mut und Stärke." Reprinted (with the accompanying pictures) in Kohlmann 1982, 30–41, notes 133–34. DVA has a recording of a performance in 1982 in a Freiburg theatre: Kass. 41, Nr.

15563. See Öztürk 1997a for a detailed analysis, based on a broader survey in idem 1994 (summarized in idem 1997b).

8. The ancestor of this motif within the orientalist street ballad repertoire is a gruesome song of 1821 drumming up support for the Greek liberation struggle: "Song about the Horrible Treatment of the Christians in Turkey" (Ditfurth 1872, 16–18; reprinted with the addition of melody and guitar chords in Petzoldt 1982, 90–91 — my thanks to Leander Petzoldt for kindly supplying the original reference). Turks torture a Greek prisoner; when a tiger refuses to eat him, they slaughter him themselves. Of course tigers and lions and the Daniel motif figure in martyrological stories and songs from an early date, as well as in the later nineteenth-century street ballad *The Slave-child in the Lions' Den* (DVA: Bl 4634).

9. "The Noble Moringer" ("Der edle Moringer": DVldr no. 12, in Meier 1935; Meier 1935–36, no. 8; Röhrich and Brednich 1965, no. 19); "The Margrave of Backenweil" ("Der Markgraf von Backenweil": DVldr no. 13, in Meier 1935; Röhrich and Brednich no. 20); "The Count of Rome" ("Der Graf von Rom": DVldr no. 14, in Meier 1935; Meier 1935–36, no. 11).

10. On the *Romanzen* by Löwen (1769) and Stolberg (1782), see Frenzel 1988, 246.

11. DVA: KiV: "Hat uns nicht Mahomet schändlich betrogen" (anon.); "Der Papst lebt herrlich in der Welt" (Noack; rpt., Fritz and Schmeckenbecker 1984, 143); "Die Türken haben schöne Töchter" (Lessing).

12. *The Bedouin Bride, or Love and Self-sacrifice: Happened in the Dahara [sic] in Egypt 1846,* DVA: VI/1145–7, 10 (rpt., Neunzig 1973, 145–51). Variant edition of 1856: DVA: VI/1135–1, 257.

13. Mid-nineteenth-century examples include DVA: Gr.1: "Nicht in Europa, in Ägyptens Landen, Da schmachtet mancher edler Christ" (four print variants); *Turkish Cruelty and Noble-mindedness or the Christian and his Child Led into Slavery during the Turkish Siege of Akhalzik in the Year 1829* (Bl 4668 and Koolman 1990, nos. 523 [date of censor's stamp: 1858] and 524); *The Cruel Turk and His Noble Daughter, or Christian Suffering and Endurance: Happened in Tunis in the Year 1839* (DVA: Bl 3548).

14. Piece 18 in the opera, also DVA: Bl 7312 and Liederbuch 1797, 175 (with two additional stanzas narrating the successful rescue).

15. *Sisetta's Strange Fates, or: A Turk's Gratitude* (DVA: Bl 4614 and Koolman 1990, no. 503 [date of censor's stamp: 1845]).

16. The moment of transition is captured in an Austrian prophesy-song, on a pamphlet of 1789, speaking of dangers from both sides: "the Turk presses from the East (*von Morgen*), sins are coming from the West *(von Abend)*"; "the Frenchman raging. . . God defend us against the Turk" (text and commentary in Klier 1961).

17. Two versions with the publication date 1789 are extant: DVA: Bl 9873, and the text reprinted by Braungart 1985: 60–67. Later redactions, imitations, and parodies are listed in Cheesman 1988: 267–68. See also Braungart 1985, 390f. on Tieck's reference to a performance of a similar narrative, in *Franz Sternbald* (1798).

18. Anderson (1991, 24–36) argues that the newspaper and the novel played primary roles in the development of national identity by creating the sense of a simultaneity of unconnected experience among mutually unknown persons and groups (scattered readers of a newspaper have this sense themselves; readers of novels have it vicariously as they follow the parallel fortunes of characters). The street

ballad too partook in this process, as a component of what Anderson terms "print-capitalism," especially when "news" of "national interest" announced in one place was (or was presumably) simultaneously announced in other, distant places within the territory of German-language culture.

19. Variations on "The Count of Rome" were especially popular: for example, DVA: Bl 1139, Bl 4496, and Gr. 1: "Hier sieht man wie Liebe kann alles überwinden." The latter song is extant on several song sheets of the 1820s and 1830s. One version provides the sole instance of a sexual innuendo in the orientalist ballad repertoire, which otherwise fails to draw on the exotic-erotic stereotypes of "elevated" orientalism. The bourgeois heroine, Sophia, dressed as a man, appeals for her beloved's freedom: she "opened her breast" (DVA: Bl 4699, st. 16), whether metaphorically or not.

20. These include a text of 1833 with French protagonists, ostensibly entirely earnest but betraying a parodic tendency perceptible only to educated members of the audience: the enslaved men are named as "Duprée, Laporte and Mensonge" (Böhme 1920, 20, 75).

21. The warrior woman appears in a number of subsequent ballads in ways conforming to the patterns outlined earlier but also developing the "heroic oriental girl" figure (like Zaara): *Helena, the Brave and Unlucky Greek Girl* (DVA: Bl 6637); *Anthalusia, the Noble and Heroic-spirited Greek Woman, or: A Rare Sacrifice of a Child's Love* (DVA: Bl 9556, rpt., Richter 1972: 22–24). DVA has a recording of the "Anthalusia" song made in 1932 (Gr. 1: "In dem schönen Land der Griechen").

22. DVA: Bl 92; Bl 7237; Bll 4775; VI/1145–8, 72; VI/1135–1, 291 rpt., Neunzig 1973, 56–62. See Özyurt 1972, 107–9.

23. "Allerlei G'Stanzeln," by Carl Schnitter, sung by Louise Montag (DVA: Bl 8704). The dialect song begins: "These days we're not scared of Turks, they're not so terrible; we just use them on tobacconist shop-signs." The sophisticated culture represented by the Viennese cabaret songs has very little in common with street balladry, though the print formats could be similar.

24. In response to an editorial by Rudolf Augstein in the monthly news magazine *Der Spiegel* (7 June 1993), invoking Prince Eugen, the saviour of Vienna in 1683, and calling on Turks in Germany to integrate fully or leave the country, Zafer Şenocak observes that such a "generalised stigmatisation of an entire people on the grounds of difference" is taboo in the case of anti-Semitism, while anti-Turkism and anti-Islamism are quite acceptable (1994, 93f.). A much crasser equation is often made in folklore (such as racist jokes) and in the arts and media (where it is usually meant critically). See the discussion in Nierenberg (1984, 232f.), citing Chiellino's argument that "hostility to foreigners does not need a Nazi past" (1983).

25. Performance by Claude Akiré at the Wallgraben Theater, Freiburg i. Br., December 6, 1982 (DVA: Cassette 41, no. 15563). She interrupts her own recitation to ask where the orient actually is, remarking that it begins at Munich Central Station (the main terminus of many immigrants' journeys), and to ask what the Turk in the story ("this must mean a Mohammedan") is doing in Greece. She mutters: "In those days they didn't get all that much further—to Vienna. . . ."

26. The outgoing Social Democrat mayor of Hamburg and would-be finance minister, Henning Voscherau, campaigned in September 1997 on "law and order," promising to send "home" the immigrants held responsible for rising crime figures. His party

colleague Gerhard Schröder, now chancellor, promoted as the German Tony Blair, is equally cynical. See Karacs 1997.

27. See above note 7. For other examples of publication and professional performance see notes 6, 11, 20, and 21.

28. On this logic, see, for example, Toelken 1985, 156.

29. In 1992 an anonymous donor sent a photocopy of the text, set in the Fraktur font connoting "good old" German values, to the Folksong Archive (DVA: F8331). In 1993, a lawyer attempted to bring proceedings against a secretary in the offices of the state prosecutor in Cologne who had pinned the text to the wall. Her very own boss ruled that the song was neither defamatory or inflammatory (report of June 2, 1993, in the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*: DVA: F9226). In 1996, the text accompanied a threatening letter signed by the Deutsche Nazifront which was sent to Green Party councillors in Titisee-Neustadt, following a local scandal about racist jokes at a Carnival party (report of February 17, 1996 in *die tageszeitung*: DVA: F10543).

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Embodied States

Bovine Bodies and the Domestication of the Human Mind

Cozette Griffin-Kremer

Very soon the novelty of it all [going to Heaven] will fade for Ansty. She will feel so ill at ease. It is all very fine and grand, but there is something missing in it, Something missing—"Thon amon dieul! the cow!"
—*The Tailor and Ansty* (Cross 1942, 161)

Kine are the stairs that lead to Heaven; they are adored in Heaven itself.
—*The Ramayana* (Coomaraswamy and Noble 1967, 372)

LANDSCAPE

People need not always make maps with a coordinate grid and to a precision scale in order to construct a rich and complex landscape of the mind. One of the most significant contributing factors in this process has been the domestication[1] of plants and animals. I propose here to examine one particular case of relations with the latter—specifically cattle—in a sampling of sources from popular and written traditions from Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, along with a look at some ethnographic and archaeological material from Europe and other continents, all to recall that the construction of these imagined states, which create meaning, is a constant in human endeavor. Indeed, in the often arduous business of getting on with everyday life, domestication has functioned as a continually changing conceptual tool in human development for millennia and we may consider the bovine body and behavior as a topos, the exploration of which has enabled us to define ourselves through comparison and opposition, as well as through the sharing of the deepest experiences. The ideal of consumption of a perfect product, obtained through profound consent, has also been one of the pathways that led humankind to conceive of the promise of a superhuman condition, immortality.

How have bovines and their bodies contributed to the making of the topos in which human beings invest their energy and passion, despair and desire? A medieval Irish source tells us that bovines made a part of our world, as we know it now. The Irish epic called the *Táin Bó Cúalgne*—"The Cattle Raid of Cooley"—ends its Homeric saga of death and destruction between the opposing forces of the provinces of Connacht and Ulster with a one-on-one battle

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between the two primal protagonists of the tale, the bulls Findbennach and Donn Cúailgne. Brought with his heifers into the territory of the Connacht bull Findbennach, the Ulsterian Donn Cúailgne bellowed three times—a bold start, since no other bull dared even to low within hearing distance of Findbennach. Then both bulls did what bulls do in a dither: they pawed the ground, cast earth up over their withers, glared in battle fury, flared their nostrils, and charged, goring, tearing, and generally wearing each other down. This went on all day and night. On the morrow, Donn Cúailgne came back within sight of the men of Ireland laden with the fragmented remains of his rival. He let the liver of Findbennach drop and that became the place Crúachna Ae. He cast off a loin at the brink of Ath Mór, whence the name Ath Luain, then threw a thigh as far as Port Lárge, the ribcage to Dublin, whence the name Ath Clíath. Seeing him, women and boys exclaimed at the blinding sight of his approaching forehead, whence the place-name Taul Tairb.

The tale ends when Donn Cúailgne's heart breaks like a nut in his breast (O'Rahilly 1970, 134–36, 270–72), yet the story itself is but the adumbration of another, and the bulls once lived in men's bodies. They were even friends, recounts one of the *remscéla* or preliminary tales to the *Tain Bó Cúalgne* called *De Chophur in Da Muccida*,[2] "Of the Transformations of the Two Swineherds." In the latter, both men hold an honored place in their royal households, since they are the magician-swineherds of their kings, and both wield the magical power of transforming themselves into other beings. They begin their march toward grief when their respective folk, of Munster and Connacht, claim their own swineherd is more powerful. This leads to some tricky spells that stop swine from fattening, to reciprocal discontent, mockery, loss of a job, and a general downgrade in friendly relations. The two men recycle themselves as birds and tear each other apart, then take the form of water beasts and continue mutual carnage. This scenario is repeated in their subsequent avatars as stags, spirits, dragons, and water worms. In the latter form they impregnate two cows that give birth to the great bulls of the *Táin Bó Cúalgne*, whose final encounter creates geographic features and gives them their names.

As we see in a document some eight hundred years later, this conflict between bulls is enlisted again to characterize a classic regional opposition still familiar in our own landscape today. In his anthology of Scots Gaelic song and tradition, Alexander Carmichael (1928–1942, 4: 52–53) cites the song entitled "An Tarbh Gáidhealach" (The Highland Bull), which opens with a verse from the upland bull, followed by one from his lowland counterpart, each one vaunting their respective birthplaces, the heather ridge or the floor of a big house, and then ends with the pithy note that "the Highland bull turned on the Lowland bull and killed him."

The medieval tales of the *Táin Bó Cualgne* and the avatars of the swineherds in their topological heritage can be seen as recapitulating a ritual process

for the appropriation of territory—as expressed in the Icelandic term of *landná-ma*—in which each feature of the landscape and its name have a primordial event as precedent. The significance of the bovine in this process, most especially of the character of the great bull called the Donn Cúalgne, could only have been underwritten by the omnipresence of his homonym, a divine figure in the earliest tales about the arrival of the Gaels in Ireland and a compelling shadow in the popular imagination well into the nineteenth century—the revered god of the dead, Donn, with his myriad of epithets (Müller-Lisowski 1946).

