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Editors' Note

This, the third volume of the new series of *The Irish Journal of Anthropology*, marks several milestones. Most important of these is that the movement to a fully peer-reviewed, professional anthropological journal, begun two years ago, has been largely accomplished. We now have in place a body of referees dealing with a regular stream of essays. We encourage you, our readers, to continue to add to this stream—a consistent supply of high-quality essays, based on original research and innovative thinking, is necessary to maintain not only our standards, but the journal's utility for professional and student anthropologists as well as interested scholars in allied disciplines.

This edition also marks the formal closing of the interregnum precipitated by the retirement of Dr. Abdullahi Osman El-Tom from the editorship last year. During this period, much has been accomplished. We have contacted most of the major academic presses in these islands and North America, informing them of the journal and requesting to be included in their complementary review copies list. Special thanks to the Department of Anthropology, NUIM, for subsidising the mailing. Later issues of the journal, then, will contain a "Books Received" page. If you are interested in reviewing one of these volumes please contact us. If not, you will likely be corveed into this task at some point. Second, thanks to the good offices of Mairead Hession, an MA student in Anthropology at NUIM, the journal is now available on the Web, as part of the new home page of the Anthropological Association of Ireland. The address is

http://homepages.iol.ie/~huma/aai/home.html

Back issues are available to be downloaded and read, as is the table of contents of the current issue. As a volume sells out, moreover, it, too, will be placed on the Web, expanding the archive. This strategy has already interested a larger international audience in subscribing to, and publising in, the journal, which will have tangible benefits both for the quality of the journal and the size of our membership. Finally, in the future, we are planning special editions of the journal to accomodate the papers coming out of our bi-annual conferences. The first of these will be out, funding permitting, in time for the December meetings, which will be held in Thurles, County Tipperary on 11-14 December.

None of these grand plans, however, are likely to bear fruit without the more active participation of our membership. It is vital that our members provide original articles and notes, and that they respond to referee critiques and editorial requests in a timely fashion.

Furthermore, the book review burden needs to be more evenly distributed than has previously been the case. Last, but not least, we would like to extend a special invitation to advanced graduate students in Anthropology both on the island and abroad to submit papers for consideration.

We look forward to the coming issues and we welcome any critiques and suggestions that you may have.

A.J. Saris
Steve Coleman

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Corvée, Maps and Contracts: Agricultural Policy and the Rise of the Modern State in Hungary During the Nineteenth Century

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Introduction

The nineteenth century was a curious place. There were rivers of steel making their way across the landscape, funny men in trousers were meticulously measuring the earth, and threshing machines were parading about eating people. Things were appearing and disappearing: feudalism was sentenced to death, and a new state was being manufactured. The abandonment of feudal relations of servility entailed several major redefinitions of property: the properties of objects, such as land, the properties of people, most explicitly that of serfs, and the properties of political office, that is, the state. The transformation of the landscape—physical, social, economic—was quite remarkable.

In the following account, I wish to chronicle the increasing presence of the Hungarian state in everyday life during the 19th century, focusing attention on its role in restructuring agricultural production. In contrast to the usual approach in the literature on agrarian life in Hungary, I have not centred my discussion around the emancipation of the serfs and other reforms of 1848. I have chosen to offer an alternative chronology. I begin by discussing the urbarial edict of Maria Theresa (1767), the first instance of state intervention in local affairs between lords and serfs. I then move to the mid-nineteenth century, to examine the compilation of a cadastral survey proclaimed by Franz Joseph in 1855. This monumental task entailed the mapping of all landed properties in Hungary as a means to assess tax revenues. I end with a discussion of a series of labour laws passed in the late 19th century to regulate the movement and employment of agricultural workers and manorial servants. Thus, I show the manner in which the state attempted to intervene in local relationships of politics and economy, and moreover, how the specific character of intervention changed over 150 years. By doing so, I argue that the modern state in Hungary does not come into being in 1848, or in the years following the abolition of serfdom. A slow,

and ever more deliberate, development of a modern state architecture long precedes the mid-nineteenth century.

I have another purpose here. I intend to demonstrate how the state was implicated in, though not solely responsible for, the shift in the source of value in agricultural communities away from feudal categories of service to early capitalist notions of land as the pre-eminent social resource and then, by the turn of the century, to human labour as the privileged source of value. This trajectory represents my understanding of the shifting concepts of value in this period. It also places the reforms of 1848—the freeing of urbarial serfs, universal taxation, a free market in land—into perspective. In other words, it portrays the 1848 reforms as a piece of a larger puzzle about state control of production and social life, rather than as a starting point for the rise of capitalism.

The analysis provided below touches upon three singular, though significant moments in state policy. I would like to emphasize at the outset that by focusing on the state in the following account, I do not wish to attribute any greater causality to legal measures, or be understood to see the state as a totalizing and unmitigated force within the body politic. As I have tried to make clear throughout, the measures instituted by the state were taken in the midst of heated debates, bloody battles, and quiet, yet forceful deliberations.

Urbarial Edict of 1767: Serving the Empire

> The sheep should be well-fed in order to make it yield more wool and more milk.
>
> Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria [quoted in Blum, 1978:221]

Maria Theresa attempted repeatedly during her reign (1740-1780) to strengthen the central powers of the state over the Hungarian nobility and their vassals; she was only partially successful. Following the Turkish invasion in 1526, and the virtual demise of an independent Hungarian kingdom, Hungarians had been locked in a struggle to restore their sovereignty. This battle was as forcefully waged against the Hapsburgs as against the occupying forces of the Ottoman Empire. Freedom fighters often sided openly with the infidel Turk to stave off the advances of their Catholic neighbours, since the struggle during the 17th century concerned religious freedom as much as political sovereignty. With the full absorption of Hungarian territories into the empire after the defeat of Rákóczi's uprising (1703-1711), the Hapsburg house confronted in the Hungarians deep resentments of political subordina-

tion, but also firmly entrenched economic privileges the nobility was scarcely willing to abandon.

The rulers of the growing Hapsburg state were acutely aware of the crucial role of the peasantry to the political and economic health of the empire. Since the nobility paid no taxes, the full burden of financing the state fell on the peasants' shoulders. From the late 17th century, Hapsburg emperors feared the prospects of a debilitated peasantry, crushed by onerous servile duties, and so attempted to lighten their feudal burdens. Fears of peasant revolts and political instability also prompted their actions. Leopold I introduced legislation to modify service contracts in 1680 in response to peasant unrest in Bohemia, though the decrees were never implemented (Blum, 1978:221). It remained the task of Leopold's successors to rally to the aid of impoverished serfs.

During her reign, Maria Theresa encouraged the recruitment by noble landowners of Hungarian, Serb, Slovak and German peasants to repopulate Hungarian territories desolated by the Turkish occupation and insurrections of the previous two centuries. Noble landowners shared with the empress a concern for the provision of adequate supplies of labour for manorial production. They did not share, however, her goals of strengthening state power, and revenues, by weakening the control of landowners over servile labour. Maria Theresa made her purposes very clear in a memorandum written in 1770:

> The peasantry, who are the most numerous class of the citizenry and who are the foundation and greatest strength of the state, should be maintained in such a condition that they can support themselves and their families and in addition be able to pay their taxes in times of both war and peace. The rights of the seignior must give way before these considerations. [quoted in Blum, 1978:221]

The need for the seignior to give way to the state was clearly at the heart of her reforms in the relationship between lord and peasant, the most important of these being codified in the Urbarial Edict of 1767.

In the years 1765 and 1766, Maria Theresa dispatched royal commissioners across the country to determine the extent of holdings worked by the serfs and the character of feudal service demanded in return by their lords. Maria Theresa had clearly lost faith in the veracity of accounts submitted by county officials to the court. This scepticism was reinforced by the testimony of peasant delegations seeking her

audience in 1766, against the protestations of Hungarian nobles who branded them as dangerous insurrectionists (Acsády, 1944:386-7). Yet the rigorous attention to detail devoted to compiling these accounts also testified to the spirit of the age: the age of encyclopedias, natural science and enlightened governing.

> Appearing in every single village, the [royal commissioners] interrogated the mayor, his counsellors and several more intelligent serfs of the village concerning nine points indicated in their formidable directive about the existing state of corvée, considering every aspect of serf burdens. On the basis of this the commissioners wrote up the serfs of the village according to their names, wrote up their lands, pastures, vineyards, classified their soils according to quality and on this basis they determined future parcel holdings, about which they prepared exact tables. [Acsády, 1944:388]

Armed with a compendium of relationships and products, of labour service and land holdings, the state proceeded to regulate—and notably, to reduce—the serf's obligations to noble landowners.

> The Urbarial Edict of 1767 restored the sixteenth-century quota of labour services: one day per week with, or two days without, a team of oxen for the tenant of a statutory parcel fixed between sixteen and forty-eight acres depending on the quality of the land. The edict also attempted to curtail the arbitrariness of the manor courts by banning landowners from juries hearing the cases of their own serfs, and by making appeal to royal courts mandatory in all capital cases. [Janos, 1982:28-29]

The intervention of the state in the relationship between lord and serf was significant, as it brought the arm of the central institutional power to the very heart of the political relations of the local community, barring (at least in principle) abuse of noble authority and privilege. The state's appearance on the local scene broke with earlier practices, in which the supervision and adjudication of local affairs were the sole responsibility of the landowning nobility. Some have argued that a key to understanding the process of reenserfment during the 16th century lay precisely in the ability of the nobility to withstand encroachment by centralized powers (Blum, 1957:822). The shift toward a centralized state envisioned

by Maria Theresa, and her son Joseph II, would erode these powers, albeit slowly.

The appearance of central power in local affairs is clearly of great import. Yet, what does it mean to say that central power appears in the local community? One crucial component of the presence of the state is the existence of the documents themselves; by state mandate, documents were prepared and made public recording entitlements to land, to service and to tithes. Prior to this time, labour contracts had been locally negotiated between noble landowners and peasants, recorded in copyhold agreements called *urbaria* (Janos, 1982:27). The Urbarial Edict of Maria Theresa represented the first national law stipulating in detail the servile duties of the serf to the lord (Wenzel, 1887:410). Moreover, as a national document the edict fixed, codified, mandated, (need I say) *stated* relations of property and labour. For it is the precisely the ability of the state to state, to prescribe the character of social relations in local communities which forges the machinery of modern state power (Corrigan and Sayer, 1985:3).

The state appears in the guise of public documents; the ubiquitous seals and stamps of Central European bureaucracies to this day convey the imprimatur of central authority. Yet a crucial means of affirming state authority is by underscoring its fixed, necessary presence in local affairs. As Michael Herzfeld reminds us, "*stato* is used as the past perfect participle of the verb for 'be'....such an etymology represents the state as the ultimate external verity, that which 'has [always] been,' and as such an outstanding example of what we would today call 'naturalization' (1986:75)." The given, taken-for-granted character of state power has a further implication: the actual presence of the state in relations among local actors. No longer do lord and serf, neighbour and neighbour interact as familiars. Their sociality is intruded upon, pulled asunder by the weighty bulk of state authority. The necessary presence of the state in local affairs is profound. It thus becomes apparent that the fixity of social forms as mandated by the state is one means by which social forms become fetishized. In other words, the entrance of the state as an unseen, yet constant third party to all affairs between lord and serf is a prominent example of reification, which entails a displacement of sociality away from immediate experience and onto the distant yet haunting presence of immutable authority (Barker, 1984).

Yet the imposition of state control, the intervention of state powers in local affairs was fiercely resisted by Hungarian nobles, and not without result. The actual implementation of the urbarial reforms fell victim to the machinations of the nobility. While in the Austrian territo-

ries Maria Theresa had completed a reorganization of administrative institutions prior to the introduction of urbarial reforms, in Hungary she had not, fearing the already vehement opposition of the nobility to her social programs. Hence implementation of the urbarial reforms was left to the county offices, which were controlled by the nobility (Acsády, 1944:396). The state goal of removing arbitrary abuse of powers was thwarted; local nobles interpreted the edict according to their own purposes. Peasants were no longer heeded in Vienna, to their great dismay.

Hungarian nobles feared the loss of sovereignty over local affairs, but they were equally afraid of the imposition of taxes and other fiscal duties on their own properties. In 1764, the government of Maria Theresa had already attempted to commute the military services of the Hungarian nobility into a money payment, but was unable to do so (Pamlényi, 1973:196). The urbarial reforms were considered a substantial threat, for although they merely registered land tenure and servile relations among serfs, they were perceived as a step toward determining (and publicly recording) the extent of a lord's property holdings. Until the late 18th century, noble properties had not been measured. Boundaries between properties were designated, but acreage had not been calculated. The Hungarian nobility reasoned that the government's interest in reckoning the size of noble properties would surely lead to taxation. This step—the taxing of all land, peasant and seigniorial—was taken by Joseph the II in November of 1789, as the final cornerstone of his agrarian reforms. However, this legislation went the way of all the Josephine reforms, to be repudiated on his deathbed. The simple repudiation of legal statute was not enough for the Hungarian nobility.

> After [Joseph II's] death the survey was one of the motive forces of the 'national' resistance of the aristocracy. At the noisy county assemblies, it was decided that the cadastral maps and survey documents must be thrown on the fire. A substantial portion of extremely valuable works providing a mirror image of the conditions of the country in the late 18th century were tossed into the flames in the midst of spectacular ceremonies. [Varga, 1972:252]

The nobility triumphed over the dogged attempts of two self-styled absolutist monarchs. Their victory was both embodied and celebrated in the destruction of maps, charts, and lists, the very building blocks of modern state power.

Cadastral Surveys: The Privilege of Land

Marsh-fires in the night (*lidercfény*)—pale blue lights seen on the horizon—were interpreted by Hungarian peasants as souls bound to roam the earth, engineers damned to wander endlessly for having wrongly measured the land. That the engineer—the surveyor of land and maker of maps—should be singled out for damnation tells us much about the peasantry's condemnation of learned men and the purposes to which they devoted their science. Eternal hell fires would vindicate the poor and the weak, whose property values were misjudged and falsely reckoned by lackeys of state bureaus and local rulers.

The role of the state in measuring social products shifted from the 18th to 19th century. In the Urbarial Edict of 1767, Maria Theresa had been keen to improve the lot of the peasantry, to ensure higher levels of productivity and so greater revenues for the state. The attempt to intervene in local relations focused primarily on the extent of servile obligations owed to the nobility by enserfed peasants. Although royal commissioners had recorded the size of holdings in pursuit of determining servile obligations, the primary concern of the Urbarial Edict was not the exact measurement of landed properties *per se*. Rather, the edict was designed to tabulate the duties of peasants—in labour, in kind, in money. As of the mid-nineteenth century, however, taxation was assessed on the basis of the market value of landed properties. More accurately, land was classified and codified according to seven different categories, and the specific determination of the value of land was made in terms of the monetary value of the produce cultivated on those properties. The land tax register marks, therefore, a major change in the focus of state evaluation. Not only did the focus shift from service relationships, that is, a presumed reciprocity between lord and serf in which the lord provided land in return for the services of resident serfs. It also constituted a shift from recording properties to calculating the *market value* of land in terms of the produce cultivated. The shift to land, to marketable produce, and to money epitomizes agriculture in the mid-nineteenth century as little else can.

On the 20th of October, 1849, Emperor Franz Joseph issued a written order to initiate a land tax register. This order followed by only fourteen short days the execution of the former prime minister, Batthyány, and twelve generals of the now defeated War of Independence. The introduction of universal taxation had been a central component of the 1848 reforms, passed by the Hungarian Diet and sanctioned by the emperor prior to the outbreak of the fighting. Though attempts

were made by the provisional Hungarian government during the revolution to introduce taxation, peasants in many regions refused to pay. "After [the defeat of the Hungarian army] the absolutist government expended feverish activity, while establishing itself, to mine the revenue of the country. It is not an exaggeration to say that, besides punishing the rebels, the building up of fiscal affairs was one of the most important tasks of the imperial ministry" (Varga, 1972:256). In a few short years, the tax revenues assessed on Hungary multiplied several fold (Bernát, 1935:225).

To determine the value of landed properties, the emperor commanded in 1855 that a cadastral survey of all lands be completed. The full survey of agricultural properties would not be complete for decades, and in some regions was not even finished by 1918. This exacting, scientific survey would be preceded by a land register, compiled in each community by a committee of six people selected for this task, and then checked by appraisal commissioners employed by the state. The preparatory work assigned to the committee included:

> a description of the boundaries of the tax community; a topographic register of fields surrounding the community indicating the customary branch of cultivation and the means of leasehold for each field, as well as for the entire area of the community; in the specific branches of cultivation, the differences or rather ranking of the quality and productivity of the land were to be determined with respect to the quantity and quality of obtainable produce; for every plot within and outside the borders of the village, the preparation of a "property declaration" or cadastral register for each field, and finally a ranking in identical categories of those pieces of land which fell under specific branches of cultivation in comparable conditions. [Varga, 1972:260-261]

Though the work was quite comprehensive, government offices posted very strict deadlines for the completion of these tasks. Depending on the size of the community, 8-14 days were allotted for writing up the fields, 14-21 days for the determination of categories of land and their classification, and 8-10 days for compiling the final property register (Varga, 1972:261).

The process of calculating land values entailed several innovative concepts, notions of property and economy central to the restructuring of agricultural production envisioned by reformers. Two categories are

of particular interest: classification of land types, and the concept of net income. Though attention is often focused on the political and economic consequences of taxation, a point I will return to below, I think it as important to examine the assumptions about agricultural production which inform the structure of the survey, and which were being introduced by state agencies in the process of conducting the survey itself.

The categorization of lands according to their quality had already been introduced with the Urbarium of Maria Theresa. Four categories of plough-land (I-IV), and three categories of meadowland (good, medium, bad) were used. In the land register of the 1850s, seven categories of land were established: plough-land, hay-field, garden, vineyard, pasture, forest, and reedy marsh. Further distinctions were also made, both in terms of the quality of the land and according to the frequency of natural disasters, e.g. floods and frost. Plough-lands were classified according to three classes, while the other categories were distinguished by two classes; reedy marshes were not ranked (Varga, 1972:261). The specific distinctions between categories, between lands devoted to the growing of grains, pasturage and garden properties, were of themselves not radical distinctions for the kind of agriculture being pursued in the 1850s. However, calculating the relative monetary worth of these properties for taxation—that is, tallying the market value of produce issuing from different holdings—was clearly an innovation for the time.

Taxes were calculated according to the net income of agricultural production. Net income on any particular type of land was reckoned "employing the customary economic system in the community as that earned in an average productive year after they deducted the usual costs here and there for cultivating the land, for sowing, for the tending of produce, and for harvesting" (Varga, 1972:259). The introduction of a category for the costs accompanying different phases of production was quite radical. Such calculations were quite foreign to most agricultural producers. The state nonetheless demanded that village committees estimate production costs as part of their survey.

The categories employed to compile the land register would have long term economic implications. For example, no accommodations were made in the original hurried land register, or in later legislation, to alter the tax base if properties were upgraded from a less productive to more productive category, e.g. if plough-land were to be replaced by a vineyard. Farmers could gain some advantage by transferring lands from one category to another, and so evade higher taxes on more profitable branches of production. Manorial estates would be especially well suited to transfer properties from one category to another, due to

their size and the variety of land types usually included in such a large farm. The flexibility and variety of productive branches characteristic of manorial properties always gave them an advantage over small holdings in this regard, and the advantage would accrue over time (Varga, 1972:259). As the burdens of taxation and redemption of feudal dues would weigh ever more heavily on the peasantry over the next fifty years, productivity and profitability would come to be diligently calculated. It bears emphasis that calculation means here both numerical reckoning and a considered weighing of choices structuring economic activity. The revolutionary impact of the survey's compilation resides in large part in the marriage of these two previously disparate activ ities—counting and choosing.[1]

Legal provisions had been made in the land register process to permit objections to be raised either to the classification of properties or the determination of income. Peasants rarely availed themselves of these procedures. It is hard to determine from the historical record whether they did not do so because the legal process itself was too daunting, or because they did not anticipate the practical implications of these calculations. Some do believe that whatever else may have been the case, a major deterrent was the fear that taxes would increase rather than decrease after their objections were evaluated by state authorities (Varga, 1972:264; Bernát, 1935:224).

Wealthy landowners clearly had an advantage over the peasantry in both their knowledge of legal procedure and their personal connections with the authorities. Yet they also had other advantages. It was well known that compilation of the land register took into consideration political factors, most notably loyalty to the crown (Varga, 1972:263). Many wealthy nobles had clearly supported the Hapsburgs during the War of Independence, and were rewarded by being assessed lower tax rates. In contrast, owners of medium-sized properties, whose political loyalties were in general strongly supportive of the independent Hungarian government, were at a disadvantage in tax assessment. These landowners openly distanced themselves from the entire survey process as a form of passive resistance to the state. Moreover, the political history of particular counties—of rebellion or loyalty to the throne over the previous two centuries—were reflected in the treatment of tax levels in the land register. As contemporary observers attest, "[t]he less rebellious counties of Transdanubia acquired a reduced basis of assessment, and the other way around. The more nationalist [*kurucabb*] counties bore greater land tax as punishment" (Varga, 1972:263). Thus, the disadvantages felt by the peasantry vis à vis large landowners in the

registry were accompanied by territorial inequalities in levying taxes across the country.

