

CULTURE, SPACE,
AND
REPRESENTATION

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Culture, Space, and Representation: Selected Papers from the Autumn Meetings of the Anthropological Association of Ireland, held at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth 12-13 December, 1997

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Introduction: Culture, Space, and Representation

A Special Edition of the Irish Journal of Anthropology

These papers represent the proceedings of a conference held under the auspices of the Anthropological Association of Ireland at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, from the 12th to the 14th of December, 1997. While the Irish Journal of Anthropology has historically published individual contributions from AAI conferences, the editors (who also were the co-organisers of this event), felt that the quality and thematic connection of the papers at these meetings were such that a special edition of the Journal was justified. A combination of factors, however, from the academic duties of the editors to the sheer logistics of coordinating contributions from authors several thousand miles apart, delayed the publication of this work. The editors wish to thank those who made this conference a success (particularly the student members of the AAI), and to acknowledge the forbearance of the contributors to this volume in the face of seemingly interminable delays.

These papers address an issue of growing importance in Anthropology in particular and of the social sciences in general, that is, the theoretical role of space in the analysis of culture. At one level, of course, analyses of space and culture have been interconnected for a long time. Cultural constitutions of the landscape, for example, have enjoyed a long-standing, if sporadic, anthropological interest, going back to Boas' (1934) observation that place-names are social constructions par excellence. This tradition is continued at present in such work as Basso (1992, 1996). More generally, though, a theoretical analysis of space, stressing contestation, historicity, and the conditions of the possibility of certain structures, has emerged in the discipline in the last fifteen years or so as an important theoretical lens with which to examine the relationship(s) between power and culture, to rethink the simple equation of *culture = order*, and to understand the mechanics of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic practices (see the various contributors to Gupta and Ferguson 1997).

These trends owe much of their modern impetus to the multi-faceted work of Henri Lefebvre (1973 (trans 1991)), and his English-language interpreters, such as David Harvey (1989), and Edward Soja (1990, 1996). They also owe much to the work of Michel Foucault and the myriad studies to which his oeuvre has given rise. The papers in this volume bear the marks of these interests, but they also advance them, making important contributions to debates about space in the social sciences beyond anthropology. In the process, they highlight just how

fruitful the current overlap between the analyses of space and culture can be for a wide variety of disciplines.

Most of the papers in this collection examine various aspects of Irish culture. In many ways, they move forward a trend in ethnographic analysis of Ireland, away from an emphasis on ostensibly bounded local and traditional social structures, either suddenly adapting to (modernizing), or failing to meet the challenge of (declining), in the face of recently changing circumstances, and towards an ethnography of Irish culture that stresses history, contestation, and extra-local structures as integral parts of the analysis. Clearly, this way of thinking lacks the easy temporal watersheds of an older paradigm of culture change—the before-and-after binaries at the heart of modernization theory or those theories discontented with modernity. This more sophisticated theorizing of time, however, can easily mask the fundamentally different appreciation of space embedded in this same thinking. In all the papers analyzing Irish data in this collection, space is much more than the dead hand of the past, a container of traditional activities, structures, and sentiments, awaiting the arrival of *History* to spring the mold. Instead, space is understood by these authors as a social dynamic in its own right: changed geography and social relationships—from the urban built environment to the technical needs of capitalist distribution—rework the possibilities of Irish traditional music (Dillane); the nineteenth-century landscape is viewed in Lefebvre's terms both as a space of contestation and a contested space (Ó Cadhla); the tellurian presence of death on the Irish landscape brought about by the disaster of the Famine existing outside of History, only historically so, constitutes eldritch potencies connected to memorial spaces (McClellan), and the symbolic constitution of the space for traditional performance is the precondition of both community solidarity and inter-generational rivalry (Ó Laoire).

This sort of reconceptualisation of space in Irish ethnography and related fields has been proceeding along separate paths, towards similar objectives, for some years (Whelan 1992, Slater 1993, MacCana 1988, Hannan 1988, among others). In retrospect, the surprising thing about this emphasis is that there is not more of it, and, further, that there have been few attempts to chart its development across several disciplines. It is surprising because, for a very long time in Ireland—from Elizabethan inquisitions into the legal titles of holdings through Cromwellian ravages in the countryside to post-Union mapping, schooling, and population disciplining projects, the (re)organization of space and the domination of a population was seen to be fundamentally interrelated by colonial regimes in Dublin Castle and London. Nowhere

in Ireland, however, did this sort of project encounter a cultural *tabula rasa*. Instead, vibrant local appreciations of space and time exerted a strong, sometimes determining, influence on the institutions that were given the task of colonizing and modernizing a recalcitrant periphery. Irish ethnography has only recently taken these issues as central to the analysis of Irish culture, as evident in the work of Taylor (1995) and Saris (1996), among others. In this collection, Ó Cadhla's work deserves a special mention in this regard. Adroitly using some recent thinking in postcolonial studies, he imaginatively reanalyses data from nineteenth-century Ireland, specifically the grand mapping project of the Ordnance Survey as well as knowledge about the island and its inhabitants generated by the emerging disciplines of Ethnology, Folklore and Anthropology, in delineating what might be called the architectonics of domination. Ó Cadhla's central concern in this work is not the sterile categorical question of Revisionist historians—Was Ireland a colony?—(e.g., Foster 1989, 1993). Instead, our theoretical attention is redirected towards how knowledge, power, space, and meaning combine in specific ways to make and remake a particular colonial encounter.

Alongside these papers on Ireland are similar analyses of other European data, specifically from Germany and Spain. Maddox, for example, in an interesting reading of the Expo '92 in Seville, makes the case that this exhibition with universal pretensions both structured, and became the unwilling site for, the interplay between a portmanteau of regional, national and transnational social forces. The sensibility that he sees as the guiding force behind the Expo, *cosmopolitan liberalism* which imagines itself the same everywhere, mediating in a similar enlightened fashion similar *structures of difference*, stumbles on the hurdles of regional identities, national politics, and transnational capitalism (alongside some of the resistances this formation calls into being) within this setting (see also Harvey 1996). In this fashion, Maddox's work follows a long line of looking at the created spaces of Universal Exhibitions as useful lens with which to examine social processes and cultural desires and anxieties (de Cauter 1993, Fogelson 1991, Saris in press, among others). However, he inflects his analysis of Expo '92 towards teasing out the spaces in which Spanish desires and anxieties concerning *Europeanness* had the opportunity to develop and conflict. Subsequent developments in the political-economic integration of Europe argue that the relevance of Maddox's thinking extend well beyond one region of Spain in the early 1990s.

Lastly, in an historical paper, Purdy combines different readings of space in the German participation in, and anxieties about, the development of Europe-wide fashion trends. Weaving together a traditional geographical approach to space in the sense of the development of markets and trade goods diffusion, i.e., contrasting those areas of Germany that received their cultural objects from France as against those who looked towards England, alongside the *imagined* sense of space that was the pre-condition of a pan-European modernity, Purdy charts different appreciations of fashion in a strategic and economically powerful area, containing elites who could not escape the feeling that they were less well-dressed than those inhabiting the epicentres of modern civilisation in Paris and London. In an engaging way, Purdy also delves into this specific form of modern anxiety, a result of a dilemma that one might see as singularly diagnostic of the successful conquest of the body by international capitalism. No matter how speedy the lines of communication and no matter how free the trade in goods, the anxiety that one is dressed badly, even ludicrously, diffuses faster than the means of rectifying the situation. It is at this juncture of desire and anxiety that Purdy finds both the sense of the abstract space in which fashion goods circulate as well as the sense of their fleeting temporality.

Overall, though, perhaps the best praise that one can bestow on the papers in this collection is the observation that their theoretical innovations are driven by detailed ethnographic and/or historical data. These papers answer the promise inherent in ethnography—the commitment to descriptively integrating data coming from human subjects for whom something is at stake, with a dialectical appreciation of structural forces, while articulating the lessons learned within a specific setting to broader issues in the human sciences.

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Paranoid Geography and the European Dispersion of Fashion

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In 1898, the Viennese architect Alfred Loos derided the impossibility of buying in Austria a hat in the style worn at that moment by the British royal family. The Vienna Hatters Association's efforts to create a national style meant that Austrian haberdashers were inevitably lethargic in responding to foreign trends.¹ Loos however insisted in his emphatic yet understated manner: "The correct hat is only sold in London. When the hat I bought in London wore out, I tried to find one here with the 'correct shape.' It was then that I discovered that the English hats sold here do not correspond to those sold in London." His dissatisfaction was prompted by an adherence to the cosmopolitan ideal that all modern men should wear the same style of functionally elegant (English) hat, a desire born of the Enlightenment. This aesthetic standard quietly presumed that national boundaries, local customs, practical obstacles were immaterial when maintaining one's appearance. The restrained style of modernity was acceptable everywhere because it ignored all local claims to beauty. Its universality would not acknowledge to the constraints of distance and delay.

The complaints of Adolph Loos were distinctly modern but they were hardly new. Eighteenth-century Germans were also obsessed with gaining access to what they believed were the well-springs of fashions. Foremost, they wanted to know exactly where the new styles came from? Who invented them? If they settled these questions, they then asked, how did we stand in relation to the center of fashion? Are we close enough to keep up? Are we being left out of the newest trends? Are we really just provincial and does it show? By knowing the origin of fashions, it might be possible to explain why they changed at such a feverish pace? The *Mode Journal* with its monthly bulletins from Paris and London soothed this anxiety while feeding it too. Each issue provided up-to-date information on what was worn abroad and yet readers always worried whether the news was really current. The problem was an old one. Tales about the speed of fashion change were already common even before the advent of modern fashion journals. One famous anecdote told of a young Hamburg merchant who while in London for business decided to buy the exact same suits as the leading English lords wore so that he might impress his colleagues back at home. After two weeks in London he set sail for Germany with a trunk

full of the finest English menswear. The journey back was troublesome though. His ship was forced to weather a ferocious storm in the North Sea by putting in to shore on an island off Scotland for five days. When he made it back to Hamburg and appeared at the Exchange in his new English attire, he was laughed out of the place for wearing last week's fad. The fashion news from England had beaten him across the North Sea.² The point of the story is not that Hamburg stood in close contact with London. The story presumes that the listener identifies with the unfortunate merchant. No matter how much he tries, the story implies, the German merchant is always a few steps behind the center of fashion, even when he has just been there. To make matters worse, he is mocked for being out of style, not because his colleagues are themselves all wearing the very newest from London. They may well have no better clothes of their own and, yet, they recognize the merchant's lack of *ton*.

The concern over whether one was truly in fashion or merely ignorant was entwined with cameralist notions of economic nationalism. The simple opposition "in/out of fashion" was mapped onto an differentiation between a German and a French economy, thereby grounding a discursive operation in economic relations. Since before Thomasius's *Von der Nachahmung der Franzosen* (1687), the distribution of luxury goods in Europe was characterized as a German dependence on France. The perpetuation of this distinction and dependence between national communities assured the belatedness of all fashion trends within the Holy Roman Empire. The economic explanation for this permanent condition was the time it took to import French goods. The Germanic sense of backwardness was produced only when individual travellers—or more importantly, the mail—arrived from Paris, showing that the capital had already adopted another style. The disjuncture in travel time was frequently noted in much the same terms as the following letter to the *Mode Journal*:

The shortest route, by which we receive ladies fashions, runs over Frankfurt and Leipzig. The French merchant packs up the newest fashions in a box, some of which were never worn in Paris, others no one wants to wear anymore. He consigns the whole lot to the barbarians of the North and sends it to the Frankfurt and Leipzig fairs—that already takes time. From there, our merchants bring it to Berlin, but only after another two months have passed. The French industry always sends us fashions which are already old, we phlegmatic Germans receive them months later, and then

take it badly when a foreigner stares at us, thinking he has landed among Vandals, simply because he has travelled more quickly than the goods which make us look like his grandparents.³

This concern for having the most recent fashions was not the simple effect of imperfect market distribution, rather it is an inherent feature of the modern fashion discourse. An acute awareness of temporal and spatial distortions in the distribution of information begins in the eighteenth century. Georg Melchior Kraus wrote in an early issue of the *Mode Journal* how hostile the Parisian fashion merchants were to the fashion monthlies. Merchants relied on the bi-annual *Messe* to introduce their new products, whereas journals were able to introduce stylistic innovations to the reading public every month. The rapid circulation of fashion news through the periodicals destroyed the French merchants' exclusive claim to newness. Kraus wrote: "The Parisian fashion merchants curse and swear at our journal as well as the Parisian one, because we appear every month while they present new fashions only every six months."⁴ Improvements in the distribution of goods were always outpaced by the speed with which information moved through Europe, thus railroads, telegraphs, and steam ships only accentuated an awareness of temporal disjuncture. As Europe "grew smaller," temporal differences in the dissemination of knowledge grew increasingly more significant for the fashionable.

The more cosmopolitan society considered itself, the more disdainful it became of any failure to "keep up." An awareness of distance was an inevitable component of fashion culture's internal mechanism in the eighteenth century. Not only were classes held at a distance from each other, but each strata had its own standards of measurement. At Versailles under Louis XIV, this measure could be almost literally paced out in terms of one's distance from the king's body. In the bourgeois culture of the late eighteenth century the scale of measurement extended over greater distances. For the nobility around Louis XIV, those shut out of Versailles were simply somewhere in oblivion. By the end of the century the map of inclusion and exclusion had been extended to cover large portions of Europe. Distance from a source still determined whether a person belonged to fine society, however new, faster communication allowed the network of fashionable society to incorporate more geographical space than before. The expansion of fashionable society over regions and populations of Europe which had previously been largely outside the elite culture of style gave

many the impression that the new non-aristocratic fashions of bourgeois society were universally accepted as elegant, comfortable, handsome and practical. However, the increased speed of communication and the corresponding expansion of fashion over larger areas also heightened the network's sensitivity to any delay in the transmission of fashion information or its geographical distance from the network's centers. Thus as fashion culture expanded over larger territories and populations ever more attention was given to knowing the intimate, everyday details of life at the center of the network. For those who cared to belong, the further one was from London or Paris the more important it was to receive accurate information about its cultural life.

The failure of an enhanced European network of fashion information to reduce the sense of belatedness and provincialism manifested in German fashion writing was due to the fact that the network was itself an object of fashion knowledge. The "educated consumer" sought to understand the mechanisms of production, distribution, retail sales which, in any other branch of business, would be uninteresting to the non-professional. What ordinary citizen would worry about the process whereby refrigerators were designed and distributed? Yet the fashionable rigorously investigated the infrastructure of their own society, in order to more adroitly participate in its movements. This fascination presumed the existence of a causal chain which could explain the operation of fashion and thus it sought most intensely for what was purported to be the "original moment" of style. As the fashion media became more sophisticated, so that it included greater numbers, by addressing more universal tastes and thereby incorporating more classes, an interest in the source of style became more intense and the gradations between imitation and authenticity became more minute.

Germany at the end of the century lay between two market networks. The French lines of distribution came up the Rhine and the British extended from Hamburg down the Elbe and into the Leipzig Messe. The two systems propagated, according to the *Mode Journal*, two distinct styles of consumption and decoration. "One can count on the fact that one portion of Germany is provided with fashion articles that are more tasteful, elegant, solid, and graceful, while the other has wares that are more delicate, dainty, and frivolous as well as being more stiff and overly ornamental."⁵ The ideological connotations arising from the division between English and French fashions were explained in terms of the physical terrain and the flow of rivers, but they were by no means exhausted by these accounts. That geographical factors conditioned the

expansion of two competing economies, and that these two nations left their distinctive mark on the regions that imported their goods would seem to be a development unrelated to the rhetoric of fashion. Culture is after all conditioned by physical geography. However, the distinction between German states in the north and south is clearly more than a geographical one; it is fraught with the religious and political conflicts which permeate German history. Within the context of fashion and consumption, the north/south, English/French division served as the basis for finer ideological distinctions. However its most remarkable extension was the gendering of these geographical terms.

The distribution of fashion information did coincide with the marketing of commodities, but it also extended far beyond the limited sites where English and French luxury goods were sold. Fashion information penetrated far into the hinterlands of the German principalities, brought there primarily by written accounts, but also abetted by itinerant merchants. Because the condition of being fashionable is a social determination, a judgment formed by consensus, the actual presence of consumer goods was not as important as the belief that one was a participant in the discourse of fashion. Reading journals satisfied this minimal condition and enabled the fantastical participation in a cosmopolitan culture. The reception of international fashion news varied, of course, subject to the specific social relations of the locality. For all its interest in the internationalism and the distantly alluring, fashionable dress and domestic decoration is always practiced in a specific time and place. The well-dressed individual presents himself within the existing network of social relations. Thus, a German may have fantasized about Paris or London when dressing, but he inevitably did so in contrast to, or denial of, his immediate surroundings. His particular conception of foreign elegance was conditioned not only by his (imperfect) knowledge of foreign habits, but also by local relations of power. Commodities might have the aura of having travelled directly from the spring of good taste, but the institutions which formed the social consensus governing good taste mediated the relation between the “original elsewhere” of fashion and its local application. The *Mode Journal* was such an institution, and so were princely residences and Burgermeister’s sitting rooms.

The myth of an urban center within which the newest styles developed and spread organizes modern fashion. The invocation of a landscape, a terrain across which fashions were transported, provides the a stable background, a “being” against which the appearances could be defined and related to each other. The chaos of consumer culture’s

multifarious images and objects was comprehended as a stream whose content is never stable but whose contours and directions were defined by the cultural geography of Europe. The map of fashion allowed one to postulate a pattern of diffusion across time. Clothes worn in Prague or Dresden were even at the moment of their first entry into society somehow derivative merely because they were not moving within Paris or London.

The eighteenth century recognition that social consensus is always determined within a local relations, still insisted that these smaller networks were organized simply as small centers of power which were in turn tied to larger networks. At the end of these interdependent systems, lay an original point.

Just as there is almost always a single primary residence for European fashion, and one point from which it spreads, in the same manner such a point for every state, every province, every city and every class [*Stand*]. In every circle of closely connected people one finds certain leading people, who set the tone, whose choices are communally accepted or whose prestige moves others to emulate their example.⁶

The movement of fashion across its own mythic landscape was explained in terms of a force or drive to imitate. The inclination to dress like others, particularly those admired from afar, was theorized during the late Enlightenment as an inevitable, though often undesirable, component of social life. Emulation was one of the mechanisms by which the social contract maintained its cohesion. Christian Garve explained fashionable behavior by referring to a drive to imitate (*Nachahmungstrieb*) which he claimed operated on the national level as well as on the personal. This drive joined individuals together into groups; it allowed individuals to identify others who were like them or at least useful to them, but in forming groups the urge to imitate also distinguished dissimilar groups from each other.⁷ Garve saw imitation as an operation of the “will” that occurred both unintentionally and through deliberate planning. The first, almost passive form of imitation develops from social intercourse. “People who have daily contact become increasingly like one another. Each person loses certain qualities while acquiring the characteristics of others.”⁸ The second form of imitation involves the deliberate copying of others in order to acquire the values perceived to reside in them. Far from involving just the superficial adoption of another’s appearances, this calculated mode of

imitation could completely retrain the person so that his tastes could be altered even so far that his sensory perceptions would change with time.⁹

Garve constructed his theory of emulation both as an explanation for the disciplined education of civilized individuals as well as a model to explain the diffusion of cultural artefacts and practices across Europe. The movement of fashions across space was related to the malleability of the subject. Garve's account of how emulation could restructure personal desires and tastes is distinct from "disciplinary" models of training, such as those used in schools or the military, because he stresses that fashionable emulation was most effective and attractive when it was "voluntary." This meant that the adoption of etiquette and bodily decor had to proceed, or at least appear to proceed, from the inner desires of the person. Garve contrasts this almost artistic mode of emulation from what he considered to be more typical, mechanical imitation of fashionable individuals. The automatic, unreflective adoption of a style which fails to integrate the addition into the overall organic harmony of the person was for Garve a unfortunate and often repellent practice. He warned of the impoverishment brought onto poorer families that sought to emulate the wealthier classes. In weighing the harms and benefits of fashionable emulation Garve isolated two motives which were directly connected with distinctly different social effects. The urge to distinguish oneself, to cut a striking figure before one's peers, was, for Garve, directly associated with class competition and division, whereas sartorial emulation which was motivated by a desire to conform just for the sake of sociability was far superior. The latter type of emulation is typical, Garve writes, of the businessman who unthinkingly conforms to convention simply so that he might free his thinking and turn his attention to other, more important topics.¹⁰

The objects of imitation, the individuals or nations considered worthy of emulation, are distributed at every level of society. Certain admired "taste-makers" can be found in most communities. They function very much in the same manner as London and Paris do, Garve writes.¹¹ Each person or institution functions as a center for distributing or relaying fashion within a certain sphere of influence. The status of these "taste-makers" depends to a certain extent on their economic, political and cultural status. Garve, like Bertuch, assumed that those countries which set fashion standards did so because of their dominance in other fields. However, their privileged position within fashionable society was also derived from a consensus derived within that community. Garve suggested that the network of fashion emulation

functioned as a social contract or a language community. In either case, fashionable society existed as a collective institution, distinct and separate from government regimes:

These subordinated smaller parties with their ringleaders fall under the influence of the larger ones. The whole system of fashion inventors and stylish people in Europe forms a type of larger state, that operates from a distance with invisible and far-removed rulers. Although it has many subdivisions, the influence of the universal law-givers is unified with the authority of the smaller regents and dynasties.¹²

Garve explicitly refrains from mentioning the aristocracy as “taste-makers,” rather he refers to them simply as innovators, people who are admired for their ability to formulate new and exciting clothes or products. Garve’s careful abstention from naming the aristocracy was typical of the late eighteenth-century fashion discourse; the *Mode Journal’s* reliance on anonymous references to abstract figures, rather than specific historical person, was part of a rhetorical strategy which allowed every reader to assume the imaginary position of the fashionable figure in the text. When Garve writes about “taste-makers” he is presuming the existence of a bourgeois society comprised of individuals, rather than a corporate hierarchy (*Stände*).