We find the bovine—this time inflected in the feminine—meeting with the divine and a place of special import in the hydronym of the River Boyne. The goddess Boand is the wife of Elcmar, a king of one of the Otherworld mounds that stud the Green Isle. The great god, the Dagda, desires her and casts a spell on Elcmar so that the king forgets the absence of his spouse. Boand's union with the Dagda produces Oengus, the Mac Oc, or "Young Son," often identified with Maponos in the Gaulish pantheon. Boand's end is also resonant of connections with continental Celtic traditions, in which the names of rivers are often formed on those of goddesses, such as Sequana (the Seine) or Matrona (the Marne), for Boand makes a fatal mistake. She dares make mock of the interdict on looking into the well of wisdom of the god Nechtan, even walking about it leftways, against the path of the sun and the proper order of the world. Three waves rise up from the well to pursue and engulf her at the mouth of the river that henceforth will bear her name—the Boyne, from Boand, *bó* plus *fhind*, (cow-white).[3] Thus, the hydronym joins a constellation of toponyms like that of Boffin Island or Inis Bó Finn, a compound formation mentioned as long ago as Ptolemy in the form Buvinda.[4]

If the bovine could converge with the divine and the place, it is hardly surprising to find it was a common element in the process of shaping the topos of a person through that identity marker par excellence, the personal name. So it is that the hero of the tale of *Cath Almaine*, "The Battle of Allen," is called Donn Bó, the most noble of the youths of Leinster, a musician-magician and only son of a widow. When he departs to battle, his mother implores Saint Colum Cille to bring the boy back safe and sound, and the saint is as good as his word—when the youth is decapitated in the fray, his head goes on singing to console the dead, but as soon as it is placed on his body, they knit again and he returns home to his mother (Dillon 1946, 99–102).

As bovines can be the bones in toponyms and form the words by which we identify someone, so they enter into the names for classes or for peoples. As we must bear in mind, cattle—chattels—were the backbone of wealth in early Irish society and hence determined legal and social status. So it is that the Old Irish Laws call a freeman a *bóaire*, literally a "cow-freeman," the rank just beneath the *nemed* class comprising the priests and poets in medieval Ireland. This is a social category Fergus Kelly compares to the twentieth-century notion of a

"strong farmer" in Ireland,[5] and, in this reference to economic power, we might recall the more familiar admiration for straightforward physical force in the common present-day practice of nicknaming an especially massive man An Tarbh, "Bull." Departing from the masculine for the delicate derivatives of the udder's fruits, it has been proposed that one of them—curds—underlies the name of one of the so-called pre-Goidelic peoples or castes of Ireland, the Gruthrige, or Gruthriche, the "curd-folk," a compound with the suffix *-raige*, used in similar formations designating their contemporaries, the forge-folk, rivet-folk, wheel-folk, cart-folk, and shield-folk (Gillies 1979, 80–81).

Names of men and women, of ethnic groups, of legendary heroes, or of a goddess—the traces of cattle on the landscape of the mind also appear in the humble places of the works and days of the rural economy. The name of the booley or summer pasture site, in Irish *buaile*,[6] dots the map of the isle (Aalen 1965, 66; O Moghráin 1943, 67) and the Welsh *beudy*, "cowhouse," is the most widespread of the words with which to say it, monopolizing the country in a wide band from North to South (Thomas and Thomas 1989, 10–3). If the possession of cattle was a measure of individual status in Irish medieval law, it long remained the measure of land; witness testimony to the Donegal perception of property values of about 1840, where "the land is never let, sold or devised by the acre, but by 'a cow's grass.' This is a complement of land well understood by the people, being in fact the general standard" (Evans 1957, 29), a unit still perfectly familiar to today's Irish farmer, if now considerably enlarged by the use of fertilizers (Glassie 1982, 205, 428).

If cattle marked people's conception of their land in place names and units, bovines often came as close to the heart as home, since they also shared the house with their humans, hence the name *byre-house,* that dwelling honored by millennia of use.[7] As the second Irish Hudibras says of the home of a late seventeenth-century lord—"At one of th' ends he kept his cows, At th' other end he kept his spouse" (Moffat 1724). This symbiosis was thought to be mutually enhancing—the cow helped to keep the house warm, it was thought unlucky if she could not see the hearth fire, and the resulting feeling of security meant that she gave more milk (Evans 1957, 29). This form of coexistence is perhaps the most concrete aspect in the thrust of practical and conceptual work that the archaeologists Ian Hodder (1990) and Jacques Cauvin (1994) speak of in their analyses of a long "domestication" of Europe and the Near East during the Neolithic, for which they posit a reflux movement of bringing the world into the house (the *domus*) and projecting the house out onto the world.

We shall come back to this intriguing notion about the processes involved in domestication shortly, but we hardly have to go far to find metaphorical use of the cow in our own vocabulary. For instance, we still speak of "milking someone dry," although the numbers of people in any occidental population that

have personally milked a cow now verges on the infinitesimal. A similar notion had a legal status and a name in Old Irish law, where one of the categories of distraint (legal seizure of property) was *athgabál inmleguin*, where *athgabál* is "distraint" and *inmlegon* is "to milk" (Kelly 1988, 179–80). In a society imbued with a profound concern for cattle, even the value of human beings could be expressed in cow units. A standard measure of wealth was the female slave or *cumal* in early Irish law, and that entity equaled three milch cows, whence a whole gamut of calculations of personal worth—the honor price of a provincial king would run about fourteen *cumail* (which is forty-two milch cows), as against the face value of a young man still dependent on and living with his father, valued at the price of a yearling heifer (Kelly 1988, 4).

Outside the punctilious world of legal technicalities, we might recall that the injury or death of men in their prime was often closely bound up with the politically correct and violent acquisition of wealth through cattle rustling, even if there was a frequent aura of ritual about it. There is no end of cattle raids in Irish literature, and the practice is amply attested much farther abroad in the ancient Mediterranean (Meid 1970, 67). It held the prestige of a royal pastime (and requirement), and the custom had been superseded by gentrified manners only a generation or two before Thomas Pennant ([1769] 1809, 204–5) visited the Highlands in the mid-eighteenth century, where riding on a *creach*, the local name for a cattle raid, had been a young man's best recommendation to his sweetheart, so that it also figured among the rites of passage in the life cycle.

Beyond the times of an individual life, we find the world of cattle has left its mark on the old rural calendar. Behind the four quarter days that once divided the year over much of Europe into the trimesters of February through April, May through July, and so on, there looms an earlier pattern based on division into dark and light halves, each presided over by a divinity. In Irish tradition, Saint Brigit (the inheritor of the goddess Brigantia) reigns over the dark half of the year, while the god Lugh is sovereign over the light half. Her animal companion is the cow, his is the bull.[8] It has been suggested that the handsome cows and bulls among Pictish symbols carved on standing stones and other supports from the seventh to the eighth centuries may also refer to the calendar system (A. Jackson 1990, 113–18; Stephenson 1955, 98).

Domestication

The home, the land, social life and status, the annual cycle of the year, the life cycle—what was not marked by the relations between humans and their cattle (or cattle and their humans)? Even in the first written sources, we see these partners after millennia of constant rehearsal. How did they manage to become so inseparable? The process may have begun with some unmitigated sex discrimination.

The reader will surely notice in the following pages that more is said of the virtues of the cow than of those of the bull. One might well draw the conclusion that cows are somehow more intriguing than bulls. They are not, but cows are generally easier to get close to, even if they were originally reticent partners in a proximation process. In that deeply complex series of processes, which we often corral under the heading of domestication, humans most likely used the strategies on cattle that they use when appropriating members of their own kind. People lure away, kidnap, and adopt the young of other species. When mammals were not too large, people may have made them a member of the family by an efficacious form of imprinting, widely attested in ethnographic literature—breast-feeding (Serpell 1989, 12–13)—a sharing of body fluids that more often ran the other way in the case of bovines. Humans also court contact with other animals through gifts of taste treats such as salt, the most readily available form of which is often human urine, a tried and tested way of attracting bovines to human habitations (Simoons 1968, 19–20, 211–33).

This proximation process (as regards bovines) involves interspecies habituation that can take many pathways and pass through many stages, including varying degrees of contact, management, and utilization, ranging from random to controlled predation, to herd following, to loose or close herding, and eventually to our present-day factory farming (Jarman 1976, 93). (Of course, this does not preclude durable relations in which animals are appropriated without intervening significantly in their movements.[9]) Such relations can go on escalating, or narrowing, into the intensive reciprocity of milking and ploughing involved in the secondary-products, slow-play "revolution" of the late Neolithic (Sherratt 1981).

However, the later situation of close body contact between humans and bovines must not obscure the exquisite mysteries that remain about how it all came about. For one thing, cattle keeping does not always score very high in an analysis of cost effectiveness. Having a partly tamed *Bos primigenius* near the household can be a rather stressful affair. They attract large predators and invade anything that looks pleasantly green. Hence, cattle need to be fenced out or in much of the time. When fenced in, they cannot feed effectively at night, a life-threatening circumstance for ruminants. Kept anywhere very long in any numbers, they can quickly foul the household's water source. Tight reciprocal relationships depend on close coexistence—even carried to the point of the cohabitation we have seen in the byre-house—but year-round contact often presupposes providing animals with water and fodder in lean times, as well as effective shelter and protection, a significant challenge to early agricultural and building techniques (Clutton-Brock 1981, 67–68; Jarman 1976, 91–93).

And what is the net result of all this evident effort as applied to cattle, at least in the archaeological record of early animal husbandry techniques?

Usually not much more than a pile of old bones, indicating the animals died, often that they were butchered, but leaving a massive gap in our knowledge about what preceded the final act—why they were kept and how they were used (still less about why some were not kept or used[10]). In fact, the remains of early animal husbandry sometimes approach near invisibility because of the ephemeral nature of the activity. "They are techniques with few tools, 'without objects'—which goes far in explaining why stock-raising is so poorly represented in most ethnographic museums—but in which, on the other hand, abstract operations (counting, manipulation of series and sets), knowledge based on observation, as well as know-how, take on the preponderant role" (Digard 1988, 44).

Such techniques may well be largely lacking in the concrete objects we associate with a tool kit, but they enlist simple items that are often not very durable in nature, if quite powerful in effect, and they do indeed call upon some of the most persuasive implements utilized by human actors. For instance, they mobilize one of the most sophisticated, if indeed intangible, appanages of any species, the voice, and sometimes specifically human speech, to manage animals' behavior and fine tune relations. Few people have given us more eloquent testimony to the art of speaking to a cow than that attentive Scot, Alexander Carmichael (1928–1942, 4: 40–41):

> Occasionally a young animal during the day separates himself from the herd and remains, after they have gone homeward, grazing in some hidden hollow, oblivious of the approach of night. The herdsman, fearing that the truant may have been caught in a bog or fallen over a rock, searches high and low, near and far. At last coming in sight of him, he addresses him in terms and tones different from those he used to the others. The animal stops grazing and looks up—it is only for a moment: he is off at his hardest, taking the nearest way for home, over a lakelet, across a river, over whatever obstacle may lie in his path.

One of the prerequisites to this verbal stinging of a freedom-loving laggard is that he or she be responsive, that is, be accustomed to responding to a call to discipline. But who is responsive, when not identifiable? Herders must know which animal they are addressing and the animal must recognize its name. Irish and Scots Gaelic traditions provide us with an enchanting store of cow names. Carmichael (1928–1942, 2: 260–61) cites the song of a sea-maiden tending her sea cows and calling them by name—Cuachag, Gumag or Guamag, Guileag or Guaillionn, brown Cruinneag, Gorag, Dubhag, Dothag, Muileag, Moileag, and brown Muirneag. Cows' names were often cited in song, as in the Irish "Driumfhionn Donn Dilis," addressing a cow qualified as the "silk of kine," the

"Faithful White-Backed Brownie" of the title (O'Sullivan 1981, 143–44). In Scots Gaelic, one version of "Gu dé nì mi nochd ri m' nàire?" (What shall I do tonight to my darling?) a Barra songstress speaks of the cows that have suckled in the pasture—Buidheag and Blàrag, approximately "Brightie" and "Blaze" (Caimbeul and Collinson 1977, 160–61, 250). Niall O Dubhthaigh, a man who recalled country life in Donegal in the nineteenth century, remembered many a cow name from his mother's and grandmother's seasons spent at the summer shieling, among them Benthorn, Hoofy, Spotty, Brindle, or Bee. In the Gaelic original, they were called Cromaigh, Crúbaigh, Breacaigh, An Riabhach, or Teileán (O Dubhthaigh 1983–84, 50; 1943, 146).

When we name, we are already far along on our way down the path of human cognitive development and the more closely we look at this process, the more complex an aura it takes on. Naming cattle often involves an interplay of descriptives including color, coat pattern, horns, other physical or personality characteristics, status, and place in a bovine family hierarchy. When one has a considerable herd of cattle to account for, the memorization work involved in identifying individuals, especially those inconspicuous by their absence, can represent a stunning effort, precisely the sort of knowledge characteristic of "tool-less" pastoralist technology. We know from contemporary herders that the search to identify can follow several crosscutting paths—running through a community of cattle by appearance, by age, or by habits in leading, liking the middle of the herd, following, or deliberately straying, for instance. Another crosscut retrieval method is to count out how many cows belong to one herder or owner or to recite one's cattle's lineages in order to recall all the "heads" in the family (Galaty 1989, 219–28). There is no reason to assume that the Masai of today are more or less expert in this process than traditional cattle keepers in Europe. In a version of the Scots Gaelic "'N robh thu 's bhein" (Were you on the hill?) recorded from Barra singers as recently as 1938 and 1950, exactly this sort of appeal to a cow's lineage is made. "Were you on the hill," the song asks and "did you find the cows?" No, is the answer, not even half of them. And which was missing? The first cited is "Nighean Buidheag, ogha Ruadhain, Nighean na bà 's fheàrr 's bhuailidh" (the daughter of Buidheag, the grand-daughter of Ruadhan, the daughter of the best cow in the cattlefold) (Caimbeul and Collinson 1977, 160–61, 251). A cattle lineage that runs parallel to a human genealogy is commonplace for a Masai herdsman, and one of the favorite ways to calm a milch cow in Highland Scotland was to sing her the genealogy of her greatest protectress, St. Brigit, the "Sloinntireachd Bhride" (Carmichael 1928–1942, 1: 174–75).