Finally, the very process of assessing values was skewed to the disadvantage of Hungarian property owners. Although concern was expressed in the legislation for the contributions of knowledgeable community members, nearly all appraisal surveyors were bureaucrats from outside the community. In fact, it was made very clear to these surveyors—"land samplers" (*földkóstolók*) as they were known—that their own careers within the bureaucracy would be served by their zeal and diligence (Varga, 1972:259 footnote 61). So, for example, when compiling the proportionate values of the land, the surveyors often selected as the base value the properties at the high end of the scale, thereby inflating the value of all the other properties in the community (Bernát, 1935:223).

Compilation of the 1850s tax register had far-reaching implications, economically and politically. The differences between regions, and between agricultural producers would increase over time. It was well known that taxes were assessed to the disadvantage of the peasantry, and to the advantage of manorial properties, that is, that estates were undervalued. "[T]he process of categorization by no means reflected the actual quality and profit-yielding capacities of the land. Rather, the social position of the owners of specific sections of land at the time determined the results of the cadastral project" (Varga, 1972:306). Nonetheless, the cadastral maps remained the basis for taxation up through the Second World War, and were even used to determine who would be named a class enemy (*kulak*) during the Stalinist period in the 1950s.

The cadastral survey project tells us much about the shifting focus of state intervention. Much recent scholarship has considered the development of cartography and mapping, and its epistemological and political implications (for example, Foucault, 1972; de Certeau, 1984; Harvey, 1989). Of importance to us here is not only the attempt to appropriate lands and the value issuing from them, but the means by which this appropriation is conceived and executed: the abstract, rational surface of a map. As Harvey points out, the advent of mapping—expressed in the discourse of Euclidean geometry—facilitated the conceptual shift to understanding space "as something usable, malleable, and therefore capable of domination through human action" (Harvey, 1989:254). The construction of a cadastral survey had a very specific, and purportedly limited purpose: the development of a state treasury. The image of Franz Joseph sitting before a map of the Empire,

being able for the first time to move across his entire domain by finger tip is quite powerful. The feast to his eyes is sweetened by the knowledge that the map is itself a treasure chest, ensuring a regular flow of money into state coffers.[2] That a two-dimensional representation of space may become a deep well pouring forth state revenues illustrates the complex confusion of surface and perspective entailed in cadastral surveys. Moreover, this conceptualization of space parallels the increasingly differentiated, rational distribution of power imminent in the modernizing state of the nineteenth century.

A land tax register was mandated by Franz Joseph within a year after land was disencumbered of feudal bonds and freed to be bought and sold. The politics of space and the modern state, as Lefebvre argues, restructures the social purpose of space, as well as social identity through space (1991). The construction of a map then not only facilitated the increasing control of state authorities over local relations of property, but also was an important component in the fetishization of land concomitant with capitalism. Its identity was as a plot, an individualized bit of earth separated out from all other plots alongside it; it lived on its own as a participant in the reified spaces of market politics. This individuation presaged the alienation of individuals in work soon to be codified in the labour laws of the late 19th century. Among villagers, however, the fetishization of land and of labour would be expressed as a bodily possession. Land became an extension of the family; fed by blood and sweat, and after death, with the bones of ancestors, it became an embodiment of the social relations of emerging capitalism (see Lampland, 1991a). So too, a central feature of the transition to labour as the source of value would be the conceptualization of one's activity as an object to be possessed (*dolog*). As a property—meaning both a quality of person and a possession—it could be wrenched from one's very being and with time, be sold to others (Lampland, 1995). The distinction, then, between subject and object—understood here as the reevaluation of land and labour—seems to be an important transitional stage in the commodification of social life in Hungary. More generally, it suggests the intimate connection in capitalism between concepts of space and personhood.

Finally, I would like call attention to the curious association between the experience of movement and the attribution of constancy in the mid-nineteenth century. Social critics and artists often commented on "the discontinuous experience of time, space and causality as transitory, fleeting and fortuitous" (Frisby, 1985:4). Social analysts also shared this view about modern life, prompting Simmel to focus his analysis on

"the fortuitous fragments of reality" (Frisby, 1985:6). Marx's cogent analysis of commodity fetishism relied upon an appreciation of process and movement culled from Hegel's dialectic method (Nicolaus, 1 973:29-30). Marx's goal of identifying the underlying structures of modern society nonetheless was similar to other attempts to capture the fixed in the ephemeral. For example, von Stein saw statistics to be a means of stabilizing the sense of movement which he and his contemporaries confronted (Frisby, 1985:22).

Social science methods for identifying the eternal in the ephemeral, the constant in the ever-changing were closely allied with the political projects of map making and survey "research." Statistics was defined in Germany at its inception in the 18th century as the "science of the state" (Linke, 1988:10). The science of statistics in Hungary came into its own in the 1860s and 1870s, in the pursuit of a more accurate approximation of the size of properties under cultivation and the amount of produce grown on these lands. Though not seen as a science of state building *per se*, statistics in Hungary certainly was a devoted hand maiden to the purpose, conceived as the rational embrace and construction of economic activity in space: both the space of village fields and the space of market activity. It is this appeal to science—the sociology of Marx, the statistics of von Stein, and the rational mapping of the state—I wish to emphasize here. All of the measures taken by the state—the urbarial edict of Maria Theresa, the cadastral survey of Franz Joseph, and the labour laws of the 1890s—are close kin to these scientific pursuits. Thus, it seems quite appropriate, though clearly unjust, that the land values assessed in the 1850s were used during socialist period to identify class enemies. The rationality of state science expressed in planning was clearly heir to the mapping of political allegiance and social value initiated by Franz Joseph, and the later projects of venerable statisticians. Though it must be said that Marxist-Leninist bureaucrats elevated these practices of economic science to a high art—a surrealism of nearly baroque dimensions.

Master Narratives: Labour Contracts for Agricultural Workers

> When greeting each other sadly as we offer ourselves up on the labour market, we cast our eyes about, seeing millions and millions of our fellow workers sweating from working in the fields, whose faces are full of worry and despondent melancholy. [Sándor, 1955:48]

In 1897, villagers of Makó expressed their dismay and utter defeat, having been driven into poverty and forced to sell their labour on the open market. Earlier in the decade, a crowd of nearly 3-4000 workers, drawn from the nearby square where day-labourers gathered to find work, assembled in front of the town hall in Békescsaba. They demanded that officials, held responsible for withholding documents establishing a workers' club, be released to meet their punishment. As 750 soldiers approached to disperse the crowd, the workers shouted: "'We ain't got nothing; if we die, it don't matter'" (Gabona:1934:10).

The decade of the 1890s saw unprecedented political agitation among agrarian workers. The demonstrations of 1891 and 1892 in Békescsaba began a long decade of social unrest and military repression. The once quiescent poor were becoming increasingly demanding and violent. More dangerous still, the once docile poor were organizing themselves politically, with grave consequences for the propertied.

> In some parts of the country… it was not safe for landowners to walk around even in broad daylight. In 1894 one of the agrarian leaders, John Szántó-Kovács, was arrested and his trial in the district court triggered another wave of violence that resulted in the imposition of martial law. In 1897-98 ill-organized agrarian unions struck the grain harvest and fought pitched battles against imported strikebreakers and the military units brought in for their protection. The authorities prevailed, but a National Union of Agrarian Labourers could still enlist 48,616 members, and within a few years the agrarian socialists succeeded where the industrial proletariat had failed. They elected two deputies—the socialist William Mezöffi, and the populist socialist Andrew Achim—to the House of Representatives. [Janos, 1982:161]

The agrarian proletariat struggled hard and long to forge a political and economic identity. Simple measures like forming a workers' club were punished, as were more forceful actions like harvest strikes.

The struggle over political categories of collective action was heated, and gained additional attention because of the frequent use of harvest strikes by the agrarian poor. Harvest strikes were a potent tool. Landowners feared crop losses, giving great weight to the progress of deliberations. Moreover, legislation passed in the 1870s had made provisions for the renegotiation of contracts, thus allowing workers a

legal basis from which to further their cause. "The verbal agreement for contracts, as well as the worker's right that in the case of a bad harvest one could renegotiate workers' wages, opened the way for debates which, as a consequence of lengthy legal procedures involving various authorities, crippled legal certainty" (Bernát, 1938:114-115). Dissatisfaction among wealthy landowners and agricultural workers spread, aggravated by disagreements over the legal code. Central authorities fought against a solidifying working class with equal fervour, though their arsenal was better equipped and far more effective. State agencies—both national and local—frequently resorted to violent repression of political demonstrations and economic actions. Better still than the occasional use of muskets and bayonets, however, would be the crafting of new legislation to regulate the employment of agricultural labour.

Lörincz states unequivocally that the most active period in agrarian labour law fell at the turn of the century (Lörincz, 1974:37). I would go further and claim that labour had come into its own as a social and economic question. Agrarian movements across the country and state measures taken on the "problem" of labour demonstrate this all too clearly. Two major laws were passed within a decade regulating the terms of agrarian labour contracts and the legal status of agricultural workers. The first of the two covered agricultural workers, specifically wheat harvesters, threshers, and day labourers; the second pertained to manorial servants. Additional laws covering labour relations included: day labourers and workers employed in water projects and road and railroad construction; threshing machine operators and farm hands; forestry workers; and tobacco growers and tobacco gardeners (Bernát, 1938:116-117).

One important law concerning agricultural workers precedes these statutes, a bill passed in 1876 to regulate the relationship between masters and servants, agrarian labourers and day labourers. Under the terms of this legislation, the servant was considered a member of the family, subject to the patriarchal authority of the master. The relationship between master and servant was seen to extend far beyond immediate economic concerns; accordingly, servants were expected to fulfil any task, even if it had not been explicitly mentioned when they were hired. Masters were to oversee the education of their servants, allow them to attend the church of their choice, and teach them to lead a "sober, thrifty and moral life" (Gabona, 1934:20). Furthermore, servants had to receive permission to leave the premises, could not receive guests, had to reveal the contents of their belongings on request, and were responsible for informing their master of disloyalty among their fellow servants. The

patriarchal rights of the master also extended to physical punishment, the specific character of punishment varying for women, men and children. "'One may flog only mature men with the blow of a rod, one may use a switch for those youths who have not yet reached the age of 18, while women may only be punished after a precursory examination by a doctor; the number of blows may not exceed twenty'" (Lörincz, 1974:40). Finally, the law also made strikes and any collective forms of extracting higher wages illegal, as they were considered a threat to private property (Janos, 1982:130). The 1876 law was considered an important watershed. Prior to its formulation, regulations concerning servants were locally determined, leading to clashes over differences between regulations established in various regions across the country. An additional problem, Bernát asserts, was that until the 1876 law "the central management of the administration of servant affairs was almost impossible" (1938:110), a comment which reveals much about the increasing importance of centralized state authority in labour relations.

Despite all attempts to bring order to the master-servant relationship in the 1870s, discord continued to characterize relations between workers and employers, heightened by increasing difficulties in the domain of agricultural production and commerce. Through the end of the century, voices were raised from all points on the political spectrum in criticism of provisions within the statute. Some simply questioned the efficacy of legal measures to bring any semblance of calm and obedience to serving poor. "Neither the law on servants, nor other measures help the problems besetting servants, unless the spread and strengthening of *good breeding and piety* improve their morals and ennoble their souls" (Lörincz, 1974:41; emphasis in the original). Amongst those who advocated additional legal reforms, there were those who found the 1876 law too constraining for employers, containing as it did passages permitting servants to renegotiate oral agreements (Lörincz, 1974:41). These conservative voices bemoaned the loss of the employer's full sovereignty. But in the 1870s the state's goal was to sweep away all barriers to the development of a free market, including constraints on the ability of workers to engage in wage negotiation (Janos, 1982:128). Others, to be found within the liberal camp, found the law too constraining in terms of the workers' individual freedoms. In the parliamentary debate over the right of manorial servants to strike, Arpád Szakolczai argued that "the servant cannot even be considered a freely contracting worker; his [her] personal freedom is restricted; despite the principles of legal equality, the legal grievances which fall on his [her] person cannot even be rectified" (Lörincz, 1974:42). The

development of individualism as a legal category thus corresponded to the development of labour law. The significance of this correspondence cannot be stressed too strongly.

In discussing state formation in Britain during the early 19th century, Corrigan and Sayer comment upon the apparent clash between *laissez-faire* economic policies and the extensive measures taken by the state to ensure a social context in which the market could flourish. Central to this process was the refashioning of the working class.

> 'Society', then, turns improvement on its new possession, labour. Formally and then really subordinating labour within production, it then catches up those same bodies, hearts and minds in their 'idle time' to thread together the fabric of the nation. As labour in production it had to be free(d) to be exploited; as labour in society it had to be moralized, normalized, individualized. It had to be simultaneously 'freed' and 'regulated'; forced and yet (positively) willed into new 'stations'… . [Corrigan and Sayer, 1985:118]

I wish to discuss the laws concerning agricultural workers in this light, understanding their genesis to be a central component in the rise of modern state power. State bureaucrats and legislators from all variety of political parties joined to forge legislation regulating, codifying, stipulating when, where and how agricultural workers could be employed. The degree to which parties to labour contracts—employers as well as employees—were constrained was unprecedented, giving the state quite extensive power over the terms of labouring itself, as well as adjudication of disputes. It is of crucial importance to recognize that this step was taken in the midst of widespread unrest: struggles by the labouring poor to achieve greater economic security and battles by wealthy landowners to prevent the agitators from reversing their economic fortunes.

In the spirit of liberal principles of free contract, the 1897 law on agricultural workers was seen as providing the legal context for effective negotiation between individuals, to facilitate the best use of the labour force. As explained in the preamble to the bill,

> With its decrees the law does not intrude into the legal conditions of questions clearly affecting issues of substantive significance or affecting the contracting parties, but only wishes to take measures as far as and in those instances, in

> which insofar as, where, and to what degree need is expressed on the part of the public interest, namely from the economic, public safety and public health points of view. [Lörincz, 1974:44]

So we see in Hungarian labour legislation a curious juxtaposition of passages advocating the nonintervention of state bodies with passages stipulating conduct in a wide range of affairs, public and domestic. Hence, it is our purpose to examine in greater detail what in fact is deemed by legislators and bureaucrats to be in the public interest, in contrast to those concerns of a "private" nature. We need to remember throughout, however, that the very division of public and private is an index of the true supremacy of the state. "The state secures its overall penetration on the basis of an apparent withdrawal and limitation of its pertinent domain… the essence of this power lies as much in the line of division between the public and the private… as in the substantive contents of what lies to either side of it" (Barker, 1984:48). Although drawing the line itself is a categorical shift, the whereabouts of the line separating domains varies, even within the stubbornly fortified terrain of legal codes, where each passage stands alone, sufficient and self-evident. The awkward phrasing of the preamble quoted above conveys quite clearly—with all its instances, degrees and insofar as' es—how the law must make room for the line to shift and slide delicately through the body politic. As a final resort, the state would argue for a redefinition of legal measures due to the urgent need to protect "production value" ("*termelési érték*") in the turbulent decade of agrarian socialist movements (Lörincz, 1974:42). The discovery of production value by the state, and the task of revealing its true identity to the public in various social disputes, would become a valued technique of exercising state power.

It bears further emphasis that the character of state intervention in Hungary has never been subtle. In fact, I wish to underline the degree to which the state has been intrusive and abidingly interventionist. In 1880, the minister of commerce, in a memorandum to the cabinet and parliament, formulated his view of liberalism and national growth in the following manner:

> The individual should be active, the whole society should be active, but the state should not remain inactive either, ... The principle of laissez-faire is justified only as long as natural growth is possible. Once the process of natural progress is

> stalled, economic liberalism has only a paralyzing effect on national vigour. [Janos, 1982:128-129]

The government would champion liberal principles, but only as these principles truly expanded the market. If economic development was seen to be faltering, the state would promptly act to rectify problems. Steps taken to facilitate development would include extensive construction projects, model farms, agricultural schools, and national commercial exhibits. Another component of state economic enforcement would be a very active police force and gendarmerie.

The implications for the intrusive and ever present role of the state in local affairs and capitalist development are quite far-reaching. Lüdtke has argued that Marxists and Weberians alike have placed too much emphasis on "the preponderance of internal or attitudinal control as a consequence of rationalization and modernization, or ... the ideological elements of 'internal control' (hegemony, but also legitimation strategies and manipulation) as inherent in the process of capitalization" (Lüdtke, 1981:100). Lüdtke's studies of the role of the police and the use by local bureaucrats of violence and its threat to mold the Prussian citizenry demonstrates very clearly that the state need not rely solely on market forces to generate new forms of social control and alienation. This approach prompts us to examine more carefully our assumptions about how the state participates in regulating behaviours conducive to capitalist society.

Lüdtke concludes,

> the analyses of Marx and Weber underrated one basic dimension of societal regulation—the permanent use and threat of *physical violence 'from above'*, executed by state officials, as a necessary condition not only for the establishment, but also for the *continuation* of exploitation, unequal exchange and institutionalised reproduction. In other words: during the process of capitalization external political control is not substituted, but completed by means of internal control. ... From this point of view *violence douce* (Bourdieu) and *violence ouverte* are related to one another, in the sense that the different forms of symbolic violence for the dominated always include the experience as well as anticipation of physical violence 'from above'. So *violence douce*, which masks itself in the way it works, should not be perceived as the more modern or rational opposite of physical

> force; on the contrary it works only by the permanent presence of *violence brute* which it symbolises. [1981:105]

It is important, therefore, throughout our discussion of the crafting of modern state forms of regulation––legal, political, economic and moral—to be aware of the violent and oppressive character of these forms, portrayed as rationality and lived as terror. As such, they are, and continue to be, very modern.

The law on agricultural workers passed in 1898 was dubbed by contemporaries as the Slave Law (*rabszolgatörvény*) (Janos, 1982:130). The law consisted of seven sections, including sections on worker identity cards; entering and breaking a contract for agricultural labour; fulfilling the contract; a section on day labourers; criminal regulations; and authorities and procedures. I will not address all sections or points equally or even attempt to cover the full social breadth of the legislation. My point will be to highlight those aspects of the law which illuminate our understanding of the state's attempts to construct new relationships of labour and of identity, relationships which appear increasingly modern.

The most elementary observation is clearly the quantity of detail and elaboration represented by this legislation. Thinking back to the simplicity of Maria Theresa's Urbarium of a century earlier, we can appreciate the development of legal instruments and bureaucratic purpose over this period. The Slave Law even represented a leap in legal elaboration vis à vis the 1876 legislation on domestic servants. All the actors of the political drama are stipulated—employers, employees, national governmental bodies, county offices, local prefectures, the gendarmerie. The extent of their movements on and off stage are clearly choreographed, as are the particulars of their scripts. This is a radically new stage in forging the instruments of state power.

Another important change from the earlier legislation I have discussed is the depersonalization of authority. In contrast to the urbarial edict of Maria Theresa and Franz Joseph's cadastral survey, these legal instruments are truly the product of a bureaucratic process. The person of Maria Theresa and Franz Joseph were in all respects present in the earlier statutes. As edicts, they were in the most literal sense legal "acts" taken by the monarch. Marx's description of political subjectivity under feudalism clearly obtains. "'The unity of the state' appeared as 'the *particular* affair of a ruler isolated from the people, and of his servants'" (quoted in Sayer, 1991:75; emphasis in the original). This preeminently personal quality of ruling has given way to the

impersonal machinations of a bureaucratic enterprise, of which the Parliament is only one (reified) body. The legislative enterprise of the late 19th century is a far cry from the simple and very personalized tactic employed by Maria Theresa, for example, when in 1741, her throne threatened by a coalition of Western powers, she appeared before the Hungarian parliament cradling her infant child to appeal for their support. Following the Compromise of 1867, in which Hungarians acquired some independence over their own political affairs within the Empire, the national state began to develop its own governmental bureaucracy. The distribution of authority and power across a wide array of ministries and governmental offices, as well as legislative bodies, evinced a truly modern organization. "Acts" issued from these various halls were now of a quite different character, the very definitions of collectivities—individual agents and group bodies—having been remade.

The first section of the law stipulated that all those not employed as servants (*cseléd*) must own a permit, which listed the prefecture where the worker permanently resided. That the first and most prominent section of a law on agricultural labour should be devoted to carrying identity cards is quite provocative. Recent discussions of the manifestation of state power in everyday life have emphasized the role of documents, yet Weber may be credited with focusing early attention to these forms, especially as they related to the modern exercise of power through bureaucracy (Weber, 1958:197; Sayer, 1991:138). Notice, then, that the significant datum in the worker's identity card was the local office of state government, the prefecture. Hence woven throughout subsequent passages is the knowledge that the worker has been situated, fixed in political administrative terms to an office, a local bureau which will bear responsibility for his/her actions. The most frequent task borne by local officials would be returning stray workers to their job by force, with police escort.