Garve’s description of a secret network of fashion creators distributed throughout European society at every level did little to clarify eighteenth-century questions about the origin of fashion, where it came from and how it managed to reshape the appearances in far-flung provinces. Garve’s model, while emphasizing the consensual formation and distribution of fashions, placed great importance on the individual persons considered instrumental in this process. They could be as well-known as the King of France or they could be some anonymous person who had a clever notion at the right time and in right place. In the latter case, Garve noted that it was the entry of these unknown innovators into the system of fashion creation and dispersion that made their sartorial invention a European fashion. The character of the innovator was less important than their placement within the network. “The largest and most widespread changes in European fashion often had their origin in the inspiration of a single person, who happened to live in such a location under the right circumstances, so that their example made an impression and was able to awaken imitators in many countries.”¹³ For most of the eighteenth-century dressers, the French

court had had this particular function, but as the centers of information grew, more and more lesser known figures had a potential influence on the movement of style.

The apparent ability of certain localities to influence bourgeois manners and decor throughout Europe fascinated German fashion readers. They speculated, with the encouragement of fashion journals, on the exact circumstances of such fashion inventions. The greatest moment in fashion would be to participate in the moment of a style's inception, its debut into bourgeois society. It became the imaginary goal of many fashion-conscious Germans to know exactly, in the most intimate details, how a style came into existence. Who first wore that garment? For what purpose? On what occasion? Who was present at the time? Was everyone present duly impressed? Did they realize what was unfolding before them? What was said and to whom? Was any connection drawn between the garment and the gathering itself? These questions have probably always fascinated the leisured European elite, but in the eighteenth-century they became part of the public domain. News of closed gatherings in distant cities spread across countries with a speed they had never had. Tidbits of socially significant gossip reached ears that would previously never have known or cared about foreign goings-on. The secretive, inside information and practices of closed societies became part and parcel of European cosmopolitanism.

The sites of these fashion "happenings" were widely varied, by no means confined to the drawing rooms of nobility. The eighteenth-century German Enlightenment preferred more humble arenas, gatherings which consciously eschewed claims to representational ostentation. They might be family meals or religious gatherings, places overlooked by the courtly culture of luxury, because they included individuals opposed to the grand ceremonies of the nobility. Running through many of the most famous "moments" of bourgeois fashion is a contest over what constituted good taste and who might be included in the society of the truly elegant.

In the eighteenth century we can isolate two distinct approaches for explaining fashion emulation. One presumes that styles trickle down from an elite culture to a broader mass. This model has been credited with explaining how the fashion cycle could be connected with class conflict. It suggests that the upper classes invent new styles of dress to distinguish themselves from the lower classes who are constantly imitating elites in order to acquire prestige. The more the lower classes imitate, the more the elites innovate. The second type of emulation model argues that new styles spread by a process of diffusion which

does not reinforce hierarchy, but if anything undermines the stability of its markers. Garments and instruments were introduced to the public by a smaller group considered unworthy of status emulation. For example, bourgeois society has frequently adopted the “work” clothes of lower classes because they carried with them the aura of labor. The process of diffusion does however often involve notable adjustments in the meaning and social function of objects. Religious garments, for example, have on occasion been worn with a thoroughly secular intent. In general the routes and motivations of fashion diffusion have been far more ambiguous than the status conscious emulation of elites. Diffusion often produces unusual pairings, objects which might once have had antithetical connotations and purposes could find themselves allied in a new context. Thus, one can speak of a fashion genealogy, in the Nietzschean sense, where the values associated with an object were derived from an earlier culture which put the same object to a completely different use with an antithetical value. Because material objects appear to exist on their own, independent of cultural meanings, they can acquire new connotations which perhaps only allude to a previous meaning, but which otherwise completely reformulate it, creating connotations which might have nothing to do with the objects first meaning.¹⁴ In late twentieth century, an example of such a radical symbolic refunctioning of clothes can be seen in the wearing of military uniforms by anti-war protesters. More than just an attempt to degrade what the army considered sacred, ragged military fatigues became a symbol of the anti-war movement as distinctly recognizable as polished uniform represented the government’s pursuit of the Vietnam War. The redefinitions of clothing became more dramatic once the garments passed between cultures. As we have already seen, the *Mode Journal* considered it a primary function to counteract the German public’s “incorrect” appropriation of foreign dress.

Non-hierarchical emulation involves the imitation of models which consumers in the eighteenth century discovered in books, theater performances, and journals; today the models are also found in posters, movies, television, CD covers, concerts, and other entertainment media. Critics of the “trickle-down” theory of fashion have pointed to the influence of mass media as proof that class differentiation no longer explains the cyclical change of styles. Charles King wrote in 1963: “Mass communication media rapidly accelerate the spread of fashion awareness and influence mass markets endorsements. The traditional upper class fashion leader directing the lower levels is largely short-circuited in the communication process.”¹⁵ While the first fashion

journals in eighteenth-century Europe began the media circumvention of hierarchical clothing culture, one should note that class distinctions reappear as distinctions in literacy and reading material. Furthermore, the new media usually introduce new forms of dress and new methods of interpreting public appearance. The “democratization” of fashion, as Charles King notes, is both the effect and the content of fashion magazines. Shifts in the pathways of communication are usually accompanied with redefinitions of the message transmitted, so that publications which appeal to broader audiences also tend to “reflect” the tastes they consider typical of that class. The *Mode Journal* provided a new means of integrating luxury consumption and fashion into bourgeois culture as it expanded the base of German consumers. Instead of imitating the examples of the nobility, German readers emulated the figures presented in the journals and novels. By broadening the range of models worth emulating, the eighteenth-century fashion media allowed influences from the “lower” classes and from ideologically isolated groups to penetrate into respectable society. Twentieth century media have created an upward diffusion of fashion innovation—seen most notably in the adoption of African-american culture by mainstream cultures.¹⁶ Within the eighteenth-century German context, such ‘upward diffusion’ was usually produced by the introduction of a foreign example of lower class dress. The popularity of English country clothes, the rough garb of the rural gentry, and the German fascination with Quaker attire illustrate how consumers can choose to emulate low status styles because they have read appealing representations of them in literature. In this case, the German Enlightenment’s admiration for English novels brought about the adoption of simple English country dress.

In the eighteenth-century, the trickle-down model of fashion creation presumed that the French king or some other high ranking French aristocrat could set a European trend in motion merely by appearing at some important event dressed in a new and striking garment. This type of revelatory introduction of a fashion was in many ways the imaginary ideal of a fashion’s origins. With the decline of the French court’s prominence in setting trends, well before the Revolution, it became much more difficult for provincials to recognize a single moment when a style first appeared. The *Mode Journal* and the many German publications that followed its example, created imaginary, or almost mythical, figures who were deemed responsible for the design and appearance of European good taste. A great deal of fashion historiography maintains this mythic manner of thinking.

Nineteenth-century dandies, Beau Brummel in particular, are credited with having invented certain looks, as if society as a whole had no role in the formation of a fashion consensus. The dandy is isolated as a hero of modernity because he personifies the discursive operation of fashion and provides the illusion of an original agent whose creative accomplishments, in word and dress, are imitated by less the less brilliant. Brummel's famous confrontations and *bon mots* were culled and selected years after their supposed performance, allowing recollection and repetition among story tellers to strengthen their force and *pointe*. Through the figure of the dandy, the fashion discourse legitimates itself as the product of genius, while assigning agency to its own diffuse and systemic operation. The dandy is to fashion history what the old peasant mother was to Romantic folklorist—a necessary focal point around which concepts and allegorical incidents cluster. Garve's suggestion that a single, well-situated individual could inadvertently determine the appearance of European bourgeoisie has been played out in so many biographies and histories of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, each reinforcing the illusion that there is a single point in time when beauty and elegance, like Athena, emerged fully garbed.

While both aristocratic and bourgeois cultures indulged in the vanity of fashionable mythology, gender and its implied sexuality was a central category of the rhetoric of modern fashion. Sexual practices were perhaps incidental motivations in the courtly mythology of how fashions came into existence—a particular hat or vest was sewn in order to seduce a certain beauty, however bourgeois fashion culture introduced gender distinctions as an abstract category comparable to national identity. National and gender identity were invoked within bourgeois fashion writing to explain the origin and diffusion of styles across the European map. These categories were also invoked to explain why fashion changed so quickly. The transitoriness of taste was increasingly accounted for by invoking gender characteristics which were often blended into national differences. The rapid shift in tastes, it was argued, could be traced to the psychology of certain individuals who were responsible for the creation all new styles. The fashion system could therefore be understood as a manifestation of a "character" which existed simultaneously on the level of an historical nation, an empirical individual, and a natural sex. As we know, bourgeois fashionable society, in Germany and elsewhere, considered London and Paris the two primary sites of fashion production. For each location the fashion discourse invented corresponding figures who served as imaginary

agents in the design of new looks: the thin, darkly dressed English lord and the young Parisian coquette. They each moved in a limited but elite society: the circle around the Prince of Wales and in the salons of the leading Parisian *maitresses*. Depending on the historical person, sometimes the Prince of Wales was specifically named as the “primary” agent of male fashion innovation, other times, that responsibility was transferred to a close confidant, as happened in the time of Beau Brummel’s association with the English heir.

From the start, the Prince of Wales and Parisian mistresses figured as points of origin in the *Mode Journal’s* map of European fashion. In its first issue, the *Mode Journal* included a list of “Priesterinnen der Venus zu Paris.” The Parisian correspondent explained that these women belonged to the fashions of the world, implying that they were both fashions themselves (i.e. objects to be desired and acquired), as well as the source for women’s styles. Then in a manner that the journal quickly abandoned, the article actually gave names and descriptions of these women. For German readers the article was a scandal, never a bad thing for a new fashion journal. Having outraged *bürgerliche* morality, Bertuch never again printed such a rococo celebration of mistresses and prostitutes. He did however defend his inclusion of the list by arguing: “The characterization of today’s first-class, Phryniens in Paris was very much an essential component of our plan, in part because it is precisely these women who give every new fashion in Paris its being....”¹⁷ And, when in the same year, the Prince of Wales was obliged to auction his wardrobe, the event was reported throughout Germany: “The speculation is fundamentally admirable, for the whole world is streaming to this famous auction. Our distinguished gentlemen and distinguished ladies are outbidding each other mightily to buy and heatedly divide his estate, just as in the time of the early church people tore after the bones of saints.”¹⁸

This mythology of fashions’ development continued well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Friedrich Vischer described Paris as a witch’s kettle from which all feminine fashions bubbled forth. Half the respectable women and all of the demi-monde participated in a creative process which he also compared to the rituals surrounding the ancient Oracle at Delphi. He exoticized the social life of the bourgeoisie, while simultaneously pointing the importance of secret societies and unseen social divisions, by claiming that the trend-setting women of Paris comprised a mysterious order of priestesses.¹⁹ In 1906, Eduard Fuchs reiterated the *Mode Journal’s* description. “...The majority of the most successful fashion creations were brought out by the professional

priestesses of Venus. This assertion is true in the main, and is readily proven historically.”²⁰ Fuchs, whose work is strangely bifurcated between Marxist sociological text and erotic or pornographic images of women, incorporated the ‘scandal’ of feminine fashion into his own lascivious account of bourgeois society: “For the respectable lady there remains nothing to do but imitate as closely as possible the accomplishments of the priestesses of Venus...”²¹ Gender and national differences were augmented by distinctions between political economies. Capitalism was quite simply masculine and English. “These days one is asked: why is that men’s fashion today, as always, receives its directives from London, with as much consistency as women’s fashion turns to Paris? The answer is quite simple: The bourgeois spirit has uniquely and thoroughly penetrated everything in England, so that it has become the only true bourgeois culture, and, because bourgeois culture rests upon the rule of the masses, which makes it a masculine culture. Aristocratic culture, by way of contrast, is in the final analysis a feminine culture.”²² Werner Sombart invoked the myth even as he sought to incorporate its personages into a more abstract economy of fashion. He begrudgingly allowed their star-quality to find a place in his dialectical sociology when he wrote: “The efforts of the Parisian coquette and the Prince of Wales provide a mediating contribution.”²³

The geographical dimension of fashionable emulation manifested itself throughout the eighteenth-century fashion discourse. Fashion journals wrote about products as if there were two uncompromisingly distinct and absolute standards of style, and they accorded each with their own unique space within which they occurred. Good taste, it was suggested, existed simply as itself, and every style which diverged from this ideal was cast aside as inelegant. That there were in fact two major centers for fashion was eventually incorporated into this principle as a reflection of both market competition and sexual difference. Paris and London simulated the free market by creating disparate goods which were in turn marked as specifically gendered.

This semiotic model was, however, relativized somewhat as it was translated onto the map of Europe. To insist that fashionable people lived only in London or Paris was incompatible with the market’s expanding demand for consumer goods. The distribution of products through European trade routes introduced a graded scale of fashionableness calibrated by distance. This new geographical standard of fashionableness did not however result in the abandonment of fashion’s absolute rule of good taste—namely that one was either in style or not. German fashion journals sought to create the aesthetic

illusion for their readers that they were in Paris or London, and yet always labored under the knowledge that they were still far away.

The cosmopolitan defense of fashion relied upon identificatory modes of perception, which encouraged consumers to cross space by assuming the imaginary position of foreigners; it measured the movement of fashion in cartographic terms—as a matter of marking distances, trade routes, and communication networks on a large-scale map of Europe. Space was organized as single points connected through lines of distribution. While the liberal economic theory with which fashionable cosmopolitanism aligned itself did suggest new methods for measuring value and mobilizing resources such as labor, the conceptual tools for thinking of Europe in economic terms had not been invented in the eighteenth-century. The intellectual trick of identifying oneself with the perspective of “the map” was surely a maneuver already perfected during the age of exploration. The European grid for distributing fashions was a more finely graded version of the older courtly network of princely residences and capital cities which had organized aristocratic culture after the fifteenth century.

Nowhere was the sense of distance and the attractions of exploration greater than within the many principalities and geographical regions of the Holy Roman Empire. The *Mode Journal* and its competitors often ran articles on the fashionable society of various smaller German cities. More often than not, they were commentaries on the absence of worldly taste among the residents. Writers liked to draw distinctions between regions based on their adherence to a European standard of taste. About cities on the Baltic coast, one German traveler observed

I have noticed that one is much more aware of the alterations in fashion here than in south Germany, which is no doubt due to the prevailing trade of Hamburg and Lübeck and the easy communication the sea allows with the two fashion kingdoms.²⁴

From the viewpoint of bourgeois fashion, the German provinces were a vast unexplored territory, akin to the non-European tracts of North America, where strange new garments and customs might be discovered to be marveled over and catalogued. At the very least, these regions provided stimulating contradictions to the standards of good taste, as one correspondent to the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* wrote in 1802: “For the elegant world, Bamberg, with regard to its social tone and public

amusements, is a true *terra incognita*." Ironically invoking the pleasures of reading explorers' accounts of their adventures, he predicts, "An accurate description would at the very least provide your readers with some novel stimulation."²⁵ Clearly, the author and his implied readers do not identify themselves with the colorfully medieval inhabitants of Bamberg; as members of a broader cultural class, their preferences lie abroad. The backwardness of old German cities provided a sensitive point. Within the progressive time frame of the Enlightenment bourgeoisie the garments of rural society represented a past wherein social mobility and its attendant conflicts were suspended. As the author suggested the very otherness of those clothes would prove "stimulating" for newly cosmopolitan readers, a nervous reminder of what they no longer sought to be.

Readers of German fashion journals distanced themselves from provincial practices not only through their "disbelief" at the quaint manners of small town residents, but also through their eager willingness to excuse them by explaining differences in dress as the effect of geopolitics. The awareness of a European map never left the fashionable German. If it was not possible to dress in a perfectly English manner, then at least one should understand the economic and political forces that stand in the way of utter stylishness. This "self-knowledge" allowed the reader of journals to at least know how he or she failed to be perfectly stylish as well as the reasons why this failure was unavoidable. The small town inhabitant who wore traditional garb knew neither. The tension between impatient worldliness and local sympathy shows up in many of the *Mode Journal's* reports on rural German dress, such as the following fashion travelogue:

Among the many smaller cities, which I had opportunity to observe, I found the Saxon and Thuringian towns far more elegant than those along the Rhine, particularly the Hessian. By comparing Sunday parades to church, one becomes most aware of these differences. One can also observe quite clearly that bodily enlightenment, or more clearly, that the fashionable decoration of the beautiful sex becomes more striking and perceptible the nearer the town is to a residence or academy, or when the beauties are located near a garrison.

Having pointed out the relative differences in fashionableness and having taken account of the political and economic factors which explain

the degree to which a region's inhabitants can pursue foreign styles, the author switches into an uncompromising aesthetic tone.

In small towns...one meets...the old and the new, not just next to each other in some curious harmony, but often a local beauty will wear the hairstyle of one city, a scarf from another, an apron from a third and a dress from still another, thereby unifying with smiling innocence and obvious satisfaction fashions of distinctly different characters in one outfit.²⁶

The two-step description, combining a sociological explanation with a tolerant but superior criticism of local garb, shows the disparity between fashion judgments, which insist on an uncompromising standard (one is either elegant or one is not), and the material forces which predetermine one's ability to "keep up." Behind the author's sociological excuse lies a tender affection for the ignorant dress of the provinces, a sentiment which is never left unpunished. No matter how attractively the small town woman combines divergent garments, the author is aware that these items do not "really" belong together. He knows the syntax of each style as well as their ideological connotations, thus he can not quite accept the local German adaptations of other localities' (London and Paris) material style.

As an imaginary construction, the map of European fashion allows the "cosmopolitan" German to project himself into the position of the ideal English lord or Parisian mistress in order to critically evaluate his or her surroundings. No matter where he or she is located, the taste-conscious individual is empowered by the knowledge gleaned from fashion journals to assume a paranoid relation to local habits. Every article of clothing, household appliance, decoration, and mannerism can be found wanting in relation to the stylish perfection of life in the distant capitals of Europe. Despite Bertuch's great ambitions for a German consumer culture, there is really no chance that the critically stylish German would ever perceive his or her surroundings as anything but inferior, because the bourgeois fashion discourse is organized in such a manner that London and Paris are by definition the only sites of pure style. To argue in defense of a local custom, one would have to quit the sociological assumptions underlying cosmopolitanism (the diffusion of taste across the continent) as well as its interpretive practices (judgements based on projective knowledge). Folkloric investigations of peasant costumes (*Tracht*) were conceived as a way out

of the paranoid tendency to devalue local customs, but rather than resolving the suspicion that regional and small-town traditions were antiquated, their celebration only heightened the paranoid tensions.

1. Alfred Loos, *Spoken into the Void*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), trans. Jane O. Newman & John Smith, pp.51-53

2. A version of this tale, embellished with pirates, appeared in an article calling for the use of telegraphs to transmit the newest styles from London to Europe, see "Aufruf an die Modewelt, zur Errichtung eines Mode-Telegraphen," *Mode Journal (abridged)*, vol. 2, pp. 37-41.

3. *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* April 1791, p.184. in *Heimliche Verführung*, p.55.

4. Ernst Beutler, 'Georg Melchior Kraus,' *Essays um Goethe*, fifth edition (Bremen: Carl Schünemann, 1957), p.432

5. Bringemeier, p.118 cites *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, June 1802, p.353.

6. Christian Garve, "Ueber die Moden," in *Versuche ueber verschiedene Gegenstaende aus der Moral, der Literatur und den gesellschaftlichen Leben*, edited by Kurt Woelfel, Hildesheim: Olm 1985, p.185.