If ever a method was invented to make a cow stand still, it was the song. It is filled with gentle names, promises, and praise of the cow's beauty and under-standing, as in the Anglo-Irish song "The Limerick Rake," which describes a

cow that can be milked without clover or grass because she is pampered with corn, good barley, and hops; is free in her paps, and will milk without spancel or halter. The singer of another piece, "The Black Stripper," may have a slightly handicapped cow, but he loves her and the magic of her milk. "I have but one cow, and she has but one tit, / But she's better to me than one that has six." He goes on to affirm that a drop of her milk is enough to make the house ring and the old woman in the corner sing, and the investment involved is worth it. "Ten acres I hold and ten acres I plough, / And all that it grows goes to the black cow" (O Fiannachta 1992, 125–26). Of course, it also helps to remind the animal of how fully her cooperation will be rewarded. The cowherd's song willingly promises the cow, for instance, a fine fetter of silk passed "kindly around her legs," the shelter she needs, and the best of foods, the very "wine" of elements from the steep bens—the grazing of hill, heath and plain, meadow-grass, and club-rush and stubble (Carmichael 1928–1942, 1: 268–69).

    Not just everyone can make a song carry to the heart (and udder) and cows appear to have demanded a rich repertory to keep them from the thrall of boredom; witness Alexander Carmichael's (1928–1942, 1: 258–59) comments on Highland cowmaids:

> The milking songs of the people are numerous and varied. They are sung to pretty airs, to please the cows and to induce them to give their milk. The cows become accustomed to these lilts and will not give their milk without them, nor, occasionally, without their favourite airs being sung to them. This fondness of Highland cows for music induces owners of large herds to secure milkmaids possessed of good voices and some "go."

    This repertory could consist of several sorts of songs, which Carmichael (1928–1942, 4: 64–65) qualifies as croons, lilts, and lullabies. He affirms that the cows differentiate between the songs, "giving their milk freely with some songs and withholding it with others. Occasionally a cow will withhold her milk until her own favorite lilt is sung to her," and these traits of character are the object of lively discussion among cow owners.

    This question of "withholding" milk—technically referring to a physiological process called milk letdown—brings us immediately round to a particularly thorny point in discussions of domestication, as Juliet Clutton-Brock stresses in her remarks about the obstacles inherent to any illusion of a Neolithic milkmaid or cowboy blithely walking out towards a herd of cattle to milk a cow:

> It is very unlikely that a tamed aurochs cow would allow itself to be milked, because considerable effort and guile has to be put into persuading a cow of an unimproved or primitive breed to let down her milk. The

cow must be quite relaxed and totally familiar with the milker, her calf
must be present, or a substitute that she identifies with the calf, and it is
often necessary to stimulate the genital area before the milk-ejection
reflex will allow secretion. (Clutton-Brock 1981, 67)

Now we are getting down to the fundamentals of pastoralist technology. The
"stimulation" she is speaking of is done with a technique generally termed
"blowing" by the anthropologists who watch the Nuer, Dinka, or Masai milking
their cows. They stand behind an animal and blow into her uterus until she
begins to relax. Another widely practiced method of persuasion was "kicking,"
which involved just that—a good, firm blow to the udder. Coming from a famil-
iar milker, this is not at all offensive or painful—it is exactly what a calf does
to its mother to get her hormonal stimulation complex going (Amoroso and
Jewell 1963, 126–35). These were among the tricks of the trade of the finest
cowmaids, the women Alexander Carmichael (1928–1942, 4: 74–75) says own-
ers sought out so avidly. He cites a paragon among them—Mary MacNeill—and
also tells us of the powers her laird believed she wielded:

> Mary MacNeill was known as Màiri Raghaill, Ranald's Mary, or Màiri ni
> Raghaill, Mary daughter of Ranald. She had been *ceanna-bhanachaig*
> "head milkmaid" for fifty-five years with the MacNeills of Barra. Feeling
> herself become too frail for her work, she left Eòlaighearraidh and went
> to live in a little bothy by herself. When General MacNeill came home
> from the wars, he asked Màiri ni Raghaill to come and sit . . . at the gate-
> way of the fold, watching the calves go in and out. . . . "The eye of Mary
> daughter of Ranald is putting lustre and fatness upon my calves," he was
> wont to say. . . . My informant said, . . . "Scores and scores, hundreds and
> hundreds of songs of fairies and of the world, lilts of shieling, of cows
> and of milking had Mary daughter of Ranald. The crossest cow that was
> ever in MacNeill's fold, Mary could quiet her and make her give milk to
> calf and to milkmaid. She had a musical voice and a rare way with her."
> Almost all the many songs and lullabies that this wonderful woman knew
> died when she died or when the evicted people of Barra were scattered
> over northern Canada.

This woman's skill, especially her voice, seem to have embodied the ultimate in
the powers of communication. But the voice is itself "embodied," in the sense
that it has its seat in the human brain as well as in the vocal chords. In his dis-
cussion of child development, Paul Shepard (1978, 72–75) analyzes physical
contact with animals in psychological ontogeny, the development of a human
being, and the liberating or tyrannizing impact of sounds, most particularly

music. As we know from the study of speech or sight loss, music memory dominates both speech and visual data, being a deep-brain complex. Since we are looking at reciprocal relations, we might ask whether this is also true for the cow? Did those Highland cows, bathing in a rich musical (and affective) culture, remember a voice and its song as well as they remembered the cowmaid's appearance and body language, her touch or her smell? A Highland proverb is clear about the matter of animal memory: "Seven years the memory of the cow, till doomsday the memory of the horse" (Carmichael 1928–1942, 2: 347).

Memory work was an integral factor in the partnership of human and cattle in matters of space and movement management, as well as in the realm of optimizing productivity. Milch cows lived in an environment of physical freedom inconceivable today, bound mainly by the memories of affectionate contact, which we might call habit, if it were not obvious that we are dealing with often enigmatic phenomena in the domestication complex. In an explicit example, Niall O Dubhthaigh (1983–84, 50) gives us a detailed description of how Donegal milkmaids bound their cows to the milking site at their shielings. Of course, part of this binding work was done materially, with the fetter, which we saw as a "gift" offered in song, or a tether to attach the cows to stakes for milking morning or evening, or during the night. Even this procedure had a preamble in "kindness," which became habit-forming in the relations between young woman and cow.

> They usually threw down to them a little bundle of coarse grass or the like, which they gathered along the edge of the streams. This was called a "kindness," anything which coaxed a cow to be more fixed in the place where she was tied. When the cows had some little practice of this, they returned by themselves in the evening, as they wanted to get a little "kindness" of that sort. The cattle were clever out of measure in this coming out and in, and often when one of the cattle was missing from the milking, the girl would call out to it by name, when it was perhaps half-a-mile away and that cow would walk directly to her at the shieling. Then, maybe, she would give it a handful of oatmeal in warm water, and that would coax it the next time it was called. Those cows were as clever as humans, they were so accustomed to being put out and in, so there was no trouble or work at all with them. Then, when they had been milked in the morning, all that was to be done was to drive them up the hill to where the young animals were, and they grazed there until evening came again.

Obviously here, even the ephemeral constraint of the fetter was unnecessary, so far had intensive bonding taken the partnership toward full consent, and this is explicitly stated elsewhere, again in song. The pride and joy of the composer

of an Irish folksong, his "beloved" black cow, was so gentled that the singer could say "no spancel ever went on the leg of the cow that was the image of the Glas" (O'Sullivan and O Súilleabháin 1983, 63–64), referring to the legendary paragon of cowdom in Irish tradition that we shall meet in person shortly.

This ultimate refinement in the binding-bonding complex—when one can count on voice control alone and the deep-seated development of memory it supposes—is hardly startling within the social and economic context of cattle keeping in the traditional societies described by Carmichael or O Dubhthaigh. By the nineteenth century, it was indeed young women who seem to have been most often delegated by their communities to share much of their lives with cows and calves, although even then, exceptions abound. Furthermore, there was still a strong memory of the days when the division of labor was different and of the significance of that workplace in the processes of transmission within a community. The geographer Estyn Evans (1956, 15) recalls the facts and another name for both an occupation and an age group:

> In the old days every country child began his emancipation from his mother's skirts as a herder: we are reminded that this is the meaning of the Irish word for a boy (*buachaill*). The old folk too passed their time tending the grazing stock in the fields, so that life began and ended with the watching of cattle. The herders themselves were kept on a short tether, never leaving the cows, and the association of old and young amid the sights and sounds of nature was no doubt a means of passing on knowledge and lore and keeping alive tradition. Both young and old were put out of work when the hedged ditch replaced the bare banks and the balks of the open fields.

We might remember Evans-Pritchard's oft repeated remark that African herders spent most of their time watching their cattle and that the cattle faithfully returned the compliment, so that we have a rich tapestry of "invisible" relations here running both horizontally in time between humans and cattle and vertically between generations of human workers. This depth of shared experience among humans is reflected in their knowledge of how cattle society should unfold smoothly from generation to generation, from cow to calf, and—as we have seen in song—to granddaughter calf. Living with cattle is not only a question of integrating them into the human *familia* of production but also of recognizing and appreciating their own depth of lineage and intraspecies social needs. To take a familiar example, it is sufficient to leaf through modern-day descriptions of milking parlors to see that the élan of technology can be brought to a standstill by a fundamental need of the cow—sociability. She still does not give her milk when she cannot see her sisters and never stops fidgeting if their own social hierarchy

has not been respected (Bennett et al. 1991). In order to make use of an animal's own production and reproduction cycle, it is necessary to respect the socialization process that makes a cow tractable, and that work is carried on in large part by other cows, who shepherd a calf into adulthood through communication, considerable physical contact, social play, and learning (Noske 1989, 18–21).

The interpenetration of the human family and the family of the cow is a subtle affair and much of the discussion about domestication revolves around human intervention in reproduction. In the case of cattle, one of the most frequently explicited constraints on behavior is not letting a heifer breed until she has reached a safe maturity. Cows are generally put to the bull in their third year in modern breeding practice, but the Old Irish laws affirm that cattle keepers were careful not to do so until a heifer's fourth year (Kelly 1988, 113). On the other hand, thirteenth-century Welsh law tells us heifers were let calve in their third year, when they became true *cynflith*, literally "first-milk" cows (Owen 1841, DCII sec.12). Veterinary research in the osteology of medieval cattle indicates their breeds were smaller and took longer to mature than present-day dairy animals (Watson 1990, 92), perhaps one possible explanation for delaying first mating. If breeding practices were intriguingly variable, this is equally the case today, and what is sure is the factor of human interference.

However, this manipulation of mating was not extended to what we might term subsequent family life since traditional wisdom balked at separating a cow from her calf, outside of what was necessary to tap off part of her milk production. Irish tradition speaks of this in straightforward legal terms in a tale concerning that most contentious of social groups, clerics. Once upon a time, Saint Columcille borrowed a book from Saint Finnian of Moville and, aflame with love for the words in it, Columcille copied it by night, thus flaunting every standard of courtesy and copyright of his times. Finnian was outraged and pled his case before the high king Diarmait mac Cerbaill. In his judgment on the celebrated dispute—that Columcille must give back the copy to Finnian forthwith—Diarmait clinched the matter by reference to precedent in the proverb "the cow and the calf ought always to go together" (Glassie 1982, 627).

As a general rule, the calf is seen as a full member of a triadic partnership between the milker, the cow, and her progeny, as in the Highland milking song "Beannachdh Bleoghain" (The Milking Blessing), where the singer says "my speckled heifer will give me her milk, and her female calf before her" and goes on to recall the lineage of love—"my heifer gentle, gentle, beloved, thou art the love of thy mother" (Carmichael 1928–1942, 1: 262–63). However, first motherhood is not self-evident for a young cow, and this is a point where intraspecies socialization is given a helping hand by interspecies support and persuasion. Encouraging a cow to "take to her calf" was such an important step in insuring the continuity of production that the great Saint Columcille himself was said to

have made a song for the task. "My heifer beloved, be not alone, let thy little calf be before thee . . . coax thy pretty one to thyself, till thou sendest to the fold a herd" (Carmichael 1928–1942, 4: 54–57). But how could one work on this partnership between cow, calf, and human—the crux of milk production—if the progeny was lost? Alexander Carmichael's (1928–1942, 2: 317–18) informants told him it had once been the job of an ersatz. The dead calf was skinned and the skin fitted over a wickerwork frame, then rocked under the befuddled cow until her milk let-down got under way. (In the support system for another species, Welsh shepherds still skin dead lambs and put the skin over orphaned ones to help a bereaved mother adopt another's offspring.) What would remain of a wickerwork covered with a calfskin, cast aside after its (by definition) one-time use? Yet it is a model of cognitive development, of patient ruse and persuasion, of the ephemeral implement.