It is important to note, however, that the passage stipulating identity cards in the Slave Law was not the first introduction of such instruments, which dated back to the 1876 legislation on servants. "Servants must be furnished with a servant book, while harvesters, threshers and generally those workers wishing to assume under contract any field work not in the capacity of a servant, insofar *as they are not locals, must* be furnished with an identity voucher or municipal certificate, without which it is illegal to hire them" (Bernát, 1938:110; emphasis added). The purpose of identity cards in this legislation is clarified by the phrase I have underlined—"insofar as they are not locals." Identity

cards for unknowns were a means of placing them, in both senses of the term: knowing where they came from, and identifying their social niche, their class position. As an outsider, one was called upon to reveal one's social identity; this was defined in official documents solely in terms of listing one's home town prefecture. This hard and fast boundary around communities is characteristic of the entire 1876 legislation, communities of familiars, in which families embrace kin and servants alike, in which patriarchal authority extends to all those inhabiting and working within the household. Outsiders, as anomalies, must bring their community with them, in their pockets on papers sanctioned by the state. The 1898 law is a step toward the universalization of the requirement of documentation in terms of administrative identity: all workers must carry identity cards listing their prefecture. This shift, then, is not only to a general principle of accountability through paper, but also a grounding of one's *individual* identity as a worker, in principle mobile throughout the body politic and economic realm (as defined by the state).

In this sense, the stipulation on identity cards, then, is intimately related to the passages concerning the right to strike and to act collectively. The state's construction of individuality in work precludes the possibility of acting collectively in the struggle over wages and labour conditions. "If, as Marx argues, consciousness is founded in social being, then undermining the possibility of class consciousness, on both sides, is the individualizing division of labour which is as constitutive a relation of capitalism as class itself" (Sayer, 1991:71). Passages in the law made it illegal to strike to obtain higher wages or other advantages from one's employer. It was punishable by a fine and jail term to attempt to impede the "free will" of agricultural workers by striking, or to encourage contracted workers to meet, to spread rumours or raise money toward the discussion or implementation of such pacts or agreements. The unwillingness of the state to sanction collective discussions also extended to its refusal to set minimum and maximum wage levels across the country, which some had advocated. It was argued that this would interfere with the natural workings of the market and be to the disadvantage of the workers' movement. As Lörincz points out, "The logic, according to which the "economy" and the workers' movement must be jealously guarded from wage protective measures, only makes sense to the selfishness and liberalism of the exploiting classes" (1974:45). The preeminent actor, then, in all legal transactions was the solitary individual: as worker, defenceless; as employer, bound to the appearance of legality.

Two full sections of the Slave Law concern conditions for entering and breaking a contract. These passages represent the fully modern identity of this legislation, qualifying the rights of both employers and employees as they come to establish a legal relationship over work. Moreover, the sanctity of the individual as free agent in contractual negotiations is codified in the beginning section of the article on entering a contract: "The establishment of the contractual conditions are the subject-matter of free negotiation of the parties" (1898.II, sec. 6). As section number six in a law which contained a total of 80 sections, we are made acutely aware of the degree to which the negotiations were fully free and open, especially as the following section stipulated that any agreement which did not follow the law would be illegal. The state clearly played the primary role in dictating the conditions for freedom and equality, as the classic phrase states, before the law. It is also important to note the manner in which the employer was constrained in his/her dealings with agricultural workers. The increasingly circumscribed powers of employers in labour relations, circumscription dictated by state powers, once more reminds us of the growing strength, representational and jurisdictional, of the national state government.

The section on entering a contract primarily discusses the conditions for employment—how much produce had to be harvested on how much acreage, the specific wage in produce or money, and whether the worker would be fed. The contract had to be drawn up in the presence of the workers, and read to them in their mother tongue before they signed it, or if they were illiterate, marked with an appropriate symbol. The consideration shown to illiterate workers, or those speaking another language, seems quite reasonable and appropriate in a time when migrant labour was moving across endless ethnic boundaries within the Empire. However, as Lörincz points out, the situation was far from a meeting of equals.

> They signed the contract at the town hall, before the town clerk, often in the presence of a gendarme. Therefore for all practical purposes they were coerced to sign the contract. Open negotiation could not have succeeded if only because they generally entered into contracts in the winter, when the worker had been living from hand to mouth, without a wage, for months. [1974:44]

Workers were acutely aware of the absence of neutrality in offices of county and state officials, even when not they were not facing starvation

at the end of the winter season. As the proverb says, "The pigherder cannot tell the mayor what to do" (*A kanasz nem parancsolhat a bírónak*).

Conditions for breaking a contract on the part of the employer include assaulting or threatening the life and property of the employer, his family or staff; having been convicted of a felony or of a crime issuing from greed; attempting to strike or encouraging others to do so; becoming physically unable to work. The time frame and conditions for informing the worker were also stipulated. Only in the case of striking would a worker not be paid the wages due him/her for services already rendered. A worker could legally break a contract if: one's employer, his family member or staff endangered one's moral integrity, or committed, or attempted to commit a criminal act against the corporeal integrity, life or property of the worker; if a worker's remuneration had been withheld for day labour or for services rendered as a servant between the time of signing an agricultural worker contract and beginning the job; if the worker fell ill; or if the worker was called into military service. Similar provisions for informing one's employer were stipulated.

The section on fulfilling the contract contained provisions on how the employer could pay workers and how the workers were expected to work. The exact nature of payment had to be agreed upon, including proportions in kind and in money. Employers were forbidden from paying workers in all or in part with alcohol or coupons, or from substituting store goods for their salary. Workers could not be required to buy at the store owned by the employer, or at any store specifically designated by the employer. Provisions were included in case of work stoppages due to inclement weather. Employers were also responsible for taking care of workers who had taken sick who were not from the neighbouring community.

The clauses pertaining to the workers' responsibilities were straightforward:

> Workers under contract are required to appear at the place and time specified by the employer, and if required by the contract, to arrive with their tools and farm hands; they are required to start work and to complete the work exactly according to the bidding of the employer, to keep the order of the farm as established by the employer, and generally to fulfil their obligations according to the contract. [Section 34 of Law II, 1898]

The consequences of not fulfilling the contract were clear. The same punishment was exacted of those accused of working poorly, fomenting strike actions or appearing at the job without one's tools or farm hands: a sentence of up to 60 days in jail. A jail sentence of 60 days and a 400 Crown fine would be inflicted if one was accused of talking others into not acquiring an identity card or refusing to fulfil a contract, threatening workers who were willing to fulfil a contract, or praising or collecting money for someone who had broken a contract. If workers were thought to have inflicted damages on the employer's property, then his/her wages were docked up to the value of damages incurred. The most humiliating punishment was inflicted on those who simply left their job behind: they would be led back to their job by force. The law was merciless. "The local authorities are required without delay to order decisively the escort of the workers back to the work place by force and to execute the order immediately. The ruling concerning the escort of workers is not subject to appeal" (1898.II, sec. 37). No recourse, no way of appealing the wretched treatment of being led at bayonet point through village after village, town after town. The hatred of the peasantry for the gendarmerie was clearly sown in this memorable passage. It was this clause on the use of force, perhaps more than any other, which branded the legislation as the "Slave Law."

Legislators penned the labour laws in response to agrarian workers' anger over the terms of agricultural production and profit. The tone of the legislation is the rational deliberation of all aspects of the labour relation: wages, health, identity cards, diligence, and morality. Yet in the final analysis, the appropriation of labour was ensured by the use of force. Echoing Marx, Weber defines the state as "'a relation of men dominating men, a relation supported by means of legitimate (i.e. considered to be legitimate) violence'" (Sayer, 1991:141). Yet the bureaucratic organization and ideological expression of these forms is central, as Weber points out. "The 'inner justification' of the modern state, differentiating it from its precursors, is 'the belief in the validity of legal statute and functional 'competence' based on rationally created *rules*'" (Sayer, 1991:141; emphasis in the original). The rules of contract—so cautiously and methodically compiled, yet so brutally enforced—ensured the calm execution of wheat harvests all across the country.

Within a decade, the Parliament turned its attention to revisions in the servants' law of 1876. In the preamble to the 1907 bill on manorial servants, the government stated: "Those provisions of social value are missing from the old law, the establishment of which are now necessary to ensure the uninterrupted course of *national production* and social

peace" (Lörincz, 1974:49; emphasis in the original). It was now self-evident that national production and harmony should be secured by more effective social regulations. In recognition of the means the state designated for achieving social harmony, the law for agricultural servants was nicknamed, the "Whipping Law" (*derestörvény*).

The 1907 legislation only addressed the relationship between masters and those servants engaged in agricultural activities. Servants employed solely inside the household, or any workers employed on a daily basis, such as sharecroppers or day labourers, were not considered agricultural servants. Although the law stipulated that one month's service was sufficient to qualify as an agricultural servant, the usual contract lasted for one year. Agricultural servants were required to carry a service book (*szolgálati cselédkönyv*), which would be issued free of cost. It was illegal to enter any information in the book regarding the servant's qualifications; however, an employer was allowed to draw up a separate document, if so requested by the servant, recording his/her qualifications. This reinforces our understanding that the identity card served the state's goal of fixing citizens, rather than the employer's interest in the quality of labour performed.

Many of the regulations encoded in the agricultural workers' law were included in the legislation on agricultural servants, for example, conditions for entering and breaking the contract; the use of police force to return a servant to his/her work place; or restrictions on means of payment, such as a ban on alcohol or coupons. However, differences did obtain. Servants could be given a month's notice if they took poor care of animals or were caught torturing them.[3] They could be dismissed immediately if, despite warnings, they or their family members irresponsibly handled candles, lamps or fire. Employers were required to transport servants to the nearest mill in town rather than force them to grind wheat at the mill on manor property. The costs of school fees had to be borne by employers for children living on manorial estates. An interesting clause stipulated that manorial workers would be denied a passport if not given permission to leave by their master, except if the servant was a minor accompanying his/her parents. By the turn of the century, emigration had reached crisis proportions, frightening legislators and landowners alike with the prospect of labour scarcity.

Most agricultural servants were housed on manorial estates or on properties contiguous to the manor within the village proper. Therefore, most of the new provisions in the law dealt with housing and related services. Remuneration for the services of manorial workers included housing, a minimal monetary payment, and provisions such as bacon,

salt, fuel for cooking and heating, feed for animals and plots of land to grow additional food stuffs for family and animals. The specific content of a servant's yearly compensation (*kommenció*) varied from county to county, and even from estate to estate. As the provisioning of workers and their families on the estate was an integral part of the wage contract, the new legislation contained many passages addressing the specific character of supplies and services rendered by employers. Included among these requirements were the specific health regulations to be followed in housing; the quality and quantity of animal feed distributed; free provision of wood for fuel, cooking, heating and baking bread; and stipulations concerning household plots, e.g. quality of the soil, early dispersal during the agricultural season, and the specific requirements of cultivation if handled by the manor directly. Wealthy peasants often employed one or two farm hands, who were also considered servants under the law, although in contrast to manorial servants, they were usually bachelors or only served until they married. The character of their contract varied somewhat from that of manorial servants, as their room and board was provided as an extension of the domestic economy of which they were a member, however humble their position may have been.

Perhaps the most important provision of the law on manorial servants, from the view of the working poor, was the elimination of unpaid labour. Specifically, the law forbid any master from requiring family members of agricultural servants to perform tasks or services for free, referred to as the "new corvée" (*új robot*). (The passage concerning the free provision of wood fuel mentioned above referred directly to the practice of requiring family members living on the manor to work in exchange for firewood.) During the 1890s, the widespread practice of requiring additional work above and beyond the tasks required for sharecropping or harvesting infuriated workers, reminding them of the days of serfdom.

> The otherwise hopeless fate of the poor was not only antagonized by having their share of the produce [from sharecropping contracts] forced down, but in taking advantage of their desperate straits by requiring them to take on additional work for free in return for the small plots of land given them to hoe and harvest. It was virtually a regular custom that manorial estates and wealthier peasants demanded from sharecroppers 5-10, or in some cases more

(10-15) days of *robot* for the use of one cadastral acre. [Für, 1976:217-219]

A central tenet of the agrarian workers' movements was the barring of the "new corvée" (Gabona, 1934:3; Bernát, 1938:112). Bernát claims that the exclusion of free labour had little economic consequence for manorial owners, but had great symbolic value for agricultural workers (1938:112). Unfortunately, this passage was not included in the legislation on agricultural workers, for whom it would have had equally important symbolic value, as well as significant economic consequences.

The category of leisure time, and its use, were introduced in sections which pertained to restrictions on the length of the workday and work week. Stipulations were made within the legislation concerning the amount of leisure time allocated by the manor, and sleeping time as dictated by seasonal demands. These provisions were to ensure that the work load not endanger the health or physical strength of servants. Leisure time was to be granted, usually on Sunday and on special holidays. This was to permit a day of rest, but also to allow servants to attend "on occasion" the morning service of their particular religious denomination. However, quite extensive exceptions were made, either for specific occupations on the manor or in cases of urgent production needs. Nearly every exemption for holidays listed in the law applied to the regular activities of fulltime staff.[4] An early clause in the servants' law stated that, in the absence of other regulations or stipulations, civil regulations would cover the rights and responsibilities of the parties to the contract. This clause appeared to be an important deviation from the 1876 law, since it abolished the master's unbridled patriarchal authority and placed the relations between masters and servants under civil law. However, a later clause nullified this potential innovation. "If the servant fails in his duty, then the master may rebuke him as a member of household; however, he is not authorized to administer punishment by a fine or by docking his pay" (Section 33 of Law XLV, 1907). The use of physical violence to administer a reprimand was common, hence the epithet of the "Whipping Law."

The final section of both laws concerned the delineation of authority, the hierarchy of offices responsible for implementing the legislation. The close attention paid to the particulars of bureaucratic hierarchy polish off the full modernity of the laws on agricultural workers and servants. The lone worker wandering through the legislation is met by a whole gaggle of offices, elegantly reified bodies implementing the fine points of state power as legitimate violence.

Conclusion

The purpose of this exercise has been threefold. The first has been to show how the state has attempted to intervene in local relationships of politics and economics in Hungary, illustrated by three moments spanning 150 years. Clearly, the presence of the state has become ever more intrusive in local affairs, as its own existence as an institution and a form of knowledge has become grander and more encompassing. The instruments of its authority have also undergone refinement: from simple lists to sprawling maps to elaborate contracts. Finally, authority has been depersonalized, exalted personalities replaced by the anonymous inhabitants of modern bureaucratic organization. This project took a long time, and bears many similarities with the growth of modern states in the rest of Europe during the same period.

The second goal was to portray how the construction of value in late feudal and early capitalist relations shifts from service to land to labour. By the end of the century, labour is clearly a category to contend with—both in its abstract, reified sense as an object of legal attention, and as a social community, making itself felt in agrarian socialist agitation, as well as in massive emigration. Despite the mobilization of labour in strikes and agrarian socialist politics, labour is increasingly portrayed as the property and characteristic of individuals. In other words, the rise of labour as a category of action is directly associated with new concepts of individualism, forms of identity clearly bound up with the development of capitalist economy. This is not to deny the importance of land, for those who possessed it could claim a quite different relation to labour than their compatriots. The re-imagining of communities during this period in fact valorized, even mystified images of the land and the soil. These images are well known to us in the nationalist rhetoric of the past and present. My argument is simply that labour is perceived by villagers, and certainly by the state, as the most significant component of agricultural production at this time, thus warranting attention unprecedented in earlier decades.

Finally, I have attempted, if only in passing, to suggest the manner in which these shifts in the source of value and state intervention assist us in seeing the displacement of materiality and sociality associated with commodity fetishism and the rise of modernity. This displacement accounts for the increasing perception that concepts such as meaning, culture, and value exists outside the everyday actions of social beings, within a separate and enclosed realm. It would be worthwhile to examine these assumptions more carefully, in order to accommodate

understandings of meaning and value which do not cleave so dearly to the experience of capitalist and modern society.

Notes

1. I wish to underscore here the novelty of pairing choice with calculation. The assumption many influenced by rational choice theories often make is that decision-making requires numerical calculation. This is unfortunate, since the historical record suggests that one must learn that choice requires such enumeration. In this case we see that figuring out the relative value of various options necessitated a careful study of prices, land values, tax rates and market fluctuations. Prior to the imposition of these new techniques of calculation, it was possible, indeed common for people to consider possible alternative ways of acting, thinking, being *without* having to couch those possibilities in numerical or monetary terms. Thus we should caution our colleagues to not read back into history current habits of thought, lest these habits come to be seen as universal when in fact they are quite particular cultural, historical forms.

2. When the national currency was changed from the florin to the gold crown in 1892, the value of land came to be expressed in gold crowns. To this very day, people will speak of the gold crown value of their land, as if the soil bred money instead of wheat. Indeed, when land was redistributed in the process of decollectivization, former cooperative farm members were allotted the proportional amount of their holdings in the form of "gold crown" certificates.

3. I am curious what in fact servants could have been doing to warrant being fired for torturing animals. This curiosity is heightened by the fact that in the 1890s claims of torture were also hurled at people considered to be outsiders in the agrarian community, usually Jewish renters of manorial estates (Lampland, 1994:307). Land torturers (*földkinzók*) were assumed to be abusing the land, but just what this meant is hard to determine.

4. I am reminded of the comment made to me by an elderly gentleman who once worked as a dairy hand at the manor in Sárosd, where I conducted field work in the early 1980s. "I had to leave early and always came home late. I never once saw my children awake while they were growing up."

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Aithníonn Queeróg Queeróg Eile: Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe agus Gluaiseacht Chomhaimseartha na Gaeilge[1]

Jeannine Woods
Áras Mháirtín Uí Chadhain,
An Cheathrú Rua

Fásann an páipéar seo as staidéar ar "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe," grúpa caidrimh do dhaoine homaighnéasacha le suim acu i nGaeilge. Tríd an eagras a shuíomh laistigh de ghluaiseacht chomhaimseartha na Gaeilge, déanaim anailís ar ghnéithe den teanga ó pheirspictíocht shochtheangeolaíoch, ag tarraingt ar smaointí Sapir, a deir

> While language is a symbol system which reports or refers to or otherwise substitutes for direct experience, it does not as a matter of actual behaviour stand apart from or run parallel to direct experience but completely interpenetrates with it ... [language] not only refers to but can even mould, interpret and discover experience [Sapir 1949:11].

Sa chomhthéacs seo, léirím go bhfuil "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe" (nó an GAA, mar a thugann siad orthu féin) ar ceann de na guthanna laistigh de dhioscúrsa na Gaeilge a threascraíonn na déantúis idé-eolaíocha curtha i bhfeidhm ar an nGaeilge ag gléasanna ceannasacha ón naoú haois déag i leith. D'fhéadfaí maíomh go bhfuil an dioscúrsa sin mar chuid de "réabhlóid shiombalach" (Bourdieu 1 991:131) atá ar bun sa chultúr, a dhearbhaíonn gur féidir an iomaí éispéireas agus féiniúlacht bheith mar chuid den Ghaeilge agus den Ghaelachas.

Teanga agus Idé-eolaíocht

Mar a mhaítear thuas, cuireann anailís shochththeangeolaíoch i gcoinne an dearcadh struchtúrach, a bhreathnaíonn ar theanga mar chóras dúnta, mar cheann "which fails to grasp the specific social and political conditions of language function and use" (Bourdieu 1991:32). Díríonn an tsochtheangeolaíocht ar an urlabhra mar ghníomh, agus léiríonn sí go ndéantar idé-eolaíochtaí a tháirgeadh, a scaipeadh agus a chur i bhfeidhm trí úsáid teanga; go nglacann gléasanna ceannasacha seilbh ar chumhacht shiombalach trí chliarlathas teangeolaíoch a bhunú

ina mbíonn an teanga oifigiúil (caighdeánúil) ag barr an dréimire (féach Bourdieu 1991:48-49).

I gcás na hÉireann, is ar an ngaol idir an Ghaeilge agus an Béarla a bhí an cliarlathas bunaithe faoin naoú haois déag, nuair a ghlac tromlach an phobail leis an mBéarla mar an teanga dhlisteanach. Ag deireadh na haoise, cuireadh tús le hAthbheochan na Gaeilge, a chuir roimpi an teanga agus an cultúr a chur chun cinn. Is léir, áfach, gur leagan áirithe den Ghaeilge agus dá comhthéacs cultúrtha a cuireadh chun cinn ann, leagan a bhí ag dul le hidé-eolaíocht iad siúd a bhí páirteach san Athbheochan. I gcás "Conradh na Gaeilge," a bunaíodh in 1893 agus a bhí mar eilimint lárnach sa ghluaiseacht, feictear go raibh a chlár oibre nasctha le náisiúnachas rómánsúil, idé-eolaíocht bunaithe ar fhealsúnacht dhénártha na hImpireachta (féach Kiberd 1996:151). Rinne a leithéid d'fhealsúnacht féiniúlacht a shainmhíniú de réir a héagsúlachta le féiniúlachtaí eile. Sa chomhthéacs Éireannach, cothaíodh íomhá d'fhéiniúlacht náisiúnta a bhí ag brath ar an gcodarsnacht idir í agus féiniúlacht Shasanach, agus as sin tháinig codarsnachtaí dénártha aníos, ar nós

Gaeilge	Béarla
Traidisiún	Nua-Aimsearthacht
An Tuath	An Chathair
Caitliceachas	Protastúnachas
Glaineacht Mhórálta	Truallaíocht Mhorálta

[Bunaithe ar Kiberd 1996:151].

Toisc gurbh í idé-eolaíocht an náisiúnachais rómánsúil a chuaigh i bhfeidhm ar an Athbheochan, rinneadh an déantús thuas a theilgean ar an nGaeilge agus ar an gcultúr, le mórimpleachtaí ann don chaoi ina ndearnadh féiniúlacht Éireannach, go háirithe féiniúlacht Ghaelach, a shainmhíniú as sin amach.