7. Simmel would make a similarly dialectical argument in his essay on "Mode."

8. Garve, 119.

9. Garve, p.147.

10. Garve, pp.215-216. Again Simmel makes a similar argument.

11. Garve, 141.

12. Garve, p. 186.

13. Garve, p.184.

14. The redefinition of commodities' cultural references occurs both as an effect of their circulation in an ever broadening market and as a deliberate strategy of twentieth century consumerism. Arjun Appadurai describes the aesthetic style of decontextualization in terms which are derived from the market's dislocation of objects from the society which produced them: "...the best examples of the diversion of commodities from their original nexus is to be found in the domain of fashion, domestic display, and collecting in the modern West. In the high-tech look inspired by the Bauhaus, the functionality of factories, warehouses, and workplaces is diverted to household aesthetics. The uniforms of various occupations are turned into the vocabulary of costume. In the logic of found art, the everyday commodity is framed and aestheticized. These are all examples of what we might call commoditization by diversion, where value, in the art or fashion market, is accelerated or enhanced by placing objects and things in unlikely contexts." "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed Arjun Appadurai, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.28.

15. Charles King, "Fashion Adoption: A Rebuttal to the 'Trickle-Down' Theory," in *Toward Scientific marketing*, ed. Stephen Greyser, (Chicago: American Marketing Association, 1963), pp. 108-125, reprinted in *Perspectives of Fashion*, ed. George Sproles, (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing, 1981), p. 32.

16. George Field, "The Status Float Phenomenon—The Upward Diffusion of Innovation," *Business Horizons*, vol. 8, (1970), pp.45-52, reprinted in *Perspectives of Fashion*, pp.44-48.

17. *Mode Journal*, vol. 1, p. 268.

18. *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, September 1786, p.332.

19. Friedrich Vischer, "Mode und Zynismus," in *Die Listen der Mode*, ed. Silvia Bovenschen (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1986), p. 66.

20. Eduard Fuchs, "Ich bin der Herr dein Gott!," in *Die Listen der Mode*, p. 164.

21. Eduard Fuchs, "Ich bin der Herr dein Gott!," in *Die Listen der Mode*, p. 165.

22. Eduard Fuchs, "Ich bin der Herr dein Gott!," in *Die Listen der Mode*, p.171

23. Werner Sombart, "Wirtschaft und Mode, Ein Beitrag zur Theorie der modernen Bedarfsgestaltung," in *Die Listen der Mode*, p. 99.

24. *Mode Journal (abridged)*, vol. 1, pp. 187-188.

25. *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, February 16, 1802, p.153.

26. *Mode Journal (abridged)*, vol. 1, pp. 200-201.

Tenements in the Grooves: Sound Recordings as Social and Spatial Records

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In his book on Postmodernism, Thomas Docherty (1993:18) speaks about differences in ideology and social practices in relation to concepts of space and time, in various geographical locations around the world, stating that,

It is better to think that the world is simply lived at different speeds, in different times, in different places. In short there is no one world (or even three) but rather many; all being lived at different rhythms, none of which need ever to converge into harmony.

This paper discusses the interfacing of two different worlds (as represented through facets of a specific musical practice) and how their abrupt coming together generated an initial, somewhat grating response, which is manifest in the music itself. The two worlds are that of pre-twentieth and turn of the century rural Ireland and early twentieth century urban and industrialised America, specifically of the Eastern seaboard cities. The link in these two seemingly disparate societies is the Irish emigrant. Mapping the origins and development of his music, Irish traditional dance music, firstly its native context and then by exploring what happens to it on being introduced to the American scene, yields interesting results. I hope to show that this music, as a social construct, acts as a microcosm or metaphor for the change in social conditions in the case of the Irish emigrant in the USA. A story of time and space unfolds within the grooves of the 78rpm record, the medium on which Irish music reached the masses for the first time, and became a truly commercial product.

The 78rpm record, then, represents the vast changes that occurred in the music and life of the Irish emigrant in the USA. What was particularly special about these recording of Irish music was the consistent use of harmonic accompaniment in the guise of the piano, with all its symbolic and cultural trappings. But before examining such issues it is necessary first to look at Irish music as it was originally conceived and practiced, that is as a melodic music, in order to comprehend why the introduction of the piano was such an enormous and telling addition.

Ireland

In this book *The Anthropology of Music*, ethnomusicologist Alan Merriam (1964:6) posits the idea and concept of music as being truly a social construct.

Musical sound is the result of human behavioural processes that are shaped by the values, attitudes and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture....human behaviour produces music...the behaviour itself is shaped to produce the sound, thus the study of one flows into the other.

The model, thus, is dynamic - socially constructed sound, sonically constructed society. This idea is now widely accepted. Taking it a step further, anthropologist Steven Feld uncovered much about the Kaluli tribe by using metaphors and expressions from within the culture together with the music, gaining insight into much of what was beyond the linguistic discourse in this society (Feld 1988). Extending these ideas to Irish dance music, then, it too should demonstrate inextricable links to the social and cultural space, and indeed landscape within which it was conceived.

We are not, in fact, quite sure when traditional dance music emerged in Ireland but some tentative dates go back as far as the 17th century. What we do know, however, is emerged as a music of a predominantly agricultural society, an inherently rural music. Undoubtedly, this was the music of social interaction, enjoyment and escapism, a natural outlet for Irish who were, it must be remember, a colonised people, under British Imperial rule. The music's function was one of accompaniment to the dance forms of the time, many which would have come from the continent but which would have been absorbed, assimilated and given a new and distinctly Irish flavour. The activity of music making and dancing would have been a holistic experience, very much a part of everyday life. The music itself would have been, to a large degree, inseparable from the dance, generally played in solo or duet format, not seen as anything autonomous, and certainly not any kind of product (all things to be kept in mind when comparing this to the American scene later in this paper).

The rural womb from whence this music was given life is reflected in the music's actual structure. As a melody music not essentially pinned down harmonically, the music has an aurally open and spacious

orientation. But it is also a music very much based on the round or the circle, which gives a defined structure, reflecting the essential insularity of rural Irish society up to this century. Extend these observations to the landscape and many parallels can be drawn. Sean Ó Riada, in *Our Music Heritage*, drew attention to the prevalence of the circle and spiral in Celtic designs found in abundance in ancient manuscripts and on ancient artifacts and carvings, poetically explain by O’Riada, observing the snake curling round to swallow his tail in his mouth “in my end is my beginning”, an image which he himself felt represented the round or cyclic nature of dance music (Ó Riada 1982). On another, possibly less obvious level, this circularity could be uncovered in the patterns of agricultural life, so bound up in the land, the ebb and flow of nature, her consistent cycles the seasons, the inevitability of it all. The wayward orientation of the melodic line could equally represent the way the Irish are famed for speaking, in roundabout poetic terms, meandering gradually towards a semblance of a point, but saying it obliquely, never in definitive terms. And as a final comment, the modal orientation of the tunes themselves hark back to older days, creating a sense of continuity with a past, a more glorious past for which the conquered always long. This *uaigneas*, something more than mere loneliness or longing, can be heard in much of the dance music and not just the slow airs, often described as the *nea* in a tune or song.

Harmonic precedents from within

It would be naive to imagine that Irish traditional music did not have any harmonic precedents. Harry Bradshaw in his own research in the national library, uncovered turn of the century paper clippings from the Sligo region stating that at a concert of traditional music, so many musicians turned up that the extended the concert to two venues, and piano players featured in both.¹ However, events of this nature were few and far between and it is worth remembering that Sligo was a garrison town and would have had a strong military and hence band music presence.

Nevertheless, looking back even further one can see other precedents from within the Irish tradition. For example, the art music of ancient Ireland, that of the harp, surely has some capacity for harmonic accompaniment, however that was practised in actuality. Similarly, the uilleann pipes, by their very morphology belie an in-built harmonic orientation. In the case of the harp, we cannot really be sure how it was employed but open 5ths, which are tonally ambiguous, seem to

constitute an agreed interpretation. The pipes too seem to avoid this blatant sounding to the 3rd which is important in terms of not defining a key, i.e. something is not harmonically pinned down. This type of sound or harmonic accompaniment, which I like to call *diffused tonality* because of its reluctance to commit to a specific key, again might be seen to represent laconic verbal expression and even (if I'm allowed to romanticise!) the luminescent quality and softness of the Irish light.

Harmonic precedents from without

But there were precedents from outside the tradition too, within this island - the Romantic collectors such as Bunting, Petrie and others whose motives included that of preservation (but not always for altruistic reasons). Such gathering of music from the Irish had a tinge of imperialism about it - take from the native, elevate its status by adding piano accompaniment and then print and publish it to make a profit. For the printers of such music, the target audience was clear, the bourgeois, urban dwellers with power and prestige. Thus the music was appropriated for these ends—essentially another colonisation. Western Art harmony or classical tonality usurped the inherent structural elements of the music, for when its language and formulae were seen to be obviously at odds with the syntax of Irish music on which it was being imposed, it was the music which was changed to fit the harmony, not *visa versa*! This, essentially, was traditional music's first main negotiation with the world of commerce and it was a meeting of capitalism and traditional music would have far reaching consequences in terms of the printed collections of the time. But this all happened outside the realm of the traditional practitioner and thus had little impact on him. In America, sometime later, it would have much more far reaching effects within the actual traditional sound community.

America

And so we come to America and the mass emigration of the Irish, which commenced as far back as the 1700s and reaching its peak during the Famine years. Betrayed by the land, the emigrants did not move far from the growing urban centres in which they landed. Generally unskilled and poorly educated, they found work as labourers, building roads, digging canals, working in steel, textile and other industries, and hence became a vital cog in the grinding wheel of industrialisation. The Irish experience in America, then, was essentially an urban experience.

Many musicians were among those who crossed the Atlantic in search of better things. They quickly realised that monetary reward could be gained by applying their skills in a commercial context. They were entering a capitalist society where so much was about commodification and profit, even music. As Simon Frith (1996:41) commented, combining his own ideas on the music business with Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital,

its values are created by and organised around the music industry, around the means and possibilities of turning sounds into commodities - musical value and monetary value are therefore equated.

Thus, the burgeoning Irish community formed a perfect target audience for emerging sound recording industry and Irish music, like other musics of the time, became just another commodity. This was the market from which the talented Irish musician, signing up to one of a plethora of emerging labels, would, for the first time, truly be able to earn a comfortable living.

In his book *Social Justice and the City*, David Harvey (1973:96) states that

[u]rbanism may be regarded as a particular form of patterning of the social process. This process unfolds in a spatially structured environment created by man. The city can therefore be regarded as a tangible, built environment - and environment which is a social product.

Within this *tangible, built environment*, the music of the Irish emigrant, now displaced some 3,000 miles, (and displaced in terms of real time with its commitment to a recorded medium) would take on a new complexion, one which would reflect his new urban environment. This is hardly surprising as the music's function as well as the musician's motivation were altered quite radically. By putting the music on record format, one of the basic tenets of the tradition were tampered with, that of variation, the keystone of Irish traditional music. Now a version of a tune with specific ornamentation was there to be played and replayed, unchanged. There were further profound repercussions, as now the musical space which a live performance occupied could, through recording, be recreated. Thus its very temporal and ephemeral nature was being challenged, rupturing the time-space continuum,

allowing it to exist outside of its original social function, and structural function, that of accompanying the dance.

So, by extension, the visual and percussive (and indeed structural) element of the dance were also lost. It may, thus, be argued that the addition of the piano was as a replacement for this constituent, something which would seem to hold true. And indeed the piano (harmonic accompaniment being a favoured element in American musical practice) would have been included almost by default by record executives needing to maximise audiences, and hence profits. But on a deeper level - and this, essentially, is the crux of this paper - this addition of chordal accompaniment, which could be describes as the grafting on of vertical structures to a hitherto linear, horizontal music, seems to reflect, on the most fundamental of levels, this move from open landscape to dense, high-rise, urban enclave. And as a corollary to this point, the multi-cultural nature of these Eastern Board cities, with their diversity of people and experiences would surly infiltrate musical production in some form or another. Perhaps the addition of the piano, at once a symbol of Victorian ideals, an instrument of the bourgeois and hence a legitimating factor, and also the ultimate machine of the age, so suited to mass production, could aptly represent the glamour and noisiness of this urban experience? The piano, embraced by so many ethnic musics at this time, and the vehicle for the emerging new American popular music known as *Ragtime*, was the obvious choice. With its bold, brash, uncompromising sound (so familiar to all in the homophonically orientated society), adding the piano to their recordings, for those ethnic groups attempting to carve a niche in their adopted country while still endeavouring to retain aspects of their national identity, allowed the achievement of both of these goals in one fell swoop. Finally, (cliché though it is) it is worth reiterating at this point that time itself is often cited as the ultimate commodity in a capitalist society. In the case of a 78rpm record, the musical experience is truncated to fit the 3min limit of a side. And this slice of musical time, in order to make the greatest impact, has to be aurally busy and interesting, an characteristic amply supplied by piano accompaniment. Of course, now the consumer had complete control of the musical experience, being able to turn it on and off at will, this power surly the ultimate coup in a consumer society.

Music

But how did the musicians respond to such an addition? As William Healy (1970:89) argues, they may have embraced this change, as

[a]udiences were no longer exclusively Irish, and the Irish listeners to whom they played were concerned with American as well as Irish culture. As aliens, no longer members of the dominant culture of their society, they were forced to contend with and adapt to different customs and values...the tastes of their audiences were changing, and were those *of the musicians themselves, since they were subjected to the same cultural pressures.*

But without a doubt, the initial grafting on of this foreign element of diatonic accompaniment often had quite a jarring effect, as belied in many recordings of the time, (quite a few of them featuring fiddler Michael Coleman) which seems to express on some level the not-so-smooth transition experienced by some Irish into their new urban environment. But obviously many others took to the American scene much more easily, and this ease in embracing American identity within an Irish context is most clearly seen a specific recording featuring Tom Morrison, Martin Christi and Tom Banks (where traces of Scott Joplin, King of Ragtime, and his ilk, are undoubtedly present) which, though it has some kinks, also shows a fluidity and ease of expression, and simply brims with confidence.

The 78s records, then, seem to be microcosms of these mixed experiences, reflecting a myriad of responses. One would suspect that a survey of recordings by Irish musicians, complete with piano accompaniment, might, on the whole, gradually improve in terms of standard of musicianship, when looked at chronologically, mirroring the gradual integration into American society, perhaps. But this is only a supposition and something yet to be fully investigated.

Conclusion

It is my hope that this paper has not simply been about exploring parallels between melody versus harmony and hills vs. high-rises! I have tried to explore, in a meaningful way, how aspects of modernity and

progress (whatever they mean in different social contexts) and geographical location inform a musical discourse, i.e. specifically in this case, what happened when an essentially rural music was introduced to a large urban centre. Here, the piano was seen as the vehicle for touting a number of things such as diversity and eclecticism and, on some level, musical democracy, thanks to mass production which in theory made it accessible to all, as well as a kind of pan-American identity. It may be argued that its rather rapid superimposition on Irish music was done without real consideration for the music inherent nature, which in essence is a kind of cultural form of imperialism, remembering that capitalism, too, is also imperialist. Nevertheless, the pace of life in such cities at the start of the century must have differed dramatically from the rhythms 'at home' for musicians such as Michael Coleman (from rural Sligo). This very element of rapidity would seem to be characteristic of the new social situation in which the emigrant found himself and in light of this, it does make sense.

At this point I would like quote the following from Fintan Vallely (1995:47) which sums up this phenomenon of negotiating Irish music in an American urban context, in a nutshell:

agricultural life's relaxed, rhythmic cycles had once propelled the cultural merry-go-round when production was based on the land, but industrial toil instituted multiple rhythms of short duration.

The interface between Irish traditional dance music and that essentially Western Art music construct and product we call functional harmony, in urban America, was initially an irritable one, with an undoubted clash of ideologies. But piano accompaniment, with all its cultural, economic and symbolic associations persisted. The tenements, and all they represent, can thus be heard and traced within the grooves of the 78rpm record of the time for this is the music of the city. Harvey (1973:19) states that

The city, the polis itself, is formed from a particular relation to time; and its boundaries are grounded in a specific internal historicity, a 'progress' which is relatively autonomous from the time 'outside'. So the city is not a stable point in space but rather an historical 'event'; it is not punctual, but eventual.

The 78rpm record, the product of this environment, is surly reflective of this in light of how Irish traditional music has been treated.

At a later date the discourse between melody and harmony in Irish music as practised in Ireland was negotiated. While the piano did carve a niche in the ceilidhe band format of the 30s and 40s, its position, right up to today, remains precarious. The 60s and 70s saw a move towards, arguably, a more sympathetic and unobtrusive form of accompaniment in the guise of stringed instruments such as guitar and bouzouki. Again, this emerged due to a parallel move into the city by traditional musicians who were opening up to sounds from other genres of music, including rock and pop, through such bands as the Beatles.

Notes

1. Personal interview with Harry Bradshaw, RTE Radio Producer, in the Irish Traditional Music Archive, Dublin 1996

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The Politics of Space and Identity in a Europe “Without Borders”: Cosmopolitan Liberalism, Expo ‘92, and Seville

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From April 15 to October 12, 1992, a universal exposition, the highest category of world’s fair, was held in Seville, Spain. Coinciding with the exposition were hundreds of other conferences, ceremonies, and activities associated with the fifth centenary observations of Columbus’s first voyage, with Madrid’s tenure as the “Cultural Capital” of Europe, and with the Olympic Games of Barcelona. All of these events of the so-called miraculous year were sponsored, largely financed, and ultimately controlled by the Spanish government. Through these events, the government sought to “re-found the state” in a way that would demonstrate post-Franco Spain’s readiness to assume a prominent role in the European Union and the creation of a Europe “without borders” in the 1990s (*Diario* 16 8/23/92:12).

The Expo of Seville was appropriately spectacular in its scope and scale. Located on La Isla de la Cartuja, a peninsula of previously undeveloped land that lies between two branches of the Guadalquivir River just to the west of the historic center of Seville, the exposition site contained the pavilions of 112 countries, 17 autonomous regions of Spain, and 29 multinational corporations and international organizations, as well as a dozen or so large thematic pavilions. Over its six-month course, the Expo was visited by an estimated 14 million people, including 77 heads of state or government.¹ In short, as these sorts of things go, Expo ‘92 was a big deal.

But exactly what sort of deal was it? At first sight, it seemed to be a pretty bland affair—an overly self-conscious and rather “Disneyfied” attempt to be sensitive to the needs, values, and ways of life of just about everybody. Call it “occidentalism lite,” the perfect cultural concoction for a kinder, gentler new world order—a bit sweet perhaps, but with little political fat and practically no ideological calories. When the event is viewed a little more closely, however, it begins to appear in a more interesting light. Over the course of its history, it was again and again a site where struggles for cultural and political hegemony occurred among many groups and individuals who were attempting either to assert their own authority and leadership or to resist others’ interpretations of particular domains of contemporary life.²

What was at stake in these struggles is most easily understood by comparing the visions of the Expo that emerged among three of the groups who appeared to have the greatest direct interest in the event: the Spanish organizers, political leaders, and state functionaries, who sponsored, created, and managed it; the local politicians and ordinary citizens of Seville, who hosted it; and the coalition of Spanish and international protesters, who hoped to “unmask” the event’s neocolonialist character. Each of these groups developed a sharply different vision of the event. By examining how each of them represented the Expo as a significant space and regarded one another as political and cultural actors, we may be in a better position to understand some aspects of the complex politics of identity that have been part and parcel of the uneven and highly contested processes involved in European integration and the creation of a new world order in the 1990s.³

The Official Expo and Cosmopolitan Liberalism

The vision of the Expo promoted by its organizers was itself the outcome of several years of contention among a wide range of individuals, interest groups, and institutions. Although tracing the many ups and downs of these interactions is beyond the scope of this article, it is important to note at least a few of the factors that shaped the Expo’s history. The event had originally been conceived by King Juan Carlos in 1976 as an occasion to commemorate the 500th anniversary of Columbus’s first voyage to the Americas and to renew Spanish ties to Latin America, and it retained something of this emphasis throughout its course of development. Yet, because of rival proposals and the pressure exerted by the Bureau of International Expositions in Paris, by the early 1980s the organizers had opted for the more “universal” official theme of the “Age of Discoveries.” This theme was understood to allow not only for a consideration of Spanish ties to Latin America but also for treatment of virtually any sort of social, artistic, scientific, political, and economic innovation that has occurred during the last five centuries. Moreover, after the Socialist party (El Partido Socialista Obrero Español, or PSOE) won a sweeping victory in Spain’s elections of 1982 and began to turn its attention to the Expo, the project became less commemorative and historical and more contemporary in its focus. This was in keeping with the broader Socialist policy aim of promoting an image of Spain that stressed the country’s modernity and rightful place at the forefront of Europe.

The emergence of this Eurocentric emphasis, especially after 1986 when Spain entered the European Community, went hand in hand with a seemingly endless round of negotiations and arguments with representatives of Latin American and other governments, discussions with multinational corporations, and bickering with the politicians of Spain's autonomous regions. By the late 1980s, this already difficult process was further complicated by the fact that the Expo organization itself had become a two-headed bureaucracy, with each head trying to cannibalize the other (of which more below). Indeed, in its own relatively minor way, the complex business of creating the Expo came to share a common political dynamic with the broader processes involved in creating the European Union: in order to enhance the power, prestige, and position of Spain in the long run, the organizers of the Expo had to surrender some of their sovereign control over the event to other interests and to procedures of collective decision making.