This association of cow, calf, and human is of evident economic interest, but the concern with helping a young animal become a good mother is also linked to notions of the beauty of the cow body. The udder of a nonmilking cow quickly shrinks and grows hairy, and the behavior of an animal deprived of intensive handling takes a slide for the worse. Scottish wisdom says that a cow without a calf is "ugly and bristling of shag," a leaper of walls, a head of mischief, the vexation of neighbors, the curse of the herdsman, despised among cattle, a cow without profit, and so on (Carmichael 1928–1942, 4: 55–61). In regard to the last point, a cow without calf has upset the balance of a complex profit-sharing strategy and does not return the gifts of the keeper—the silk fetter, the "kindness," or the joys of rich grazing in an atmosphere of benevolent protection—with the counter-gift of her milk.

In discussing beauty or other desirable traits, we must note that a bovine body is no longer familiar ground to most of us. In fact, this unfamiliarity can take on startling proportions, as we see in an anecdote from *The Tailor and Ansty* (Cross 1942, 54), that medley of wisdom, tale, and neat tricks from a rural community in Ireland. (One might add that it is a model of universal humor that has now long outlived the pettiness and cruelty of its local detractors.) You must imagine the Tailor out watching his cow grazing contentedly: "What started it was a woman who walked down the road the other day while I was standing to the cow. When she saw the cow, I declare to God didn't she ask me if it was a bull or a cow"— and she a married woman, to the Tailor's unending astonishment. The upshot of the discussion this event engendered in his tiny farming community was the Tailor's conclusion that people do not learn the things they used to. Not long ago, many people spent a lifetime in close contact with cattle, and hence their notions of beauty, grace, and quality of character were often applied as easily to cows as to humans. "Crónán na Bó" (The Cow's Chant) says, "there is not a cow in the whole of Ireland, comelier and prettier than her; her small shapely head pleases

the eyes of all, and a splendid udder has my own little cow! Quiet and good she stands beside me, and yields abundant wealth of milk" (O'Sullivan 1981, 33).

In such an environment of familiarity, the cow is a metaphor for human love and the songs are explicit: "I'm as fond now of your kisses, as young calves of milk they're drinking," (Fergusson 1978, 208–10) says a Hebridean singer. A South Uist song is unfettered in its comparison: "My own little heifer is my darling, if I got my milk-pail full, a female of thy form would need a careful herdsman at her heel" (Shaw 1977, 158–59). Cows were loved for the comeliness of their own particular forms and did not need to stand in the mirror of humanity. The breed of Highland cattle with red ears was reputed to be the offspring of "sea cows" that had come ashore once upon a time, and one could sing to such a cow in these terms of endearment: "my treasure thou, and thou art of the sea kine, red eared, notch eared, high horned; urine was sprinkled on the rump of thy grandsire." (Carmichael 1928–1942, 2: 260–61, 1: 264–5).

Care and Use

In India, no one would be surprised to hear urine cited as a product of cattle; it is one of the five fruits of the cow, along with milk, curds, ghee, and dung, mixtures of which are used to anoint statues of Vishnu and Krishna (Visser 1986, 94). Urine takes pride of place in traditions about the care and protection of bovines in many rural societies, and Highland Scotland was no exception. In his eighteenth-century travel journal, the Welsh savant Thomas Pennant ([1769] 1809, 185–86) notes of the area around the Conan river, not far from Castle Braan, that he "was in this neighborhood informed of other singular customs of the Highlanders. On New-year's day they burn juniper before their cattle, and on the first Monday in every quarter sprinkle them with urine." (Actually, this prophylactic prescription also applied to human beings and their own "product," when confronted with the threat of a night meeting with the fairies in Ireland [Danaher 1972, 122].) In quite recent Irish practice likewise, nothing was better than cow urine—euphemistically known as "all-flower water"—to calm recalcitrant beasts (or to insure good health and good luck in the human subject) (Evans 1957, 217).

When we move from protectives to veterinary treatment, we find traditional cattle cures a baffling (to us) mix of common sense and outrageous leaps of the imagination, but they generally fit well into the conceptions of their time for the treatment of ailments in the human subject, which often involved burning or bleeding. Though the medieval Irish law tract on cattle, the *Bóshlechta* (Cow-Sections) is unfortunately lost (though attested in ample references in later commentaries) (Kelly 1988, 275–76), we nonetheless have significant witness to knowledge of large quadruped anatomy in the surviving treatises on horse medicine (O Cuív 1952, 1985) and, more recently, in the popular traditions of cattle cures (Harris

1960; Saunderson 1961). Insofar as animal bodies were concerned, the words to say it with were certainly not lacking. Alexander Carmichael (1928–1942, 2: 225, 262, 350) notes that Highland Gaelic vocabulary once had a term for the placenta of each species of female animal, and in the matters of care, we find the song again has a central function. Cow keepers intoned a cud-chewing charm to soothe an animal suffering from surfeit, repeating it three times, as one should always do— "Poor 'Gruaigein' of the hard paunch, loved one, chew thou thy cud"—likewise invoking the right numbers of good things—the grass of nine bens, nine fells, nine hillocks, and the water of nine falls, nine streams, nine lakelets—that are too much when overindulged in (Carmichael 1928–1942, 2: 140–41). In his glossary on terms, Carmichael (1928–1942, 2: 238, 280, 303) mentions some of the ailments that could strike cattle: red murrain; red-water, or bloody flux; and the throat disease called the *gluglaich*. Traditional cow doctors as often attempted to treat "elf-shot" (pixilation) as they did murrain, which made for an imaginative repertory, but this should not obscure the fact that groping around can come very close to experimentation. Some older conventional treatments may even have felt their way into an empirical exploration of immunization, as in the nineteenth century Irish cure for the dreaded "black quarter," or blackleg (an enzootic, often fatal, affliction of young cattle), which involved inserting scrapings from an infected animal carcass under the skin of a healthy one (Mason 1928, 223). In a remarkable passage, an early Irish law text makes a parallel comment on responsibility for injury to another owner's animals—it is illegal to drive cattle into a disease-ridden cow house, unless they have come out of the same one already (Kelly 1988, 146).

Certainly, anyone used to cutting an animal up was deeply familiar with its anatomy, whether they understood concepts such as blood circulation or not, and playing at being an animal, often actually getting into its skin, is not limited to the young of our species. This helps recall that the uses of livestock and bovines in particular are not limited to food, pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, clothing, shelter, glue, and what not but could extend to the actions undertaken in festival practices. Butter was thrown into lakes for good luck and to protect livestock for the August quarter day in Ireland, and milk was a regular offering to the fairy folk on May Eve (Danaher 1972, 174–75; Evans 1957, 272). New Year's Eve or Hogmanay carolers in Highland Scotland came to perform with one participant in the "hard hide of a bull with the horns and hoofs still attached." When they came to a house to wish it luck and blessings, they ran sunwise (clockwise) around on its broad support wall, the "bull" shaking its hooves and horns and the other performers creating a gleeful din by striking the hide with sticks. After that, they did what carolers usually do—sang an intriguing song to the household for their supper (Carmichael 1928–1942, 1: 148–55). The bull hide in holiday custom recalls another ritual process in older Irish tradition where a particular form of divination existed, as recounted in the medieval tale of *Da Derga's Hostel* (Rees and Rees

1961, 245–46). In it a man ate his fill of the slaughtered bull, drank the broth, laid down on the hide, and went to sleep under spells to see the future.

In the memory of Alexander Carmichael's (1928–1942, 3: 278) informants, the uses of bovine bodies approached those with which we are familiar, but there were still beliefs about right ways and times to make food of livestock. Witness the Highland dictum that an animal should not be slaughtered during the waning moon or its flesh would be without substance. Such precautions are part of a more general "physics" of liquid flow, such as that of sap and blood, which is all the more intriguing when we recall that blood played a practical role as an important supplement in the everyday diet. As among the Masai or the Nuer of the twentieth century, blood from live animals not only was considered palatable and good for the complexion but appears to have been a commonplace in the diet of Irish countryfolk before the arrival of the potato and the gentrified tastebud.[11] Unless the import of this form of consumption be reduced to the strictly dietary, we might note that cow's blood was also tasted as a part of some holiday festivities (Danaher 1972, 117–18) and that there are underlying notions about consubstantiality here. We might recall that it was thoroughly conceivable to drink human blood, not of an enemy out of revenge, but of a loved one as a proof of love. Alexander Carmichael (1928–1942, 2: 296–97) notes that the blood of a (live) friend was drunk as a mark of affection, a custom even more poignant as a last act of love, as in a folksong recounting how a woman bereaved of her husband by interclan carnage laments "and they poured thy blood to the ground; had I there a cup in my hand, I would have drunk of it my fill," which is but one in a series of references to drinking the blood of a betrothed or a beloved foster son.

Luckily for those of us with delicate digestions, people usually stuck to milk, elegizing its uses and praising its source—the cow teat, which was conceived of as a vessel of abundance par excellence. The informant who gave the Scottish Gaelic "Ora nan Sine"(Prayer of the Teats) to Carmichael (1928–1942, 2: 226, 4: 62–63, 78–81) told him that each pap had a quality unto itself—one held more butter, the other more cheese, the third more sugar, and the last more fat. She had a name for each, and when she sang her song to bless them, she put each one under the protection of a different patron: Mary, Brigit, Michael, or God. As each teat produced milk of a different nature, the Highland cow's udder had four "flows," a belief seconded by Welsh wisdom, though for one less flow. The first flow of the udder was called the *blaenion*, or "foremosts," in Welsh and was kept aside for use in cooking or to drink, but not for butter making. The second, the *armel*, was the epitome of fine milk for butter and could be mixed with the third flow, the *tical*, for the churning, unless the last was set aside as especially nourishing fare for poorly infants or for baking holiday cakes. Similarly, the benefits of beestings, or colostrum, a cow's first milk, were well known in both Irish and Welsh tradition (Tibbott 1983, 57, 48, 66, 62; Lucas 1960, 25).

All this contact with bovine bodies and body products can be seen as part and parcel of what behavorial scientists analyze as a human being's building process. For instance, Paul Shepard (1978, 68–74, 219, 253–55) evokes the "inner past" created by this lifelong feeling-the-other-out, the endeavor to understand what is on both sides of the body boundary by creating bonds of relatedness and consciousness of what is related, but other. Play at "being" an animal helps children differentiate and define their own *topos*, and stepping in and out of animal skins contributes to the ability to conceive of one's own body transformations, as well as eventually to stand back from them, as when quitting a game, or a skin. The gradually growing familiarity with feelings that one can attribute to animals, and eventually to oneself, helps construct a taxonomy of the affect and perhaps even conceptions of transcendence, a subject taken up from a different angle later here. Needless to say, the exploration of such fundamental principles does not perforce take the same pathways in all cultures, and we often need an outside observer to remind us of how bound we are to our own inner past. Perhaps the closeness of this contact between humankind and the bovine is best elucidated by the double mode of sharing they engage in— they share sorrow and profit.

We have seen the praise in song heaped on the owner's beloved black cow, compared to the legendary figure of the Glas. This elegy was a eulogy, in fact, an Irish keening song lamenting the cow's death by drowning in a bog hole, and the singer cries out as one would for a human love lost— *"O rú, O rú*, black cow, my love!" In another song from the same collection, a dying man, knowing the tobacco and coffin are ready for his own wake, finds that what he regrets most of all is no longer seeing his cows and tender calves (O'Sullivan and O Súilleabháin 1983, 63–64, 112–14). Carmichael's (1928–1942, 1: 270–71, 3: 279 4: 58–59, 76–77) singers bequeathed us a series of songs in which they evoke the burden of sorrow for lost progeny and clearly state that they share this grief with their milch cows. "My black cow, my black cow, a like sorrow afflicts me and thee, thou grieving for thy lovely calf, I for my beloved son under the sea" or, in another song, "the same lot is mine and thine, may thy little black calf not be lost to thee, but mine only son beloved is beneath the sea." A third chant echoes the same plight: "O Hornless One, give thou the milk, it is thy calf thou art bewailing . . . but cease I from my crooning, my love is in the linen shroud, my calf is in the cold grave, and he shall not stir in spring." It is no wonder that, in light of this conviction about shared sorrow, people rushed likewise to share joys with their cows, for instance, to tell them (if they had not noticed already) that the new moon, "beloved of cows," had come out to brighten the world of man and beast.

The sharing of grief and joy hardly seems possible outside a matrix of the sharing of profit and the intimate reciprocal acquaintance this entails. After all,

bees and milch animals are those beings whose reproductive systems we tap into directly, to use the food destined for their offspring for ourselves. It was the principal task of the skilled milkmaid to organize the right balance in this "profit sharing," so that a cow would suckle her calf but still give milk enough for the human family's needs. In the Irish song "Na Gamhna Geala" (The Lovely Calves), the singer boasts that "my own calves are the lovely calves, they eat the grass and they don't drink the milk" (O'Sullivan and O Súilleabháin 1983, 84). It is not always clear just who had right-of-way at the udder and for how long—milker or calf. Niall O Dubhthaigh (1983–84: 42, 44, 50) speaks of how milkmaids handled their charges in the nineteenth century Donegal shielings: the birthing cows could be taken into a shieling "so they could get a hot drink," but then "the young animals were never taken into the shielings. At night they were close around the shieling and when daybreak came the girls got up and herded them up on the hillside and they stayed there" until evening when they came back down. Apparently, when the mothers had been milked in the morning, they were driven back up the hill to where the young were to graze. This does not help us much on the details of weaning the calves from direct suckling, though we have ample attestation to the sort of prickly collars often put on calves to make their mothers shy away from them. Given the readiness to expend much time and patience on good relations, perhaps the calves were coaxed into grazing by "kindnesses" of the sort he mentions being given to their mothers. It is evident that the young already off first milk could be kept going successfully with the buttermilk from the day's production of butter, and O Dughthaigh mentions pouring buttermilk out onto the grass because the calves cannot drink it all up (O Danachair 1983–84, 46, O Dubhthaigh 1983–84, 38).