Treisíodh an déantús sin i ndiaidh bhunú an tSaorstáit. Ghlac an rialtas leis na codarsnachtaí péire thuas, agus chuir sé roimhe leagan den Ghaeilge a scáthánaigh na codarsnachtaí sin a chothú. Bhí an Saorstát go mór faoi thionchar na hEaglaise agus bhí baint ag an aontas sin leis an idé-eolaíocht a tháinig chun cinn i ndiaidh 1922, sé sin "a certain idealised, some would add clichéd, version of Gaelic nationalism. Social legislation in the Republic enforcing the moral code of the Catholic Church arose partly out of an equation of sexual with national purity" (Kearney, 1984:64-65).

Luann Bourdieu an dlúthcheangal idir an teanga dhlisteanach, oifigiúil agus an stát:

> This state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured. In order for one mode of expression to impose itself as the only legitimate one, the linguistic market has to be unified and different dialects practically measured against the legitimate language or usage [Bourdieu 1991:45].

Is léir go ndearna an stát iarracht seilbh a ghlacadh ar an nGaeilge agus a leagan féin a chur chun cinn mar an leagan dlisteanach di, ag caitheamh anuas ar na canúintí (Gaeilge na nGaeltachtaí) trí chaighdeánú a dhéanamh ar an teanga. Ach toisc gurbh í an Ghaeilge an chéad teanga sna Gaeltachtaí, mhair sí iontu ní amháin mar chód ach i gcomhthéacs "únivéars siombalach" an Ghaelachais, ina bhfuil "léiriú i bhfocail agus i ngníomh ar mheon agus ar aigne a bhfuil a fhéachaint amach féin aige ar an domhan mór agus ar chúrsaí an tsaoil agus é seo contrártha le féachaint amach agus, go deimhin, le bunmheon an Stáit agus na hoifigiúlachta" (Ó Crualaoich 1988:16). I ngeall ar sin, níor éirigh leis an stát an margadh teangeolaíoch a aontú go hiomlán, agus mhair guthanna freasúracha i ndioscúrsa na Gaeilge mar thoradh. Ag an leibhéal náisiúnta, áfach, chuir rialtas an tSaorstáit roimhe Athbheochan na Gaeilge a bhaint amach trí mheán an oideachais; os rud é go raibh tromlach na scoileanna faoi chúram na hEaglaise, bhí sé de chumas aici siúd

> "[to] control the type of knowledge that is produced within the educational system ... A power bloc such as the Catholic Church in Ireland exists through its ability to limit the practice and discourse of a large number of people" (Inglis 1987:74).

Rinneadh a leithéid i gcás an Bhéarla chomh maith, ach i ngeall ar staid na Gaeilge ag an tréimhse sin, bhí an stát agus an Eaglais in ann a leagan den teanga a chur chun cinn lasmuigh de na Gaeltachtaí, nach mór, ag cothú leagan dlisteanach di a scáthánaigh measúlacht mheán-aicmeach, Caitliceachas agus coimeádachas. Tugadh an próiseas seo i gcrích trí chinsearacht nó athbhreithniú a dhéanamh ar théacsanna agus ar fhoclóir na Gaeilge. Bhí cinsearacht de dhíth ar chuid mhaith de litríocht na meán-Ghaeilge agus na nua-Ghaeilge moiche, inar choitianta na

tagairtí do chúrsaí gnéis agus gnéasachais.[2] D'fhéadfaí a rá gur phróiseas é seo a tharla i dteangacha Eorpacha eile ón seachtú haois déag, nuair "As if to gain mastery over it in reality, it had first been necessary to subjugate sex at the level of language, control its free circulation in speech, expunge it from the things that were said and extinguish the words that rendered it too visibly present" (Foucault 1976:17-18). Dar le Foucault, tharla cinsearacht ag leibhéal an fhoclóra údarásaigh, ach ag leibhéal na ndioscúrsaí, bhí méadú ar dhioscúrsaí ar ghnéasachas. I gcás na Gaeilge áfach, bhí an pobal a d'fhéadfadh a leithéid de dhioscúrsaí a léiriú (pobal na nGaeltachtaí) imeallaithe sa tsochaí. Ní raibh teacht ag an bpobal coiteann ach ar an leagan údarásach, cinseartha den teanga, le tost ann i leith an ghnéasachais i gcoitinne, go háirithe i leith gnéasachas "claonach" ar nós an homaighnéasachais.

Is léir gur éirigh leis an stát agus an Eaglais a luachanna a nascadh go dlúth leis an nGaeilge. Cé go bhféadfaí a cheapadh gur ait an rud é sin agus an easpa ratha a bhí ar an Athbheochan, is féidir é a thuiscint nuair a ghlactar leis nach bhféadfaí an teanga a shlánú "gan aon trácht againn ar ghnéithe eile den únivéars sinseartha siomblach ar nós an bhéaloidis a shlánú agus a choimeád chomh maith" (Ó Crualaoich 1988:16). Is soiléir nár theastaigh ón stát an únivéars seo (a bhí freasúrach dá hidé-eolaíocht féin) a shlánú ach a mhalairt; rinneadh é a cheilt sa leagan oifigiúil den teanga trí shaoithíneacht idé-eolaíoch agus ghramadúil; "sceimhlitheoireacht theangeolaíoch" (Hill 1985:735) a thugann drochmhisneach do dhaoine an teanga a fhoghlaim agus a labhairt.

Feictear cé chomh héifeachtach is a ghabh an stát cumhacht shiombalach trí mheán na Gaeilge nuair a tharraingítear ar ghréasán Peirce, a léiríonn conas a fheidhmníonn foirmeacha teangeolaíocha mar innéacs d'fhéiniúlacht shóisialta agus mar íocón de cháilíochtaí sóisialta (Peirce 1932:2. 286-304). Rinneadh an Ghaeilge agus a pobal urlabhra a ionannú le cultúr aonchineálach, déanta as Caitliceachas, náisiúnachas cúng, coimeádachas agus frith nua-aimsearthacht. Leanadh lena leithéid d'innéacsú agus rannóga den tsochaí ag tabhairt athmhínithe ar Éireannachas ó na seascaidí i leith; in ionad deighilt a dhéanamh idir an Ghaeilge oifigiúil agus an teanga i gcomhthéacs na Gaeilge agus suíomhanna neamh-oifigiúla eile, chonacthas gur ghné inbheirthe den Ghaelachas é an idé-eolaíocht sin. Casadh ón teanga toisc go bhfacthas nach raibh sí ag dul leis an míniú úr ar fhéiniúlacht Éireannach a bhí tagtha aníos.

Treisíonn a leithéid de dhearcadh an idé-eolaíocht a chuaigh roimhe, ag glacadh go huile is go hiomlán leis an déantús ceannasach

den Ghaeilge agus den Ghaelachas agus ag déanamh é a scáthánú. Le roinnt blianta anuas, áfach, tá guthanna freasúracha an Ghaelachais ag aisfhreagairt laistigh de dhioscúrsa a cheistíonn an déantús thuas agus atá ag forbairt mhothú féiniúlachta Gaelaí a sheasann lasmuigh de na sainmhínithe tugtha ag gléasanna ceannasacha uirthi go dtí seo.

Dioscúrsa Comháirimh

Bunaithe i 1993 agus lonnaithe i mBaile Átha Cliath, is grúpa é "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe" de dhaoine homaighnéasacha a bhuaileann le chéile i gcomhthéacs sóisialta agus an Ghaeilge á labhairt acu. Níl aon struchtúr docht nó clár oibre sainiúil leagtha amach ag an ngrúpa seachas na cruinnithe:

> [fiú] ní hé cruinnithe, tá sé sin ró-fhoirmeálta—teacht le chéile [a bhíonn] againn. Agus an rud is tábhachtaí ná go dtugaimid an t-atmaisféar do dhaoine bheith ar a suaimhneas. Níl aon saghas clár leagtha amach—níl aon rud oifigiúil ... níl an bhéim—sin rud éigin eile, ceapann an-chuid daoine go bhfuil—níl ach an bhéim ar an gcultúr Gaelach. Ach tá sé níos leithne ná sin. Bíonn muid ag plé cúrsaí an tsaoil agus cúrsaí reatha agus rudaí eile atá ag tarlú. Is cuma má tá baint aige leis an gcultúr Gaelach nó nach bhfuil—ach tá theme de shaghas éigin ann gan amhras, caithfidh sé teacht isteach (Roy).

Toisc an struchtúr (nó easpa struchtúir) atá ag an GAA, is deacair a rá cé mhéid ball atá ann; bhí na cruinnithe ar fhreastal mé orthu beag go leor (idir beirt agus ceathrar ann) ach meastar don bhunaitheoir go bhfuil thart ar trí scór tar éis bualadh isteach ó thosaigh an t-eagras, agus tá litreacha faighte aige ó thíortha ar fud an domhain, a mhaíonn go bhfuil mórán suime ann san eagras mar choincheap.

Tógann an grúpa a chinnlitreacha ón leagan Béarla de "Cumann Lúthchleas Gael." Bhí an Cumann mar chuid lárnach den Athbheochan, nasctha go dlúth le náisiúnachas míleata. Is sampla é an Cumann den phróiseas trínar cuireadh íomhá den Éireannachas chun cinn a bhí ag brath ar chodarsnacht le Sasana:

> While adopting hostility to all England, and particularly English sport, stood for, the Association was forced, unconsciously as it may be, to imitate the features of Victorian

> sport—its emphasis on morality, on health, on organisation, codification and competition. Much of what the GAA regarded as distinctive about the meaning of its games was merely a substitution of the word "Ireland" for "Britain" or "England" [Mandle 1987:14].

Feictear a leithéid i bhfianaise "An Toirmeasc" a tháinig chun cinn go luath i saol an Chumainn agus a bhfuil eilimintí de mar pholasaí aige fós. Ceann de na haidhmeanna a bhí ag "Cumann Lúthchleas Gael" ná cur in aghaidh eisiatachas na spórt Gallda agus spiorad daonlathach a chothú sa spórt (Mandle 1987:5). Toisc a nádúr frithghníomhach, ámh, chothaigh an Cumann fealsúnacht a bhí ní ba eisiataí ná an ceann a chuaigh roimhe; bhíodh cosc ar bhaill den Chumann cluichí Gallda a imirt agus fós diúltaíonn sé ligint dá chuid fearann bheith úsáidte le haghaidh cluichí sacair agus rugbaí.

Ba ón fhealsúnacht Victeoiriach freisin a shíolraigh an nasc idir spórt agus íomhá áirithe den fhearúlacht agus den fhireannacht. Mar a dhearbhaíonn Kiberd:

> Cuchulain provided a symbol of masculinity for the Celts, who had been written off by their masters. A surprising number of militant nationalists accepted that diagnosis and called on the youth of Ireland to purge themselves of their degrading femininity by a disciplined programme of physical-contact sports. The Gaelic Athletic Association had been founded in 1884 to counter such emasculation and to promote the game of camán (hurling) beloved of the young Cuchulain [Kiberd 1996:25].

Gan amhras, tá eilimint den scigaithris le brath san ainm "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe" sa chomhthéacs seo. Is cáilíocht "camp" í an scigaithris a fhaightear go minic i measc na gluaiseachta homaighnéasaí, a cheistíonn dearcanna "coinbhinsiúnta" ar ghnéithe den chultúr. I gcás an spóirt go sainiúil, úsáitear camp agus scigaithris chun dúshlán a thabhairt do fhealsúnacht spórt fireann:

> Many male sports are represented as epitomes of markedly masculine activity, to be strictly understood in a heterosexual mode ... In this cultural domain, open expressions of male homosexuality are strictly tabu. In reaction to this repression, some gay sportsmen organize their own commun-

> al events ... At the International Gay Games, many men emphasize their ironic relation to conventional sports by wearing strings of costume pearls over their traditional athletic outfits. Gay athletes ... attempt to challenge the binary division of gender identities that is hegemonically embodied in many sports. Instead of reinforcing a narrowly defined masculinity they seek to celebrate, via sports, a plurality of identities [Mac Clancy 1996:16-17].

I dtaca le "Cumann Lúthchleas Gael," bhí a hidé-eolaíocht nasctha, ní amháin leis an spórt, ach leis an náisiúnachas agus an Ghaeilge, agus neartaigh an idé-eolaíocht sin i measc na gluaiseachta náisiúnaí i gcoitinne. B'é an branda seo den náisiúnachas a ghlac seilbh ar an stát nuair a bunaíodh an Saorstát i 1922, leis an toradh gur cuireadh a leithéid de íomhánna den fhireannacht i bhfeidhm mar chuid den idé-eolaíocht cheannasach.

Tríd an treascairt agus an sealbhú d'ainm "Cumann Lúthchleas Gael" mar sin, tá an GAA i mbun athléamh ar stair na hÉireann agus stair na Gaeilge ach go háirithe. Ceistíonn an t-eagras an idé-eolaíocht a shainmhíníonn féiniúlacht agus fireannacht Ghaelach (sé sin "fíor-Éireannach) ar bhealach chomh cúng agus chomh heisiatach sin. D'fhéadfaí an treascairt sin maíomh go bhfuil eilimintí de "frith-theanga" i gceist ag "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe"; sé sin:

> argots spoken by groups (or in roles) culturally defined as opposing, or inverting, prevailing norms ... the linguistic phenomena characterizing these codes cannot be accounted for simply by the need for secrecy or for group boundary markers, although these needs are present. Instead, the codes' origin in counter-societies is reflected in many aspects of their linguistic form, for instance in their elaboration of lexicon and metaphor relevant to their special activities and their attitudes toward the normative society, and in their frequent use of formal inversions and reversals, such as metathesis [Irvine 1989:253].

Mar dhaoine gurb é an Béarla a gcéad teanga, is léir gur cód í an Ghaeilge do bhaill an GAA. Cé go bhfuil an t-eagras i gcoimhlint le noirm choitianta, is noirm iad atá curtha i bhfeidhm ar an nGaelachas

níos mó ná cinn atá inbheirthe sa chultúr féin. Sa chomhthéacs seo, is díol spéise é go bhfuil an leagan Béarla de "Cumann Lúthchleas Gael" á threascairt ag an ngrúpa. Dealraíonn sé nach mbraitheann an GAA gur gá dul i gcoimhlint le noirm an Ghaelachais tríd an fhoclóir a chur bunoscionn:

> J: Bhíos chun ceist a chur ort faoin bhfoclóir—an bhfuil focail a bhfuil tú ag déanamh aistriúcháin orthu?
> R: Táimid ag déanamh iarracht dá laghad, mar tá foclóir—de ghnáth, i ngach tír agus i ngach cultúr––tá an homaighnéasachas mar fho-chultúr, agus de bharr sin ... is dóigh liom le gach cultúr bíonn fo-chultúir ann agus i measc an phobail homaighnéasaigh agus leispiaigh bíonn—saghas teanga rúnda. So tá mise ag dénamh iarracht teacht suas le téarmaí atá oiriúnach d'fhir homaighnéasacha agus mná leispiacha. Níl a fhios agam an bhfuil sé ag teastáil, níl a fhios agam an bhfuil gá leis, ach go bhfuil sé ann i dteangacha eile. Ach ag an am céanna ní theastaíonn uaim saghas caitheamh anuas ar an gcultúr Gaelach agus magadh a dhéanamh den Ghaeilge. Agus tá sé sin an-an- éasca a dhéanamh. Caithfimid bheith saghas omósach don Ghaeilge, don chultúr. Agus i dtaca le cainteoirí dúchasacha, ní chím go bhfuil ar dhaoine teanga difriúil a labhairt—conas is féidir liom é seo a rá i gceart? You know, mar i mo chás féin, sé an Béarla mo theanga mothúcháin, an dtuigeann tú? Agus le cainteoirí dúchasacha, sí an Ghaeilge a dteanga mothúcháin. Agus ní thuigim ... tuige nach féidir linn an teanga mar atá sí a úsáid (Roy).
>
> Caithfidh go bhfuil, you know, cainteoirí dúchasacha—mar cainteoirí den labhairt Béarla muidne, agus mar sin bíonn muid ag smaoineamh as Béarla, agus déanaimid aistriúcháin ach—yeah, le teanga ar bith bíonn—[má's] cainteoir dúchas-ach tú, bíonn a fhios agat conas é a chur i bhfocail (Roibeárd).

Is féidir "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe" a shuíomh i gcomhthéacs na gluaiseachta homaighnéasaí, a chur roimpi dul i gcoimhlint le sain-mhínithe de dhaoine homaighnéasacha a bhí leagtha orthu ag fórsaí ceannasacha, agus a thug cosúlachtaí idir daoine homaighnéasacha agus mionlaigh eile chun suntais (féach Rose 1994:7). Leagann an GAA béim

ar a shuíomh laistigh den ghluaiseacht homaighnéasach agus de dhomhan na Gaeilge araon; níl freasúracht i gceist i leith ceachtar den dá dhream:

> J: Agus an bhfuil teagmháil agaibh leis an ngluaiseacht aerach níos lethne, nó ...?
> R: Sea. Tá sa slí is go bhfuil gach éinne insan gcomhluadar ina mball de ghrúpaí eile atá baint acu leis an homaighnéas-achas, an dtuigeann tú? Agus mé féin freisin, tá mé—tá spéis agam sa ghrúpa "Outhouse," agus tá siadsan ag lorg ionaid, ar nós an tIonad Hirschfield a bhí againn sna seachtóidí; áit ina mbeidh daoine homaighnéasacha agus leispiacha, agus daoine eile—níl aistriúchán déanta agam go dtí an Ghaeilge air ach transsexual agus transgendered, agus daoine a chloíann leis na daoine seo, an dtuigeann tú? ... Agus níl éinne [sa ghluaiseacht homaighnéasach] i gcoinne an Ghaeilge, mar nuair a bhíos ag freastal ar cheann de na cruinnithe i gcóir "Outhouse" chuireas ceist orthu an mbeadh siad sásta glacadh le leagan Gaeilge den ainm. Now an-deacair aistriúchán a dhénamh ar "Outhouse" ach tháinig mise suas leis an leagan "Tearmann," de bharr go bhfuil an file Cathal Ó Searcaigh, go bhfuil dán iontach mhaith aige agus "Tearmann" an teideal atá ar an dán ... Agus an bhfuil a fhios agat, nuair a chuireas an cheist orthu bhíodar sásta glacadh leis, agus ní raibh éinne ina choinne. Agus cheapadar "Ó sin saghas smaoineamh an-mhaith ar fad" (Roy).

Ag tarraingt ar fhealsúnacht na gluaiseachta homaighnéasaí, ceistíonn an GAA an polarú den Ghaelachas agus den homaighnéasachas mar fheiniméan idé-eolaíoch, ag glacadh leis ag an am céanna cé chomh cumhachtach is atá a leithéid de dhéantúis:

> Bhíodh deacrachtaí agamsa leis an nGaeilge, ag ceapadh go raibh sí saghas sean-fhaiseanta, leadránach, gan aon mhaitheas i ndáiríre, agus caithfidh tú an cheist a chur, cén fáth go mbeadh sé mar sin agam? Sé mo thuairim féin go bhfuil ceangal idir an homaighnéasachas agus an Gha eilge—agus gach mionlach eile sa slí, mar má tá drochscéal ag baint le homaighnéasachas nó leis an nGaeilge bíonn sé ar an gcéad leathanach de na tabloids, an dtuigeann tú? ... So is

> dócha gur ó na nuachtáin a fhaighimid an íomhá sin. Mar bhí sé agam féin freisin, níor thuig mé—cad a bhí i gceist i ndáiríre go dtí go raibh mé ag athfhoghlaim an Ghaeilge arís (Roy).
>
> Is dócha nuair a smaoiníonn daoine ar aerachas ní bhíonn siad ag smaoineamh ar labhairt na Gaeilge, you know, leis an meon poiblí, an íomhá atá againn den Ghaeilge tá sé ana-shean-nósach, sean-aimseartha ... rinne mé cúrsa do m'ábhar oide i Ráth Cairn ... you know bhí siad ró-dhiograiseach ar fad. Like de réir [ball den bhainistíocht i Ráth Cairn] níl siad ag iarraidh fiú go mbeadh an tír dhá-theangach ach go mbeadh sé aon-theangach—tá sé ró-idéalaíoch, agus tá siad ró-chúng freisin. Ach an ghluaiseacht Ghaelach, ciallaíonn sé sin a lán eagraíochtaí agus na mílte daoine (Roibeárd).