Nevertheless, the "official" Expo was more coherent than one might expect in view of its complicated and often troubled history. Although each round of negotiations had its own particular difficulties and although the individual participants retained a great deal of autonomy over how they finally chose to represent themselves at the event, the Expo did not turn out to be simply a cultural hodgepodge. Throughout the Expo's course of development, the key officials of the event managed to promote their own evolving views of how the new Europe and the new world order should be represented with sufficient persistence and persuasiveness that the cumulative results of the negotiations were more or less consistent with what they and their political overseers wished.

In particular, Expo officials were well aware that previous universal expositions had been criticized as vehicles for the promotion of nationalist pride and capitalist expansion.⁴ Almost from the beginning, they were determined to avoid such charges and therefore gave the following warning (Office of the Commissioner General 1987:42) to prospective participants:

An excessively nationalistic attitude, ethnocentric in its aspirations, would be in flagrant contradiction with the philosophy of Expo '92 and the interpretation of its theme which celebrates precisely the universality of man's capacity for discovery—man understood as a species above and beyond his nationalistic and ideological prides and prejudices—with a view to stimulating the elaboration of

genuinely universal global bases for peaceful coexistence on the symbolic occasion of both the turn of the century and that of a new millennium.

They also encouraged corporations to take the high road and to stress the benefits and drawbacks, including environmental problems, generated by technical discoveries and economic enterprise. The general idea was thus to use the event to introduce a “new approach to global cooperation,” which recognized that “the future of each individual is what constitutes our common destiny” (Sociedad Estatal para La Exposición Universal Sevilla ‘92 1992:15).

Instead of celebrating nationalism and the cruder forms of capitalist self-glorification, the Expo essentially promoted a vision of Spain, Europe, and the world in keeping with the tenets of what can be called “cosmopolitan liberalism.” By this term, I mean to refer to an emergent and somewhat inchoate set of cultural and political strategies that involve a reworking of some of the elements of conventional liberalism in order to legitimate state and corporate power in ways that are better suited to the recent, rapid, and radical transformations of the global political and economic order. I prefer the term “cosmopolitan liberalism” to its narrower alternatives, such as Europeanism or Euronationalism, because the tendencies the broader term refers to are by no means exclusively European. Indeed, at the Expo and elsewhere, most contemporary forms of Europeanism may be seen as ideological variants of cosmopolitan liberalism that have been produced by grafting together some of its universalist themes and preoccupations with more particularistic representations of national traditions and a distinctive European civilization.

Like other forms of liberalism, cosmopolitan liberalism ultimately derives most of its intellectual authority from its association with a universalizing minimalist ethical humanism of individual rights and freedoms and a maximalist philosophical and scientific rationalism that constitutes human beings, history, societies, and cultures as objects of knowledge, judgment, and governance (see Toulmin 1992). Owing, however, to the way in which these Enlightenment traditions have been affected by the pressures and constraints exerted via the transnational processes alluded to above, cosmopolitan liberalism is distinguished by several crucial hallmarks.

First, cosmopolitan liberalism reflects a highly charged, ambivalent, and bipolar view of cultural diversity. On the one hand, cultural diversity is represented as an expression of human freedom and

a vital source, spur, and locus of organic creativity and vitality—hence, current preoccupations with tolerance, pluralism, and multiculturalism in liberal societies. On the other hand, cultural differences and divisions, particularly those related to racism, ethnic nationalism, and religious prejudice, are depicted as the root causes of most of the conflict, hatred, and suffering in human history and especially as the source of most of the troubles in the post-cold war era. As a result, cosmopolitan liberalism defines its overriding political and cultural mission as one of domesticating the world and thereby making difference both safe and productive.

Second, in keeping with this vision, cosmopolitan liberalism places extraordinary emphasis on developing strategies of mediation and fostering interchanges that bring divergent traditions and practices into active relationships with one another. In the economic sphere, for instance, the expansion of free trade, the fluid movement of global capital, and the extension of basic processes of commodification that make divergent values partially commensurate with one another are celebrated not merely because they promise to increase wealth and gradually ameliorate conditions of life everywhere but also because they create pathways that bring peoples and cultures together and generate new forms of interdependence.

More broadly, cosmopolitan liberalism anticipates an emergent global cultural ecumene characterized by the proliferation of what Richard Wilk (1995) aptly terms “structures of common difference.” Each of these structures generates diffuse and complex transcultural systems “for communicating difference,” which focus and permit particular sorts of contest and competition but place formal and practical constraints on conflict. Although Wilk discusses beauty pageants in Belize and the Caribbean, what he says of them can be applied equally to the Expo in Seville, the Olympics in Barcelona, and countless other contemporary cultural phenomena. Such structures provide vehicles for the dissemination of cosmopolitan liberalism insofar as they realize its twin and fundamental aims of promoting diversity and fostering particular kinds of freedoms in ways that also strengthen or at least do not seriously threaten the primacy and dynamism of existing liberal institutions, values, and world views that have primarily been defined by “the West.”

However, the full cultural force that cosmopolitan liberalism exerts by giving pride of place to strategies for the mediation and domestication of difference can be appreciated best when this form of liberalism is considered from a third, more directly political, perspective.

Like liberal internationalism, cosmopolitan liberalism supports global cooperation and an expanded role for international organizations. But what is distinctive about it is the emphasis that it places on transforming an international regime based on the sovereign power of nation-states. Cosmopolitan liberalism holds that in the interests of freedom, peace, and progress, the critical dimensions of state power should be partially or wholly devolved and redistributed—not just “upward” to suprastate and transnational bodies (such as the European Union) but also “downward” to subnational regional or ethnic and political communities (such as Catalonia or Scotland) and “outward” to public and private entities (such as national and transnational corporations, autonomously chartered agencies, and other nongovernmental organizations).

This does not mean that the state itself, much less the forms of coercive and regulatory power associated with it, will wither away. On the contrary, intrinsic to the logic of cosmopolitan liberalism is the notion that even as the state divests itself of some of its powers, it must also shoulder many of the new burdens involved in the increasingly indispensable, complex, and multidimensional functions of policing and coordinating the dense networks of interrelationships that exist among overlapping but quasi-autonomous entities, interests, processes, peoples, and cultures. This vision of cosmopolitan polities that orchestrate ever-increasing multilayered interdependence and heterogeneity goes well beyond conceptualizing mediation as interest balancing or as compensatory equalization by a centralized authority, as it is conceived in the *laissez-faire* or welfare state versions of classic liberalism.⁵

At the Expo, a vision of the world consistent with the emerging tenets of cosmopolitan liberalism was communicated to visitors in many different ways. For example, the design and contents of the dozen or so thematic pavilions and exhibitions devoted to culture, science, and technology conveyed a vision of history that stressed cultural diversity, historical processes of convergence, and the articulation of universal human values and rights. In a nutshell, what visitors were supposed to learn from the thematic pavilions was more or less this: Before the dawn of the modern age in 1492, humanity was divided into several great civilizations and hundreds of cultures and traditions, each of which had its own particular way of viewing the world—its own customs, beliefs, values, knowledge, technologies, and accomplishments. These cultures were relatively isolated from, and hostile to, one another. Since 1492, though, these civilizations have increasingly come into contact with, been influenced by, and even merged with one another; and although

this process of convergence has often been fraught with violence, the overall result is that the encounters have stimulated impressive discoveries and advances in human knowledge, welfare, and mutual understanding. Thus, today, while we still face many problems, both the legacy of the past and the many tools with which contemporary knowledge and technology have provided us should make us optimistic that progress can and will continue to be made in the future as each culture and tradition becomes better able to contribute to the solution of social and other problems in ways that will forge “solidarity through interchange” and make “one single world common to all its inhabitants” (Office of the Commissioner General 1987:8).

This “interactive” vision of the world was also evident in the self-representations of Spain and the overall design of the site. In terms of its basic spatial organization, the island world of the Expo was divided into three unequally sized and shaped zones. The three zones were linked to one another by a central artery called the Route of Discoveries. The first zone was occupied by the major thematic pavilions. The second zone held the pavilions of participating countries and organizations, and these pavilions were spaced along a series of avenues that intersected with the Route of Discoveries. And the third zone was dominated by the so-called Lake of Spain. Around this lake were arranged the seventeen regional pavilions of Spain, along with the giant edifice of the Plaza of the Americas, which housed the pavilions of most Latin American countries. The appropriately imposing Spanish national pavilion was situated on the opposite side of the lake, at the beginning of the Avenue of Europe and near where the other major avenues linking the three zones of the Expo intersected.

The most important thing to note about this Ibero-centric spatial organization is not just that it placed Spain at the heart of the exposition but also that this centrality was defined in terms of a liminal, betwixt-and-between, crossroads-of-the-world position. In other words, the location of the Spanish pavilion defined Spain as a cosmopolitan polity that occupies a mediating position, a position that could be construed from a thematic perspective to be at the end of history and on the brink of the future, and could be construed from a geopolitical perspective to be between Europe and Latin America and between Europe and Spain’s own diverse regions. The contents of the Spanish pavilion reinforced these impressions by being divided into two sections that celebrated regional differences and popular customs and two sections that housed old master and contemporary paintings and suggested the country’s contributions to European and world

civilization. Virtually no homage was paid to patriotism, to national history, or to the idea of a coherent, bounded national culture or identity.

What was far more evident at the Spanish pavilion and at the Expo more generally was a near-obsession with communication and a highly self-conscious use of a wide variety of media, technologies, and performance genres. It was almost impossible to take more than twenty steps in any direction on the site without being confronted with some sort of flashing electronic screen. As one of my friends proclaimed while in an elevated state of mind after exiting the Cruzcampo brewery "exposition," "I have seen the future and it is high-definition TV." The extraordinary official emphasis placed not just on high technology and multimedia but on virtually every other known form of nonviolent human interchange (with the sole and interesting exception of direct sexual congress) conveyed a nearly absolute faith in communication as a human good that inevitably breaks down barriers between groups and leads to an increase in human interdependence and understanding.

A final feature of the Expo worth calling attention to in relation to cosmopolitan liberalism is what might be termed its institutional ambiguities. Many aspects of the organization, architecture, and design of the Expo and the contents of its pavilions made it difficult to detect much difference between the exhibits of different sorts of institutions. This was most strikingly the case with the pavilions of key states and of transnational corporations. Corporations tended to define their identities with a fairly high degree of gravitas, choosing to represent themselves less as providers of goods and services for civil society, than as guardians of human welfare, happiness, and freedom. Most national pavilions did the same but were also somewhat commercialized insofar as they relied on corporate cosponsors, they used advertising techniques to promote enterprises and encourage investment, and they contained restaurants, souvenir stands, and specialty shops that were all out to make a profit. In addition, the spatial proximity of corporate pavilions and national ones (with Siemens and Germany in close proximity and with IBM and the United States as neighbors) conveyed an impression that these different sorts of institutions overlapped with one another and were in some ways coequal, codependent, and, as the *Official Guide* put it, "the perfect complement" of one another (Sociedad Estatal para La Exposición Universal Sevilla '92 1992:237). The sense of overlapping, interdependent institutions and functions was further compounded by the clustering of many exhibitions of participating countries in joint macroregional pavilions and by the prominence given to the

independent pavilions of international organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union. These convergences generated a multilayered image of interpenetrating institutions and polities that reflected a vision consistent with a new world order in which the power and authority of nation-states is both limited by and intertwined with that of other entities.

Even so, exactly what sort of impact the organizers of the Expo supposed that all of this was going to have on visitors to the event was never completely clarified and, indeed, was a matter of considerable dispute in the planning stages of the exposition. Some experts (primarily those in the Olivencia group, discussed below) wished to stress a humanistic, tutelary Expo of “ideas,” while other experts (in the Pellón group, also discussed below) were skeptical of any but the most superficial invocations of high-minded concepts and were largely content with organizing engaging diversions and entertainments. Neither group, however, ever seriously doubted that its members were entitled to mold the experiences, values, and dispositions of the public as they saw fit. Partly as a result of this assumption, the Expo conveyed an essentially two-tiered view of the social order—an appropriately domesticated and highly mediated and up-to-date version of Marx’s classical distinction of bourgeoisie and proletarians that might be termed “experts” and “just plain folks.” The highest virtue and authority were associated with heroic “discoverers” in various realms of endeavor, who along with their understanding sponsors and loyal assistants have actively employed the resources and tools of representation and reason “to solve the problems of humankind” (Office of the Commissioner General 1987:43). Everyone else was essentially part of the crowd; but as citizens and subjects of an increasingly cosmopolitan world, they were clearly expected to become open-minded, tolerant, and, above all, flexible, mobile, and adaptable to changing circumstances. As a result, the Expo encouraged, indeed required, visitors to keep shifting their perspectives and to identify their own interests at least partially with the experts and partially with others of diverse backgrounds from around the world.

In terms of its class dynamics, the Expo can thus be seen as a celebration of the leadership of an increasingly cosmopolitan, meritocratic, professional-managerial elite of policymakers, academics, scientists, and other experts who are supposed to be essential for the expansion of knowledge, the smooth day-to-day functioning, and the long-term development and integration of both Europe and the new world order (see Hannerz 1990).

How much general success and efficacy the Expo had in conveying this vision of Spain, Europe, and the world to a broad audience is rather difficult to judge. For most casual visitors, who lacked the time and inclination to fit the various pieces of the puzzle together in any coherent way, it seems as if the Expo was just a mild reinforcement of what superficially appeared to be familiar and unobjectionable liberal values and perspectives that are conveyed by many other ways and means. But Expo sponsors and officials, Sevillanos (i.e., ordinary citizens of Seville and surrounding towns), and Expo protesters were much more intensely engaged by the event, so their responses to it were considerably sharper and more revealing. For each of these groups, the Expo represented a different sort of place.

Socialists, Functionaries, and Sevillanos: Cosmopolitan Liberalism and Cosmopolitan Localism

Among the sponsors and officials of the Expo were members of Spain's governing party. Although heavily committed to a cosmopolitan, liberal, and Europeanist vision of Spain, the Socialists of the PSOE also viewed the Expo project through the narrower lens of partisan national, regional, and local politics. From this perspective, the Expo site, which was supposed to be converted into a high-tech research and development park in 1993, was part of a broader strategy to promote the modernization and development of Andalusia, a region that still ranked 3rd among the European Union's 171 regions in unemployment and 152nd in per capita gross domestic product in the early 1990s (*Diario 16 7/10/92:55*). Moreover, partly because the massive funds invested in the Expo held forth many possibilities for political patronage, the Socialists viewed the Expo as an ideal opportunity to secure the party's crucial southern electoral base against other political forces, including the conservative Partido Popular and an almost moribund but still potentially threatening regionalist political group known for most of this period as El Partido Andalucista.

Like many other Andalusians, Sevillanos were skeptical about the Expo from the very beginning. Above all, they were concerned with two key questions: Exactly whose Expo was it going to be—Seville's, Spain's, or the Socialist Party's? And who was going to benefit most from it? From the earliest stages of planning, many Sevillanos felt that the Socialists' responses to these questions and associated issues were flawed and equivocal, precisely because of the larger national and international interests that the event was supposed to serve. Although

the following abridged chronicle touches on just a few high points in the long history of tense relations between the Expo and Seville, it should be sufficient to allow for some insights concerning cosmopolitan liberalism and the cumulative cultural and political impact of the Expo.

The Socialists' first serious error was to nominate architect Ricardo Bofill for the crucial office of Commissioner General of the exposition. Bofill was an attractive candidate because he was internationally known, but he was not formally a Socialist and would thus preserve the nominal status of the Expo as a "nonpartisan" state project while still permitting the Socialists to take the lion's share of political credit for the event. However, Bofill is a Catalán, and his nomination immediately produced howls of protest from Seville, where the consensus was that there were many Andalusians well qualified to fill the post. Thus, having started out by offending the very region that it was intent on courting, the government rushed to make amends by naming Manuel Olivencia, who was a law professor at the University of Seville, to the post of Commissioner General of the Expo.

This choice was a fateful one. Although the Olivencia appointment was generally popular in Seville, it vastly annoyed many Socialist militants, who regarded the professor as a representative of the city's right-wing elite, and their unremitting opposition to Olivencia eventually led to the appointment of Jacinto Pellón, an engineer and a Socialist supporter with minimal Andalusian connections, to the important position of Executive Director of the State Society of Expo '92, the wing of the Expo organization that was in charge of the construction and day-to-day administration of the event. Not altogether surprisingly, this arrangement soon degenerated into a struggle for ascendancy inside the Expo, with Olivencia's mostly conservative and academic Andalusians pitted against Pellón's mostly non-Andalusian and Socialist functionaries.

As mentioned above, one of the forms this struggle took was a series of conflicts over the design and contents of the exposition. More important, however, the conflict inside the Expo became intertwined with local politics in Seville when Pellón chose to challenge Olivencia's authority by independently announcing in the autumn of 1990 that a one-day admission ticket for the Expo would cost about forty dollars. This move led Olivencia to threaten to resign, and it simultaneously created a crisis in the city because it meant that the Sevillanos would not have ready access to the Expo site. Thus, amidst a wave of popular protest, a majority on the city council called for Pellón's immediate dismissal. At this point, the President of the Spanish government, Felipe

González, intervened and restored a semblance of peace to the scene by calling for “more work and less discussion” (*ABC* 12/15/90:5). However, González, who was a born and bred Sevillano and the former student of Manuel Olivencia, did not really resolve any of the critical issues of control and access to the site that had caused the conflict.

The crisis of the autumn of 1990 spilled over into the municipal election campaign of the spring of 1991. During the campaign, Alejandro Rojas Marcos, who was the leader of El Partido Andalucista and a candidate for the position of mayor of Seville, accused Seville’s Socialist leaders of kowtowing to the Expo organization and the national party apparatus, and he pledged to retake the “Bastille” of the Expo for the people of the city. Although his Socialist opponent, Luis Yáñez, was a native of Seville, in most people’s minds he was more associated with Madrid than with his hometown, and he compounded his difficulties by insisting for months that he could serve as mayor of Seville and still maintain his position as President of the Fifth Centenary Commission, the governmental organ responsible for arranging all the events held in Spain to commemorate Columbus’s historic voyage.

As a result of such political miscalculations, Rojas Marcos’s strategy proved remarkably successful. In June 1991, with the support of El Partido Popular, he became Seville’s mayor, a position that had been occupied by Socialists for nearly a decade. This was a stunning defeat for the Socialist party, which now faced the intolerable prospect of having a non-Socialist in the post of Commissioner General of the Expo and a non-Socialist serving as mayor of Seville and greeting the dignitaries and visitors to the event in 1992. In short order, therefore, Olivencia was fired and replaced by a figurehead, while Pellón became for all practical purposes the supreme commander of the Expo. Thus, less than a year before the Expo opened, Seville was governed by a regionalist who was committed to defending the city’s interests vis-à-vis the Expo and the state, while the Expo was ruled by an abrasive and unpopular technocrat whose primary concern was to ensure the event’s financial and international success.

An uneasy truce between these two men prevailed for some months as the Expo entered its final and frenzied last stages of construction and as Rojas Marcos and his somewhat reluctant partners from El Partido Popular in Seville tried to work out the terms of their political marriage of convenience. Nevertheless, the crisis phase of this extended social drama began scarcely a week after the Expo opened. Worried that a crush of local visitors would drive away freer-spending outside tourists, Pellón brusquely proclaimed that “the Expo is not for

Sevillanos” and criticized those whom he characterized as wanting “to set up house” on the site (*Diario 16* 5/1/92:3, 5/1/92:23, and 5/9/92:2). Shortly thereafter, he added injury to insult by announcing that the sale of relatively cheap season passes to the Expo was suspended. In other words, he appeared to be barring the gates to the Expo in a way that was clearly intended to leave many Sevillanos on the outside looking in. In response, Rojas Marcos and other local politicians represented this decision as “a declaration of war” against the city (*El Correo* 6/23/92:2), and many citizen groups and private individuals denounced Pellón and pledged to seek redress from the courts. After much maneuvering and many failed attempts to reach a political compromise, matters degenerated to such a point that Pellón was publicly booed and ridiculed when he appeared at an opera performance in Seville (*Diario 16* 7/12/92:4). Similarly, when Rojas Marcos visited the Expo in early October to give a speech on the occasion of Seville’s official day of honor, the Socialists in attendance greeted the mayor with a barrage of catcalls and then staged a dramatic walkout (*ABC* 9/30/92:2).

The direct political schism between the Expo and Seville had two sorts of effects that tended to delegitimize cosmopolitan liberalism as a specific political project and a broader hegemonic strategy. First, although the Socialists had been the leading advocates of Europeanization and cosmopolitan liberalism in Spain during the 1980s and early 1990s and had expended massive resources on the Expo and Seville in order to build Andalusian infrastructure, neither they nor their agenda significantly benefited from the Expo. Their party failed to harvest any direct political or electoral gains in Andalusia in subsequent years. Indeed, their efforts aided the resurrection of *El Partido Andalucista* as an oppositional force and directly led to the end of their political dominance in Seville. Moreover, in tandem with press coverage of a steady stream of unrelated political and financial scandals, the split between the Expo and the city reconfirmed the Sevillanos’ and others’ long-held conviction that national politicians and state officials in general are not so much representatives or mediators who act in the interests of all but, rather, are members of an entrenched “political class” who pursue their own interests with little real regard or respect for the opinions or needs of ordinary citizens.