Weaning means going on to the next stage in the age hierarchy (and their progressive values) of milch cows, so richly detailed in Irish and Welsh law (Owen 1841, DCII sec.12; Kelly 1988, 113–14). This positive separation from maternal dependence has an intriguing, though hardly negative, shadow in the event of the death of a calf. If it did not happen naturally often enough, it would be necessary anyway, for renneting is an important element in making the cheese products which help stabilize and conserve the cow's abundant but highly perishable flow of production. Many techniques are available to curdle milk, but among the most efficacious is using the dried extract of the calf's fourth stomach, the abomasum. So the perennity of a cow's milk supply could be insured by the death of her offspring. However, this is not the dream of domestication as we see it in literature and folk tradition. The dream is for life, for reproduction and abundance without end, and this desire, thought out through the cow and its body, engenders a category of legendary beings that we shall call by an appropriate name—the Wonder Cow.

Beyond Care and Woe

If people dream of a cow beyond cows, it may be the cow's own fault to begin with. That wise Irish character we have already met "standing" to his cow, the Tailor, once said: "The pig, the pig! . . . The pig is only a bank, but the cow is the hub of the household." And he was not short on the specifics—if you want to get things straight, the first thing to have is a wife who is a fine milker, then a cow, and later perhaps a pig that will grow fat on the buttermilk. With luck, you get the cow as dowry with the wife, anyway. How could you drink tea or eat potatoes or bake a cake without milk and buttermilk, and then, there is the butter that brings hard cash into the poorest household. The cow's manure makes the potatoes and cabbage grow and she costs so little to feed. As the Tailor concludes, "when she has done all this good work, it is then that you might start thinking about a pig" (Cross 1942, 121–3).

That munificent flow of the cow for half of the year brings glowing ideas into a cow owner's head. What if there were no seasons and the cow gave abundant milk—as in the Land of Cockaigne (see Del Giudice, this volume)—milk to feed armies, throughout the year, all the while producing a host of calves that multiply the wealth endlessly? This is precisely what Irish tradition says that legendary cow, the Glas Ghoibhleann did—until the evil Balar stole her and her calves. Popular legend said that the Glas filled every pail put under her by her owner until a jealous hag vowed she would find a vessel the Wonder could not fill—and most wickedly milked her into a sieve! Wherever the Glas slept, the fields produced grass that gave any cow that grazed there abundant milk (O hOgain 1991, 44, 240–1; Dinneen 1927). Another renowned cow called the Máel Flidaise produced milk sufficient to quench the thirst of the men of Ireland on their cattle-drives (O'Rahilly 1966, 45). Similar tales were told in Welsh tradition of the Stray, or Brindled, Cow and her mighty progeny, the twin oxen, who were movers of mountains (Owen n.d., 219–20, Gwyndaf 1995, 72). The white, red-eared Corc Duibhne nourished Saint Brigit on her milk, and the saint was renowned in popular tradition for her powers to mystically produce milk and butter for the needy (O hOgain 1991, 63).

These fountains of milk join the pantheon of magic cows spread through traditions, from the Scandinavian Audhumbla (Turville-Petre 1964, 275–7) to the mystical cow Surabhi in the Hindu myth of the churning of the Ocean of Milk, in which the ambrosia that grants the gods, the Devas, their immortality is produced (Coomaraswamy and Noble 1967, 314–6). Surabhi is herself one of the infinite avatars of Vishnu, so that she is both cow and divinity. Her heritage, in the conceptions of gentleness and abundant generosity in Indian tradition, was perhaps best expressed by Mahatma Gandhi: "To me, the cow is the embodiment of the whole infra-human world; she enables the believer to grasp his unity with all that lives" (Barloy 1978, 57–58). Through the believed and real

benefits of drinking cow's milk, human beings may have conceived not only the ideal of perfect health, but taken the notion a step further, to that of an immortality conferred by ritual consumption.

The German historian of culture Eduard Hahn (1896, 77–80) endeavored to explore one of the great puzzles of domestication—how humans ever came to drink cows' milk in the first place, even when we disregard the considerable obstacles to simply getting (and getting to) it. He proposed that both ploughing and milking might have been undertaken as part of a fertility cult. When we listen to recent popular tradition, we discover conceptions that make Hahn's proposition well worth consideration, especially in the light of notions of mystical participation. On a less lyrical plane, it is certainly no surprise to hear of traditions in which the consumption of particular beverages is linked with traits of character and, logically enough, even creates them. Welsh proverbs identified water drinking with long life, calm and innocuity; milk drinking with health and wisdom; mead drinking with melodious speech and affection; beer drinking with a taste for strife; and wine drinking with foolishness (Morganwg 1860). Drinking the milk of "Lightfoot," the beloved cow celebrated in the Irish folksong "Crónán na Bó" (The Cow's Chant) banishes the fear of want and makes the pain of wounds, disease and old age vanish like mist (O'Sullivan 1981, 33). The song titled "The Limerick Rake" attributes the same results of vigor and youthfulness to drinking milk from its pampered cow. It is obvious that good nutrition contributes to making anyone hale and hearty, although it may not quite guarantee, as does the Rake, that "the feeble old hag will get supple and free" (O Fiannachta 1992, 126). Our own society certainly could not say it has banished the dream of an elixir of youth, so we dare not mock such dreams in the beliefs of others.

Alexander Carmichael's (1928–1942, 2: 110–11, 329–31, 355–36, 4: 78–79) Highland informants alluded to a tandem of products that definitely went a step farther than ordinary health and well-being in what we can term the "milk-*mòthan* complex." The second term is for the mòthan plant (perhaps the pearlwort, perhaps a bog-violet or a thyme-leaved sandwort), which was said to promote every form of happiness—in love, life, encouraging good, and warding off evil. It was used in a magical binding process to ensure the life-long love of a girl's suitor, just as it protected women during childbirth or wayfarers on their journeys and could even obtain acquittal for the guilty in trials (although this was regarded as an abuse). And the ultimate in good fortune is indicated by the proverb uttered when a man makes a miraculous escape from death—"he drank the milk of the guileless cow that ate the *mòthan*." Even the fairies could not harm a man nor kidnap an infant with "the milk of the cow that ate the *mòthan* in the folds of his throat." This was equally true if one ate of the cheese from the milk of a mòthanized cow, and perhaps this is but a logical extension of the belief in the mòthan's powers to keep milk fresh.

When we look at the food and drink linked in Indian mythology in such narratives as the "Churning of the Cosmic Ocean" or the "Tale of Varishtha's Cow" (Dumézil 1968, 532–6)—that is, particular herbs, milk, and the Indian counterpart of ambrosia, *amrta*—we glimpse a complex of products from both the animal and plant worlds that were believed to grant immortality. It reminds us of the breadth of meaning that words for "milk" might take on in Irish and Scots Gaelic. A term that figures in Carmichael's (1928–1942, 2: 223) collection of Highland song lore and appears to echo one in the medieval Irish *Vision of MacConglinne* (Kenneth Jackson 1990, 146) is *as* or *àis*, whose denotations run from milk or milk product to delicacy, to ambrosia, even to wisdom.[12]

It seems the door to health and happiness, even to immortality, was opened by a plant used in combination with milk and that the Wonder Cow of popular traditions holds out to human beings the ultimate dream of domestication—total lack of want, forever, and a source of health that makes the old or tired young and fresh anew. This is actually not so far a cry from what our own society has come to expect from its "health foods," among which certain milk products loom large. So we nourish our dreams and expectations in our world of instant milk, instant health, and instant gratification, just as could a Scots milkmaid or an Irish cowherd, dreaming and wishing through the long hours of watching animals be. The people who sang these songs, told these legends, or made these myths are dead, as it is our own lot to die and go on to the other shore. It may be a lonely voyage indeed. Yet, opinions differ about that, so we shall close our journey through the labyrinth of human-bovine relations with a word from Ansty, the Tailor's wife and perfect foil in *The Tailor and Ansty*. Among her great joys in life was hearing of the success of Eric Cross's book on the old couple and their world, and their friends remarked that there was a "look of shy pleasure in her face whenever a reviewer referred favourably to The Cow" (O'Connor in Cross 1942, 7).

NOTES

1. The ongoing discussion of domestication has generated a voluminous bibliography. For a modest sampling of more recent definitions and some ideas of the tenor of discussions, see Cauvin 1994; Clutton-Brock 1989; Digard 1988; Hodder 1990; Ingold 1980, 1988; Mourant and Zeuner 1963; Piggott 1981; Reed 1977; Rindos 1984; Ryder 1983; Sigaut 1988; Simoons 1968; and Ucko and Dimbleby 1969.
2. Roider 1979, see her discussion on pages 62–78 of the loose translation of *c(h)op(h)ur* as "transformation" and page 78 for her analysis of the term as representing *"einen Begriff wie etwa 'zyklische Wiedergeburt.'"*
3. For full discussions of the literary and oral traditions, see Rees and Rees 1961, 53, 216, 278; MacCana 1970, 32; and for the semantic and philological analysis *Dictionary of the Irish Language* 1983, s.v. "Boänd, Bóinn"; Vendryes , Bachellery, and Lambert 1980 "Böand, Boinn."

4. Watson [1926] 1986, 469, for parallels in Scotland, also see Watson [1926] 1986, 230, 469, for a discussion of the elements in placenames, see Rivet and Smith 1979, 273, 500.

5. For discussion of the status and "face-value" of the *bóaire* class, see Kelly 1988, 10 and index, s.v. "bóaire," completed by Kelly 1998, 27–66.

6. Vendryes, Bachellery, and Lambert 1980, B-108 s.v. "búaile" (1), proposes this is a loan from Latin *bouile* or *bualium*.

7. For discussions of the historical development of the byre-house and the present-day testimony to structures, see O Danachair 1964, 64, 70; Audouzeand Büchsenschütz 1991, 132–34; and Wiliam 1992.

8. Varying aspects of the complex development of the Brigit veneration have been covered in the work of Laurent 1990, 6; MacCana 1970, 34; Ross 1967, 361; and MacNeill 1962. For the most recent discussion, see O Catháin 1995.

9. Analysis of minimal interference in movement has been developed by Ingold 1980 and of the spectrum of possible uses by Sigaut 1988, 63–64.

10. Analysis of the repercussions of options not to use has been developed by Sigaut 1988 and, within the context of various religions, Sigaut 1995, 268.

11. The subject of blood as food in older texts was explored by O'Rahilly 1977, mentioned for historical and recent attestations by Evans 1957, 35–36, and then made the object of an in-depth study by Lucas 1989, 200–22 within the larger context of cattle-raising in ancient Ireland.

12. Carmichael 1928–1942, 2:223; Dwelly 1994, s.v. "àis"; Jackson 1990, s.v. "as(s)"; *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, "as."

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"The Poppy Blossom from My Native Land"
The Married Woman as Exile in Latvian Folk Poetry

Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga

As carriers of an oral tradition, the singers of folk poetry rely on a repertoire of strategies for text generation that are dictated by the particular tradition in question. These include not just surface elements of text, such as ready-made sets of verbal formulae possessing a variety of useful metric patterns (Lord 1964), but also a whole hierarchy of traditional themes, motifs, images, and broad metaphoric systems. Paradoxically, the stereotypy of folk poetry does not exclude the possibility of original expression but only lends it a particular style and mood (Vīķis-Freibergs 1984). The thematic stereotypes of any oral tradition include not just a cognitive repertoire of topics of interest to singers and audiences alike but also a framework of emotional attitudes and prevailing "feeling-tones" which are equally conditioned by the tradition. In the present essay, I will look at one such traditional theme in Latvian folk poetry and show how its emotional treatment is very much a part of the traditional template. The songs I will consider belong to the genre of the Latvian classical folksong, or *daina*, which is a predominantly trochaic (with two dipodia separated by a caesura), two couplet (quadratic) song presenting a self-contained semantic whole, but such songs are often linked together to form longer compositions which relate to each other in terms of similarity or contrast. The daina is largely an oral poetic form and therefore displays various oral formulaic techniques, as well as being a rich source of ethnographic information, despite its general ahistoricity.[1] The main source for the texts quoted here will be the computer-accessible corpus of the Daina Data Base (*The Latvian Folk Song Data Base* 1982).

The theme of marriage as exile, experienced by every married woman in a virilocal peasant society, marks the dominant mood of these dainas as tragic, for they express the sense of irreplaceable loss that life passage entails. This imagined state however, is not merely symbolic; it is real. The married woman as exile longs for the "homeland" of her premarital state, but it is no longer open to her. Instead she is condemned to live in a foreign land to which she can never feel she fully belongs, and so, as do real and political exiles, she lives in this netherworld of homelessness and longing.