Cé nach bhfuil an t-eagras "ag lorg maitheas a dhéanamh don Ghaeilge ach maitheas a dhéanamh i measc saol fir homaighnéasacha agus mná leispiacha" (Roy), tá dioscúrsa á fhuascailt aige a thugann dúshlán don íomhá den Ghaelachas uilig mar chultúr aonchineálach, ceangailte le daoine a mholann luachanna coimeádacha Caitliceacha. Tar éis do bhunaitheoir an eagrais agallaimh a dhéanamh sna meáin chumarsáide, chuaigh sé isteach chuig Club Chonradh na Gaeilge:

> De réir a chéile, tháinig daoine suas chugam ag rá "Chonaiceamar an t-alt san Irish Times, comhgháirdeachas, bhí sé ar fheabhas ar fad." Agus fiú amháin bhí beirt sean-leaids ina suí ag an mbeár, agus na caipíní á gcaitheamh, agus an Guinness os a gcomhair, agus dúirt siadsan comhgháirdeachas, mar chonaic siadsan an t-alt freisin. Agus ansin lean siad orthu ag rá liom, an cultúr Gaelach, bhíodar ag rá nach raibh an dearcadh céanna ag na hÉireannaigh a labhraíonn an Ghaeilge mar de bharr ... níor ghlacadar riamh leis an mBéarla, so ní raibh orthu glacadh leis an saghas—an Victorian morality a théann leis an mBéarla. Agus anois téimse timpeall na tíre ... [agus bíonn] gach éinne ag teacht suas chugam ag rá "Conas atá an GAA?" agus "Conas atá cúrsaí?" agus, you know, daoine nach raibh aithne agam orthu ach bhí súil aithne acu ormsa as an méid poiblíocht a

> bhfuaramar, so tá an saghas—an meon sin iontach dearfach (Roy).

Ní bheifí ag súil lena leithéid de mheon laistigh de chultúr na Gaeilge má ghlactar leis an íomhá choitianta de, ach is féidir é a mhíniú trí tharraingt ar smaointí Foucault faoin ngaol idir dioscúrsaí, forbartha eacnaimíochta agus polaitiúla agus cúrsaí cumhachta. Dar le Foucault, tháinig meicníochtaí cumhachta chun cinn le teacht na nua-aimsearthachta dírithe ar an aigne chomh maith leis an gcorp; meicníochtaí smachta tógtha suas le ordú, rangnú agus féin-rialú. Fuasclaíodh na dioscúrsaí agus na modhanna úra smachta sin in institiúidí ar nós scoileanna, priosúin agus tithe na ngealt ar dtús, áiteanna inar fhéadfaí iad a chur ina luí ar rannóga móra den tsochaí (féach Foucault 1973, 1977). Ba ghné tábhachtach é an gnéas sa phróiseas seo "because it is located at the point of intersection of the discipline of the body and the control of the population (Sarup 1993:68). Deir Foucault:

> The transformation of sex into discourse was governed by the endeavour to expel from reality the forms of sexuality not amenable to the strict economy of reproduction ... in the nineteenth century, the homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, and a morphology ... Nothing that went into his total composition was unaffected by his sexuality ... The sodomite had been a temporary aberration, the homosexual was now a species [Foucault 1976:42-43].

In Éirinn, áfach, bhí ordú an duine agus an phobail nasctha le próiseas an choilíneachais (ba faoi chúram Rialtas na Breataine, mar shampla, a bunaíodh institiúidí an oideachais, na bpriosún agus tithe na ngealt sa naoú haois déag). Bhí an smachtú d'Éirinn agus dá pobal tógtha suas leis an aistriú teanga ó Ghaeilge go Béarla chomh maith, an Ghaeilge mar chuid den "mí-ord" ar theastaigh ón Impireacht é a chur faoi chois. Ba i mBéarla a fuasclaíodh dioscúrsaí ar "the dividing practices" mar a ghlaonn Foucault orthu, siad sin "exclusion, separation and domination within oneself as well as towards others" (Sarup 1993:86). Toisc nár éirigh leis an stát seilbh iomlán a ghlacadh ar an nGaeilge i ndiaidh bhunú an tSaorstáit, mhair dioscúrsaí ailtéirneacha sa teanga. Laistigh de theanga "mí-dhlisteanach" na Gaeilge, a bhí laghdaithe agus imeallaithe seachas sealbhaithe ag na foirmeacha cumhachta thuas, bhí

sé de chumas ag na dioscúrsaí ar fhéiniúlacht (ar an ngnéasachas san áireamh) bheith níos comhaontaithe.

Is don chumas sin a thagraíonn Ó Crualaoich i "dioscúrsa an bhéaloidis" (Ó Crualaoich 1988:16), dioscúrsa neamh-oifigiúil na Gaeilge a aithníonn na cosúlachtaí idir lucht na teanga agus eilimintí imeallacha eile na sochaí. De bharr an chomhaontais sin is féidir

> síol réabhlóideach freasúrach na Gaeilge [a cheangal] le síol réabhlóideach na haimsire seo, is é sin le dearcadh agus dioscúrsaí agus féachaint amach freasúrach na coitiantachta atá faoi ghéarsmacht aicmí an chumhachta agus an rachmais inniu, agus nach mbíonn de léiriú go minic ar a gcumas daonna agus ar a neart cultúrtha ach léiriú díobhálach, léiriú i bhfásta [Ó Crualaoich 1988:20].

Is ar an ndioscúrsa thuas a tharraingíonn "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe," le impleachtaí ann do mhothú féiniúlachta daoine homaighnéasacha laistigh den chultúr Gaelach, bunaithe ar éispéireas dlúth-pháirtíochta agus comháirimh:

> You know, now deirimse leat, is mionlach laistigh de mhionlach muid, ach ag an am céanna, tá na deacrachtaí céanna ag gach mionlach, is dóigh liom. Agus dá bharr sin, a bheag nó a mhór bíonn siad báúil dá chéile. Cúrsaí mná, cúrsaí an Ghaeilge, daoine homaighnéasacha agus mná leispiacha, cúrsaí mná atá ag iompar clainne nach bhfuil pósta, tá tuiscint idir eatarthu de bharr go bhfuil na constaicí céanna acu sa tsochaí ginearálta. Fuaireas amach go raibh daoine le Gaeilge níos báúile (Roy).

Cuireann an GAA i gcoinne an smaoinimh go bhfuil an Ghaeilge agus an homaighnéasachas polaraithe ar leibhéal fisiciúil chomh maith le leibhéal idé-eolaíoch. Bíonn an dá chultúr suite ina ngeiteo féin sa tsochaí, de ghnáth. Déantar an Ghaeilge a láthrú sna Gaeltachtaí go príomha, agus in áiteanna faoi leith i gcomhthéacs na cathrach, ar nós scoileanna agus "Conradh na Gaeilge." Go dtí le déanaí, ní raibh ach spás rúnda ag an gcultúr homaighnéasach in Éirinn, toisc go raibh homaighnéasachas mí-dhleathach sa tír go dtí 1993. Tá athruithe áirithe tagtha ar an scéal anois, le spásanna dearfa leagtha amach don gay scene i bhfoirm pubanna agus clubanna faoi leith. Seasann "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe" lasmuigh den gheiteoaíocht seo; buaileann an grúpa

le chéile i bpub i mBarra an Teampaill, "áit neodrach ach é taobh istigh den triantán bándearg ["The George," "The Front Lounge" agus na céanna]" (Roy). Is gné tábhachtach é seo do bhaill áirithe; dóibh siúd nach bhfuil tagtha amach nó nach bhfuil compóirdeach leis an scene: "mar fhear aerach is maith liom bualadh le daoine aeracha freisin, seachas bheith ag dul go dtí "An George" nó pub eile, you know—tá sé an-deacair bualadh le daoine" (Roibeárd). Fiú dóibh siúd atá compóirdeach leis an gay scene, dealraónn sé go ligeann idé-eolaíochtaí an GAA agus cultúr na Gaeilge araon dóibh a leithéid de gheiteoaíocht a chur trí chéile:

> Fuaras amach go rabhas in ann dul isteach go dtí pub ar nós Club an Chonradh, agus bheith ar mo shuaimhneas agus ar mo chompóird, sa slí céanna is a bhím nuair a théimse isteach go dtí na tithe tábhairneacha homaighnéasacha—na gay bars agus a leithéid (Roy).

Tugtar tacaíocht do thuairim an GAA gur cuid de chultúr na Gaeilge é seachas eagras a sheasann taobh amuigh de nuair a bhreathnaítear ar dhioscúrsaí eile ar bun sa chultúr. I gcodarsnacht leis an stát chomhaimseartha, a éilíonn gurb í an Ghaeilge teanga náisiúnta na tíre, is feasach do eilimintí de ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge go bhfuil an teanga, agus an pobal a labhraíonn í, imeallaithe ar leibhéal praicticiúil. Is minic a bhíonn an ghluaiseacht i gcoimhlint leis an stát mar nach bhfuil sé ag tabhairt cothrom na féinne do phobal na Gaeilge ó thaobh chearta sibhialta de. Dealraíonn sé go bhfuil an ról coimhlinteach seo bunaithe ar fheasacht na gluaiseachta gur mionlach atá ann. Tá dearcadh ag teacht chun cinn atá le fáil i measc mionlach eile (an ghluaiseacht homaighnéasach san áireamh), mothú féiniúlachta bunaithe ar na cosúlachtaí idir grúpaí ansmachtaithe. I dtaca le "Conradh na Gaeilge," is mór an difríocht idir an míniú a thugtaí ar Ghaelachas agus an fhealsúnacht chomhaimseartha. I gclár teilifíse faoin eagras ("Uachtarán," BBC 2 N.I.: 19 Nollaig 1996), mhínigh an tUachtarán, Gearóid Ó Caireallain, náisiúnachas an Chonartha chomhaimseartha mar

> náisiúntacht chultúrtha; is náisiúntacht iontach ilghnéitheach agus iontach leathanbhunaithe é. 'Sé an náisiúntacht sa chiall is ildomhanda dó agus ilEorpaigh dó ... is maith le daoine na focail sin a úsáid leis an chuma a chur ar an scéal go bhfuil an Conradh ag iarraidh an Ghaeilge a cheangal le

> gluaiseacht na Poblachta, le Caitlicigh agus le taobh amháin [de] phobal na hÉireann. Caithfear focail éigin a úsáid agus sin na focail atá againn ach ciallaíonn siad rud iontach leathan agus iontach fáilteach roimh achan sort dream.

Scáthánaíonn an t-athbhreithniú ar aidhmeanna an Chonartha branda den Ghaelachas atá ag teacht aníos i measc phobal na nGaeltachtaí. Trína chuid filíochta, ceistíonn Cathal Ó Searcaigh, cainteoir dúchasach agus fear homaighnéasach, an íomhá oifigiúil den Ghaeilge agus den Ghaelachas mar cheann a choimhthíonn mórán pobal, dreamanna laistigh de mhuintir na Gaeltachta san áireamh. In agallamh tugtha ag Ó Searcaigh don "Sunday Tribune Magazine" (15 Meán Fómhair 1996) léiríonn sé dearcadh faoi ghnéasachais nach ndéantar iad a scaradh mar ghnéithe éagsúla:

> [my poems] are manifestations of love. People have the idea that homosexuals have sex and heterosexuals fall in love. It's not like that at all. Love is the same, no matter what your orientation ... I was never in the closet. We never had anything as remotely stylish as a closet.

Is é an teideal ar an gcnuasach is déanaí atá curtha amach ag Ó Searcaigh ná *Na Buachaillí Bána*. Úsáideann sé an téarma mar thagairt d'fhir homaighnéasacha, ach tá macallaí ann den chumann rúnda ón ochtú haois déag a ghníomhaigh in aghaidh ansmachtú na cosmhuintire. Maíonn an teideal go bhfuil an file ag ceistiú an staid ina bhfuil daoine homaighnéasacha daoraithe chun rúndachta, ach is féidir é a léamh ar leibhéal eile freisin. Deir Gibbons:

> While clearly local and class-based in their immediate manifestations, the forms of material struggle in which Whiteboys were engaged had a wider remit than purely economic interests: they were also concerned ... with the establishment and maintenance of alternative codes and values, and in defending these codes against attack from whatever source ... The most conspicuous evidence of cross-over with other forms of peasant custom ... was the symbolic dress of the insurgents, and in particular the systematic adoption of female clothing, ... the assumption of a female persona was taken to the point where some of the Whiteboy organisations ... masqueraded under female

soubriquets: The Lady Clare Boys, Lady Rock, Terry Alt's Mother [Gibbons 1996:140-141].

Maíonn an cur síos thuas nasc idir an Gaelachas agus mínithe saoráideacha ar an inscne. Trína úsáid den teideal *Na Buachaillí Bána* mar fháthchiall mar sin, d'fhéadfaí a rá go bhfuil Ó Searcaigh ag nascadh éispéiris homaighnéasaigh le stair an phobail agus leis an gcultúr Gaelach, go háirithe nuair a ghlactar le dearbhú Gibbons gur eagras é "Na Buachaillí Bána" féin a bhain úsáid as an fháthchiall: "allegory in this context has an instability of reference and a contestation of meaning ... [it embodies] multiple references not inherent in the text, but [which] derive from historical contiguity of the text to other narratives and symbolic forms" (Gibbons 1996:20-21).

Ar leibhéal na teanga freisin, éiríonn le Ó Searcaigh a chuid saothair a nascadh leis an gcultúr Gaelach agus le hoidhreacht an bhéaloidis trí fhriotal a chur ar íomhánna hómo-earotacha ag baint úsáid as an ngnáth-fhoclóir agus as múnlaí traidisiúnta ar nós an amhráin ghrá:

Char nigh mé, char ghlac mé folcadh le dhá lá
Tá cumhracht fholláin do chraicinn, a ghrá,
ag éirí ó mo chorp go fóill, ó mo lámha.

Mo dhá láimh ar chuar do thóna,
Os ár gcomhair, grian an tráthnóna
ag muirniú mhaolchnoic na Ceathrúna [1996:30].

De thairbhe an athshonraithe atá ar bun aige den homaighnéasachas laistigh de chultúr na Gaeilge agus den Ghaelachas féin, is féidir saothar Uí Shearcaigh a shuíomh sa dioscúrsa atá le cloisteáil in idé-eolaíocht chomhaimseartha "Conradh na Gaeilge" agus lena mbaineann an GAA chomh maith. Is dioscúrsa é sin, i bhfocail Ghearóid Uí Chaireallain ("Uachtarán," BBC 2 N.I.: 19 Nollaig 1996) atá ag déanamh iarracht "an méid gnéithe Gaelacha den chultúr a chur le chéile is go dtig le daoine fanacht taobh istigh de sin go hiomlán má's mian leo."

Conclúid

Cé gurb é an Béarla príomh-theanga ("teanga mothúcháin") na mball de "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe," d'fhéadfaí a rá go bhfuil a suíomh i ngluaiseacht na Gaeilge ag cothú éispéiris ina measc atá

bunaithe ar chomháireamh i measc pobail níos leithne. Ní hé sin le rá go bhfuil pobal iomlán na Gaeilge saor ó chlaontacht nó níos oscailte ná an tsochaí i gcoitinne; bheadh a leithéid de éileamh chomh claonta le haon déantús eile. Ach tá an GAA ar ceann de na guthanna laistigh den Ghaeilge bunaithe ar idé-eolaíocht agus/araon, ag caitheamh amach an fhealsúnacht ceachtar/nó a chuaigh i bhfeidhm ar an nGaelachas, an idé-eolaíocht cheannasach, "the adoption of which, from the standpoint of the dominated classes, is seen as a denial of social and sexual identity" (Bourdieu 1991:88).

Is é an frithghinniúint in aghaidh an diúltú sin d'fhéiniúlacht shóisialta agus ghnéasach a mhaíonn go bhfuil réabhlóid shiombalach ar bun sa chultúr, atá mar "condition for the reappropriation by dominant groups of the social identity which their acceptance of the dominant taxonomies has deprived them (even subjectively)" (Bourdieu 1991:131). Caitear amach an idé-eolaíocht a dhearbhaíonn go bhfuil an Ghaeilge agus an cultúr ceangailte go hintreach le mothú féiniúlachta cúng-bhunaithe. Feictear dom go bhfuil an idé-eolaíocht sin thuas mar eiseamláir de "internalisation of the oppressor" (hooks 1994:233), ar glacadh leis ní amháin ag leibhéal an stáit, ach a bhí agus atá fós le brath i measc eilimintí de ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge agus an ghluaiseacht homaighnéasach. Cuireann hooks síos ar an fheiniméan seo mar cheann a fhaightear i measc

> marginalized groups who will protest forms of domination (like the notion of exclusion/inclusion whereby they are excluded) but then invent their own little group wherein the same practices determine who is allowed into their "community" ... it's easier for us to build our sense of community around sameness ... Why do we have to wipe out the Otherness in order to experience a sense of Oneness? [hooks 1994:233-234].

Tá an staid sin á shárú tríd an ndioscúrsa atá ag teacht chun cinn sa chultúr Gaelach, ina bhfeictear gur féidir comhaontacht a bhunú i measc grúpaí ilghnéitheacha agus gan de dhíth orthu a n-éagsúlacht a shéanadh. Is dócha go bhfuil "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe" agus pobail eile i ngluaiseacht na Gaeilge ag glacadh seilbh ar Ghaelachas tríd an stair cultúrtha agus an teanga féin a thógáil as greim na bhfórsaí ceannasacha a ghlac seilbh uirthi agus ar a pobal urlabhra: "Mar a deirimse i gcónaí, ní le haon ghrúpa daoine an Ghaeilge; ní bhaineann sí le haon ghrúpa" (Roy).

Nótaí

1. Cuireadh leagan den pháipéar seo isteach chuig Roinn na hAntraipeolaíochta, Má Nuad i mí Aibreáin 1997 i bhfoirm tráchtais. Ba mhaith liom buíochas a ghabháil le Steve Coleman as ucht a chuid comhairle.

2. I dtaca leis an homaighnéasachais, faightear íomhánna hómo-earotacha i bhfilíocht na mBard; féach mar shampla "Gabh mo Suirghe" le mac Briain Dorcha Í Uiginn.

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the way in which ideologies are produced, reinforced and challenged through language use in the context of the Irish language. Through sociolinguistic analysis, it illustrates how dominant

ideological constructions of Irish have represented the language, its speech community and its culture as homogeneous and conservative, bound up with a narrowly-defined sense of Irish identity. The study of "Gaeilgeoirí Aeracha Aontaithe" and other voices within the contemporary Irish language movement demonstrates a challenge to such representations. In drawing on discourses which link the language (and the "Gaelicness" it embodies) to a multiplicity of experiences and social and sexual identities, such elements within the language movement can be seen as part of a "symbolic revolution" within Gaelic culture.

Socialists, Savages and Hydroelectric Schemes: A Historical Anthropological Account of the Construction of Ardnacrusha.

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Introduction

During the summer of 1995, I began to conduct research in the Lower Shannon region. In particular, I was interested in investigating the famed hydroelectric works at Ardnacrusha. However, getting information on the Dam proved to be difficult. With some persistence, and more than a little luck, I secured a personal tour of the facility. My guide was a local man named Seán Craig who had risen to managerial level "on the Scheme." Seán's circuitous route to management inspired wonderful anecdotes and insights into the institution's insular class system, from senior management to the more-or-less blue-collar local workforce. I mentioned to him that I had been finding it difficult to get information on Ardnacrusha. He suggested that "the foreign tourists have seen better," and as for domestic school tours: "Ardnacrusha is no Disneyland." Seán added that the institution was "going semi-automatic" in the next couple of years, shedding more than half its workforce and echoing global trends of postindustrial labour flexibility. I asked whether there was any chance of closure and he replied, in a mystical tone, "Ardnacrusha will keep going."[1]

As I was directed to the on-site heritage centre the reasons implicit in Seán's statement became ever more clear. Inside, an archival film related the construction and current function of the Dam. The narrator described how the "immense project" involved the removal of 300 million tons of earth by willing workers housed in a purpose-built village. Apparently, the workers enjoyed such amenities as shops, kitchens, boxing clubs, and facilities for gymnastics. To the narrator Ardnacrusha was an inspired place of nation-building. Built upon the sentiments of an emerging Ireland, this type of construction established the legitimacy and direction of the new Saorstát. Perhaps it is no surprise then that its story is one of conflict and controversy.

In this article, I will critically examine this construction process. Ardnacrusha was conceived within months of the civil war cease-fire, and was seen by many as an important test for the young nation-state. Indeed, the project was inextricably bound to the public perception of the Saorstát to the extent that its physical construction became a meta-

phor for the nation-building of the era. The imagination of the public was captured as reporters, artists, authors and thousands of ordinary tourists flocked to the construction site.

The Scheme was also noteworthy for the seamless manner in which its architects wove an icon of modernity into the fabric of a nation purported to be rural and anti-modern. In order to appreciate this achievement we need to understand the nature of Ireland's national symbolic currency, and ask which classes accessed and deployed these cultural resources. Anthropological writings provide an interesting window through which to do just that. The work of Conrad Arensberg, in particular, imagined Ireland as an oasis of tradition amid the arid landscape of modernity. Indeed, Arensberg's *The Irish Countryman* situated itself within rural Clare—little more than a stone's throw from Ardnacrusha. What Arensberg's ethnographic gaze omitted raises interesting issues relating to the critical understanding of Irish ethnography.