Second, the political schism between the Expo and Seville undermined the broader cultural and socioeconomic strategies of the event’s organizers. From the perspective of Pellón and the Expo organization, the people of Seville had two primary roles to play. As visitors to the island that served as the Expo site, the Sevillanos were to

pay their entrance fees and act and be treated like everybody else in the crowd. However, as independent business people and employees of the Expo, the Sevillanos were also expected to work with discipline and dedication to make the event a financial and public relations success. Indeed, because Seville itself was officially a “pavilion” of the Expo, with its own exhibitions in the Cathedral and in sites scattered elsewhere around the city, all citizens of Seville were encouraged to act as helpful and courteous guides for outsiders, to “open the city to the world” and thereby show how modern and progressive life in a former provincial backwater had become.

From the beginning, however, many Sevillanos tended to see their roles somewhat differently. Rather than regarding themselves as tourists or temporary paid and unpaid service employees of the Expo, they saw themselves as the true hosts, even proprietors, of the exposition and generally aimed to be hospitable by introducing visitors not only to the Expo but also to the pleasures and values of a distinctive local way of life that celebrates intense, tradition-based forms of sociability. As Rojas Marcos put it in his opening day speech, the crucial role that Sevillanos had to play was to show visitors how “to live life more intensely” (*ABC* 4/21/92:8). Thus, in the first weeks of the Expo, local people tended to view the event as an extension and complement of the two great spring rites that they had always celebrated—namely, *Semana Santa* (holy week) and the great *feria* (fair and secular celebrations) of April.

As a result, when Pellón barred the gates to the Expo by canceling the sale of season passes, Sevillanos tended to react by representing the hitherto incipient and repressed split between the official liberal values promoted by the Expo and the tradition-based values embraced by the city as a cultural cleavage of monumental proportions. Moreover, they refused to give up the effort to claim the Expo as their own and incorporate its environs into the city. Indeed, it seemed as if they renewed their resolve to treat the Expo simply as Seville’s newest neighborhood—an ideal place for walks along the river, conversation, drinking, eating snacks, singing, dancing, and romance, particularly in the evenings after most of the Expo pavilions had closed and admission prices to the site were lowered.

Through the more or less spontaneous (but not by any means entirely unconscious or unintended) efforts of Sevillanos, two Expos thus came to exist. The first, Expo Día, or the “daytime Expo,” was the one characterized by hordes of tourists waiting in lines in Seville’s sweltering heat to catch a glimpse of the wonders of the world. The second, Expo Noche, or the “nighttime Expo,” was dominated by

Sevillanos, who invaded the island and sought to charm and seduce (sometimes quite literally) their guests at a particularly animated, large, and elaborate local fiesta. Ultimately, the existence of these two quite different Expos did the event no harm as a tourist attraction. On the contrary, perhaps the most common answer to the endlessly repeated question, “What’s the best thing about the Expo?” was “Seville.” But the Expo clearly failed to transform Sevillanos into the ideal subjects of cosmopolitan liberalism, subjects who fluctuate between one identity and another and are grateful to experts for the direction and benefits they provide. Instead, it led to the reanimation of a rooted, populist, egalitarian alternative that involved more than just the commercial exploitation of local custom and color. This alternative, which is perhaps best characterized as cosmopolitan localism, was grounded in personalist values of hospitality and mutual respect and was as tolerant of the differences among ordinary people as it was skeptical of the policies of encompassing corporate and state institutions directed by meritocratic elites.

Nowhere was the reaffirmation of a locally rooted identity more evident than in the public persona (and, to some extent, in the actual words and deeds) of Manuel Olivencia. After he lost his post as Commissioner General of the Expo, Olivencia maintained nearly a year of dignified silence and did not attend the opening ceremonies of the event. During this period, however, the local press represented him as a politically naive Andalusian gentleman who had sacrificed his personal life and career for the Expo and had wound up on the scrap heap, an innocent victim of state and party politicians and scheming technocrats. To be sure, there was a certain irony in this representation, because for most of his tenure in office, Olivencia had acted as an urbane and sophisticated Spanish statesman and diplomat. His primary responsibility had been to negotiate agreements with the representatives of other governments, and in doing so he had paid relatively little attention to the relations between the Expo and Seville. However, after the “war” between the city and Pellón began, Olivencia let it be known through interviews and editorials that he had long harbored and continued to have many concerns about the contents, policies, and finances of the event and its impact on Seville.⁶ As a result, in the minds of many Sevillanos, the former Commissioner General became a popular hero who represented everything that they liked about the Expo as it actually existed as well as all the lost promise of the even grander and more open Expo that might have been if only Olivencia had been

allowed to continue in his post and to enlist the aid of more Sevillanos in the project.

In sum, then, from both a directly political and a more broadly cultural perspective, the relations between the Expo and Seville revealed the weaknesses as much as the strengths of cosmopolitan liberalism as an emergent hegemonic project. Although Sevillanos by no means wholly rejected cosmopolitan values, they regarded these values as an extension and complement of local and regional cultural traditions, and they clearly refused to accept the notion that technobureaucratic elites and the state should be given the roles of privileged guardians, judges, and mediators of such values. Repeatedly and in a wide variety of ways, they seemed to assert that one cannot really be a full citizen of Spain, Europe, or the world without having primary ties to a particular place and participating in its way of life.

Outsiders and the Limits of Cosmopolitan Liberalism

Yet to complete the picture of cosmopolitan identity at the Expo, it is necessary to discuss, at least briefly, a darker side of the cultural politics of the event—a side that involved the use of state power and the manipulation of public opinion to police and repress political and cultural differences and dissent, rather than to accommodate and mediate them. In this respect, the Expo appeared to be less an island open to the world than a fortress, panopticon, or high-security zone of limited access, electronic surveillance, and crowd control. It was an island that was closely, though often virtually invisibly, guarded by thousands of agents of state security.

The primary justification for the heavy security measures surrounding the Expo was to guard against terrorist attacks, particularly by Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), the clandestine Basque independence group that has been engaged in a bloody, protracted armed struggle against the Spanish state for decades. Fears of such attacks were not idle. As late as December 1991, ETA had planted three bombs in Seville. The quite reasonable right of Expo visitors to be protected from violence, however, tended to be conflated by officials and much of the press with the far more problematic notion that visitors' fun at the Expo ought not to be dampened by protesters.

In other words, while some of the security steps that were taken at the Expo were clearly necessary, other steps seemed designed to repress nonviolent dissent. So much was evident in the treatment received by the loose coalition of greens, pacifists, indigenous leaders, and radical

youths from Spain, Europe, and Latin America, who wished to denounce the “genocide” of 1492 and the destructive effects of colonialism, neocolonialism, and capitalism on the environment and on indigenous peoples around the world.⁷ These protesters were unlikely to have had any great impact on the success of the Expo, because the event’s organizers had already taken steps to neutralize such concerns by celebrating diversity, organizing conferences, recognizing environmental problems, and virtually banishing Columbus from the island world. Nevertheless, state functionaries in Seville refused to issue permits for any public meetings or marches to these groups. Moreover, when shortly after the Expo opened, about 400 youths launched a more or less spontaneous demonstration in the center of Seville after a rock concert, a special police unit attacked the crowd, not only with truncheons and the usual anti-riot paraphernalia but also with live ammunition. As a result of this display of overwhelming force, three people suffered life-threatening gunshot wounds, dozens of others were beaten and fled to hospitals, and dozens more were jailed. In the following days, other peaceful protests were halted, arrests were made at the gates of the Expo, a campground on the outskirts of Seville was raided, and a total of about ninety people from Andalusia, the Basque country, Catalonia, Austria, Germany, and elsewhere were detained.

In the meantime, security officials let it be known that there was ample evidence (very thin and unconvincing evidence, as it turned out) that the protesters were linked to ETA and that there was a broad conspiracy afoot to disrupt and, if possible, to close the Expo. Thus, ecological pacifists and members of the Association for Human Rights from Seville were tarred with the same brush as Basque nationalists, Catalán anarchists, and so-called punks from northern Europe. Editorialists in the local press helpfully chimed in by characterizing those under arrest as “outsiders,” “barbarians,” “savages,” and “huns” (see *Diario 16* 4/23/92:3 and 4/21/92:5). And in short order, the courts sentenced several Spanish youths to lengthy jail terms for assault and expelled fifty or so foreigners from Spain. So much for the Expo that promised something for everyone. So much for the free movement of people and ideas in a Europe without borders. And so much as well for the protests. Although several suits alleging unlawful arrest and police brutality were filed and official inquiries were promised, the calm of the Expo was never disturbed again. As many local protesters readily admitted, they were intimidated because the authorities had made it very clear that there was quite literally no place for radical dissent at the Expo or in Seville in 1992.

Conclusions

What broader significance does this account of Expo '92 have for understanding the politics of place and identity in the anthropological study of contemporary Europe? Rather than attempting to tie everything up in a neat bundle likely to be marked "disposable truths," let me end by suggesting three overlapping areas of continuing concern.

First, although the Expo was touted as a celebration of the achievements and promise of the new democratic Spain within the new order of a cosmopolitan and liberal European Union, the politics of space and identity that permeated the event suggest a condition of present stasis and possibly impending crisis in processes of democratization. As corporate elites and state experts invoked ideals of freedom and tolerance to further the concentration of power in their own hands, citizens of Seville felt compelled to reassert their own sense of cultural and, to some extent, political autonomy, while protesters discovered that their radical egalitarian versions of cosmopolitanism were deemed beyond the bounds of legitimacy. From this perspective, the Expo was less a "showcase for the new world of the future" than it was an arena in which a down and dirty free-for-all for cultural and political authority occurred. Ultimately, however, the outcome of this contest was from most perspectives a less than inspiring stalemate—a tempest in a teapot. Therefore, even if, as seems likely, ordinary people and committed dissenters alike persist in their efforts to advance alternative visions of how to be citizens of their homelands and the world, what happened at the Expo does little to reassure us that such efforts will necessarily lead to a significant democratic transformation of sociopolitical relations any time soon. This may especially be the case in some of the hitherto peripheral and marginal areas of Europe that are for a wide variety of reasons rapidly taking on many of the characteristics of the politicoeconomic and cultural core zones. In such areas, there is an even greater danger than elsewhere that all sorts of urgent problems and questions concerning the exercise of democratic oversight and control over institutions, policies, and resources will be crammed into the overly constrictive and sterile mold of an argument between modern, forward-looking cosmopolitans and tradition-grounded, defensive localists.

Second, in light of this situation, one of the key contributions that anthropologists can make to the study of contemporary Europe is to develop what might be thought of as a set of neo-Toquevillean projects and themes that explore the varieties of European liberalism in order to

better understand how notions of freedom, tolerance, equality, democracy, the individual, civil society, and the state vary in expression and practice from place to place, from time to time, and according to people's social positions, immediate circumstances, and life trajectories. Surely, the investigation of how the values of liberalism are understood among elites and ordinary citizens alike is as important a topic to consider as our current central concerns with the politics of different sorts of apparently more "rooted" national, regional, ethnic, class, racial, and gendered identities. It may even help cast some light on why, as John Borneman and Nick Fowler (1997:510) have observed, processes of Europeanization sometimes appear to be locked in an almost "manic-depressive cycle" of "Europhoria" and "Europessimism."

Third, the development of any critical neo-Toquevillean ethnography worthy of the name is likely to require a further, more fundamental rethinking of anthropology and particularly of the anthropology of Europe. Many readers will recall that not too long ago, apart from a few people working in city slums, in the mountains, or on the "Celtic fringe," most anthropologists who studied in Europe thought of themselves as rural Mediterraneanists. Thanks in no small measure to Michael Herzfeld and a few others (see, for example, Herzfeld 1987, Asad et al. 1997, and Parman 1997), we discovered, however, that the constitution of the Mediterranean as a culture area was highly problematic because representations of it were so heavily conditioned by processes involved in the consolidation of the urban, national, and European identities of northerners, who for the most part resided in one or another center of power and authority. This was a political and theoretical insight of extraordinary importance, and it was a key element in the emergence of a more diverse, open, critical, self-reflexive, and geographically extended anthropology of Europe. Now, however, with the rise of new forms of pan-Europeanism in the midst of processes of global restructuring, it is incumbent on us to think again about anthropology's relationship to the new Europe and the new world order.

One way to begin to do so is by reexamining the depth of the relationship between anthropology as a discipline and cosmopolitan liberalism as an emergent hegemonic formation. In historical terms, the global scope and the broad mission of anthropology make it possible to construe it as a sort of academic ur-discipline or perhaps intellectual stalking horse of cosmopolitan liberalism. As an objectifying scientific project, anthropology has long been concerned with delineating rigorous structures of common difference that enable systematic cross-cultural

comparison; and as a humanistic and ethical study that generally celebrates pluralism, it has sought to understand human differences in order to mediate and “translate” them in ways that are intended to foster human comity and communication and to counter the force of divisive “ethnocentric” particularisms.

Moreover, many of the discipline’s contemporary dilemmas (as outlined, for example, by Kuper in 1994 and Weiner in 1995)—including its most recent “crises” of method, mission, message, and public presence—are closely related not only to transnational and national processes of politicoeconomic reorganization but also to the emergence of cosmopolitan liberalism as a significant cultural and ideological force and particularly to the academic politics involved in the formation of meritocratic cosmopolitan elites. From this perspective, the partly reflexive and self-critical investigation of cosmopolitan liberalism may help us to arrive at a more rigorous and balanced understanding not only of the forces shaping Europe and the new world order but also of our own and our discipline’s limits, possibilities, and responsibilities in relation to these forces.

Notes

1. These figures concerning Expo attendance are derived from the *Memoria general de La Exposición Universal Sevilla 1992* (Sociedad Estatal de Gestión de Activos 1993:277-98). Readers should be aware that the figures cited in this source for the number of visits and visitors have been contested. The *Memoria* claims that there were 41,814,571 visits to the Expo (1993:281). Since the vast majority of people, including foreign tourists, visited the site more than once and since Sevillanos with season passes visited many times, the exact number of visitors is unknown. Estimates vary widely between about 9 million and 18 million visitors (see also the special section on the Expo in *ABC* 10/13/92:14-15).

2. For a stimulating view of Expo ‘92 that stresses the postmodern rather than the political aspects of the event, see Harvey 1996.

3. The literature on the cultural and other aspects of European integration has become a growth industry. For a sampling of the work being done, see Borneman and Fowler 1997; Caplan and Feffer 1996; Garcia 1993; Jenkins and Sofos 1996; Nelson, Roberts, and Veit 1992; Shore 1993; Wicker 1997; Wilson and Smith 1993; and Zetterholm 1994.

4. On the cultural politics of world's fairs, see Benedict 1983; Bennett 1994; Ley and Olds 1988; Mitchell 1989; Rydell 1993; and Tenorio-Trillo 1996.
5. For a progressive and highly legalistic vision of what principles should constitute a cosmopolitan polity, see Held 1995.
6. See, for example, Olivencia's comments to a reporter from *ABC* (10/12/92:60-61).
7. For accounts of the conflicts between protesters and officials, see *ABC* 4/20/92:58 and 4/22/92:51; *Diario 16* 4/20/92:5, 4/21/92:5, and 4/22/92:8; *El Correo* 4/16/92:43; and *El País* 3/31/92:10.

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Touching Death: Tellurian Seduction and the Spaces of Memory in Famine Ireland

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Why death?

An equally pertinent question might be: why not?

To invoke death is always to allude to the gratuitous, the excessive, the unsymbolizable, to that which at once founds and threatens the ordering of the human world. Jacques Derrida has recently reminded us that death is also another name for the gift, the impossible gesture of uncalculated generosity which inaugurates the regulated play of forces within any economy, including the socially mediated exchange of linguistic signs (Derrida 1995). The gift of death establishes a primordial relationship of indebtedness to the Other, the excluded, the perennially forgotten, a relationship not to be articulated but broached obliquely through the medium of bodily praxis and sensation – the shudder inspired by the decaying corpse, the spasmodic release of laughter or tears, the sensory hinterland between sleep and waking. In touching death we are recalled irresistably to our own (personal and collective) prehistory, as the scene of an obligation prior to chronology, language, subjectivity, the Proper Name.

Picture now a landscape indelibly marked by the after-traces of catastrophe: a million or more dead, piled indiscriminately into mass graves, or buried where they fell in fields and hedgerows.¹ Consider these strange extravagances of mortality as transposed not into civic monuments or the documents of a retroactively woven “national” history, but into the vernacular signatures of that same landscape – a repertoire of gestures and stories only latterly gathered up by the modern nation state in the guise of “folklore.”

Accounts of the famine years collected by the Irish Folklore Commission during the 1930s and ‘40s refer frequently to the stone cairns, or “leachta”, which mark the sites of numerous wayside burials.² Take the following, from North West Erris in County Mayo, a now largely depopulated region of mountain and moorland on Ireland’s Atlantic coast:

There are numerous stoneheaps or “lachta” [*sic*] on the mountains in the vicinity of Glenamoy, believed to be the spots where dead bodies were found – victims of hunger – and it is believed that many of the victims were merely on their journey to Rossport when they collapsed from exhaustion and died there. [RBE 1072:61; NW Erris, Co. Mayo]

The space configured by these extemporised monuments is at once empty and crowded – as though physical dissolution had granted the dead an expanded and ineradicable presence. Writing in 1847, the Quaker James H. Tuke, on a fact-finding mission for the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends, had described the same landscape as teeming with subterranean life, with several thousand people housed in makeshift dwellings cut into the side of the bog (*Transactions* 1852).³ Latterly, they had been supplanted by a no less numerous population of in-dwelling ghosts, sharing the terrain with other, longer-standing inhabitants: the Tuatha de Danann, a supernaturally gifted, semi-divine race, defeated and exiled underground, according to one version of the story, by the invading Sons of Mil, legendary ancestors of the Celts; their successors and counterparts, the “sidhe”, or fairies; and an ever-growing number of the dead of past generations – murder victims, drowned sailors, army deserters – their passing similarly marked by anonymously erected stone cairns; Robert Hertz’s segregated dead finding an uneasy solidarity in the shared fact of their exclusion.⁴ Another of the Folklore Commission’s collectors, Daithi O’Ceantabhaill of Croom, County Limerick, recorded that, in his native district, famine burial sites were the object of a “superstitious fear” in the minds of local people (the origins of which he attributed to a core pragmatic dread of disease and contagion). Others of the Commission’s accounts attested that such sites were linked to the apparition of ghosts (Co. Kerry) or fairies (Co. Leitrim), suggesting too the ongoing assimilation of the famine dead to a pre-existing pantheon of supernatural beings.

A decade later, in 1946, with the same accounts enshrined in a burgeoning national archive, the researches of folklorist Maire MacNeill testified further to the enigmatic after-life of these same dead. Passers-by, she noted, on encountering a wayside cairn, were expected to add a stone (MacNeill 1946). Failure to do so might involve suffering the same fate as the person whose death was commemorated by the heap (Donegal, Galway, Cork, Cavan). MacNeill compared what she took to be the orthodox Roman Catholic interpretation of this practice

(as recorded, for instance, in Leitrim) – that the stones were raised as a reminder to pray for the dead – with the quite different view recorded in Mayo and West Donegal, where it was claimed that adding a stone to a wayside cairn was a form of protection against the vengeance of the deceased, intended to hold the dead down more securely and prevent them from rising: “There is no danger that the person who is gone will come upon the person who puts a stone upon the cairn” (RBE 653:30; West Donegal). Such a gesture appears no less an act of defence than one of remembrance, prompting one to ask whether commemoration is not itself perhaps a strategy of containment, aimed at annulling the wayward energies of the deceased by assigning them to a determinate time and place.

“Leachta” were taken to mark not only burial sites, but also places of death, where the body of the deceased first touched the ground, before being transported elsewhere for interment. Bridget Carduff, of Rosspport, County Mayo (again, interviewed by the Commission), recounted a story, heard from her father, set during the famine years and concerning a stone cairn situated on land owned by her family: a boy, Thomas Rooney, was out tending sheep when he saw a man staggering from hunger. He notified his father and elder brother, who in turn told the landlord. Having established that the man was a Catholic, they summoned a priest to perform the last rites. The man was buried in the local graveyard (Kilcommon) and a “leacht” was erected where he fell (RBE 1072:61-3; Mrs Bridget Carduff, Rosspport, Co. Mayo).