It must be stressed at the outset that this sense of the tragic in the dainas differs markedly from the definition of tragedy as generally accepted and defined in Western philosophical and literary traditions, yet tragedy in its common sense of deep psychological suffering is widely represented and subtly depicted there. The daina sense of the tragic is expressed in isolated lyric miniatures and deals with the everyday-life experiences of ordinary people. These experiences are neither catastrophic nor cataclysmic and not even unusual. Quite the contrary, they are perfectly normal and ordinary experiences, except that they happen to be so deeply painful in their essence that they become overwhelming, albeit not horrifying in the Aristotelian sense. The sense of tragedy in the dainas is linked to the inevitable events of life, those from which there is no escape because they have been decreed by Laima, the goddess of fate. They are woven into the fabric and pattern of life and cause pain that can be neither avoided nor alleviated, that can be only endured.

In the classical conception as formulated by Aristotle, on the other hand, one may speak of tragedy only in a narrowly technical sense, in referring to a very specific type of drama, which must also be a well-developed work of ample scope. Aristotle stressed in his *Poetics* that tragedy must arouse feelings of both horror and compassion and that either of these alone would not suffice. The tragic complications in Greek drama involve a change for the worse, a fall from grace or fortune, and it is in this sense that the word *tragedy* enters the English language towards the end of the fourteenth century (Steiner 1980):

> Tragedie is to seyn a certain storie,
> As olde bookes maken us memorie,
> Of hym that stood in greet prosperitee,
> And is yfallen out of heigh degree
> Into myserie, and endeth wrecchedly.
> (Geoffrey Chaucer, Prologue to "The Monk's Tale").

Traditionally tragedy is not for everyone but only for exalted personages, kings, or heroes, who are punished by the gods for their hubris. The latter has been frequently interpreted as heroes' arrogant reliance on their own human powers, linked to their insufficient humility and submission to the gods, even though the experts still quarrel over the proper meaning and translation of this as well as the other nine terms in Aristotle's famous definition (cf. Kaufmann 1969, chapter 2). Nietzsche ([1872] 1972) saw in Greek tragedy a unique blend of the Apollonian and the Dionysian, all true tragic heroes being but a reincarnation and an echo of the eternal tale of the suffering god. When seventeenth-century French dramatists such as Corneille and Racine created what they saw as a revival of the classical canon, however, the gods had completely disappeared from the scene and only a

moral conflict remained as the precondition for tragedy—a conflict between one's sense of duty and personal emotions, especially the emotions of love. The Shakespearean interpretation of tragedy introduced yet a different slant, by describing the ways in which the fateful flaw in the character of a noble figure unavoidably brings on his destruction, and the debate about the essence of tragedy and the characterization of the tragic hero continues to this day with ramifications that are well beyond the scope of the present essay (Breuer 1988; Krüger 1973; Sander 1971). Reduced to its simplest terms, we may accept tragedy in Western literature as realized mainly in drama, in works of some magnitude and for the most part involving destruction of an uncommon, noble, or powerful person who is felled due to tragic complications arising from either his own mistakes, a misunderstanding, an unavoidable conflict, an unfortunate coincidence, a character flaw, or punishment by the gods. Western literary classicism has no place for ordinary people and events, and simple, ordinary folk may, at best, be viewed with condescending amusement. The very fact that they lack nobility inexorably excludes them from consideration as tragic heroes, for their original status is never high enough in the first place for any fall of theirs to assume tragic dimensions.

The passive interpretation of tragedy found in the dainas is in total contrast to Ortega y Gasset's ideas ([1914] 1966) that it is necessary for a tragic hero to want and freely choose his own tragic path and that predestination by fate alone is not particularly tragic. It is also in contrast to the view that suffering caused by external events is only melodrama, as opposed to the truly tragic which must come from within (Breuer 1988, 50). The closest to the daina sense of the tragic can perhaps be found in James Joyce's ([1916] 1977) perception of pity and horror roused by "everything that is serious and constant in the suffering of man."

The fate of the married woman as exile best displays the sense of tragedy characteristic of the dainas. In the largely patriarchal, virilocal peasant society which is the source of the dainas, the fate of every woman predestines her to leave her native home upon marriage and move to her husband's home, which is frequently far away and totally strange to her. This move is every bit as much of an exile as the fate of a noble Roman condemned to leave his beloved city for some remote, isolated island. The theme of the woman as exile is expressed in Latvian folk poetry in wedding and post-wedding songs sung from the perspective of the bride, and is treated largely in a tragic vein, with only occasional traces of humor and satire. Similar strains may be found in the traditions of other peoples, especially the neighboring Slavic and Finno-Ugric peoples, where ritual weeping by the bride and loud lamentations on her fate were not uncommon. In the Finnish *Kalevala*, for example, the whole twenty-second rune consists of wedding lamentations which have so many equivalents in the Latvian dainas that a quite similar canto could be constructed with the daina

materials. In spite of the widespread fashion of ritual lamentations in tradition-al wedding ceremonies, the tragic elements in the marriage and wedding dainas go well beyond superficial ritualistic gestures carried out for the mere sake of appearances. This state of exile, that is, is neither merely formulaic nor imag-ined, but a dreaded state that becomes each Latvian peasant woman's fate. These dainas, therefore, seem rooted in genuine experience and present a remarkably convincing portrayal of a wide range of emotional states.

The motif of exile forms part of a general song cycle in which the life of a woman before and after her wedding is juxtaposed: the carefree and easy days of her childhood and youth are placed in sharp contrast to the heavy responsibilities and the onerous duties of her wifehood. This is the case in the following dactylic song, which condenses this conception of a woman's fate in vivid, wonderfully exaggerated poetic imagery, involving a paradox and the inversion of a double set of contrasts (on the complex play of contrasts in the dainas, see also Vīķe-Freiberga, forthcoming). In her early youth, while wear-ing her elaborately beaded maiden coronet, made of heavy metal, a girl feels so paradoxically light and carefree that she could cross the largest river in Latvia in one single leap. (Note that the text alliteratively speaks of a copper coronet, while archaeological excavations reveal mostly bronze). Later, although now wearing the light linen head-scarf of a married woman, she is so weighed down by the burdens of adult life that any leaping about is the farthest thing from her mind:

Ai manas zīļotas	Oh my glistening
Liegās dienas!	Days of lightness!
Es lēkšus pārlēcu	In a single leap
Pār Daugaviņu	I could cross the Daugava,
Ar savu zīļotu	With my beaded
Vaŗ' vainadziņu;	Copper crown;
Ar tautu linautu	With a wife's scarf,
Vairs nevarēju. (24740)[2]	I could leap no more.

The division of a woman's life into two sharply contrasting time-spans car-ries with it the inevitable change from one place of residence to another. The rigidity of the forever-exiled woman's fate, therefore, is quite accurate. Such a move was imposed by the existing social order and followed a regularity as fixed and immutable as the movements of the celestial bodies, each in its appointed place and season:

Kur vasaru saule tek,	Where the sun rolls in summer,
Tur tek ziemu mēnesnīca;	There rolls the winter moon;

| Kur, māsiņa, mēs augām, | Where we grew up, dear sister, |
| Tur dzīvo tautu meita. (3749) | There a stranger makes her home. |

Very much the same idea may be expressed by reversing the elements in the two pairs of contrasts. The observation, by the way, happens to be astronomically quite correct: the path traced by the summer sun across the vault of heaven is very similar to that traced by the winter moon. The reverse is equally true for the other half of the year: the path of the winter sun is indeed similar to that of the summer moon:

Kur saulīte ziemu tek,	Where the sun rolls in winter,
Tur vasaru mēnesnieks;	There rolls the summer moon;
Kur māsiņa uzaugusi,	Where our sister grew up,
Tur iet sērstu bāliņos. (26635)	There she now visits her brothers.

The first half of each text thus describes a correctly observed phenomenon in nature; the second half gives an accurate analog from the realm of culture. In the same physical space of a given homestead, women exchange places, just as the sun and the moon exchange their places in the same locations in the sky. Those females who are born to any given home are destined to leave it and to move away once they are grown up. Those females who will spend the rest of their lives there must come from somewhere else. Girls are aware of this world order from a very young age. As a result, a woman's emotional attachment to her father's home, to her social surroundings, to her whole physical environment is, from the very beginning, veiled by the shadow of the forthcoming unavoidable loss, a preenactment, so to speak, of the state of perpetual exile and of a state of longing:

Druvāi man saule lēca,	I'm in the fields at sunrise,
Druvāi saule notecēja:	I'm in the fields at sunset:
Es cerēju dzievādama	I had hoped through hard work
Tēvu zemi paturēt. (3735)	To keep my father's land.

According to a legal code set down in writing just after the conquest of Latvian tribes in the thirteenth century, a father's land could be inherited only by his sons. A daughter—no matter how precious the land may be to her and no matter how hard she has worked to till it in her youth—will have to leave it behind on marrying.

| Linu druvu cauriedama, | Walking through the flax field, |
| Devu Dieva palīdziņu: | I ever wished it God's grace; |

Tā bij mana tēvu zeme,	That was my fatherland,
To ieliku pūriņā. (632, variant 1)	That was my dower share.

The old code of inheritance allowed a daughter only moveable chattels as her dower share. So long as she had any brothers, a girl could never have her father's land, only the linen from the flax grown on it, that is, the linen garments in her dowrychest, woven from the flax allotted her from her father's fields.

The foreboding of the expected moment of change and parting introduces a sad and resigned mood even in courting songs, but only those presented from the viewpoint of the woman. These are in total contrast to the courting songs which depict the young man's viewpoint and which are often playful, jaunty and gay, and full of bravado and sung to sprightly, rhythmical melodies. The girl who is ready for marriage experiences mixed feelings: there is pride about attracting stately suitors, there is the anticipated joy of gaining the status of a well-married woman, but these pleasant feelings are clouded by an awareness of forthcoming departure to her life-long exile:

Es gan redzu, es gan redzu:	I see it now, I see it now:
Vairs pie mātes nepalikšu:	I'll stay with my mother no longer:
Sajāj tautas pilla sēta,	The yard is full of suitors on horseback,
Saņem brāļi kumeliņus,	My brothers are receiving their horses;
Saņem brāļi kumeliņus,	My brothers are receiving their horses,
Laiņ avota lejiņā.	Leading them to the low-lying spring.
Es ieteku istabā	Weeping, I run into the house,
Pie māmiņas raudādama.	Weeping, I approach my mother.
—Ai māmiņa, mīļa, balta,	—Oh mother, my dear white mother,
Vai es tevim apnikuse?	Have you become tired of me?
—Ai meitiņa mīļa, zelta,	—Oh daughter, my dear golden daughter,
Vai es tautas aicināju?	Am I the one who invited the suitors?
To dar' tevis graznis pūrs,	It's the fault of your bountiful dowry,
Tavs ražens augumiņš. (14538 var. 2)	Your lovely looks and fine figure.

While she may well be pleased and excited about the suitors' arrival, the girl is already crying at the thought of separation from her mother. The paradox here, as the mother points out, is that the girl herself is responsible for this turn of events: her own feminine maturity and charm, not to mention the dowry as part of her birthright, have brought on this inevitable, if potentially painful, turning point in her life.

A striking feature of Latvian marriage and wedding songs is the almost total absence of any form of romance. The mere mention of liking a prospective

marriage partner, never mind loving him, is extraordinarily infrequent. The expression of deeper feelings or any mention of love are found only in a few isolated songs. One might attempt to explain this silence by the vaunted emotional restraint of Latvians or by a culturally conditioned reluctance to reveal deep and intimate feelings in public. This will not do as an answer, however, since women singers are not the least bit restrained in expressing affection for their mothers or brothers, nor the young men in singing songs of extravagant praise and fondness about their steeds! One of the reasons that romantic feelings were not expressed was the long-standing custom of open ridicule and savage chaffing at any visible signs of attraction between the sexes. But it is also possible that romantic feelings were not much felt in the first place, since for centuries marriage was seen as mainly an arrangement based on economic and practical considerations, having little to do with personal feelings in the modern sense. This type of attitude is evident in a string of sharply practical, if not cynical, dainas, such as the following:

Es neraugu, tautu dēls,	What I look at, young man,
Tava daiļa augumiņa;	Is not your beautiful body;
Es skatos lauciņā,	I look at your fields to see
Vaj maizīte tīrumā. (25912)	Whether bread will grow there.

The absence of personal feelings toward the future husband could only exacerbate the pain of moving away from home after the marriage. In her new surroundings, the new bride would then have to contend not only with a strange and unloved location but also with strange and unloved people. In such a case, the absence of enthusiasm and of romantic feelings would become more than a mere literary mannerism: it would stem from the observation of genuine life experiences involving emotional coldness, therefore becoming a partly constructed and hence symbolic, but also real, state of exile:

Sasaluši dūņu purvi,	Frozen are the oozy marshes,
Sasaluši ezeriņi,	Frozen are the open lakes,
Sasalušu sirdi gāju	Frozen was my heart on going
Tautiešam roku dot. (15458 var. 2)	To put my hand in a stranger's hand.

This is a chilling text indeed, where a woman starts the rest of her life with a frozen heart, devoid of the least bit of warm feeling toward her partner. The cold desolation of the frozen wintry landscape here becomes an echo of a woman's emptiness and despair. The specific daina name for both a suitor and a new husband, *tautietis* (the one belonging to the people) or *tautu dēls* (the son of the people, or the son of strangers) is frequently used in direct opposition to

brother or brethren. The emphasis is clearly on someone belonging to an exogamous group of strangers, as opposed to true brothers and other kinsmen, who would have been ineligible as marriage partners. For this reason the term *tauti-etis* carries a semantic nuance of "alienness" which is similar (if not identical) to that implied in the English word for a stranger.