Socialists

When the Saorstát Government came to power in the 1920s, it inherited a significant body of research on waterpower. Both the British Administration and Sinn Féin rebels had looked into the possibility of national electrification. The concept appealed particularly to the republican Dáil. Their creed of economic self-sufficiency demanded a projection of development based upon indigenous resources. Thus, the historical precedents for the project attest not only to the commercial interests at stake, but also to the more ambiguous national interests. As a "big government" project the idea of hydroelectricity bridged the gap between pragmatic economics and ideological currency. At a projected cost of £5 million (an enormous sum for the post-civil war state), Ardnacrusha possessed a symbolic value far in excess of any economic benefit. Such an extravagant project required that the nature of the ideological impetus for development be resolved in the public domain. Within months of the initial proposal, Ardnacrusha had become the focus of a wide range of debates. Issues of safety and security were addressed as pessimists began to speculate upon the effects of republicans attacking the Dam with pickaxes and spades. Another such question concerned the issue of private versus state control; it prompted one outspoken Senator to see "the cloven hoof of socialism" (Seanad 1 925:1047) in the scheme. The politician's words prefigure the significant conflicts over socialism and labour that later raged at Ardnacrusha.

On August 13, 1925, a contract between the German firm, Siemens-Schuckert, and Saorstát na hÉireann was signed. It provided for the construction of a hydroelectric power station and dam at Ardnacrusha, and later for the electrification of the whole Free State. An army of Hamburg engineers soon descended upon Ardnacrusha. Novelist, Valentine Williams was commissioned by the *Structural Engineer* to forge an account of their arrival:

> A Titan task confronted these peaceful invaders. Ireland could bring almost nothing to her aid save the more or less willing arms of her unskilled labour. The German engineers found themselves in a virtually roadless tract of desolate pastureland with naught save a couple of miserable hamlets all along the way from Limerick to Killaloe. There was no power station they could utilize, no railway.... As they inhaled the soft and sluggish Shannon air and watched the ragged natives pottering about their wretched hovels and dim cabbage patches in the leisurely manner particular to the west of Ireland peasantry. Hearts less valiant than those of the professional engineer must have quailed before the magnitude of the undertaking. [Williams 1929:19]

Williams' words resonated with the well-established tone of the colonial travelogue to form an index of both the Teutonic relationship with the Irish, and the gulf between the urbanized élite of the Saorstát and the west of Ireland peasantry. The author also points to the immense difficulties faced by the Siemens engineers in an impoverished European periphery. During a stint in Limerick the German engineer, Reinhold Zickel penned the reflective novel *Am Shannon,* in which he comments upon the underdeveloped *mien* of Ireland: "Electric light in Irish cow-sheds—what a joke!" (Zickle N.D:8).[2] Regardless of these views, the Germans soon marshalled a workforce of some 3000 men. However, before the first machines where unloaded upon Limerick's docks a strike had broken out. By and large the workforce consisted of demobilized Free State troops, many of whom took umbrage at the rate of pay. Within hours, all the major unions in Ireland had called for a cessation of work.

In recognition of the severity of the situation, the Government appointed Joe McGrath as a labour relations consultant to Siemens. A former Director of the Irish Secret Service and one time union boss with "Big" Jim Larkin, McGrath was known as a shrewd and tough negotia-

tor. By employing a divide-and-conquer policy, he set about tempting the more "patriotic" ex-servicemen back to work. On Friday, October 2, 1925, the ex-servicemen who did not subscribe to the labour movement broke the picket. Later that night six of the "scab" workers were involved in serious clashes and were fortunate to escape with their lives. *The Irish Times* described the riot:

> A crowd assembled outside the Strand Barracks and an attempt was made to assault some of the ex-service men as they were leaving. The Civic Guard dispersed the crowd with their batons, and two civilians were reported to have been injured. [The Irish Times, September 29 1925:7]

As the strike wore on German workers became favourite targets for the strikers. Though mass-meetings called for solidarity and nonviolence, both Siemens' employees and Irish policemen were frequently attacked. It was not long before the Limerick Dock Union joined the strike, leaving the Germans to unload their ships surrounded by detachments of Saorstát troops.

The strikers soon began to boycott those businesses known to supply the Germans. The local merchant and shopkeeping classes had been looking forward to a bonanza, and they were predictably outraged. The pulpits of the region also came out against the strike tactics by condemning the immorality of the boycott, and by endorsing Ardnacrusha as the one hope for a "great Irish Industrial revival" (Limerick Chronicle, January 20 1925:2).[3]

In many ways, the strike highlighted the existence of a powerful class of urbanized Irish who welcomed development and despised socialism. In his programmatic work on the *Irish Political …lite*, A S. Cohen comments upon the emergence of this class by drawing attention to the fact that the overwhelming majority of state officials were urban-born and unaffiliated to either side of the civil war (see Cohen 1972). More specifically, the political party that gave birth to Ardnacrusha represented this particular social stratum. F. Powell described Cumman na nGaeldhael's supporters as:

> [A] socially conservative regime rooted in traditional Catholic values and wedded to the interests of the large farmers, professional classes and businessmen who supported Cumman na nGaeldhael. [Keogh 1994:38]

These asymmetrical social relations are confirmed through an examination of the government debates of the time. On December 14, 1925, Senator John T. O'Farrell put forward the following legislative motion: "That the Seanad regrets the unhappy auspices under which the Shannon Scheme has been launched." Referring to his suspicion that nationalist rhetoric was obscuring real social inequality, O'Farrell suggested that "we heard a lot of mawkish humbug recently about a Gaelic Ireland." What was in fact emerging, according to the Senator, was an "Irish China" (Seanad 1925:37). Continuing upon a theme of international comparison, the politician insightfully suggested that:

> We are inclined, I suppose, to look upon the working man as the British in India would look upon the native, who was intended by nature and providence to have his children brought up in suffering and ignorance, as if that was his allotted place in life. [Seanad 1925:38]

These words sparked off a lengthy and fascinating debate in both houses of state regarding the role of labour in the national economy. The employers' point of view was put forth by the Earl of Mayo who described the occupation of the labouring classes as: "Wheeling a barrow with clay up along a narrow plank." He added that "this is exactly the difficulty we have in Ireland—to get men who are trained to do that" (Seanad 1925:43-45). This rather gruff attitude was augmented by the more acceptable economic rhetoric of Senator Bennett.

> No one would deny the economic doctrine which underlies this: the right of every man to live and the right of every man to enjoy the amenities of life. But, it is also the duty of the State and the nation to see that not one particular section of the nation, but that the nation as a whole is kept in reasonable comfort. [Seanad 1925:47-48]

Failing to notice his repetition of O'Farrell's earlier criticism, he went on to discuss the "degrees of civilization" to which the various classes should be accustomed. Sir John Keane took up this point by announcing that labour and capital were commodities and that such were the "inexorable laws of economics that you cannot get away from without ruin to the State" (Seanad 1925:52). When we consider this dogmatic ideology and the more ill advised comments regarding "degrees of civilization," it becomes readily apparent that the new administration

was governing Ireland with much the same institutional and ideational resources as the previous "imperialist" regime.[4]

Throughout the country there were several support rallies held in urban working class strongholds. Delegates from the Free State and Northern Ireland attended the Annual Trade Union Congress in the Mansion House where they condemned the attitude of the Government. However, the combination of left-wing apathy and a willful government conspired to end the strike within a few months. According to the Radio Telfís Éireann historian, Michael McCarthy, "The defeat (of the strike) was a crucial blow for Irish labour in general, coming as it did only four years after the foundation of the State" (1983:220).

The prevailing view amongst the Government and élite was that the economy had the right to be harsh—in the national interest. If people suffered, it was not the duty of the nation-state or those who controlled it to provide for them. This reactionary culture was soon to be put to the test, again at Ardnacrusha.

Savages

One of the more serious issues to arise during the construction of Ardnacrusha related to the provision of housing for the workforce. There was accommodation for 720 workers on the Shannon Scheme in 1928—a time when more than 5000 were employed. The relatively short duration of most employment contracts exacerbated this situation. Indeed, this early controversy at Ardnacrusha prefigures many of the contemporary debates over labour "flexibility." During one layoff period in 1928, for example, 280 men were "dispensed with" (see Limerick Chronicle, May 13 1928:4). Many travelled to Ardnacrusha with little hope of work; others were reluctant to leave in case they might be rehired; few could afford the price of proper accommodation. By 1926 an average of 10 people per night sought temporary shelter in Limerick City Home. In a bureaucratic move borne of frustration, the Regional Health Board refused to admit non-Limerick people.

Before long it was revealed that some workers were subsisting in "cow houses, piggeries and barns" (Dáil 1926:2018-2020). Jim Mullane of the Regional Health Board singled out O'Grady's yard in Clare as a particular blackspot. By 1927 the 94 people inhabiting the farmyard were suffering from hunger and typhoid. "Surely to God," one Counsellor exclaimed, "we are not going to let them die with the hunger" (McCarthy 1983:16). Echoing the colonial response to the famine, his more

reactionary colleagues asked: "Are we to feed the hungry of every county in Ireland?" (McCarthy 1983:16-17). The national papers took up the story in June 1926 forcing a government statement. Few were prepared for the tone of Minister Paddy McGuilligan's reaction:

> If people go to Limerick to wait on the chance of getting work ... that's their own look out.... If people have to die and die through starvation ... so be it for the good of the nation. [Dáil 1926:2027]

McGuilligan's words were underscored with the sense that the national economy had an inherent logic – a narrative of development—which apparently allowed Irishmen to starve and live in pigsties while building the Irish nation-state.

The extraordinary gulf between those controlling the hegemonic discourse and practices and the labourers and peasants lead me to ask questions regarding the power relations within those marginal social groups. In my previous discussion of the writings of Reinhold Zickle and Valentine Williams, I alluded to the hierarchical relationship between the Germans and the Irish at Ardnacrusha. This asymmetrical relationship is underlined by the litany of robbery, assault, and, even murder on the construction site (see McCarthy 1983, 1985). There is even remarkable evidence of quasi-ethnic tension occurring amongst the indigenous labourers. During the years of construction, large numbers of Connemara men were hired as unskilled labourers. The men from the West excelled at labour that often required an 85-hour week, and their work rate set them apart from their colleagues. Added to this was the fact that they spoke little or no English. Reports suggest they were looked down upon as an "uncivilized ... dirty lot" (McCarthy 1983:16). On September 4, 1927, more than 40 Connemara men, fed up with their "savage" label, rioted and set fire to worker's huts, leaving several in hospital and a further 14 in prison cells.

Incidents of ethnically motivated attacks at Ardnacrusha point to the production of marginality inherent in the process of nation-building. The Germans regarded Ireland as a backward country; the Government regarded the working class as half-savage, fit only to wheel barrows, while the Limerick labourers regarded Irish speakers as an "uncivilized … dirty lot." In constructing a dam near Limerick, the Saorstát was both producing and reproducing particular versions of the nation that had embedded in them social relations of domination and subordination.

Hydroelectric Schemes

The controversy and disputes that characterized the early phase of construction at Ardnacrusha highlight some of the cultural themes raised by nation-building. Active human agency produced representational space at Ardnacrusha. The development project came to reflect not only the subjugation of the working classes to the hegemony of the urbanized elite, but also the reification of an "official" national discourse. This project occurred somewhere between nation and state; it legitimized state-driven modernization through an appeal to the nationalist sentiment for the past. This national currency owes much to the productivity of imperial repression, as expressed in Gaelic revivalism.

Mythic Ireland, rural and timeless, had already been imagined through the writings of Yeats, Lady Gregory and Synge. All sought the real "Celt" before committing him to paper. The search for pristine otherness was to run at least one artist into trouble during the Free State period. Paul Henry's paintings sold Ireland as a tourist destination to metropolitan Britain, yet during an interview with *The Irish Times,* he recalled how he was stoned out of rural villages for "stealing the souls" of the natives. However, he could comfort himself with the fact that "the primitives of all lands have their legends based on such superstitions" (The Irish Times, July 14 1925:11).The artists words link the cultural motifs of colonial rule with the symbolic currency of the independent nation-state. Certainly, there were some modifications to suit the pragmatic conservatism of the time. W.T. Cosgrave's words, "the captains and kings have left the task of reconstruction to less picturesque people" (Limerick Chronicle, March 23 1925:11) form a near perfect epitaph to the era. It was within this "less picturesque" period that Ardnacrusha first appeared. It was also an era that was accompanied by a powerful folkloric discourse—anthropology.

In many ways Conrad Arensberg's ethnographic snapshot of rural Clare encapsulated in language the dominant myths and realities of the Saorstát. Rich ethnological portraits of patriarchal kinship, superstition and pious rusticity colour the pages of *The Irish Countryman.* However, on occasion, another Ireland emerges through this romantic gaze. Arensberg had some difficulty in theorizing urbanization. The powerful influence of the town spelt modernity and change—the very antithesis of his structural-functionalism.

> The life of the (town and) country meet and mingle.... That mingling represents the latest stage of an age-old struggle in

> which the countryside has won out at last. It has been a conquest of assimilation.... The town in Irish history was originally ... and often long remained a foreign growth. [Arensberg 1937:146]

The ethnographer suggests the divide between urban modernity on one hand, and timeless rusticity on the other. He also explicitly deploys a powerful *grand rècit* of absorption to suggest "how this people preserves an unbroken ancient tradition" (Arensberg 1937:16-17). It is possible to see exactly how this cultural currency was deployed by examining some of the writing that appeared coincident with, and as a consequence of, Ardnacrusha.

The *Saorstát Éireann: Official Handbook* was first published in the early 1930s. Essentially, it acts as a guide to the economy, history and culture of the new state. An entire chapter is devoted to the construction of Ardnacrusha. The mandate for this affectionate gaze is established early in the text: "For the first time since the middle ages the needs and wishes of the Irish people now shape the policy of the Irish Government" (Saorstát Éireann 1932:15). This national mandate is grounded in a particular vision of Irish history—one that legitimates the present. We are assured that "in Gaelic times Ireland was entirely rural" (Saorstát Éireann 1932:123).[5] The continuity of immemorial rural life with the present is confirmed by the representational spaces produced by the "soul stealing" artist Paul Henry. Sketches of tidy white houses dwarfed by an emerald natural landscape discreetly embellish the periphery of the text. However, this legitimizing narrative is at risk, as the chapter on folklore forewarns:

> We cannot give a further lease of life to our folk-tales, or to the beliefs and customs of a genre that is fast passing away, but, it is essential that every phase of this folk culture should be recorded before it disappears. [Saorstát Éireann 1932:265]

It is from within this context of vanishing Gaels and rural idylls that Ardnacrusha appears to provide a future "distinct from imported fuel" (Saorstát Éireann 1932:123). This remarkable text is encapsulated in the use of a *Book of Kells* style cover on what is, essentially, a development plan. Luke Gibbons (1988:218) echoes this theoretical sense of nationality and modernity in a recent work on Irish development policy. Using the international examples of Reagan's "return to the range" and Thatcher's "Victorian values," he remarks on the ubiquitous green stamp which

modernization receives in Ireland. Gibbons makes considerable use of the Bord Fáilte sense of modern Ireland as a *mélange* of misty past and economic modernity. Ardnacrusha was depicted according to this technique in early Bord Fáilte writings. D.L. Kelleher's *The Shannon Scheme* describes Ardnacrusha as "evolution-revolution." Kelleher conjures up images of the rural Ireland upon which Ardnacrusha was constructed: "A house here and there, white and tidy ... poetical ... and unreal" (Kelleher 1996:254). Now, according to the author, diesel engines are the "deities" and "kilowatts the acolytes" (1996:254). This is the "modern magic" of an evolution-revolution.

> Ardnacrusha in 1928.... Little German children play on the old road ... where once the untidy, timeless Irish fairies owned the thorn bush.... Now the steam hammer and the drill, inventing new landscape and energy here ... they are eloquent of the new spirit in Ireland, or, rather, the old spirit. [Kelleher 1996:254]

John Breuilly describes this phenomenon employing the term "nationalism as development" to suggest that development, usually labelled modernization, "requires the partial or complete abandonment of traditional values and practices" (Breuilly 1993:269). This abandonment of tradition is, according to Breuilly, paradoxically based on the "allegedly traditional features of society" (1993:269).

Breuilly's sense of how national ideology and development relate is illustrated in a dramatic fashion by peripheral incidences in the history of Ardnacrusha. In the same month as the opening of the Shannon Scheme, for example, the fate of Saint Mo Lua's Oratory featured in the newspaper headlines.[6] The Island-Oratory stood in the way of the headwaters of the soon to be opened hydroelectric dam. Archaeologists, historians and clergymen rallied to the cause. Bishop Fogarty of Killaloe suggested that it should be valued as "the monastery where St. Hannan, a prince of the Dalacassians, received his religious education" (McGuilligan Papers 1929). In view of this support, the Oratory was removed, block-by-block, and relocated to Killaloe. A substantial ceremony was organized to commemorate the occasion. The protagonists gathered in Killaloe and, bearing banners with such slogans as "God save the Pope" and "Remember O'Connell" (Limerick Chronicle, June 29 1929:3), they marched *en masse* to the Island. Along the way, the Boher Boy-Band provided musical accompaniment. A *Limerick Chronicle* reporter provided the epitaph, stating that "for centuries" Mo

Lua's had "witnessed the ravages of time," but had now to be "sacrificed to modern progress" (Limerick Chronicle, June 29 1929:3). Clearly, this "sacrifice' allows one to trace a narrative line of inevitability from ancient Celtic life to *Saorstát Éireann's* vision of modernity, pointing towards a future of industrial progress. Such performances married a past-saturated nationalism with a development-oriented future. In this way, Mo Lua's final Mass and texts such as the *Saorstát Éireann: Official Handbook* imbued the space of the hydroelectric dam with the cultural motifs of the time.

Nations and Monuments

The past two decades have seen a sustained attack upon the *grand récit* of the national project.[7] In particular, the writings of Benedict Anderson have done much to highlight the manner in which people "*think*" the "*imagined community*" of the nation. Anderson has consistently focused upon the contribution of print-capitalism and standardised language for national consciousness. The evident problems in this approach, however, has led French Marxist, Henri Lefebvre to write:

> Some people—most, in fact—define it as a sort of substance which has sprung up from nature.... The nation is thus endowed with a consistent reality.... There are other theorists, however, who maintain that the nation and nationalism are merely ideological constructs.... The nation is on this view scarcely more than a fiction.... Both of these approaches to the question of the nation ... leave space out of the picture. [Lefebvre 1991:111-112]

In both cases, according to Lefebvre, nations are considered to be purely mental abstractions. His proto-Marxist analysis focuses upon the rise of vast cultural webs held together by hierarchical centres of power, and representations of space. Lefebvre expands upon this point employing the seminal concept of "*monumentality*" (1991:220-223). As nodal points in power-laden webs monuments require people to actively partake in their ideology, whether in the form of collusion or dissent.

This vision of the nation contrasts with the literary-based research which characterizes the study of Irish nationalism.

> A spatial work attains a complexity fundamentally different from the complexity of the text, whether prose or poetry....

> What we are concerned with here is not texts but texture. We already know that a texture is made up of a usually rather large space covered by networks or webs; monuments constitute the strong points, nexus or anchors of such webs. [Lefebvre 1991:222]

As texture, the monument may produce discourses in the form of texts (the example of the *Saorstát Éireann: Official Handbook* springs to mind), however, such texts describe space, and, as important practices within that space, and they are dependent upon it. Alone, they cannot produce the nationscape.

In his second edition of *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson approaches aspects of this issue. According to Anderson, a state endorsed version of identity and history may be instilled in national consciousness through the *"logoization"* of certain symbolic spaces. Capitalist manufacture ensures that such logos are infinitely reproducible for public consumption (usually as stamps, letter-heads and post cards).

> Norodom Sihanouk had a large wood and papier-mâché replica of ... Angkor displayed in the national sports stadium in Phnom Penh.... It served its purpose—instant recognisability via a history of colonial-era logoization. [Anderson 1991:183]

Much the same phenomena may be observed in relation to the Shannon Scheme. The Saorstát financed the movement of large numbers of people, on guided tours, to see the *"wonderful feat of engineering"* (Electricity Supply Board 1978:15), and, more specifically, to take home a visual impression or logo. The demand was so vast that Great Southern Rail had to lay on special trains to cope with the numbers. This burgeoning travel industry is even more extraordinary considering both the cross-section of the population involved, and the lack of precedent for such a tourist destination in post-civil war Ireland. The *Limerick Chronicle* refers in depth to the unusually broad appeal of Ardnacrusha:

> The harnessing of the Shannon has attracted the attention of capitalists, engineers and scientists in varying parts of the world, and in the past two years or so it has seen a large number of them, apart altogether from the thousands of

ordinary visitors at Ardnacrusha. [Limerick Chronicle May 4 1927:6]

The impact on the "ordinary" visitors to the Shannon development is described in the 1990 edition of Paul Duffy's *Ardnacrusha: Birth Place of the ESB*. Duffy incidentally talks readers through the type of sights that would greet a tourist. Starting at the weir at Parteen Villa, he lingers over precise engineering details and measurements, referring habitually to several dozen pictures dispersed throughout the text. These photographs appeared as popular postcards in the 1920s and frequently depict, for the purpose of scale, a labourer dwarfed by either machines or the dam at Ardnacrusha: *"A splendid example of Teutonic architecture"* (Duffy 1990:10).

In asides, Duffy notes that the Connemara men employed *currach*--building skills to manufacture turbines. This historical ramble captures the dominant performative theme of Ardnacrusha—national construction, envisaging both a past and a future. While Ardnacrusha was built early in the nation-time of the Free State, in having thousands visit the construction site, the Saorstát was producing a potent image of a nation--state "in the making." Stories of accomplished boat-makers from Connemara using their traditional skills to weld turbines turned potentially crass modernization into *bona fide* national development.