In cases where a stone cairn marked the scene of a death rather than a burial, the perceived threat to the living appeared to proceed not from the dead themselves, but from an impersonal force attendant upon the location of their demise. In Galway, Maire MacNeill was informed that the inimical power attendant upon a death-place was given the name “tír” [country, land]:

Wherever a person is killed it is said there is “tír”. There is “tír” in the first puppy of the litter. What is understood by “tír” is a permanent fatal power for evil existing from the beginning in certain things, places and animals. Whoever is born on Whit Sunday, for instance, is fated to kill, and from that “tír” there is no escape. (RBE 653:446; Galway; trans. MacNeill 1946)

As a primordial malign energy existing “from the beginning” (and identified, seemingly, with the immemorial presence of the land itself),

“tír” was further associated not only with actual sites of death, but also with any place where a corpse or coffin had touched the ground. Again in Erris, County Mayo (according to another account from the IFC archives), stone heaps marked the spot where a coffin was laid down so that a mother could see her son who had died and been waked away from home. The same source noted a more general aversion to setting down a coffin: “I have seen a coffin resting on men’s shoulders for almost an hour while waiting for a “currach” to carry it across the bay to the burial ground. Of course the bearers were relieved regularly by relays of men while waiting for the boat.” (RBE 653:275; Erris, Co. Mayo)

If death-places are marked by the imputation of a dangerous permeability between the spheres of the living and the dead, it is no less striking that this should be materialised in a form analogous to Frazer’s much-cited magical principle of contagion, by which: “things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed (Frazer 1911:52). More specifically, we may be prompted to consider the implications of Frazer’s formulation for an understanding of collective remembrance as embodied in physical objects and features of landscape. The stone cairns which mark the sites of so many famine (and other) deaths are pre-eminently sites of social memory, where the collective past appears to press upon the present in a manner defying symbolic containment. The relation between society and its dead appears here to be an irreducibly aporetic one, comprising both repetition and forgetting – a scene of origin at once repudiated and repeatedly, obsessively alluded to, whether in the guise of piety or ritual prophylaxis.

Also associated with death-places, and implicated in a similar logic of contagion and contact-transmissability, was “Hungry Grass” (or Féar Gortach”). If a person stepped on it, it was claimed, he or she would be assailed by a terrible hunger, which caused death if not sated immediately. Death cairns, as MacNeill found, were frequently associated with this danger, particularly for those forgetting to add a stone: for instance, the so-called “Hungry Rock” at Coolaney (Co. Sligo) on the highest point of the main Ballina-Sligo road, where a priest was said to have been killed, and, in the adjoining county of Leitrim, a prehistoric cairn on Benbo mountain (MacNeill 1946). Specifically, Hungry grass was said to appear in spots where a corpse had fallen mouth downwards:

Anywhere a person was killed and fell mouth downwards,
they say Hungry Grass is in that place. If you step on the

spot the mouth touched, even if it were a thousand years before, you will be stricken by Hungry Grass. [RBE 627:9; Loughrea, Co. Galway]

In addition to confirming the power attributed to magical contagion through prior contact, the account given here of the origins of Hungry Grass recalls also a recurrent image in remembrances of the famine years: that of corpses whose mouths have been stained green from eating grass and nettles (RBE 354:627; Kiltartan, Co. Galway; RBE 1069:444; Ballina, Co. Mayo). Surely the horror and poignancy of such an image derive, to a large degree, from its compounding of vision and tactility, the stain being the residue of a now severed physical connection. It is precisely the lingering after-trace of such a connection that enables the telescoping of temporal distances – “even if it were a thousand years before...”

Writing of the death-places of contemporary West Belfast, Allen Feldman, similarly identifies their informing cultural logic as one of contiguity and “mimetic sympathy”. This is to be understood, he argues (following the lead of Marcel Mauss and R.D.Sack), as the persistence of a causal relation between detachable parts of an erstwhile whole (Feldman 1991:77-8; Sack 1980:148-9). Surely, however, it is precisely the implied temporal sequence underpinning notions of causality which is at issue here. Hungry Grass, with its potentially fatal effects upon the unwary trespasser, like the force of “tír” associated with wayside death-cairns, belongs, by definition, to a time before the present, the claims of which it nonetheless continues to urge. As such, its temporality appears resolutely non-linear, implying a disturbance of the diachronic ordering of pasts and presents. Both Derrida (1994) and Žižek (1994) have recently argued that such a slippage is a prerequisite for the appearance of the spectre or revenant, as a figure testifying not to the chronological separation of past and present, but to their continuing and inescapable inter-implication (which is also the inter-implication of death-in-life).

Might one be justified in further associating such a transgression of temporal and definitional boundaries with the gift itself, as the simultaneous negation and precondition of all forms of “balanced” exchange, and, further, with Georges Bataille’s lost, but ritually restored order of “intimacy” – of being-in-the-world as like among like – as it erupts periodically in the guise of perverse sexuality, violence or profitless consumption (Bataille 1992)? In this sense, the principle of contagion would function equally as a mode of embodied memory,

activating the return of the primordially repressed through the lingering traces of prior contact adhering to the surfaces of things long since separated, investing landscape with a mnemonic tactility as the medium through which the dead maintain a spectral presence among the living.

Why seduction?

In Jean Baudrillard's recent usage, "seduction" is taken to denote a yielding of subjectival privilege before the mute recalcitrance of the object (Baudrillard 1990). The bypassing of human agency and intentionality is similarly crucial to the practices and imaginings associated with burial cairns and *Hungry Grass*. The unleashing of malediction is both unsolicited and gratuitous - like Heidegger's "es gibt" of Being, through which the Earth's self-occlusion opens itself ceaselessly to the counterpoised World of human praxis and intellection (Heidegger 1993).⁵ The gift of death here marks the unwary passer-by by impinging physically upon his or her person. Furthermore, the debt thus affirmed cannot be understood simply as the duty of the living to remember the dead, although the recognition of such a duty is a central component of the cultural logic through which such encounters are retroactively scripted. Rather, the tactile appropriation of past misfortune serves to conjoin the social commemoration of disaster with an implied prehistory of selfhood, in which the unitary subject is precipitated outside itself to merge with the objects of perception. As in Kristeva's positing of the semiotic "chora" as a modality linked to the submerged but ineradicable presence of the maternal body within language, what is at stake is a repertoire of gestic communication which eschews the generation of meaning and the articulation of the linguistic sign as the absence of an object (Kristeva 1984). In this sense, the narratives appended to death-places must be understood, counterintuitively perhaps, as second-order elaborations, "social constructions" grounded unknowingly upon an asignifying substratum of language and culture. The storying of landscape and physical geography would thus constitute the retroactive elaboration of a foreclosed scene of origin, a gesture through which retrojected nature is precariously folded into culture's second-nature.

"Seduction" refers here, then, both to a distinct mode of cognition, predicated upon the sensuous-mimetic interchange of perceptor and perceived, and to the scene of an ethical obligation predicated upon an originary gift defying reciprocation, a gift one can no more refuse than one's own death.⁶ Such an obligation is no less at odds with

contemporary historiographical debates between revisionists and counter-revisionists than with the parsimony of nineteenth century British political economy, in so far as both have sought (albeit in radically different ways) to cloak the singularity of the gift-event in an appearance of discursive knowability.⁷ I wish to argue, in contrast, that consideration of the gift, as the impossible but necessary condition of subjectivity, knowledge and representational thought, is indispensable to the cultural imagining of catastrophe. The latter presupposes not only the articulation of a specific historical content, but also the transfigured remnant of a founding repression which at once marks and enables the constitution of the human subject as a historical being, an actor in linear time.

Maurice Blanchot writes of the disaster as that which is “outside history, but historically so” (Blanchot 1995:40). At once elusively absent and shockingly, obtrusively present, the disaster waits before and after language, borrowing its always provisional articulations from the realm of culture and historical praxis, whilst gesturing at the same time toward an unsymbolizable elsewhere. Blanchot warns that to await the coming of the disaster, of the gift of death, is always to risk finding that it has already happened, that it is already behind one, a compromising stain on the self-presence of the present, which is also a summons to an unforeseeable future. Is it not, finally, in recognition of this that writing can most effectively render justice to the famine dead – by registering the shock-waves of a disturbance which is both prior and yet-to-come? Meanwhile, there remains the trembling of surfaces and the allure of tactile knowing as it discloses the ghost inhabiting a familiar landscape. Tread carefully.

Notes

1. The actual extent of famine mortality (resulting both from starvation and disease) continues to be a subject of debate (cf. Donnelly 1989). Mokyr has suggested a higher figure of 1 498 000 if “averted births” are taken into account (Mokyr 1983).

2. Established in 1935, the Commission was responsible for the collection, preservation, study and classification of all aspects of Irish folklore. It continued in this role until 1971, when it was replaced by the Department of Irish Folklore and incorporated into University College Dublin (Almquist 1979).

3. Tuke visited Ireland during the Autumn of 1847. He singled out the area around Belmullet and the Erris peninsula (comprised largely of bogland with a small belt of fertile land surrounding Erris itself) as representing “the culminating point of physical degradation”

This barony (Erris) is situated upon the extreme north-west coast of Mayo, bounded on two sides by the Atlantic ocean. The population last year was estimated to be at 28 000: of that number, it is said, at least 2000 have emigrated, principally to England, being too poor to proceed to America; and that 600 have perished by starvation, dysentery and fever. There is left a miserable remnant of little more than 20 000; of whom 10 000 at least are, strictly speaking, on the verge of starvation. Ten thousand people within forty eight hours journey of the metropolis of the world, living, or rather starving, upon turnip tops, sand-eels, and se-weed, a diet which no one in England would consider fit for the meanest animal which he keeps. And let it not be supposed that of this famine diet they have enough, or that each of these poor wretches has a little plot of turnips, on which he may feed at his pleasure. His scanty meal is, in many cases, taken from a neighbour no richer than himself; not, indeed, at night, but, with the daring of absolute necessity, at noon-day.

On entering the houseless and uncultivated region of Erris, the traveller is reminded of the wilds of Canada: for some miles, hardly an acre of cultivated land or the appearance of human residence greets the eye. Yet this district is reported by the wasteland Commissioners as peculiarly capable of improvement. Advancing further in Erris, the desolation and wretchedness are still more striking. One may indeed occasionally imagine oneself in a wilderness abandoned to perpetual barrenness and solitude. But here and there, scattered over this desolate landscape, little green patches appear unexpectedly where no other sign of man presents itself to you; as you walk over the bog, and approach nearer to the spot, a curl of smoke arises from what you suppose to be a slight rise in the surface. To use the graphic language of a late continental visitor: “Let the traveller look where he is going, however, or he may make a

false step, the earth may give way under his feet and he may fall into - what? Into an abyss, a cavern, a bog? No, into a hut, a human dwelling place, whose existence he has overlooked, because the roof on one side was level with the ground, and nearly of the same consistency. If he draw back his foot in time, and looks around, he will find the place filled with a multitude of similar huts, all swarming with life." Of what is this human dwelling place composed? The wall of the bog often forms two or three sides of it, whilst sods taken from the adjoining surface form the remainder, and cover the roof. Window there is none; chimneys are not known; an aperture in front, some three or four feet in height, serves the office as door, window and chimney; "light, smoke, pigs and children all pass out through this same aperture." [*Transactions*:205-6]

According to William Bennett, who visited to the region in the same year, also on behalf of the Society of Friends, there were numerous families "squatting" on these otherwise unoccupied lands, a cabin being easily thrown up with the assistance of neighbours. Many of these "cabins", like the ones described by Tuke, were no more than holes dug into the bog and covered over with a layer of turf, with open doorways and no chimneys or windows. Furnishings were minimal, comprising, usually, a chest and a few tin or earthenware vessels. For Bennett, the people he encountered in Erris represented the degree-zero of human existence, life stripped to its barest, functional necessities. The impression was confirmed for him by Alfred Bishop, a Commissariat Officer whom he met in Belmullet and who had travelled widely and "been amongst the native tribes of the most uncivilized countries". Asked by Bennett whether he had ever seen people living in so degraded a condition, Bishop replied, "No, not even the Ashantees or wild Indians" (ibid.:164).

4. The subterranean exile of the Tuatha de Danann is recounted in the twelfth century *Lebor Gabala Erenn* (Book of the Taking of Ireland), itself a redaction, by a Christian scribe, of earlier traditions relating to the settlement and population of Ireland (Macalister ed. 1938-56; cf. also McCone 1990). The hypothesis that the Tuatha de Danann are the mythological precursors of the fairies ("sidhe") of popular belief is discussed by Spence (1946).

5. Heidegger's understanding of the relation between the terms "Earth" and "World" as one of simultaneous contrast and interdependence is expounded at length by Vycinas (1969). The significance of Heidegger's formulation for consideration of the gift is noted by Derrida (1993).

6. According to Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen, it is precisely the inescapable character of death that constitutes the human subject not as an autonomous agent, but as ontologically indebted to an absolute Other: "Receive the stranger": this ethical imperative that you would quickly oppose, and so easily, to the ontological solitude and egotism of dasein...Listen, therefore, and receive, for **YOU** already owe yourself to the other, having to respond to him/her and render him his due...listen again, you are not alone, your death is calling you – you owe it, your debt is outstanding: you are guilty" (quoted Ronell 1989:70).

7. On the views of the Irish situation promulgated by British political economists and the ideological role of economic discourse in nineteenth century Ireland, see Collison Black (1960) and Boylan and Foley (1991).

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Big Days, Big Nights: Entertainment and Representation in a Donegal Community

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Simon Schama, in *Landscape and Memory* (1995:18) has commented that “[a]ll our landscapes, from city park to the mountain hike, are imprinted with our tenacious, inescapable obsessions.” In this paper I would like to investigate some of these tenacious, inescapable obsessions as they are encoded in the landscape of Northwest Donegal, and how these intersect with metaphors of emotionality among the people of that region and among the Tory islanders in particular.

It is fitting, I think to open with a discussion of St. Colm Cille, Donegal’s saint par excellence, the 1400th anniversary of whose death was commemorated widely in 1997. He is, of course, a saint associated with many, many, places in both Ireland and Scotland. His *seanchas* (Ó hEochaidh 1963) was particularly strong in Donegal, and according to tradition, he is said to have been the one who brought Christianity to Tory Island, in the face of some stiff opposition (Mason 1936:15-16; Ó Colm 1995 [1971]:61-98; Fox 1978:5-7). Many poems are also ascribed to him (see for example Ó Rathile 1984 [1927]:126-130), particularly concerning his departure from Ireland. The fact that these were composed long after his death is not as important as the attitudes to place and exile which they reveal, attitudes, indeed, which have developed over time, in response to social and historical conditions and which are still of relevance in a modern context.

The particular piece of place name lore which caught my attention with regard to this is the story of *Leac na Cumhaí* usually translated as the Stone of the Sorrows. This stone is located in Gartan, near Churchill, in Donegal, the place traditionally associated with the Saint’s birth. Mánuis Ó Dónaill’s life of Colm Cille compiled in the mid-sixteenth century mentions this stone (Kelleher and Schoepperle 1918:100-101). His version of the story attached to the stone tells of a man who came to Colm Cille after many of his friends and relatives had died. He was so grief stricken that he wished to die rather than continue living. Colm Cille blessed a rock, and gave the man water to drink from this rock, curing him of his grief. The rock was subsequently known as *Leac na Cumhadh*.

More recently, in the 19th century, the people of the area believed that this was the rock on which Colm Cille was born, and that anyone

who would sleep on the rock would never feel homesickness – also called *cumha* in Irish. The growth of this tradition is interesting in the light of the interpretation of the term *cumha*, with its various shades of meaning. Micí Mac Gabhann, in *Rotha Mór an tSaoil* (1996 [1959]), distinguishes between the feelings, of *cumha* on the one hand, which signifies homesickness and longing for home, and *uaigneas*, which he equates with a fear of the supernatural. *Cumha*, however, is related to the feeling for home and the people associated with that place. The development of the tradition of *Leac na Cumhaí* as the birthplace of Colm Cille, represents, for me, an intensification of the story as given by Mánuis Ó Dónaill. Both variants stress the link between *cumha* and blood relationship, but, whereas Ó Dónaill's account connects *cumha* with grief for relatives, more recent tradition emphasizes the mother-son relationship. I believe that this intensification and focusing is quite significant in the light of the social conditions which prevail in Tory island and indeed, it can be said, in other Donegal communities also.

The connection of *cumha* and one of the closest bonds of kinship forms, I believe, an integral part of the *habitus* of the region, “systems of durable transposable *dispositions*” (Bourdieu 1977:72) which function as “principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively “regulated” and regular” without in any way being the product of obedience to rules..., collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor”. Moreover, it also points to a remarkable instance of *geopieté*, a term used by Yi-Fu Tuan (1976:12) to denote “a broad range of emotional bonds between man and his terrestrial home.” Furthermore, this scholar suggests that “the term “piety” covers relations not only among men but also between man and the gods, and man and nature; in fact the three are closely woven.”

It is precisely this interwoven complex of relations that I wish to explore in this paper. As Keith Basso (1996:6) has suggested:

In modern landscapes everywhere, people persist in asking, “What happened here?” The answers they supply...should not be taken lightly, for what people make of their places is closely connected to what they make of themselves as members of society and inhabitants of the earth, and while the two activities may be separable in principle, they are deeply joined in practice....We *are*, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine.

I first became interested in this story and its links to “the construction of social traditions” (Basso 1996:6) as I was researching the relationship between the terms *cumha* and *uaigneas* and the poetics of entertainment in Tory island. The period I am researching covers from about the mid-thirties to the present, focusing particularly on the youth of the consultants who are helping me. Dancing in their youth was, with evening visiting and storytelling, the main form of entertainment. Young people would also walk the road at night, talking and laughing, singing and generally enjoying themselves. There were house dances from time to time and a phenomenon known as the *raffle* existed, where articles of clothing unsuitable to the owner would be gambled. On certain festive nights, *oícheanta Ceann Féile*, associated with particular religious or social festivals, the community would carefully prepare the school house for a “big night”. The young unmarried men were in charge of this preparation and had to provide light for the dance and also to set the seating aside to create a space that was suitable for dancing. The school house is about 18 feet by 35 feet with five windows, two on the north side and three on the south. The lamps were hung from the walls, and long stools, known as forms, were set around by the walls to provide seating for the older members of the community, who would come out to the event, and who would supervise it, ensuring that all of its aspects were carried out correctly. The dancing space had a circular arrangement and the melodeon was passed from one to another musician as they got tired. The musicians stayed in their own places and it was the instrument that moved. The night was divided into two parts. The dance would begin between 10 and 11 at night and dancing would continue until people had had their fill. Then the singing would begin with up to 10 singers singing between 12 and 14 songs. This is because good singers were asked to sing a second song. After the songs were sung, the old people would rise and leave the dance and go home. The night would continue until 3 or 4 in the morning, but this was not regarded to have the same atmosphere as the first part of the night. One of my consultants (Mac Ruairí 1995) described the school as “cold,” when referring to the absence of the older generation. Performances were discussed minutely in the days that followed, with dances and songs critiqued in minutest detail for their correctness. Anyone who transgressed these ideals would be roundly criticized, the phrase used being “*Loiscfí leo é,*” the verb *loisc*, interestingly, having the connotation of scorching. Despite this stern criticism from the elders, the younger people still felt the lack of their presence, complaining of the cold appearance (*cuma fhuar*) of the school house. This identification of

absence with cold made me interested in exploring the concept further and relating it to the concept of *uaigneas*, which, particularly when used adjectivally (*uaigneach*), can mean lonely or wanting company, as well as its sense of fear of the supernatural that I have already mentioned.

This entertainment falls into the realm of play where, as Hans-Georg Gadamer (1989:101-133) has suggested, following Huizinga (1955 [1938]), art is not merely contemplated in a detached cerebral manner by the subject, but where the work and the reader of it are engaged in a to and fro movement which is an end in itself. Such a position marks an ontological turn advocated by Heidegger, and is particularly fruitful for understanding cultures, such as that of Tory, where Kantian principles of the aesthetic do not obtain. The fact that the presentation of play is an end in itself creates what Gadamer (1989:108) calls a closed world, which I would argue is a mimetic representation of the everyday world, where the dramas of coming of age, courtship, rivalry and, indeed, enmity, of life and death were played out in a ritualized and stylized manner, in a direct attempt to inspire what Victor Turner (1969) has called *communitas*, I use the term mimesis here in the same sense in which Paul Ricoeur (1991:137) employs it, as a representation of reality which is not a weak copy or a substitution, but a redescribed and iconically augmented reality (1991:117-136). By this I mean that participants' understandings of themselves and of their relations with others were deepened and reinforced through the metaphorical and symbolic systems played out in the emplotment of the dance event. The configuration of this repeated, but endlessly different space for song and dance was, and is, a metaphor for relations in the world of action and aims. Although it reflected and confirmed the ideology of the community, it was also, in a sense, a sincere attempt to grasp a utopian idyll, which created, in its repeated movement, a distention of time, complementing the closed world of the dance, where the beginning and end are known. This is the paradox of temporality – the three fold present called *distentio animi* by Augustine. As Paul Ricoeur (1984:67-8) has remarked:

It is as though recollection inverted the so-called “natural” order of time. In reading the ending in the beginning and the beginning in the ending, we also learn to read time itself backwards, as the recapitulation of the initial conditions of a course of action in its terminal consequences.