The fateful moment when the bride leaves the home of her birth for the last time is etched in a particularly vivid manner. The pain of the mother who sees her daughter departing to her own new life is depicted indirectly (as the French put it—à *la diagonale*—"on the diagonal") through the bride's request that her aunt and godmother perform the ceremonial braiding of her hair. Her own mother, too overcome by emotion, is simply not up to it:

Krustu māte, mātes māsa,	Godmother of mine, mother's sister of mine,
Man galviņu saglaudat.	Would you, please, smooth my hair.
Manas pašas māmuliņa	My own mother is unable to do it
Asarām nevarēja. (16915)	Blinded by her tears.

The reason the mother is crying is that she realizes this is the very last time she will be performing this small intimate gesture for her daughter. The normally insignificant everyday gesture thus takes on a tremendous emotional charge through its specific context. Indeed, in other texts, the daughter talks of not combing her hair for days after the wedding, so as not to undo the plaits braided for the last time by her mother. The consciousness that certain things, no matter how trivial, are now happening for the last time in her life, sharply focuses attention on the irrevocable changes that are currently unfolding.

One of the fundamental attractions of a wedding ceremony is that the whole wedding party acts as a sympathetic supporting cast in the private drama being played out in the bride's life. The entire household of the bride shares in the preparations and in the pain of leave-taking. The dressing of the bride before her setting forth is performed as a solemn, public ritual, with the closest female relatives attending her, very much like acolytes in a religious service:

Ai mana māsīna,	Oh my dear little sister,
Auj baltas kājīnas!	Pull on your stockings so white!
Pilna sēta svešu ļaužu,	A crowd of strangers has filled our courtyard,
Vedīs tevi projām:	They have come to take you away:
Dzīs tavas gosnīnas,	They will drive away your cattle,
Vedīs tavu pūrīnu,	They will carry your dowry away,
Birs man gaužas	My tears

Asarīnas	Will flow freely
[Tautiņās ejot]. (16940)	[With your going away].

We have echoes here of the noble ladies of the Homeric epics, who never showed up in public without being framed by a female attendant at either side (see Nagler 1974). The bridesmaids of modern weddings also hark back to this very ancient and emotionally meaningful motif, even if their role has by now been reduced to its most superficially decorative aspects.

Over the five days or more of ancient Latvian wedding celebrations, the tragic and melodramatic moments are naturally only parts of a much larger whole. Gaiety and amusement must after all play the main role at a wedding, and satire becomes a major pastime. Even as the bride is being dressed in a noble and stately ceremony, her husband and his companions (the equivalent of modern ushers) urge her to hurry up, without a trace of sentimentality and without the least pity for her sorrow in leave-taking. "Gather up, oh young bride, all your junk and garbage," calls out the groom's party, and the groom urges his bride to hurry up so that his horse doesn't catch cold while waiting for her to get ready! The groom and his party certainly don't see anything sad about the wedding and may well feel some impatience at the bride's emotional self-indulgence. In a traditional society, a young man loses nothing by getting married; he only gains a wife and a mistress for his household. His closest relatives as well have everything to gain: each will receive a wedding gift from the bride, their clan will be enriched by the bride's dowry, and—to top it all off—an extra pair of free working hands will be added to their household. They have nothing to cry about.

The sad, elegiac songs come mainly from the bride and her relatives, even though they too are quite capable of switching over to a satiric tone whenever appropriate. An apt moment for satire comes when the whole wedding party moves from the bride's parents' home to the home of her husband, where the celebrations will continue for several more days. It was then a custom to mock and deride the new husband's homestead and relatives in a ritualistic manner, using hyperboles which are integral to the chaffing songs, as in the following example:

Slaveni ļaudis,	So famous a clan,
Plakana sēta,	Such a flat set of buildings:
Tupu līdu namā,	I stoop through the door,
Rāpu istabā;	I crawl into the room,
Maizīti mīcīju,	While kneading dough,
Ceļos metos;	I crouch on my knees,
Jau govju kūtē	To enter the cow-byre,
Uz vēderiņa. (25826)	I creep on my stomach.

This song, with its interesting three-fold hyperbole, depicts with scathing mockery a homestead quite literally not lofty enough for the bride. The imputed flatness of all the farm buildings, one lower than another, would be of course a sign of poverty, implying a whole farmstead built with an absolute minimum of building materials. The hyperbolic crescendo of ever more undignified positions of stooping, crouching, crawling on all fours, and creeping flat on one's stomach is a devastating way of "cutting down to size" the pretensions of the inhabitants of such buildings. While the wedding itself would offer many such moments of comic relief, once it was over, the bride would be on her own in a new and alien place, emotionally alone among virtual strangers. Not surprisingly, therefore, the most keenly felt sense of loss and exile shows up in the songs dealing with the bride's first contacts with her new dwelling place. The feelings of alienation form a thematic motif which is expressed in a wide range of poetic images, each touching on some different aspect of the situation and revealing some added nuance with remarkable psychological precision. This whole subcorpus offers proof in flagrant contradiction to the gratuitous assumptions expressed in a textbook of modern psychiatry: "Where there is little or no choice of action in relationships, there is also a restriction on the possibilities of consciously experiencing a variety of emotions. In traditional societies, where relationships are more or less stereotyped, emotions remain unexplored and undifferentiated" (Leff 1981, 72). This supercilious attitude towards traditional societies harks back to the fashionable disparagement of folk poetry as "rude peasant strophes" by "learned" men in the seventeenth century (for examples, see Vīķis-Freibergs 1988). Nothing could be more absurd than this naive condescension, which presumes that people in traditional societies must simply have had fewer and cruder emotions than ourselves.

The poetic imagery present in the songs of alienation and exile covers a spectrum of nuances that has nothing to envy the range of emotions presented by modern man (on the latter, see Oatley 1992). Furthermore, the dainas do not just paint static word pictures, but offer a dynamic, even cinematographic, juxtaposition of contrasts between the unlovable, strange, and alien land on the one hand and the beloved but lost fatherland on the other. Significantly, in the women's dainas, the childhood home never is called by the patriarchal name of fatherland, but rather by matriarchal phrases which attribute the native homestead to a girl's brothers, such as "in my brothers' homestead" and "while living among [my] brothers":

Zied brāļos sētas mieti,	The fence posts bloom in my
	brothers' land,
Zied pelēki akmentiņi;	The grey stones are in blossom;
Tautiņēs neziedēja	Nothing blooms in my husband's home,
Ij sarkans rožu dārzs. (24008)	Not even the red rose garden.

It is a measure of the new bride's sense of emotional alienation that even a bright red rose garden fails to arouse any joyous feelings in her. It cannot do so, for it blooms in the wrong place. The blooms of the alien place are unable to win a place in the exiled woman's heart. The most insignificant stone or fence post, on the other hand, acquires a halo of beauty and blooms with the warm feelings it evokes, only because it is located in the right place, the one that had been home. During the worst part of the early exile period, the thoughts of the exile keep returning obsessively to the familiar, beloved place, to the childhood surroundings on which she had become imprinted. Behind a veil of longing and nostalgia, even the most ordinary details of the old home become exalted and glorified, and everything about it seems more lovable and beautiful only because it is now lost. In contrast, the new place is emotionally rejected only because it is unfamiliar; it is unloved because it is strange. The exile deliberately builds mental barriers within herself against any charm the new place may have. The past becomes, therefore, an imagined state of bliss, while the present offers only an unremitting sense of loss:

Gana augsti šie kalniņi,	High enough are these hills,
Gana zaļas šās birztiņas,	Green enough are these groves,
Vēl i tad nemīlēj	Regardless—they can't be loved
Kā savā dzimtenē. (25914)	As the ones in my native land.

The rejection of anything attractive about the place of exile is more than a passively negative reflex against new and unfamiliar impressions. The emotion is deliberately cultivated and nourished just as, after the death of someone close, everything is done at first to keep the pain of the loss alive. The very fact that the exile will not allow herself to be tempted and seduced by the beauty and loveliness of the alien land, is a major component of her tragedy. The forced exile thereby constructs her coping strategies to deal with personal loss. For a person who has defined her entire being as connected to her former environment, any attraction to her new environment would be an emotional betrayal, a betrayal of her own past, of her earlier self. Unfortunately, the attempt to strengthen one's sense of identity by emotionally clinging to the past leads to a deadening of the emotions evoked by the current environment. This causes a deliberate withdrawal from many things that otherwise could have been a source of joy. If kept up too rigorously and for too long, such an attitude may create a chronic sense of anhedonia, the inability to experience joy or pleasure, which eventually may turn into real clinical depression.

The feeling of betrayal occasioned by any positive feelings towards one's new surroundings becomes especially acute in political exiles who, having been forced to leave their homeland, feel it as their moral obligation to remain loyal

to it. In his novel *The Fog Rises over the Trent* (*Pār Trentu kāpj migla* 1966), the expatriate Latvian author Gunārs Janovskis gives a splendid description of the long lasting irreconcilability of an exile, his categorical rejection of the local environment, raised to the point of pathology. The novel focuses on two Second World War refugees from Latvia who, just like the author, have gone to England in the late forties. In the final pages of the novel, the protagonist Arturs has just gone mad out of sheer despair and begins to howl like a wolf on the shore of the river Trent near Nottingham. A police ambulance arrives to pick him up, and the following dialogue takes place between Arturs and the local policeman:

> —How long have you lived in England?
> —I haven't lived here. I've only been here.
> —That's the same.
> —Eighteen years.

Herein lies the exile's paradox: to seek his homeland, but to be condemned to the netherworld of homelessness, to have no place or time which is familiar, but to wander from place to place harboring an ideal and progressively mythologized place in his imagination. The married woman as exile suffers a similar fate: her brother's home becomes the mythic homeland from which she is forever barred, made to live among strangers.

The policeman merely asks a routine question about place and duration of residence. But the exile objects to the word "live" precisely because he feels he has not lived while in exile, he has only existed or vegetated. It is only for the local man that being in the place and living there are one and the same. By stubbornly refusing to live fully anywhere but in his native land, the exile has cut himself off from every possible source of psychological nourishment, until nothing is left for him but the flight into madness. We may be very far here from the tragedies of kings who have lost their crowns or of classical heroes who have lost their battles, yet the sheer intensity of loss and pain is no smaller for the ordinary man who has lost everything that held any meaning for him. The transition from a familiar environment to a strange and alien one is described in the dainas through a wide array of poetic metaphors which are frequently traditional ones, forming modular units of text that are widely distributed in the corpus as a whole and may be found in a variety of distributional contexts. One such core metaphor is that of a flower or of a blooming tree, which is exploited within a wide range of poetic expression, either as a metaphor or as a metonym (see also song 24008, quoted above).

Vēja lauzta ābelīte	The wind-broken apple tree
Ne ziedēja, ne lapoja;	Neither leafs nor blossoms;

Tautu rāta mūs' māsiņa	Our sister, scolded by her in-laws.
Ne dziedāja, ne runāja.	Neither sings nor talks.

As a metaphor for a woman, the formulaic image of the wind-broken apple tree can take on many nuances of meaning. Applied to a maiden, it can stand for the damage done to her reputation by malicious gossip (Vīķis-Freibergs 1997). In the song just quoted, the newly married sister is belittled and criticized by her new in-laws to the point that she withdraws into mutism. This is a vivid, poetically effective detail which, moreover, corresponds to the symptoms of a clinically depressed person. Significantly, these poetic images, sanctioned by tradition and used creatively in different variations, lose neither their expressiveness nor their poetic impact through being repeated but rather acquire some new nuance of meaning in each new context. Especially effective is the moving detail of the blossom, gripped in the palm of the hand and carried along after leaving one's native land. This technique, an indirect and subdued manner for expressing a deeply tragic and painful experience, is characteristic of the metonymic style of expression of the dainas (Vīķis-Freibergs 1973):

Kas šī zeme par zemīti,	What kind of land is this
Ka ziediņi neziedēja?	Where the blossoms don't bloom?
Es atnesu saujiņā	I brought clutched in the palm of my hand
Savas zemes pureniņu. (25923)	A marsh marigold from my own country.

—Sveši ļaudis, sveša zeme,	An alien people, an alien land,
Kur bij man ziedu raut?	Where am I to pick blossoms?
Savas zemes magoniņu	A tiny poppy from my native land
Saujā nesu salocītu. (2592 var. 3)	I carry folded in the palm of my hand.

Emotional attachment to the most minute details of one's physical setting is very characteristic of traditional Latvian culture in general. One would not expect to find the same intensity of attachment in the folklore of hunters or shepherds. For nomadic tribes who move around constantly while tracking game or seeking new pastures for their flocks, attachment to a particular landscape—this or that kind of tree, let alone a specific, concrete tree, bush, or flower bed—would not be as likely. If one lives on a farm, however, every detail of the familiar landscape becomes integrated into the personality; it becomes just as significant a part of the conscious "self" experience as the awareness of one's clothing, body movements, or thoughts and feelings. Torn away from her habitual environment, a sedentary person experiences a severe

mental amputation, quite unknown to a nomad, or indeed to the modern city dweller, who can carry with him much of what is constant in his material environment or for whom one city street is very much like any other. For a nomad, home is where the tents are pitched at that particular moment; for the modern suburbanite, a move might become the excuse to upgrade the furniture and do some redecorating. But a farm girl, on having to leave her home, would like to take along even the birch groves which were such a striking component of her native landscape. Indeed, it is hardly a coincidence that birches were also the first trees which the Second World War Latvian refugees tried to plant in front of their new homes in the New World:

Priedes vien, egles vien,	Nought but pine trees, nought but fir trees,
Kur tautiņas mani veda;	There, where my in-laws are taking me;
Brāļi dotu bērzu birzi,	My brothers would give me a birch grove,
Kaut varētu līdzi vest. (25934)	Would that I could bring it along.