Clearly, not all citizens were free to travel to Ardnacrusha to see Irishmen build the nation-state. Hence, images of construction had to be brought into the realm of public observation and dialogue. The newspapers had a significant role in this process.[8] In a more direct form of logoization, the Saorstát Administration augmented the growing collection of postcards by employing the artist, Seán Keating, to visually document the construction process. His etchings form a more highbrow alternative to the carnival of power-scheme models produced by the Electricity Board.[9] In this way, the temporary building site, which was billed, rather grandly, as "the eight wonder of the world" (Duffy 1990:9), became a visual image in its own right. The point of monumental sites is for citizens to visit them; as that is not always possible, the monumental sites must be brought to the people—even if, in the case of Norodom Sihanouk, they are made of papier-mâché.

Conclusions

In this article, I have tried to understand the construction of Ardnacrusha as an "official" project appealing to nationalist sentiment

in order to legitimise a young state. Through the activities of agents of this state, new sentiments became imbedded in national space. The Shannon Scheme was also an important assertion of independence for the new nation-state. It projected a tangible future of economic progress (based on traditional values) to an international and domestic audience. It became a sort of became a tourist Mecca in an Irish society hungry for the spectacle of "Gaelic" development. Where the tourist gaze was absent, models and logos of all kinds were produced for public consumption. In this way, Ardnacrusha reified a particular discourse, one which subordinated the interests of the working classes and rural peasantry with a claim to the legitimacy of the Irish nation.

Socialist agitation and worker starvation interrupted this comfortable narrative. I hold that such dissent and suffering is crucial to understanding the importance of monuments within national consciousness. The discourse of a "Celtic" modern Ireland, described by Breuilly as "nationalism as development," was produced by a powerful set of cultural assumptions and political resource which fixed the agricultural peasantry as primitives in need of development, while pointing to them as a source of legitimacy. This vision of the nation received an important contribution from anthropology in the structural-functionalism of Conrad Arensberg. I hope that my research illuminates this important juncture in Irish history by highlighting an Éire of development and modernity amid the rustic anthropological snapshots that characterize Irish ethnography.[10] Understanding Saorstát nation-building, moreover, has many current implications. The lack of socialist agitation in modern Ireland can, I suggest, be attributed to the serious blows it received during incidents such as the Shannon Scheme Strike. Such conflicts resolved Ireland as a place where the national interest obscured marginal voices.

It is fitting, then, that today the Shannon Scheme resonates with postindustrial malaise and labour insecurity. Representing only a tiny fraction of national electric output, Ardnacrusha functions more as historic space than an industrial force—a theme park once again. Nonetheless, even in this new era, we can understand the Dam as the first chapter of the current bestseller titled the "Celtic Tiger."[11] In light of the current applause for economic progress, it is increasingly important to appreciate the socio-cultural complexity of such development projects. Similar projects are scheduled in China, Sri Lanka and elsewhere in the "Third World." As a modern European nation-state Ireland exports and underwrites these projects through aid and example. In such a climate, it

is particularly appropriate to appreciate the problematic history of Ireland's own developmental past.

Notes

1. The above conversation was recorded during an interview/tour in 1995.

2. I would like to thank Ms. Siobhán Kerr, LSB College, for her assistance in translating passages from this work.

3. The State reaction was somewhat less measured. Minister O'Higgins claimed that the whole business was the work of secret societies run by undercover foreign agents!

4. See also Saris (1997).

5. In truth, Gaelic Ireland was not rural in the agricultural sense, but was pastoral and seasonally nomadic in parts. I also must question the eyesight of an author who describes "roads as good as any man could want" (Saorstát Éireann 1932:123).

6. See *Limerick Chronicle* 1929; and *The Irish Times* 1929.

7. For a full critique of Anderson's approach see Chatterjee (199 5:404-406).

8. On March 19, 1925, *The Irish Times* ran a full page article with drawings and maps explaining the goals and progress on the Shannon.

9. One such model – cast in solid silver – is kept on display at the Electricity Supply Board Head Quarters in Dublin.

10. See Peace (1989:89-111).

11. I note in passing that the idea of Ireland's comparison with a "tiger" economy formed the theme of a recent Central Bank Conference held in Dublin titled "The Celtic Tiger in the Global Jungle." However, for a more corpulent explication of Ireland's feline commercial qualities it is necessary to refer to Ruane (February 10 1997:15-16).

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McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* and the Portrait of the Other

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INTRODUCTION

This article briefly examines the representation of the Other in Frank McCourt's book, *Angela's Ashes: a Memoir of a Childhood*, Flamingo, 1997.

Extrapolating from this book, it is clear that McCourt constructs a wide variety of categories of people—English, Protestants, Jehovah Witnesses, Muslims, Jews, Americans, Africans, Indians, the Irish upper classes—as Other. However, my interest of this article is rather more limited. It is restricted to those who would, broadly, be termed "non-Europeans and/or of non-European origin" in McCourt's novelised memoir of his childhood to young adulthood.

A rigorous critique of a book like McCourt's is necessitated by its power within modern literary discourse. The book was—and has remained—among the top best sellers, at least in the English speaking world. It has been given almost mythical importance by equating the author with Charles Dickens. The book, however is steeped in racist discourse that has so far gone uncontested. As an autobiography, the author has been afforded a ready camouflage that disguises the work as a harmless narrative of an oppressed child. Nothing is further from the "truth" when it comes to the oppression of the Other in the very same work. This article rejects the assumption that McCourt was simply and innocently retrieving experience that was trapped within what Foucault called the "discursive formation" of the time. Instead, one should view McCourt's work as a contemporary one and an important element in our day-to-day Eurocentric discourse about the Other. While much of McCourt's Limerick is no more, the portrait of the Other that he details can still be detected today in the Irish media, and, indeed, in that of most other European countries. Others are depicted as dependent, dirty, hungry, sickly and untrustworthy. It is precisely these images that are contested in this article.

Distant Places and the Other

Reflecting about the English officers, McCourt and the Limerick librarian agreed that these officers "are glad to be in Ireland after all they put up with India and Africa and other desperate places" (p.329). A glimpse of these desperate places is given in different parts of the book. The

unsuitability of these places for human (*read European or white*) habitation is unveiled in the story of the representatives of the St.Vincent De Paul society who pay an assessment visit to McCourt's home. Appalled by the unhygienic state of the house and its upper floor-renamed Italy,

> They're careful the way they step into the lake in the kitchen and ...they tell one another. Isn't this a disgrace?.. They keep shaking their heads and saying, God Almighty and Mother of God, this is desperate. That's not Italy they have upstairs, that's Calcutta. [McCourt 1997:113-114].

The unfortunate family had to endure another unfit environment which resembles the houses of the Other, having,

> ....backyard, a garden with tall grass and weeds, an old bicycle that must have belonged to a giant, tin cans galore, old papers and magazines rotting into the earth, a rusted sewing machines, a dead cat with rope around his neck that somebody must have thrown over the fence.

Michael gets a notion in his head that this is Africa and keeps asking, Where's Tarzan? [McCourt 1997:325]

No wonder, these places are sources of fatal diseases as Patricia Madigan was trying to come to grips with her own ailment:

> They don't know. They think I have a disease from foreign parts because my father used to be in Africa. I nearly died. [McCourt 1997:219]

The wildness of the place is made worse by its animals, insects and heat too. Frank was perhaps poorly advised to even contemplate joining the White Fathers Mission to the bedouins. He was too innocent to know that his bad eyes could easily rot and fall off his head in Africa. His doctor was vulgarly honest but straight to the point:

> Do you know the preferred form of transportation in the Sahara desert? ... a camel... It bites your shoulder and, rips it right off. Leaves you standing there tilted in the Sahara. How would you like that, eh? And what class of a spectacle you'd be strolling down the street, lopsided in Limerick. What girl

> in her right mind will look at an ex-White Father with one miserable scrawny shoulder? And look at your eyes. They are bad enough here in Limerick. In the Sahara they'll fester and rot and fall out of your head. [McCourt 1997:338-339]

Given the inherent ugliness of the country of the Other, it is no surprise that nearly any hint of it evokes unpleasant feelings. Thus, Frank and his brother discover a long hunt for lumps of coal in the streets of Limerick on a Christmas day:

> ... Malachy is turning black from picking up lumps [of coal], and pushing them into the bag and wiping the rain from his face with his wet black hands. I tell him he is black, he tells me I am black, and a woman in a shop tells us get away from that door, 'tis Christmas Day and she doesn't want to be looking at Africa. [McCourt 1997:109]

Nineteenth-century association of the Other with dirt and hence the slogan of whitening the white man's burden through hygiene is still thriving in the Limerick of the 1930s. Children of Limerick, then, can be forgiven for getting it mixed up.

> At one house they push up the window and the children point and laugh and call us, look at the Zulus. Where are your spears? [McCourt 1997:109]

Innocent as may be, the children of Limerick may have formed their ground for being apprehensive. Reflecting on the Others who are lacking in manners, if not in "culture", a Limerick librarian narrates,

> At least the people here [Ireland / Limerick] are polite. We're known for that, the politeness, not running around throwing spears at people. [McCourt 1997:329]

These Others notably look peculiar; they are also renowned for their unwarranted aggression against strangers:

> Dad tells us story out of his head. All we have to do is say a name, Mr. MacAdorey or Mr. Leibowitz down the hall, and Dad will have the two of them rowing up a river in Brazil

> chased by Indians with green noses and puce shoulders. [McCourt 1997:16]

The hostility of the Other, however, indicative of their uncivil nature, is routinely bolstered in Limerick's cinema, lauded by the city's lower classes as their own protest against authority.

> ...Lower classes who fill the tuppeny seats in the gods at the Lyric Cinema and are never done shouting at the screen, the kind of people if you don't mind who are liable to cheer on the Africans when they throw spears at Tarzan or the Indians when they're scalping the United States Cavalry. [McCourt 1997:246-247,367]

These same people, however, appear on the civil side of the divide after Confirmation.

> Priests and masters tell us Confirmation means you're a true soldier of the Church and that entitles you to die and be a martyr in case we're invaded by Protestants or Mohammedans or any other class of heathens. [McCourt 1997:211]

Martyrdom is a reward open for Frank but not the Other. The latter can only perish in defending his/her land or religion.

The Other's lack of civility is also contagious. The Mohammedans, for example, seem to have bestowed their ugly characters even onto their dogs.

> That ... Man-eatin' bitch ... is a right Hindu, so she is and that's where I found her mother wandering around Banglore. If ever you're getting a dog, Francis [Frank], make sure it's a Buddhist. Good natured dogs, the Buddhists. Never, never get a Mohammedan. They'll eat you sleeping. [McCourt 1997:197-198]

Even use of the term "Mohammedan" is semantically informative. At its connotative level, it reduces Islam to no more than a human invention borne out of Mohammed's successful social gamble. The binary opposite of that is obvious but crucial to the representation of the Other. It is Christianity or rather Catholicism whose origin is in God.

The Mohammedans may rejoice in their trustworthiness in one sphere however. Quoting his humorous uncle Pa, Frank narrates,

> ... we all have arses that have to be wiped and no man escapes that. ... Hitler, Roosevelt and Churchill all wipe their arses. De Valera, too. He says the only people you can trust in that department are the Mohammedans for they eat with one hand and wipe with the other. [McCourt 1997:283]

Never mind that the Mohammedans are distinguished from the Western world by nothing but the way they wipe their arses, a quality that can hardly be a source of pride. The Mohammedans however appear to be the deviants as they fail to share even what unifies such (seemingly?) diverse people like Hitler, Roosevelt, Churchill and De Valera. Perhaps one should stress what unites those men rather than what sets them apart. Various options are open to our imagination here: They are Christians, White, Western, Civilised?, and never forget, and none of them are terribly scrupulous as to which hand they use to ...

Among the Others, the Buddhists, can celebrate at least one friend in Limerick. This is Mr. Timoney who was once in India and was married to an Indian women. He now has designs on his house-keeper.

> ... he tried to turn her into a Buddhist, which he said he was himself and the Irish would be much better off in general if they sat under a tree and watched the Ten Commandments and the Seven Deadly Sins float down the Shannon and far out to sea. [McCourt 1997:198-199]

Flattering as it may seem for the Buddhists, however, this is hardly a cause for celebration. Mr Timoney's kind words are no great praise as he is "off in the head" anyway, after years of fighting with the British army in India. Indeed, does not one have to be "off in the head" to praise Buddhism at the expense of the Ten Commandments and the Seven Deadly Sins in this setting?

India is not only a favourite place for serving with the English army, it is also, for McCourt, an arena for appropriating women with red dots on their foreheads. The invasion of India and the appropriation of women run through the text as legitimate pursuits within the order of things, a way to escape the crushing poverty to be found at the mouth of the Shannon. Frank was told about this strategy by Paddy, whose uncle Peter

> was in India in the English army and they have a photo of him standing with a group of soldiers with their helmets and guns and bandoliers around their chests and there are dark men in uniform who are Indians and loyal to the King. [McCourt 1997:181]

Thanks to the English army, Paddy, too, will soon be able to partake in the delight of that country.

> ... he can't wait to grow up and be fourteen so that he can run away and pass for seventeen and join the English army and go to India where it's nice and warm and he'll live in a tent with a dark girl with the red dot on her forehead. [McCourt 1997:132]

Paddy's plans are revisited by Frank later the text.

> Paddy goes on again about running away and winding up in India in a silken tent with the girl with the red dot and the curry and the figs and he's making me hungry even if I am stuffed with apples and milk. [McCourt 1997:P181]

A salient image of India is that it is a country whose dark people are lacking in national sentiment and common direction. Hence, the attraction of cheerfully serving the English Crown. Most of all, however, India is a place of chaos, where “runaways” from the bottom of the metropolitan class hierarchy can work and partake of its spoils. At this point in the text, this wish will soon be within reach of Frank: he is thirteen, but he can pass for seventeen.

Frank's dream will be realised when, one day,

> He [Paddy] says he'll write me a letter and when he's over there and I can come to India and have my own girl with a red dot. [McCourt 1997:183]

Tellingly, Frank is confident that his lower class origin will not hamper his intended exploits in India. After all, it is India, not England he is going to.

> What's the red dot for, Paddy?
> It shows they're high class, the quality.

> But, Paddy, would the quality in India talk to you if they knew you were from the Lane in Limerick and had no shoes? Course they would, but the English quality wouldn't. The English quality wouldn't give you the steam of their piss. [McCourt 1997:182]

In addition to its women, who are ready for appropriation by the westerners, India as a place of Other has other attractions.

> There are birds honking over our heads. Paddy says they're ducks or geese or something on their way to Africa where it's nice and warm. The birds have more sense that the Irish. They come to the Shannon for their holidays and then they go back the warm places, maybe even India. [McCourt 1997:182]

The warmth of the place of the Other however may disguise some undesirable elements awaiting the Limerick young men. Nonetheless, the dream continues,

> ... he'll live in a tent with a dark girl with the red dot on her forehead and he'll be lying there eating figs, that's what they eat in India, figs, and she'll cook the curry day and night and plonk on a ukelele. [McCourt 1997:133]

Monotony is far from being the only ugly attribute of the unpalatable food of the Other, however. The futility of figs and plonk is obvious, but that of curry is much worse. It is verified by the stink of the lavatory buckets of curry eaters in the Lane in Limerick:

> In warm weather we run to close the door all day because we know which families have the worst buckets. There are families whose fathers have jobs and if they get into the habit of cooking with curry we know their buckets will stink to the heavens and make us sick. Now with the war on and men sending money from England more and more families are cooking with curry and our house is filled with the stink day and night. We know the families with the curry, we know the ones with the cabbage. [McCourt 1997:241]

Still, the Other may share some elemental denominators with the people of Limerick. This potential connection is reflected in Frank's examination of his brother's blood in front of a dead dog, but it is a weak one.

> Malachy has dog blood and the dog has Malachy blood. I pull Mr. MacAdorey's hand. I tell Malachy has blood like the dog.
> Oh, he does, indeed Francis. Cats have it too. And Eskimos. All the same blood. [McCourt 1997:12]

Instead of such connections, the physical ineptitude of the Other, that distinguishes the Other from what he knows is stressed again and again. It is the idleness, laziness and imprudence of the Other that make "India and Africa and other desperate places" (McCourt 1997:329) a perfect exile for indolent young boys. Thus, upon their poor performance at school, Frank and his class were threatened with banishment by a teacher because they,

> are a disgrace to Ireland and her long sad history, that we'd be better off in Africa praying to a Bush or tree. He tells us we're hopeless, the worst class he ever had for First Communion... but he'll beat the idler out of us and the Sanctifying Grace into us. [McCourt 1997:130]

The place of the Other, surely, levies less demands than the Limerick schools. Lacking coherence and populated with underachievers, it is a fit home for the failures of metropolitan society.

A glimpse of that illogical world is portrayed in one of the bedtime stories told to Frank.

> Everyone in the story is a different colour and everything is upside down and backward.... Sharks sit in trees and giant salmon sport with kangaroos on the moon. Polar bears wrestle with elephants in Australia and penguins teach Zulus how to play bagpipes. [McCourt 1997:239]

This physical and conceptual ineptitude in turn inspires a particular sort of Irish benevolence. Frank might "not know his arse from his elbow" (p.129) but he is certainly sure that if "[you are] not a Catholic then [you are] doomed and so [you] can do anything [you] bloody like" (p.129). This is the fate of "millions of Chinese and other heathens [who will be]

winding up in hell with Protestants" (p.163). Thus, Others are objects of pity even for the pitiable. The image of the “black baby” as the doomed Other most worthy of being saved nicely epitomises this sensibility in the Irish imagination. The Irish God dictates unmercifully that unbaptized babies are condemned to remain in Limbo, which is "dark, forever and no hope of escape even on the Judgement Day" (p.205). The First Communion is a good occasion for collecting money for these otherwise doomed innocents. Frank is caught in between, as his teachers in the school in Limerick thinks that he and his fellow pupils have other priorities.

> They'll go from house to house in their little suits like beggars for The Collection. And will they take any of that money and send it to the little black babies in Africa? Will they think of these little pagans doomed forever for lack of baptism..? Limbo is packed with little black babies flying around and crying for their mothers because they'll never be admitted to the ineffable presence of Our Lord. [McCourt 1997:131]

The spiritual deficiency of the Other, however, is secondary to the theme of the moral ineptitude of Others to which McCourt repeatedly refers in the text. Black babies grow up into treacherous, ungrateful natives and outright cannibals. In case, he is in doubt, Frank has the opportunity to learn directly about the relationships between the charitable giver and the mean receiver.

> She (teacher) waddles to the a table and brings back the head of a black boy with kinky hair, big eyes, huge lips and an open mouth. She tell me put the sixpence in the mouth and take my hands before the black boy bites me.. I drop in the sixpence and pull my hand back before the mouth snaps shut..
> I don't want to stay in this place where Mrs O'Connor can't take the sixpence herself instead of letting me nearly lose my hand in the black boy's mouth. [McCourt 1997:157-158]

Such distorted, even grotesque, physical qualities are the *sin qua non* of Otherhood. Thus, the Africans come with "kinky hair, huge red lips and open mouths" (p.157) and the Indians of Brazil with "green noses and puce shoulders" (p.16). The soulless Chinese have their peculiar physical

imperfections too, as a logical consequence of their moral decrepitude. Commenting on one piece of their "morally corrupting" literature in Limerick's public library, Frank was sternly informed,

> This is disgraceful. Filth. No wonder the Chinese are the way they are. but what could you expect of slanty eyes and yellow skin and you, now that I look at you, have a bit of the slanty eye yourself. [McCourt 1997:355]

Not surprisingly, those who are mistaken for foreigners in Limerick are avoided, even by members of their own family.

> Uncle Tom has his wife, Jane, with him. She is from Galway and people say she has the look of a Spaniard and that's why no one in the family talks to her. [McCourt 1997:93]

This supposed physical imperfection of the Other taps into the lo ng–standing binary opposition of nature/culture. This imperfection is bound to be enduring and beyond redemption and recovery.

Frequency and Classification of Representation

In the next section, I will present a Table of reference to the Other. Entries are then classified into Positive, Negative and Neutral (reference to weather excluded).

Table 1: Reference to the Other

Entries	Positive	Negative	Neutral
India/Indians	2	12	3
Hindu/ Buddhism	2	0	0
Africa/ Africans	0	11	0
Black baby	0	6	2
Black	0	3	0
Brazil	0	1	0
Chinese	0	4	0
Jews	0	1	2
Mohammedans	0	2	1
Eskimos	0	0	1
Total	4	40	9

Clearly, the Other is predominantly associated with negative attributes. The text systematically evokes images connected to unprovoked hostility, aggression, subordination, inferiority, dirtiness, ill health, poverty, starvation, ugliness, and moral and spiritual damnation, to name but a few.

Conclusion

This article examines how the Other features in *Angela's Ashes.* I have confined my discussion to Others commonly associated with the countries of the south. As the article shows, the Other is represented in a very negative way. Surprisingly, many of the images of the Other in McCourt's book are still widely prevalent within the present Irish Media and literary work. Half a century seems to have changed little.