To return to linguistic matters and the way in which these relate to the dance space in Tory, I wish again to draw attention to the statement of my consultant and teacher Éamonn Mac Ruairí (1995), who commented on the coldness of the school house after the departure of the older people. This comment is linked into a complex web of inter-related symbolic concepts, which my consultants are not explicitly aware of. As Alan Dundes (1980:36) has pointed out, however, “[u]nconscious symbolism is just as hard for informants to articulate as is the grammar of the languages they speak.” In other words, if people do not see the symbolic connections between concepts, or even the concepts themselves, this is no reason to suppose that they do not exist. The phrase, *te dá chéile*, (Ó Colm 1995 [1971]:12) is one which is very commonly used in Tory and, indeed, in other parts of Donegal. It is used to describe the feeling that people have towards their blood relatives, or to members of the community. It must be said that in Tory, there is a considerable overlap in these domains, by which I do not mean to oversimplify the situation. John Ó Duibheannaigh (1997), a recognized authority on the Irish language and its traditions in his native Rinn na Feirste, emphasized that *te dá chéile* referred to blood relatives primarily, and that that this heat or warmth was not the same as friendship; that it was possible to be friendly with someone, but not to feel this *teas*. He said of such people that they were very *díoghraiseach* to one another, which means loyal or close, commenting also that the term clannish in English corresponded reasonably well to the idea in Irish. When I asked him specifically about old time house dances and whether those which were poorly attended could be described as cold, he agreed that they could, adding that a dance performed at such an event would be called *cúrsa fuar* – a cold set. This meant a dance that was performed because the event was supposed to be a dance, but without the *croí* and the *aigneadh* which should properly accompany dancing at such an event. These terms signify heart and jolliness. The fact that heat and cold refer to affective perceptions of the dance event as well as to human relations, which, as I have said, constituted a major part of these dance events, leads me to suggest a direct link between the heat of family loyalty and the heat generated by the dance in Tory. Indeed, I should also point out that the terms *mac húar* (signifying a cold son), and *mac gor* (signifying heat, but also meaning dutiful) were used in the older language as terminology to describe particular relationships between fathers and sons (DIL 1990).

This was, of course, first and foremost a physical heat, generated by the packing of well over a hundred people into the relatively small

space of the school house. But it was also seen in terms of affective intensity, a fact which has also been noticed for dancers in Newfoundland (Quigley 1985:89). A young Tory woman commented to me once that an event which had been held on the mainland had finished much too early, “*Níl mise ach ag téamh,*” – I’m only getting warmed up, which, I would argue, was an indication that the proper emotional temperature of the night had not been achieved in her opinion, as much as it commented on any physical heat. In the schoolhouse, originally, the songs seemed to have marked the high point of the night, although this also changed over time. According to Ó Colm (1995:251-255), both satirical and humorous songs in quick tempo and the slower, rhythmically freer songs with their correspondingly more serious and tragic themes of lost love and sea disasters were performed at this time. During the singing of the slower songs, strict silence was imposed on all present by those in charge of the event, thereby providing the immanent intensity of the songs with the necessary conditions to fill the space created for them. The totality of this silence was expressed in the familiar phrase, “*Chluinfeá an pionna a thitfeadh ar an urlár,*” i.e. you would hear the pin that would drop on the floor. Ó Colm comments on the stark contrast between the animated activity of the dancing and the lighter songs and the grave, contemplative atmosphere which accompanied the singing of the sad ones. Although he does not go into the matter in any more detail, I believe this contrast to be a very significant part of the proceedings, where the physical and mental transformation which accompanied the activity of dancing also helped to heighten the atmosphere of the singing, precisely because of the contrast. In sum, physical heat and emotional heat concurred in creating the proper atmosphere for the singing of the songs, the main interest for the older people. The songs, because of what John Miles Foley (1991:7) calls their “traditional referentiality,” carried very personal and intimate associations for the islanders. Such connections, of course, added to the emotional temperature, which when satisfactorily achieved, transformed the event into an *oíche mhór*, a “big night.” Occasionally these events were also held during the day, sometimes on the pier at the west end, if the school house was for some reason unavailable, and were, correspondingly, called *laethe móra* – big days.

One family in particular made use of this atmosphere to remember and publicly acknowledge their grief for the tragedy of a lost brother, who died suddenly in America shortly after leaving Tory in 1915 and who was buried there. He was Pádraig Dixon and his brothers and his sister Gráinne especially, always asked for a particular song at the

school house dance. This song, *A Phaidí a Ghrá má d'imigh tú*, was chosen because it mentions a character named Paidí who has gone away and whom the poet, a girl, wishes to come back home safely. A classic *Chanson de Jeune Fille* (Ó Tuama 1960, 1995) it is interesting that it was used as a representation of fraternal love in this case. According to Séamus Ó Dubhgháin, this song was requested by his mother in the wake house on the night he was being waked in Tory, although, as I have said, there was no corpse present. I would suggest, for this reason, that it did, in fact, touch upon the contradictions of family life in Tory where, as Fox states (1978:156), the tension between marital bliss and family loyalty could sometimes be inordinate. Nancy Scheper-Hughes has also discussed similar contradictions in her work in another Irish community (1982 [1979]). Significantly, none of this remarkable and talented² family ever married, except for one sister Hannah who had emigrated to America, and they continued to request this song from singers at the dance in the schoolhouse, for as long as they lived.

This same song had a completely different story, but strikingly similar associations, for Róise na nAmhrán Mhic Grianna, a singer from Aranmore island in West Donegal (Goan 1994). The Tory example constitutes the establishment of a new *údar* (i.e. authority or meaning; Shields 1993:77-79) for the song, personalizing and localizing in public acknowledgment and symbolic signification the themes of love, death and exile, themes which were worked through at the dance, in the space allowed for such expression. Again, the term for this is *cumha* and it is important to note also, that the adjective *cumhaidhiúil* is also used to describe the feelings elicited by such songs. I would argue that there is a direct link between the emotional heat just discussed and the concept of *cumha*, and furthermore, that this concept is an integral element in all human relations. This is borne out by the testimony of my consultant, John Ó Duibheannaigh, already mentioned, who directly linked *cumha* with the separation an infant feels from its mother, thereby linking it back to Colm Cille, evangelist of Tory, to the mother-son relationship associated with *Leac na Cumhaí* and, of course, to exile and separation. Although there is a certain overlap between the meanings of *cumha* and *uaigneas*, I believe they are fundamentally different concepts and that as heat can be associated with *cumha*, cold can be associated with *uaigneas*. The discourse associating space, place and concepts of emotional expression make up what Keith Basso (1996:81) has called “a developing matrix of utterances and actions bound together by a set of shared understandings...which serves as an expanding context for interpreting the meaning of utterances and actions alike.” This idea is similar to

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, mentioned above. I would suggest that it was the dance that provided a formal space for interpreting and expanding these associations, an opportunity for the redescription of reality in Ricoeur's terms. Finally, in support of this, I would like to quote from Paul Zumthor (1990:122) who has called the "spaces readied for dance and vocal performance" "sacred spots" regardless of how much they are camouflaged by secularization. Moreover, he refers to them as "umbilical cords" which accords strikingly with the evidence provided by the narratives of place and emotional space which I have discussed above. The dance then, according to Huizinga (1955 [1938]:165), "a particular and particularly perfect form of playing," is one locus for the expression of the Irish idea of *piety*, (to be dutiful to one's parents and gods) in which reciprocity is implicitly understood. One of its names in Irish is *díograis*, which together with its attendant concepts of *teas*, *fuacht*, *cumha* and *uaigneas*, represent anchors for some of Schama's "tenacious, inescapable obsessions," inextricably bound to a "geography of the mind" (Lowenthal 1976). Consequently they constitute an important component of how people, in Gerald Pocius' (1991) phrase, belong to places, and suggests strongly that Schama (1995:61) is correct in his argument that

[l]andscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock. But it should be acknowledged that once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their referents; of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery.

Notes

1. Different spellings of the word *cumha* in this paper indicate different orthographic conventions in the Irish language. *Cumha* is the standard spelling and pronunciation, as it was in the older language. In Donegal, however, the pronunciation is best represented by the spelling *cumhaí*, [ku:i]. The spelling *cumhaidh* is also used to represent this pronunciation, as the spoken form derives from an petrified dative, of which *cumhaidh* is the historical orthography. The classical genitive form *Leac na Cumhadh* will also be met in this paper.

2. The most well known of the family was Jimí Dhonnchaidh Eoin, a painter, known to the art world as James Dixon. One of his pictures adorns the cover of Declan Kiberd's *Inventing Ireland*.

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Mapping a Discourse: Irish *Gnosis* and the Ordnance Survey 1824 - 1841.

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V.Y. Mudimbe (1988:ix) explains that the word *gnosis* is related to the Greek word *gnosko* which meant “to know.” He goes on to explain that it “means seeking to know, inquiry, methods of knowing, investigation, and even acquaintance with someone.” I use the word *gnosis* in a general way to offset the idea of Irish knowledge from the idea of knowledge about Ireland, the accepted or given or adherent discursive webs of the imperial archives on which it may have become suspended. Ethnology, knowledge about *ethnos* or race, is a *genre* of the human sciences which, like any other, expresses itself within a general intellectual framework or epistemology. Post-modern ethnology is sensitive to issues of enquiry and investigation, to the methodological and theoretical implications of the enactment of knowledge. It provides a framework for the questioning of sociohistorical origins of discourses and epistemological contexts. My interest then is in the question of the creation of knowledge about Ireland in general and the representation of Irish alterity in the Ordnance Survey in particular. I am seeking to bring into focus the question of “Irishism” in much the same way as the questions of “Orientalism” in Said’s case, or, as in Mudimbe’s case, “Africanism” have been.

The Ordnance Survey of Ireland, instituted in 1824, is my focus for a discursive mapping of the meeting between Ireland and the British Empire, the Ordnance Survey following shortly after the Act of Union in 1801. It is important to understand at the outset—in a general sense as well as being central to the present thesis—that Ireland was predominantly Irish speaking at the time of the Union with the exclusion of the gentry and colonial officials (Hindley 1990:8). It is thought that in 1801, out of a population of five million, four million were Irish speaking. We can safely assume that this had not changed significantly in the following decades, indeed there is some evidence that the Irish language had flourished due to population increase up to 1831 (Williams and Ní Mhuiríosa 1985:312). The increasing bilingualism or linguistic duality of Ireland in the following hundred years and the emergence of English as the symbolic filter of things “Irish” becomes a central trope in eighteenth and nineteenth century Ireland. In this we

can see the salience of much of Memmi's or Fanon's writings on the 'situation of the colonised'; the physical and mental estrangement, the academic or antiquarian or folkloristic archaizing of the living language and tradition, as Memmi says, "Possession of two languages...actually means participation in two physical and cultural realms. Here, the two tongues are in conflict; they are those of the coloniser and the colonised" (Memmi 1990:173). The basis of my research is interdisciplinary by necessity and I will be touching on some theoretical and methodological issues in contemporary cartography, ethnography and translation studies. In doing this my ultimate aim is not only to map earlier discursive formations on "Irishness"—taking one point in an ongoing process from Geraldus Cambrensis to Father Ted—but to at least sensitise the whole area of Irish alterity or "otherness" in the past and the present. The Ordnance Survey is an interesting focal point for such a study engaging as it did with the vernacular culture through its memoirs (descriptions of "the Habits of the people" etc.), its letters (further commentary on ancient remains and cultural residues) and its placenames.

The Ordnance Survey was official ethnography on a large scale. Leerssen (1996:102) has spoken of it interestingly as "foreshadowing later folklore commissioners." Leerssen, however, rejects the idea of the Ordnance Survey as a colonial instrument and lavishes praise on the Ordnance Survey for "salvaging...a great deal of local lore and learning" (Leerssen 1996:102). He is correct in suggesting a folkloristic or ethnographic turn to the work of the Ordnance Survey—which is my main interest in it—but it is difficult not to see it as one of a number of 'strategies of surveillance' which were employed in the early nineteenth century at the quantification, categorisation, inquisition and inscription of the indigenous cultures and peoples. The language difference should be considered as central and not peripheral to any research into the epistemological locus of Ireland's invention or "imagining," to use Anderson's fashionable concept. The casual brushing aside of the Irish language once one moves upstream of a valorised 'modern' Ireland reflects a cultural ethnocentrism that is itself an intellectual inheritance of colonial discourse on Ireland. From the time of Herodotus's description of the barbarian and savage; the dog-headed humans, headless peoples and human beings with eyes in their breasts that existed outside and beyond Greek social normality; this cultural ethnocentrism has reconfigured itself within both the popular and scientific discourses on 'the Irish'. The word *ethnos* originally referred to swarms of bees, birds or flies and was transferred to threatening bands

of warriors, “aspects of naturality, of non-legitimate social organisation, of disorganisation, and of animality, are strong in *ethnos*” (Tonkin et al 1989:12). Lotman (1975:97) has drawn attention to the linguistic location of cultural typologies:

‘One’s own culture’ is considered to be the only one. To it is contrasted the ‘lack of culture’ of other groups...from the point of view of that culture which is accepted as the norm and whose language becomes the metalanguage of that cultural typology, the systems which are opposed to it appear not as other types of organisation, but as non-organisation.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was general ignorance about the state of Ireland in official British circles. In 1836 the *Edinburgh Review* expressed this by observing, “the advantages of remaining terra incognita, at least to English statesmen, Ireland has, till lately, possessed almost as fully as the interior of Africa” (Day 1984:23). To artists in London Ireland was imagined as an “unexplored pictorial world” waiting to be discovered, Cullen (1997:49) states that there was a “growing interest in the exotica of Irish rural life” not from a nationalist sympathy but “metropolitan interest in anthropological detail.” Foster (1988:32) has pointed out that the image of Ireland being portrayed by these and earlier political appointees, adventurers, authors, artists, travel writers and proto-ethnographers “coincided with contemporary anthropological ideas of savagery.” What he called “an index of comparison” was provided by Africans on the Gambian River and American Indians. Up to the eighteenth century anthropology and ethnography existed in traveller’s narratives, what Foster has called the “survey literature” of the English Elizabethans. Ireland was “transformed into a wandering discursive entity between Britain and the Americas” (Hadfield and McVeagh 1994:63). Anthropologists, natural scientists, cartographers, explorers and missionaries “shipped out, Darwin-like...to classify and compare societies like plants and animals and to note how a single culture evolved from the savage to the civilised” (Van Maanen 1988:15). Geography and Ethnology were closely related in the nineteenth century, many members of the Ethnological Society of London were also fellows of the Royal Geographical Society (Livingstone 1994:138). Earlier discursive elements tended to reconfigure themselves in later accounts of the Irish. Victorian ethnologists and anthropologists like Daniel Mackintosh, also a

geologist and topographer, mixed anthropology, ethnogeny, craniology, physiognomy, and ancient history to produce typologies of the “races of Britain.” Dr. John Beddoe (1826 - 1911) used the term “Africanoid” to refer to the Celtic peoples of Wales and Munster, contrasting them to the Anglo-Saxon. This placed the Irish on ‘the lower limbs of the tree of human civilisation’ along with the Negroes, Chinese, Indians and other non-Caucasians (Perry Curtis 1997:21). The Irish were often depicted as bestial and simian, being called Calaban, Frankenstein, Yahoo, or gorilla.

Most of Ireland’s map makers have been British and Ireland, due to its physical proximity, has long been charted as one of the islands in the British archipelago. There is no known native Irish word for a map with “léirscáil” being a recent neologism roughly translating into “illustration of shade/shadow/shape.” Knowledge of the spatial environment would seem to have been as a lived space, as suggested by phrases like “*ar m’eolas*” or “*as m’eolas*” (within my knowledge or beyond my knowledge respectively). The language barrier and the perceived “lack of civility” had discouraged the English from visiting the interior of Ireland until the sixteenth century. The colonial government had a policy of Anglicisation.¹ Henry the Eighth wrote of Galway in 1536 “that every inhabitant within the saide towne indevor theym selfe after the Engliyshe Facion; and specyally that you, and every of you, do put forth your childe to scole, to lerne to speke Englyshe” (Williams and Ní Mhuiríosa 1985:311). A recommendation was made in 1665 “that the barbarous and uncouth names...be replaced by others ‘more suitable to the English tongue’” (Andrews 1997:22). Early mappers had extended and contorted their maps in an effort to extend the area of English influence. The colonial map makers were politically motivated, highlighting areas of strategic importance; the residences of Kings, chiefs and monastic settlements for example. Mapping has always flourished during periods of resistance, war and plantation. The precarious status of the colonial map maker is well illustrated by the decapitation in Donegal of Richard Bartlett in 1604, the map maker who accompanied Baron Mountjoy, Charles Blount in his campaign against Hugh O’Neill. Questions of representation and colonisation have always been to the fore in the “collection” of maps—the term used by Robert Devereaux’s map maker Babtista Boazio. John Speed’s well known representations of the “wild” and “civil” Irishmen and Irishwomen appeared on the margins of his maps. The “civil” Irishman is seen extending the hand of friendship to Britain. The appearance of “forts” on maps in the seventeenth century were seen as good “selling points” for the private consumer, providing the

assurance of safety and control. The publishing of maps was highly fashionable in London during this period, having much the same importance as the newspaper and having further implications *pace* Anderson for the influence of print and early metropolitan English language consumerism in the “imagining” of Ireland. The shaping of Ireland on paper up to the time of the Ordnance Survey coincides with the development of Ireland as a colony of Britain, the emphasis shifting with modernisation and urbanisation to postal stations, roads and military barracks, all signifying “improvement” and “civilisation” to the coloniser.²

Prior to the Folklore Commission’s nationalistic-folkloristic inventorising of the lives of the people we find ethnographic information in (a) travellers’ narratives (b) official church and state surveys, (c) cartography (d) amateur antiquarians’ work and (e) in literature. The man nominated by Kevin Danaher (1983:4) as “the first practitioner of ethnology in Ireland” was amongst the political appointees mentioned above. General Charles Vallancey (1721 -1812) was posted to Ireland as a military engineer around 1765 when there was a threat of a French invasion. He was, Danaher says, the first “to turn an attentive eye and ear to the sayings and doings of the common people” (Danaher 1983:4). It is interesting to note that Vallancey was a contemporary of General William Roy, “the leading protagonist of a national cartographic survey and the virtual founder of the Ordnance Survey” (Phillips 1980:2). General Roy, like Vallancey, was also a soldier, surveyor, antiquarian and field archaeologist born only five years after him in 1726. A great number of these advanced their own social status through their involvement in what Edney has termed the genteel, “polite and amateur avocation” of science, “the genteel scholars, antiquarians, and natural historians formed a Learned Empire centred on London, polite society, and the Royal Society in particular” (Edney 1994:109). Many of these were military men; William Mudge of the Ordnance Survey (1762-1820); James Rennell, Surveyor General of Bengal (1742-1830); Nevil Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal (1732-1811); and George Everest, superintendant of the Great trigonometrical Survey of India (1790-1866; Edney 1994:110). Everest was later knighted and had the world’s highest mountain called after him; he visited Larcom in the Ordnance Survey of Ireland office in 1829. Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor-General of New South Wales between 1828-1855 and John Oxley, his successor, often played the role of cosmocrator.³ Thomas Colby, director of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland, had been second-in-command to the above mentioned William Mudge in Britain,

he had “inherited the custom that the senior officers of the department should be primarily men of science” (Andrews, 1975:20). Surveyors were “conscious of their professional activity being the bedrock of development” (Atchison 1990:10). Colby was against the employment of non-military or native surveyors, in this he had the backing of the lord-lieutenant of the day, the Marquis Wellesley, who stated that the survey “cannot be executed by Irish engineers and Irish agents of any description. Neither science, nor skill, nor diligence, nor discipline, nor integrity, sufficient for such work can be found in Ireland” (Andrews 1975:21).

It was Lieutenant Thomas Larcom, assistant director of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, who produced the “Heads of Inquiry,” a thirty seven page pamphlet outlining the general sections of the memoirs, the most notable heading being the “Habits of the People” section. This section called attention to the following features of Irish life:

Habits of the people. Note the general style of the cottages, as stone, mud, slated, glass windows, one story or two, number of rooms, comfort and cleanliness. Food; fuel; dress; longevity; usual number in a family; early marriages; any remarkable instances on either of those heads? What are their amusements and recreations? patrons and patrons’ days; and traditions respecting them? What local customs prevail, as Beal tinne, or fire on St John’s Eve? Driving the cattle through fire, and through water? Peculiar games? Any legendary tales or poems recited around the fireside? Any ancient music, as clan marches or funeral cries? They differ in different districts, collect them if you can. Any peculiarity of costume? Nothing more indicates the state of civilisation and intercourse.⁴

These instructions for memoir writers clearly reflect current Ethnological discourse. They are mirrored in the *Notes and Queries in Anthropology* which was published in 1874 with the subtitle “for use of travellers and residents in uncivilised lands” (Van Maanen 1988:15). They are not unlike the questions of Seán O Súilleabháin’s *Handbook of Irish Folklore* which followed one hundred years later. Pratt has noted the “portrait of manners and customs” as a “remarkably stable subgenre, which turns up in a wide range of discursive contexts” (Pratt 1985:120). Like the Ordnance Survey Memoirs, the manners and customs discourse usually

appears as an appendage to a superordinate genre, in this case the map. This brings into focus the questioning of the “assumption that the accumulation of knowledge by one people about another constitutes a process in which objective truth is revealed ‘through the disinterested quest of learning for its own sake’” (Carbonell 1996:83). Knowledge is often determined by the pursuer of it, these questions are based on a predetermined interpretation of the native as exotic, savage or uncivilised. Their effect is to compile a taxonomy of racial or cultural inferiority. The project of the Ordnance Survey, like that of the explorer-writer was to produce “information” or as Pratt (1985:125) says,

to incorporate a particular reality into a series of interlocking information orders—aesthetic, geographic, mineralogical, botanical, agricultural, economic, ecological, ethnographic, and...to make those information orders natural, to find them there uncommanded, rather than assert them as the products/producers of European knowledges or disciplines.”