The pain of losing her native home is intensified by the married sister's resentment of her brother's wife, a newcomer who has taken her original place, and is presumably enjoying all that was desirable and beautiful there:

Staigā mārša, zied rozītes	The roses bloom, my sister-in-law walks
Pa bāliņa pagalmiņu;	In the yard of my brother's homestead;
Es staigāju raudādama	I walk crying bitter tears
Pa tautieša purmalām. (25947)	Along my husband's swamplands.

Besides her longing for the familiar landscape, and for everything in it to which she has been emotionally attached, the sense of exile of the new bride is intensified by longing for her relatives, always contrasted with the strangers of the new place. In her efforts to get used to her new environment, she has to learn to get along with its permanent inhabitants—those who have always cared for it and loved it, and who will receive the newcomer with more or less covert hostility:

Kas tā tāda tautu meita	Who is this strangers' daughter,
Mūs' maizītes nesējiņa?	Bringing us our bread?
Ne tā pļava, ne tā kūla,	She neither reaped nor threshed,
Ne likuse klētiņā;	Nor brought it to the granary;
Cits pļāvējs, cits kūlējs,	Others reaped, others threshed it,
Šī maizīti iznēsā. (25085)	Now she's the one to hand it out.

As seen in the dainas, it isn't always easy for the in-laws to accept the stranger, and in their dislike and surliness they may become sharp-tongued or even cruel. For that reason, the sister longs for contact with her own to such a degree that a visit by her brother arouses a touchingly childish joy and is described in terms of naive exaltation:

Tiltiņš rībēja,	The bridge is rumbling,
Podziņas skanēja:	The buttons are tinkling:
Jāj mans brālītis	My brother is riding
Māsiņas raudzīt;	To visit his sister;
Viksēti zābaki,	His boots are polished,
Riņķoti kažoki	His fur coat is adorned,
Misiņa podziņas	Little brass buttons
Cepures galā. (26732)	Embellish his hat.

Finding oneself alone among strangers produces a sense of vulnerability, of being subject to the will of others. But if the in-laws are so hostile that they scare away any visitors, the sister's relatives may not come even when their presence would be needed the most:

Aiz ziemeļa auksta vēja	Because of the cold northern wind
Ozoliņi nezaļoja;	The oak trees don't sprout any leaves;
Aiz tautieša bārgumiņa	Because of my husband's sternness
Nenāk mani bāleliņi. (26677)	My brothers don't come to visit me.

The intentional scaring away of the young wife's relatives does not happen without a deeper reason: oppressors, big or small, whether mere bullies or entire repressive regimes, are wary of observers or witnesses to their actions. When the oppressed realize that nobody knows nor cares about their plight, that they have been forgotten by man and God alike, they become the perfect victims. There is nothing like a sense of abandonment to make a person all the more pliable and passively accepting of tyranny.

Šķiet saulīte netekot	The sun seems unmoving
Miglajā rītiņā;	On a foggy morning;
Šķiet Dieviņš neredzot,	God seems unseeing
Ko man dara sveši ļaudis. (9130)	Of what these strangers do to me.

Yet sometimes it is enough for the oppressor to become aware that a person has a protector, that somewhere there are people who care about her fate and well-being, even while she remains totally dependent and helpless in her current

situation. This may be sufficient to restore some degree of restraint in those who had become carried away by their sense of unbridled power. One is reminded here of the political dissidents in Soviet labor camps who found themselves treated just a little better if they started receiving a steady stream of letters and cards from abroad. In former times, brothers were a married sister's only possible protectors; in the worst-case scenario, they had to teach a lesson to their abusing brother-in-law at the point of a sword:

Ieblakām bēŗi tek,	The bays trot side by side,
Dusmām jāja bāleniņi:	The brothers ride in anger;
Lai sargās tās tautiņas,	Let those in-laws beware
Kas māsiņu niecināja. (26200)	Who are slighting their sister.

Of course, trying to solve their sister's difficulties through a bloody confrontation solves nothing for, as a song puts it so cogently: who will feed the sister, and who will feed her children? Nonetheless, a reminder that the sister is not alone in the world, that her relations are ready to defend her, may elicit a little more respect toward the sister and a little more caution in attacking her. Where nothing is done to stop aggression against married women, violence may escalate to the point of burning a woman alive in patently rigged kitchen "accidents," as in contemporary India where such holocausts have become endemic. Where the threat of retaliation exists, the victim gains solace from this knowledge, and this would probably contribute to her psychological resilience:

Klusu mani tautas rāja,	My in-laws scold me very quietly
Lai nejuta bāleliņi;	So that my brothers won't hear;
Vai zemīte vāku vāzta,	The earth isn't covered with a lid,
Jutīs mani bāleliņi. (13725)	My brothers will find out anyway.

Among the metonymic details which put the new husband's household in a negative light, there is the telling motif about the lack of food to be put before guests. The image is that of a sister who is deeply distressed at being unable to put any food on the table when her own family come to visit her. In the following text, the reason seems to be extreme poverty—there simply is no food—while in others there is a hint that the mother-in-law, in her meanness, won't allow her daughter-in-law access to the larder. In either case, being unable to fulfill the most elementary laws of hospitality (which require serving food to a guest), would be a situation of extreme shame for the sister, in addition to her sorrow at not being able to show her affection and appreciation for her brothers' visit:

Atsēžos raudādama	I sit down weeping
Tautu galda galiņā:	At the end of my husband's table:
Atjāj mani div' bāliņi,	My two brothers had ridden over,
Aizjāj abi nemieloti;	And left without being served;
Nava tautu klētiņā	In the granary of this place
Vienas auzu sēnaliņas. (16681)	There isn't even a single oat husk.

While the sister becomes an exile through her marriage, to the relatives who remain behind she becomes the departed one, both in the literal and in the euphemistic sense. As the French put it: "Partir, c'est mourir un peu" (to leave means to die a little). Upon her marriage, the sister enters a new phase of life from which there is no return, just as there is no return from death.

Aiziedami bāleliņi,	Upon leaving, oh brothers,
Māsai acis aizsieniet,	Put a blindfold over your sister's eyes,
Lai celiņa tā neredz,	So that she doesn't see her way back,
Pakaļ skriet bāliņiem. (26179)	So that she can't follow you home.

The blindfold would be a dramatic way of impressing upon the sister that running back home to mother was simply not an option in this society. In some wedding rituals the footprints of the sister are trampled out, just as was done at funerals after the deceased had been brought to the graveyard:

Nenāc vair, tu māesiņ'	Don't come any more, dear sister
Uz maeniem ciemoties;	To visit me here;
Lai aizuoga taevi ceļi	Let the paths that you followed
Ar sorkonu ābuoeliņu. (27518 var. 1)	Grow over with red clover.

While there is still the possibility of seeing each other occasionally, there is no real possibility of return. The married woman is definitely out of the house and on her own. One can no more return to a past state from the present than one can return from the dead. Even visiting is not always a simple matter, for many obstacles, physical or psychological, can stand in the way:

Brauc, brālīti, tu pie manis,	Come, dear brother, to visit me,
Es pie tevis nevarēju;	I cannot go to you;
Tev priekšā ledus kalni,	Hills of ice lie between us,
Man nav kalta kumeliņa. (26688)	I have no steed that's shod.

Even when the sister does come back to visit her brother's homestead, everyone knows that it is for a short while only. Although this is her native land, this is

no longer her place and there is no way she can remain there. Nature abhors a vac-
uum, and the place of the one who has left has been filled long since. Just like the
shades of departed ancestors (*veļi*) during their allotted visiting time during the
mists of autumn, she may come for a short visit and even share a meal with the
members of her former household. But soon it is time for her to return to her exile,
which has now become her permanent home. No one understands better than the
exile Heraclitus's statement that it is impossible to step into the same river twice.
Returning to one's former dwelling place, one discovers that during one's absence
the homeland also has changed, that time hasn't stood still there either. And
through change it has become different and strange. It is no longer the same,
familiar, beloved landscape for which one had sorrowed so painfully and so long:

Maldīties maldījos	I lost my way over and over
Sava tēva tīrumā;	In my father's fields—
Kur atstāju tīrumiņu,	Where I once left an open field,
Tur atradu bērzu birzi. (26513)	There I now found a grove of birches.

As time goes on and the separated family members each lead different lives,
their former feelings of closeness may slowly fade and possibly disappear alto-
gether. All that remains might be the nominal family ties, possibly recognized at
a formal level, but no longer felt with any degree of true emotion of closeness:

Vai tādēļ zema saule,	Is the sun no longer a sun
Kad aiz kupla ozoliņa?	When hid by a wide oak-tree?
Vai tādēļ ne māsiņa,	Is a sister no longer a sister
Kad aizveda tautiņās? (23886)	When she's been married away?

It is painful to realize that relations have changed with those who have
remained in the old homestead, even the closest among them. A girl who has
been used to being her mother's little sweetheart now finds herself treated like
any other guest, even if it is with the symbolic gesture of hospitality of raising
a chair for her:

Māte mani mazas sauca:	When I was small, my mother called me:
Meitenīte, meitenīte;	My little girl, my little girl;
Neilgami laiciņami:	Not long afterward:
Celiet krēslu, viešņa nāk. (26549)	Set out the chair, here comes a guest.

Nothing could be more painful than for the insider to become an outsider,
whether it be for the daughter of the house to be called a stranger, or for the

political exile to be treated quite literally as a revenant ("one who returns," but also, of course, French for "ghost"), a visitor, or "a tourist" when returning to her native home. An already painful situation then becomes particularly galling if the speaker turns out to be someone who has come there from outside, as is the case with a brother's wife:

Mārša man krēslu cēla:	My brother's wife lifts a chair for me:
—Atsēdies, ciema sieva;	—Do sit down, guest woman;
Te piedzimu, te pieaugu,	Here I was born, here I grew up,
Nu māršiņas ciema sieva. (26593)	Now to this woman I'm stranger and guest.

Returning to one's former dwelling place is painful for any number of other reasons, for example, seeing that work which you would have done well has remained undone or is being done poorly:

Ne runāt nerunāju	I spoke not a word
Ar brālīša līgaviņu:	To my brother's wife:
Bij manam brālītim	My brother was wearing
Melns krekliņš mugurā. (26646)	An unwashed shirt.

Another cause of pain is the inability to help the relatives who have stayed behind, the impossibility of doing anything permanent to change their circumstances. Any number of chores and duties, which would have been the daughter's responsibility had she stayed on in the household, may either remain undone, or place an undue burden on her mother:

Žēlumā nevarēju	I can't bear the pain
Gar māmiņas sētu iet:	Of passing my mother's home:
Mauj gosniņas nedzērušas,	Unwatered, the cows moo,
Maļ māmiņa raudādama. (26656)	Weeping, mother turns the hand-mill.

The concentrated pain and even the bitterness evinced in the dainas about the married woman as exile offer a dramatic counterexample to the frequent misconception about lyrical folk poetry like the dainas as a sort of poetic *luth monocorde*—innocuous little verses chirping prettily on a single, naive note of unrelieved optimism. The dainas actually sing about the full range of human experience in all its various shades and nuances. They explore the full range of emotions, including the negative ones: pain, longing, disappointment, resentment, anger, rage. Negative emotions are neither bowdlerized nor euphemised, but are described with a faithfulness bordering on clinical precision. To a certain

degree, folk wisdom even allows the sufferer to deliberately pick at emotional scars and to poke at open psychological wounds, so that emotional catharsis may take place. By allowing the emotions to be freely expressed and vented, the pain they cause slowly subsides and fades out in due time.

In lyrical folk poetry, individual experience is never presented as unique or isolated in existential solitude. Everything that happens is part of a larger lawful system where individuals conform to the rules that govern society, just as in nature everything follows the rules of the physical universe. Certain experiences, happy as well as sad, are inevitable constituents of human existence. Certain others, equally inevitable, pertain more specifically to the female role. Inasmuch as it is a cause of pain, this inevitability may confer a tragic dimension to ordinary human experience. Yet inasmuch as it has been shared by countless others over the centuries, that same inevitability may also become a source of comfort and solace and start the process of healing whereby grief is overcome and loss accepted.

Although the content of the dainas is inseparably linked to the conditions, processes, rituals, and material objects typical of their time and place, human emotions and experiences are depicted so convincingly and vividly in them that they can be transferred with surprising ease to quite different contexts many centuries later. Thus the songs about the married woman as exile describe many nuances of feeling which the descendants of these women, the Latvian political exiles of World War II, would readily recognize as precisely their own. Folk poetry, to the extent that it is good poetry, is able to confer symbolic force to even the most stereotyped of traditional images so that, reaching beyond their anchoring in the time and space of their creation, traditional oral texts may become timeless and universal.

Notes

1. For a fuller discussion of daina poetics and the daina's place in Latvian culture: see Vīķis-Freibergs 1981.
2. The numbers given in parentheses after each text are the identifying classification numbers which they bear in the original volumes of Švābe, Straubergs, and Hauzenberga-Šturma (1952–56).

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