Apologists might contemplate a scenario in which the fight against unfair representation takes two stages. Firstly, the problem has to be exposed and this is what McCourt's book is partially about. Secondly, the problem must be unpacked and challenged and, perhaps, this is the duty which McCourt leaves to the scholars. Such a scholarly challenge is necessary because the racist discourse in McCourt's book still too often passes uncontested. *Angela's Ashes* is littered with the depiction of the

Others as dirty, aggressive, hungry, uncivil, ugly, untrustworthy, and morally inept, artistically rendered as authentic dialogue. Such representations are meant to evoke hostile feelings—fear, anxiety, threat, disgust and hatred. Indeed, the partial identification with darker Others, and the insistence on their own superiority with respect to such Others, is a main index of both the oppression of the Lane People in 1930s Limerick and their collusion with a colonial/imperialist hierarchization of the world that is still with us. At this level, then, McCourt cannot pretend that he was simply and honestly reproducing old narratives. This is what I described as a futile tendency to use the discursive formation of his early childhood as an alibi. If representation denotes/connotes the active creation of meanings, then it can only be so at the time of the discourse exists rather than the era in which the incident or history was made. The current "Refugee Crisis" highlights that the racist discourse that McCourt's book faithfully records and renders into Art, far from being a relic of the thirties, is still with us today.

There is no doubt that McCourt's book successfully exposes the extreme oppression which he and others endured in Limerick. For that, McCourt deserves our praise. Nonetheless, in so doing, he employed the same oppressive discourse vis-a-vis the Other. Consequently, the book becomes an active voice in the reproduction of the same discourse which the author is trying to contest.

ADRIATIC SEA
TRST
VENEZIA
RIJEKA
CRIKVENICA
POREC
ROVINJ
PULA
CRES
RAB
MALI LOŠINJ
SILBA
KARLOBAG
ZADAR
NOVIGRAD
ŠIBENIK
SPLIT
MAKARSKA
PLOČE
HVAR
VIS
VELA LUKA
KORČULA
UBLI
DUBROVNIK
HERCEGNOVI
ANCONA

THE CUPOLAED STONE SHELTERS AND ABODES—On the Palaeo-Mediterranean Heritage in the East-Adriatic Area

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Traditional folk architecture abounds in regional specific qualities, conditioned by the geomorphologic characteristics, the climate, the vegetation, historical and socio-cultural factors, the economic base, and the continuity of traditional expression.

In south-eastern Europe, in the part of the Balkan Peninsula that opens to the Mediterranean by the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, we can observe a specific way of constructing residential and religious objects and out-houses made of dry, stacked stone. The simplest example of such arrangements are the partition-walls erected between the cultivated plots, olive groves and vineyards—known there as *gromace, suhozidine*.

In the Mediterranean karst environment such dry stone walls on terraced slopes that descend towards the sea or its closer hinterland, interlaced like the spider web, provide for the almost surreal picture of harmony of sun, sea, stone and green oases so characteristic for this climate.

Frequently, either beside these *gromace* or as independent objects in space, the round, cupola-domed stone houses of the entirely archaic form and construction technique can be found. On the islands and along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea such buildings are disposed from the South-East to the North-West. They extend from the Montenegrin Littoral to the outermost borders of the Istrian Peninsula, the borders of the latter abut upon the hilly tracts of the Alpine massif. Since the beginning of the 20th century several authors have drawn attention to these constructions as being characteristic of the region. Unfortunately, they have become the object of the more serious interest and research only at the time when their numbers have been severely decreasing and building has almost ceased.

The geographical extent of the archaeological finds and scanty written sources about these buildings indicate that their origins may be sought in the primitive one-room abodes of the Palaeo-Mediterranean period. From that period onwards some basic methods of the building of these edifices have been preserved, for instance the circular or unsymmetrical rectangular ground-plan, the dry-stone technique, the stone-slab cover, as well as some elements in the construction, such as

the wall, the door and the vault in the form of the "irregular cupola." The designs of these buildings have mostly been conditioned by the economic status of their users in a given region or microregion, by the size and the quality of construction and their function in a space—they have been used as temporary or seasonal shelters and as depots of small agricultural tools but, only rarely, as a residential space.

The recent dry stone buildings in the East-Adriatic area are known under different names. It is very difficult to establish the etymology of these names having in mind that this area has inherited numerous and various influences originating in different cultures and peoples. The most widespread names are the *bunja* (in Dalmatia) and the *kazun* (in Istria), while some other names have been recorded only locally: *trim* (the isle of Hvar), *casita* (Istria), *hiska* and *koca* (Slovenia), *poljarica*, *vosik*. However, regardless of their names the basic elements of these buildings are uniform in the entire area.

The wall is erected with stones laid down in bi-annular rows with the inner diameter of the circle between 1,5 m and 3 m. Gravel is used to fill a space between the two walls circa 80 cm. The door aperture faces the climatically most favourable cardinal point (South, West), its height is between 90 cm and 130 cm, and its width between 60 cm and 80 cm. The "irregular cupola" then continues over the wall: the slab-like rings are laid down in spiral rows with the smaller diameter in each row towards the top where the construction is completed by a single covering slab. In this variant the wall and the vault appear as an uninterrupted edifice and the entire object resembles a cone.

In another variant, the stone is hewn to a greater degree yet the transition from wall to cupola is much more apparent. The slabs are horizontally disposed in rows and are made narrower towards the top. There are smaller differences in the construction of the cupola and the partial filling of the empty space by the gravel as compared to the first type. Differences are also visible as regards the sharpness or distortion of the cone. If its base is rectangular the interior is nevertheless round, while one or more cones can be observed on the exterior of the building.

In the inside there are several small stone blocks used as seats and placed around the open ground level improvised hearth. The door is usually the only aperture in the building but sometimes there are one or two smaller rectangular apertures used as windows (15 cm x 20 cm).

The basic type (I), therefore, is of the round ground-plan and appears in several variants:

A) The vault is constructed in the shape of the cone without the visible transition from the wall to the cupola

B) The wall with the transition to the vault covered with minute materials

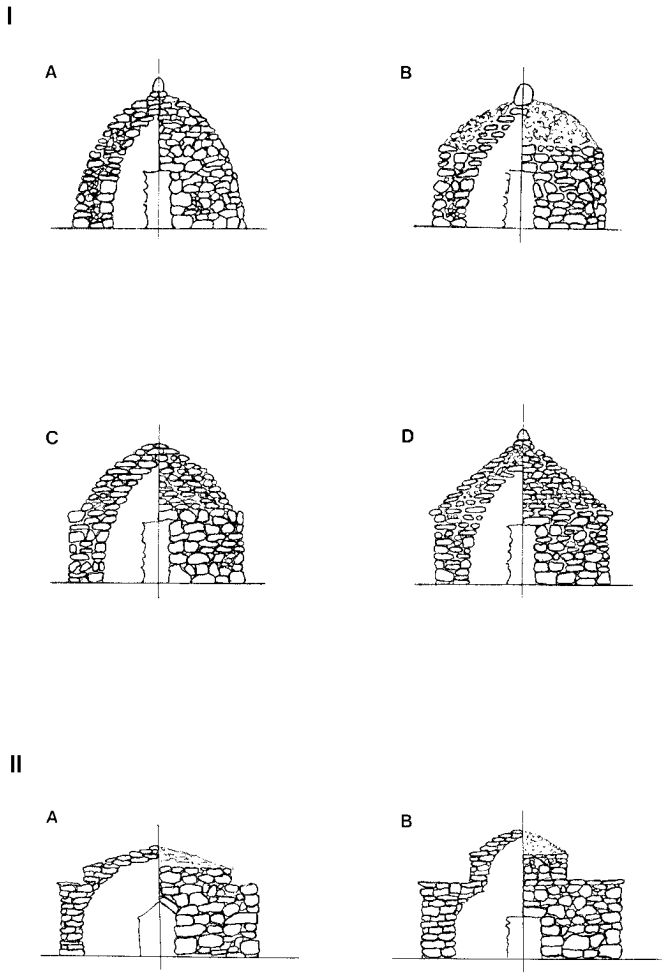
C) Visible transition to the cupolaed vault made of stone slabs

D) The vault in the form of the cone

The second type (II) has the rectangular exterior layout and the round interior layout:

A) The rectangular ground-plan with the door (lintel) in the form of a triangle

B) The rectangular ground-plan with the an annular cupola



As visible from the typology and the attached drawings, there are two types of construction in evidence. However, it is also necessary to pay attention to some differences in the design and the static construction of the door. Namely, along with the obvious difference in the ground-plan disposition there are also two designs of the entrance space:

A) The lintel is a monolithic, horizontally laid stone architrave while the jambs are two vertically placed stone blocks.

B) The lintel, as the relieving element, is made of two coarsely cut stones, aslant and triagonally leaning against each other at the top while at the bottom these stones lean against several arranged stone blocks.

Such typological innovations and designs suggest different traditions in construction that have been present in this relatively small area since prehistoric time.

The cupolaed stone constructions, with similar architectural characteristics, but for a different use have been known elsewhere. They have been interpreted as remnants from the Megalithic period, partially also observed in the sacral architecture, especially sepulchral and cultic shrines outside the Mediterranean cultural complex.

This tradition was confirmed on the isles of Paxos and Antipaxos in the Ionian Sea, resembling the Mycenaean *tholi*. In traces it was confirmed in Sardinia under the names of the *nouraghi* and the *tombe di giganti*, and in Malta where the names are the *hagia kim* and *la giganta*. The *talajot* in the Balearic Islands and the *baracca* in the isle of Menorca also resemble the Sardinian constructions. Sporadically, they can also be found in the Pyrenean Peninsula.

In France, in the in the provinces of Provence, Perigord and Bonnieux, mostly in the wine-growing districts, a large number of the cadastrally processed and protected stone houses, called the *bories*, strikingly resemble the annular east-Adriatic *bunje*. Similar constructions were found in north-western Europe, for instance in the West of Ireland (particularly counties Kerry and Galway) where they were used as eremite shelters in the Middle Ages. There is evidence for their existence in Scotland and on the Shetland and Orkney Islands and, according to some data, in Sweden as well.

Particularly interesting are the so-called *trudhi*, *specchie* or *trulli* in Central and Southern Italy. In the provinces of Abruzzi, Puglia-Apulia and Calabria similar objects are used in residential purposes even today. In the town of Allborello people still persist in the preservation of the *trulli* that make the core of the Rione Monti settlement and represent a tourist attraction of a kind. This appreciation stands in marked contrast to how this architectural heritage on the east-Adriatic coast has been treated, where only in the last decade has attention been paid to the preservation of the remaining *bunje* and *kazuni*. Active research projects are currently registering and cataloguing these structures on the Istrian Peninsula.

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Neil Jarman. *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland*. Oxford and New York: Berg 1997. Pp x + 290 photographs, bibliography and index. ISBN 1 85973 124 4 Cloth; 1 85973 129 5 paper.

In a year when parades have been the focus for major controversy, Neil Jarman could scarcely have chosen a better moment to publish a study of parades. His book gives an account of parades for the last 300 years, drawn mainly from the Belfast and Dublin newspapers. He buttresses this with ethnographic field research, mainly in Belfast, and he looks at the visual accoutrements of parades, the banners, arches and murals.

In the eighteenth century, he argues, processions by the great and the good were intended to impress the lower classes with their might and majesty. Both the state and the city corporations held regular processions, as did, from the 1720s, the Order of Freemasons. In the later eighteenth century, parades became a major feature of the Volunteer militias, and more generally they became part of popular culture.

Important to this evolving picture was the figure of King William. From soon after the victory at the Boyne, Williamite anniversaries provided occasions for stately perambulation. By the mid-eighteenth century, King William was a popular figure, for example, giving the title "Orange" to Belfast"s Masonic lodge. This symbolism was unfortunately dogged by a deadly ambiguity. For the Establishment, and no doubt for Belfast"s Freemasons, King William was the opponent of Catholic absolutism, champion of constitutional, almost republican freedoms. But for many in Ireland, William symbolised defeat and repression. Despairing of William"s capacity symbolically to unify the population, Dublin Castle eventually tried to divert the population towards celebrating St Patrick on 17 March. By 1822, therefore, processions on St Patrick"s Day, were a well-established custom, and King William had become simply a Protestant hero.

With the foundation of the Orange Order in 1795, processions commemorating King William became more popular, especially among the rural Protestant poor. As the nineteenth century progressed, however, not only Orangemen, but also Ribbonmen and Freemasons held processions, each of them trying, sometimes with violence, to discourage the processions of their rivals. For long periods in the nineteenth century, parading was declared illegal, and it was not until 1872 that the right to process was finally established.

From 1872, Orange Order processions lost at least some of their casual violence and became a more formalised and stolid expression of Protestant solidarity against the threat of Home Rule. They were popu-

lar not only among the working classes but also among the middle class and gentry. Such was the appeal of the Orange Order that after partition in 1921, the Twelfth of July became virtually a state occasion celebrating the dominance of a Protestant people in a Protestant state. Protestant opposition to the Twelfth, found not among only sections of the middle class and gentry but also importantly among fundamentalists, remained muted. After a heyday between the wars, the popularity of the loyal orders sank somewhat, and it took the Troubles of the late 1960s to revive their fortunes.

The book also considers the parades of Catholic and nationalists, from those of the Ribbonmen in the early nineteenth century, through the more conservative Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Irish National Foresters at the end of the century, to the Republican parades of the present day. These processions, he says, were confined by Protestant mobs and authorities alike to geographical areas of Catholic preponderance. He also examines in tantalizing brevity the parades of the Freemasons whom he sees as a fading but worthy beacon of non-sectarianism. And he looks at the Civil Rights marches of the late 1960s.

The book looks rather exclusively at controversial parades, especially those of nationalists and loyalists, and one wonders if this does not somewhat distort the picture. In the late 1840s, at a temporary restoration of the legality of parading, he gives a glimpse of the processions of the "Freemasons, Ribbonmen, Thrashers or Repealers," the Belfast Teetotal Societies, the Independent Tent of Rechabites, Dr Spratt's Teetotalers and Father Mathew's Benevolent Society." By the Great War, however, this trickle of parading bodies had become a river. Now there were Shepherds, Good Templars, Boys Brigade, Catch My Pal, Catholic sodalities, trade unions and countless others. One would like to have seen more of a mention of these groups. Why, for example, is there no mention of the great Corpus Christi processions which annually halted the traffic in Belfast"s Falls Road? Orange processions may have been the most conspicuous of Ulster"s parades, but they were also the least typical.

Jarman considers how processions, arches and murals are used to define territory. Arches—early ones were floral and sometimes consisted of little more than a string of flowers across a road—were widely used at both official and non-official demonstrations in Ireland from at least the eighteenth century. Interestingly, he sees the painting of murals—which began in Belfast in the early twentieth century—as an extension of that of building arches. Both arches and murals, he says, define a territory

ethnically, and in some cases, therefore, the raising of an arch or the painting of a mural has been an occasion for riot.

Looking at the territorial significance of the parades themselves, he relies on ethnographic observation especially on Belfast's Sandy Row. Not only do parades give definition to contentious areas, but also they create a symbolic unification of the "county" as the diverse lodges and districts come together in a single unified parade. He suggests that the cycle of Orange parades over a period of years symbolically defines the whole province as both united and Protestant, since scarcely a town or village is excluded from at least an occasional Orange procession. Perhaps this analysis makes an over-simple assumption that to parade through an area implies that the area "belongs" to the people who parade. Processions of Boy Scouts, for example, have taken place annually in most Ulster towns and villages for much of this century. But if an Orange procession defines a territory as "belonging" to the Protestants, why does not a procession of Boy Scouts define an area as "belonging" to the Scouts? Another aspect of the processions is religion. This is discussed most closely in a very thorough analysis of different kinds of banner. It might have been good to see more mention of the rituals which gives so much meaning to what is displayed on banners, arches and murals. It would have been good too to have seen a fuller description of the qualitative difference between the Twelfth of July processions and the more sober "church parades." At least some of the heat generated over disputed parades in 1996-97 arose from attempts to stop church parades which Orangemen have seldom seen as triumphalist or territory-defining. It is easy, however, to quibble over a topic so familiar and controversial. Jarman"s book gives an excellent account of the controversial parades of Ireland, showing how the pattern of parading has changed quite drastically over three hundred years. His study is important for it shows how parades are not an immutable part of "Ulster tradition," but that they have been subject to change.

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Aretxaga, Begona *Shattering the Silence, Women, Nationalism, and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland*, Princeton University Press, 1997.

Shattering the Silence as a title appeared a bit too presumptuous for my taste, but as I read on I was filled with a sense that the title was well

earned . This book is an ethnographic account of nationalist working class women in Catholic West Belfast. In Aretxaga's own words it is about 'the gender structure of politics and the political structuring of gender'. It concerns itself with the formation of gendered political subjects. It asks the question what are the possibilities and limits of feminist change within the constraints of social and political power? As a case-study of republican women, at the substantive level, it adds the Irish dimension to the international body of knowledge on women's involvement in conflict and the formation of gendered political identities. However, it does more that this. At the theoretical level it is informed by, and in turn informs, contemporary debates in postcolonial and gender studies as it works through narratives on women's agency and identity formations to uncover the gendered metaphors of resistance and the female embodiment of that resistance. In short, Aretxaga uncovers the personal/political dynamic of resistance to military practices of the state.

Aretxaga's own personal narrative, being born in the Basque Country to a poor and a single parent, places her in a strong position to interpret the diversity of negotiations that arise when gender identity and the formation of political identities intersect and she has a vocational interest in articulating the construction of agency in the everyday lives of women. She, following De Certeau (1984), wishes to analyse these as spaces for the workings of transformation, 'the opening and foreclosures of social space for political intervention'. For her, republican nationalist women in Belfast occupy the complex space of marginal oppositional practices and she wishes to explore the configuration and experience of their 'praxis' for its conditions of possibility and its transformative capacity. Transformative capacity is looked for in the realm of the voice, the discourse of these women and through use, intentional or otherwise, of transgressive symbol. Transformation success is looked for in the disruption of dominant representations and dominant knowledges.

It is this definition of transformation that allows her analysis to bypass the pessimism of the 80's feminist critique of the activism of such women as fundamentally untransformative in that it did nothing to tackle gender inequalities. As Linda Edgerton had conceptualised it, women were excellent at public protest but accepted the gender ideology which produced domestic acquiescence. Aretxaga refutes this on the basis that their activism as mothers and sisters infused dominant gender discourse with new dimensions. Expanding, or pushing out, gender signifiers in a context of marginality (as Catholic and as working class in

Northern Ireland) is seen as a disruption of gender relations which produces a potentially transformative space.

From there the book moves into politics of historical legitimacy and looks on the gendered dimension to the imprisoned republicans. She continues with her argument of transformative spaces being created, but next focuses on their creation through the transgressive power of making visible menstrual blood. The inescapable presence of the women's menstrual blood on the walls in the Armagh women's 'dirty protest' is seen as transgressive. The Armagh women took part in the dirty protest in sameness with the men (they had consciously rejected gender as a differential factor previous to this), but engaging in this form of protest gave rise to a marking of their difference through the signifier of menstrual blood.

> That is while their political identity as members of the IRA entailed a cultural desexualization and the dirty protest entailed a personal defeminization , at a deeper level the exposure of menstrual blood subverted this process by radically transforming the asexual bodies of girls into the sexualized bodies of women. In so doing the menstrual blood became a symbol through which gender identity was reflected, pushing to the surface what had been otherwise erased. (p138)

She moves on to unfold the debate about the politics of gender among republicans and feminists as it opened up and she concludes with the argument that martyrdom in the North has ceased to be a male monopoly. She argues that it has changed its meaning in that it has been engendered as represented in the leadership figure of Mairead Farrell.

Problems as I encountered them were that, first, the author never tries to escape from a romantic view of women in the republican movement, leaving us no critical perspective on resistance or on the militarisation of women. Secondly, her quest for transformative spaces while valuable (and of course so fashionable in academia of the nineties) leads to a frantic discursive invention of transformation, which bears little relevance to transformation in the space of the polity. I was uncomfortable too with the argument that because women were added into the equation of resistance, conflict and open warring that this was transformative, according to her definition. Of course at the discursive level, at the level of representations, inclusion of women disrupts dominant discourses, but my definition of transformation would try to

hold on to some notion of advance or progress as in the pursuit of an engendered radical democracy. Also, I would have liked a lot more primary data and that this data was investigated more thoroughly for its inconsistencies and contradictions and that interviews were engaged in a way that uncovered nuances. These are not, of course, the same problems that would emerge for other readers. Neither are they meant to take from the importance of the book as a landmark in breaking silences around particular Republican women. Rather, I hope these remarks encourage debate on this book which is an indispensable and fascinating read for those who are interested in the analysis of political conflict through the lens of gender or in the formation of gendered political identities.

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Ireland has changed at a rapid pace in the past thirty years. The image of rural Ireland that Eamon De Valera incorporated into the 1937 Constitution appears now to represent a place in a distant past. Compared to "developed" nation-states in Europe, or indeed compared to Britain and the United States of America, Ireland was proclaimed a "Third World Country." Now economists are being asked to explain the phenomenon called the "Celtic Tiger." What has caused this sudden economic boom, and most importantly in relation to rural Ireland, what are its consequences? More to the point, does "rural Ireland" exist any more? The purpose of this gathering is to stimulate discussion around questions that tackle the uneasy relationship between tradition and modernity, rurality and urbanity, nation and state, regionality and transnationality in the last decade of the twentieth century.

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