The Ireland of the Ordnance Survey was uncivilised, native, poor, underdeveloped, exotic—tropes which have since become almost canonical in much historical, literary and folkloristic discourse. The following description of the Parish of Urney in Donegal for example, “In their cabins they are dirty to a degree. Many stow their potatoes under their beds and the manure heap is generally at the threshold of the door” (McWilliams and Day 1997:vol. 39, p. 179). This is similar to the description in the Parish of Templecarn, where, the memoir writer says, “A general want of cleanliness prevails” (McWilliams and Day 1997: vol. 39, p. 161). The pilgrimage to Lough Derg features in this section also, “The pilgrimage to Lough Derg is an ancient superstition still kept up with zeal,” with the following addition, “the water of the Lough boiled and turned into wine by the miraculous power of the priests” (McWilliams and Day 1997:vol.,39, p. 160). The traditional methodology or repertoire of ethnographic fieldwork is clearly present at this stage; the “Heads of Inquiry” can be equated with the *Handbook*, the “Memoir” or Letters with the field-diary, “Civilian Assistants” with the fieldworker or collector, the Irish scholars as the “insider” and the North-West of Ireland Society’s “Questionnaire” with the later questionnaires of the Irish Folklore Commission. The terminology of “field-work,” “field-diary,” “folklore commission,” and so on are all suggestive of military ordnance and reconnaissance. Writing in response

to the questionnaire mentioned above in the Parish of Killymard Lieutenant W.Lancey seems to consider the people as almost normal:

Their cottages are stone, thatched, some whitewashed, a few slated, consisting of 2 rooms with small glass windows and *as usual not overclean*. There are neither peculiar customs or any mark in the character of this people to notice. They appear to be much the same as the rest of the peasantry of Donegal..

He continues, however, to describe the festival of Bealtaine as follows, “Bealtinne is still kept up. They make and drink plenty of whiskey, with which they associate almost everything in life, whether good or evil... their food and dress are of the usual very common kind, but it is said they are improving in civilisation” (McWilliams and Day 1997:vol.39, p. 98). Through the imperial Claude Glass of the observer the Irish appear superstitious, drunken, uncivilised and dirty.

It was one year after Larcom issued his Heads of Inquiry that James Hardiman published his *Irish Minstrelsy*, a work dedicated to Thomas Spring Rice who was involved in planning the Ordnance Survey along with other governmental projects at the time. This work received a hostile reaction in *the Dublin University Magazine* for what was perceived as its nationalistic agenda. Hardiman speaks in his introduction of the “mouldering membranes” of Irish culture, he also makes telling comparisons with the Orient, referring to Sir William Jones’ work on Persia. As Niranjana points out, Jones was responsible for the introduction of textualized India to Europe as President of the Asiatic Society. His translations were widely read in the west in the nineteenth century by such as Goethe and Herder. In nineteenth century Ireland there is a proliferation of similar societies, some related to the Ordnance Survey through their membership: the Gaelic Society of Ireland founded in 1807 of which Edward O’Reily was a member; the Ibero-Celtic Sociey, founded in 1818 which published Edward O’Reily; the Celtic Society, later named *the Ossianic Society* which published the work of John O’Donovan, the name perhaps most linked to the Ordnance Survey. I’ll return below to further links between Orientalism and Celticism.

The memoir writers are at all times preoccupied with contemporary ideas of industry and education, the Irish are presented as incipient English citizens; in the Parish of Kilbarron, Robert Ball remarks in reply to a questionnaire that “the morals of the lower order are

manifestly improved within the last 20 years” (McWilliams and Day 1997:vol.39, p. 77). This improvement is not understood in absolute or philosophical terms but in terms of a convergence to hegemonic English standards. In the Parish of Raymoghly “the people in general are very well disposed to be industrious but they have no encouragement” (McWilliams and Day 1997:vol.,39, p. 144). It wasn’t until 1846 that William J. Thoms coined the word “folklore,” shifting the emphasis from “popular antiquities.” Folklore as theorised by Herder and the Grimms aligns it with language, land and the idea of nation. It is found in the present in monuments and piles in the landscape as well as in ancient beliefs and practices, Abrahams (1993:10) states

The European nationalist agenda called for the maintenance of the social messages contained within a class structure that gave country people a strange social placement as exotic and marginal *indigenes*. As with ruins or manuscripts, their lives served as a palimpsest through which the past still might be dimly observed...because of their status as natives figures representing the earlier lifeways of indigenous peoples, these country dwellers filled the role of native-exotics.

Folklore was imagined as fragment, relique, antiquity in a way that a ruin on the landscape symbolises with all its nuances of sacrality, age and nobility. Antiquarian study and research was—as we might imagine from the involvement of Generals and Bishops (Percy) in it—seen as important nationally, Abrahams says, “folklore...was pursued in the service of the British Union, and by extension, of the imperial crown” (Abrahams 1993:16). Anthropologists like Pitt-Rivers and Huxley, Crooke and Temple in the nineteenth century were military men also, colonial figures-cum-anthropologists and, as Kuklick points out, they sought patronage from the colonial government. William J. Thoms also used his antiquarian scholarship as a means for personal advancement as did the genteel scholars, surveyors and natural historians already mentioned above.

Angélique Day has commented on Larcom’s interests based on his books and records in the National Library, “they were books which indicate an interest in the contemporary mode of statistical enquiry then engaging interested individuals and groups like the statistical societies of Manchester and London (founded in 1833 and 1834 respectively), and include works by Sadler and Malthus, the Belgian statistician Lambert Quetelet’s *Essai de Physique Sociale*, criminological and other surveys, as

well as ethnographic and etymological works” (Day 1984:23). These reflect the contemporary governmental approach to the masses over the years. Customs and beliefs were incorporated into official calendars, they were elicited as part of cartographic projects, surveys or census of populations (Abrahams 1993:16). The German word for folklore “*Volkskunde*” is first found in statistical enquiry and belongs to the field of official governmental investigation. Christian Heinrich Neimann, a statistician-cum-ethnographer distinguished *Landeskunde* (regional sciences) from *staatskunde* (state sciences) and included *volkskunde*—customs and beliefs—in the latter category. The use of the questionnaire and memoir is well attested to in the French Académie Celtique’s *Mémoires* first published in 1807 which gives an account of “traditions and customs.” In 1809 similarly inspired enquiries were carried out in Italy, notably the *Statistica di tutte le comunità componenti il circondario della Sotto Prefettura di Arezzo* which was a thirty five point questionnaire.⁵ In England the county agricultural surveys were carried out in the eighteenth century while in Scotland the well known *Statistical Account* of Sir John Sinclair was carried out on a parish basis. The Civil and Downs Surveys of the eighteenth century in Ireland were concerned with plantation and confiscation of lands but it is in the early nineteenth century that we see an intensification of these processes in Ireland. In the forty-five years since the Union “114 Royal Commissions and 61 Special Committees of Enquiry were set up and reported on conditions in Ireland in the period 1800-1840” (O’ Connor 1995:48). The Statistical Surveys of the Royal Dublin Society,⁶ Mason’s Parochial Surveys (which can be traced back to the Physico Historical Society of 1714), Samuel Lewis’s *Topographical Dictionary* of 1837, the censuses of 1813, 1821, 1831, 1841 and 1851, The Poor Law Enquiry, Griffith’s Valuation and finally the Ordnance Survey’s memoirs, letters and cartography to name but a few. George Everest and other surveyors in India held up the Irish survey as an example. Larcom’s “Heads of Inquiry,” quoted above, are replicated in Colin Mackenzie’s Survey of Mysore (1800 - 1807) in India where he asks about “peculiar customs of the natives” and again in Francis Buchanan’s surveys of Mysore and Bengal where the “conditions of the inhabitants” and “history” and “antiquities” feature strongly (Edney 1997:45). The increased focus and intensity of the imperial state’s gaze is palpable encompassing the minutiae of the native’s life.

The preoccupation with observation and archiving is illustrative of the modern European or Enlightenment conception of knowledge creation in which the cosmos was held to be observable, measurable and

understandable. The museum or archive is physical testimony to the appropriative nature of this knowledge creation. Along with the “social survey” vast collections of artefacts including mineralogical, botanical and zoological ones were collected. John O’Donovan came across such a museum in Castle Caldwell in 1834 which boasted a collection of stuffed exotic birds and animals, American Indian weapons and dress, a negroe beheading axe and of most interest to O’Donovan, the skull of the well known harpist O’Carolan (Cunningham 1992:29). As in any collection enterprise some items are foregrounded and others backgrounded or excluded and the former consequently organised in typographic format which in turn leads to their objectification and further study. The Ordnance Survey was an intertextual enterprise involving sketches, letters, memoirs, and the maps themselves representing what was observed. Like *Description de l’Egypte* (1802-22) they provide the text and the context for interpretation, achieving something similar to the *Description*, to paraphrase Edney, it ‘defined and appropriated the essence of *Ireland* and reproduced it ‘for the understanding and edification of the English’ (Edney 1998).⁷ The map itself as an artefact is an eminent example of this process, being an officially sanctioned interpretation and canonisation of landscape, as Monmonier says “the map is the perfect symbol of the state” (Monmonier xxxx:88). The Ordnance Survey, like similar cartographic projects, establishes an archive of knowledge, reflecting and feeding into a discursive current which continues today to a certain extent. The division of academic disciplines is an offshoot of this discursive pastiche with History, Geography, Archaeology, Irish and so on all staking claims to the study of the same spatial entity, all sharing the same epistemological genesis.

Mathew Edney states that “for the eighteenth century philosophes, mapmaking was the epitome of the ordered and structured creation of a coherent archive of knowledge” (Edney 1997:18). Edney speaks of how the surveyors in India are remembered in historical literature as “heroes-of-science,” braving the elements, tolerating official interference and hostile natives in order to advance science or human knowledge. Mapping (the word cartography was coined by the Viscount de Santarém in 1839) was seen as unproblematic, neutral, truthful, rational and scientific. The use of instruments like the camera, the telescope and microscope to extract meaning from the world served to reinforce this, triangulation led to the possibility of a scale of 1:1 where the map could be the same size as the land itself. The theoretical assumptions behind this are that the map is mimetic, based on a conception of image and representation as an imitation of an external and objective reality (Jacob

1996:192). The map's claim to be neutral science has been questioned since the nineteen eighties at least, much in the same way as ethnography's claim to be science has been; J.B. Harley (1988:70) sees maps as "ethnocentric images, and part of the apparatus of cultural colonialism." The colonial map often represents a bare or blank land, an empty space for the European to fill. The fact that a map is not made is just as significant as the fact that a map was made. In looking at the Ordnance Survey I am hoping to chart the relationship between "maps and other forms of power-knowledge." The "silences" in a map that Harley refers to are just as significant as epistemological silences, the selection, editing, exclusion of elements in discourse are also statements involving the "reproduction, the reinforcement, and the legitimation of cultural and political values" (Harley 1988:70). The map then can be read as a literary text utilising a repertoire of power techniques, this creates the possibility of examining some of the epistemological codes and tropes of discourse on "Irishism." The selection of the six inch scale in the case of the Ordnance Survey has been suggested by John Andrews to be "a cartographic expression of the union of two Kingdoms...for extending statute measure to Ireland" (Andrews 1975:24). Edney sees the use of "triangulation" as a "dramatic extension of the state's epistemological power, reaching deep down into different landscapes all across a state's territory" (Edney 1998). It represents for him the Enlightenment's encyclopedism and the newer ideology of systematic and disciplined observation. Triangulation based topographic surveys were undertaken across Europe between 1790-1820.

A prominent feature on the maps are the demenses of the gentry; in this case landowners were allowed to be the sole source of authority for the name of their demenses. The Ordnance Survey bears testament in this case to class ownership of land. Cheyfitz (1997:56) has pointed to the importance of the "fence" as boundary to the English colonists of Native America, the "fence" to them was the essential sign of civilisation and cultivation which defined one *individual's* property (as private) vis-à-vis another's. The lack of fences was not understood as a different organisation of land but as a non-organisation of it which therefore begged improvement, the problem is, as Cheyfitz (1997:58) says, "can one translate the idea of place as *property* into an idea of place the terms of which the West has never granted legitimacy?" The whole issue of land valuation and taxation is at the heart of the Ordnance Survey. The shiring of Ireland into "counties" is an obvious colonial inheritance which is related to the extension of the English legal system. The "baronies" of the Anglo-Normans, the "parishes" of the Catholic Church

and the “townlands” (also known as ploughland or ballibo) of the Ordnance Survey—the latter which became units of estate management and local taxation and in time postal addresses—all represent reconfigurations of the land. The Ordnance Survey maps on the whole lack colour and seem magnified due to the scale, Hamer (1989:198) points to their similarity to the cell under the microscope, the cell having become visible in the 1820s. The maps produced by the Ordnance Survey also have an empty quality, “they deny presence—the sharing of time and space by the observer and the observed—so that through its representation, the observed is removed, appropriated from its original context, and recast within the archive’s discourse” (Edney 1997:41).

The Ordnance Survey can be viewed as a geographic “panopticon,” Foucault uses this as the exemplar for the instruments of surveillance which exist in society, mechanisms of state discipline, indirectly the Ordnance Survey can be seen as a technology of vision and control. Fintan Cullen’s (1997:18) reading of William Ashford’s eighteenth century painting, *View of Dublin from Chapelizod* provides an interesting example, a typical pastoral scene which removes the city to the background has depicted off to the left, almost imperceptibly, the Magazine Fort, representing “a landscape permanently under surveillance.” The unquestioning acceptance that representations can be real or objective copies of reality—whether they are numeric, written or graphic—must be mistaken, they are directly related to the conditions of observation and inscription and with the subjective condition of the observer (Edney 1997:41). All such representations are intertextual, “they all melt together into a vast discursive web which defines *in toto* not what the world is but what it ought to be” (Edney 1997:41). The Ordnance Survey transfixes “Ireland,” making it the focus of a scientific enterprise, classifying the people and the land, objectifying its own ethnocentric cultural projections and dragging the culture (in the Irish language sense of translation as a *tarraingt* or pulling) into a new historical dimension, as Hamer (1989:188) says “A new Ireland, and one... subtly regulated by the discourse of ethnology, was produced.” We can speak in a general or figurative sense of the archive as standing for the discursive field of knowledge-representations which indirectly constitute our understanding of the place called “Ireland,” whether it is literary, ethnographic, historic, archaeological, linguistic or anthropological. The understanding of knowledge as a kind of mental cartography is enshrined the Irish language noun used to denote “archive,” the word “cartlann” suggests a repository for cards, charts or maps.

Friel's play *Translations*⁸ has drawn attention to one aspect of the Ordnance Survey, namely the translation and standardisation of Irish language place-names into English. This is not the only aspect of the Survey that could be considered as translation. The idea of cultural translation has been a commonly used metaphor for the project of anthropology or ethnography. Ethnography involves the textualization of experience where, unwritten behaviour, belief, speech and ritual become a corpus, separated from an immediate discursive or performative situation. Culture becomes text. Theoretical discussions in the social sciences in general have introduced analyses of the rhetorical aspects of scholarly practice. Because of the interpersonal or intersubjective nature of data collection, ethnographic research has developed a self-critical stance or a reflexive turn, the ethnographer realises the possibility of an ethnography of ethnography. The translation of field-experience into text must necessarily be an uncertain exercise coloured by the ethnographer's personality and the repertoire of linguistic and literary devices available to him or her in the language in which the ethnography is written. As Robert Auger (1995:110) says,

There is no recognition in the ethnographic medium that the social and psychological reality of some far-off place and time is transformed into the mental representations of a reader through at least one intervening intelligence (the ethnographer's) and several instances of physical mutation (e.g., into patterns of ink on paper).

In considering the Ordnance Survey as ethnography the metaphor of translation provides an appropriate interpretative model to approach the interplay of two cultural systems.

Edwin Ardener has drawn attention to the frustrated efforts of nineteenth century Scottish Gaelic scholars to fix and match local time categories according to the standard calendar in what he calls the West's search for "real time" and "real space" (Chapman 1989:137). He calls this "the *am Faoilteach* problem" whereby Dwelly had to conclude that the old months were "movable," they were movable only in relation to standard calendar time. The same preoccupation with measurement and mensuration or scientific exactitude, or in terms of translation, with equivalence was characteristic of the Ordnance Survey. Any Ethnographer is likely to meet with "the *am Faoilteach*" problem in interpreting or translating local Irish culture into English or into the

scientific genre of Ethnography. Joel Sherzer (1990:33) prefaces his work on Kuna verbal art as follows:

My translations may seem to readers unfamiliar with Native American discourse to lack logic and coherence with regard to space and time, to be too repetitive, or to move along too quickly. But the logic and coherence of these texts must be understood as Kuna cultural logic and coherence and not be approached with western eyes and ears.

The logic and coherence of the Ordnance Survey is English language logic and coherence, the measurement, naming and inscription of the people and the land transformed them into discourse. If we replace Orientalism with some word like Celticism, Said's paradigm seems to slip uncannily into place.

Celtic studies, a close relative of Irish language studies in the National University, shares a discursive inheritance with Orientalism, its continuing popularity in the book shop is adequate testimony to this fact. The criterion of literal or scientific accuracy has dominated in translations from old and middle-Irish, these translations are directed largely at the closed milieu of the discipline, using its own jargon and codes. The young scholar is trained in the reproduction of these codes of footnotes, glossaries and commentaries. John O'Donovan's translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters* in 1851 is a case in point, here the footnotes last for pages replacing the text itself. This adherence to a "forbidding exactitude" is partly accredited by Cronin to the influence of Windisch, Strachen, Thurneysen and Kuno Meyer, as Cronin (1996:134) says, "as with their compatriots working in Oriental Studies, the emphasis was on exactness and the production of texts acceptable to other scholars." Standish Hayes O'Grady's model is "explicitly Orientalist," and is carried on into the twentieth century by what John Wilson Foster (1988:19) calls "poetizers, novelizers and mystics" who, along with the scholarly translators, philogues, keltologues and folklorists undertook a "rudimentary processing," editing, adapting and novelising of all things 'ancient,' or 'Irish' or Celtic. The discourse of nineteenth century anthropology or for that matter twentieth century historical, linguistic, archaeological, geographical, sociological or folkloristic discourse "in the double movement of its quest to historicise the present and to resurrect the past may be seen, precisely, as a necrology practised on the living" (McGrane 1989:111). Jacquemond (1992:149) has outlined this same alienating experience in translations from Arabic, "the non-professional

reader...is soon rebuked by its harshness, its radical strangeness, and its lack of appeal and learns to satisfy himself with the second hand-knowledge he is provided with through the Orientalist's writings." This kind of translation presents the "Celt" or "Oriental" as exotic or mysterious or—as Jeffrey Gantz (1981:17) describes the Irish language—"as beautiful and elusive as any aspect of Irish culture." It authorises English language discourse as the mediator, as the 'intervening intelligence,' as the voice of science and reason making cultural elements seem curious and antiquated to the inheritors of them. The reader is guided "by the authoritative hand of the omniscient Orientalist-translator, trained to decipher the otherwise unfathomable mysteries of the Orient" (Jacquemond 1992:150).

Studies of translation are generally focused on literary or imaginative works offered by his or her own volition by the writer-as-individual-genius. The prescribed translation or interpretation by a imperial government of elements of the culture of a colonised people highlights an important theoretical problem in translation studies. The translation is first and foremost authorised by the coloniser. Translation studies recognise "the need to examine in depth the relationship between the production of knowledge in a given culture and its transmission, relocation, and reinterpretation in the target culture" (Alvarez and Vidal 1996:2). The difference between individual literary translations—or translations in everyday communication of idiolect or sociolect or any intersubjective interpretative act—and state translation or translation as ordnance lies in the prescriptive, appropriative, strategic, hegemonic nature of the latter. The process of the translation of a name of a person or a place is implicated in questions of power and hegemony, the phonetic journey of a person's or place's name from *O Meachair* to *Ma'her* to Maher, or from *Eochail* to *Yough'al* to Youghal is a short lesson in English elocution as well as linguistic and cultural hegemony. John O'Donovan was witness to this process in Fermanagh where he bemoans the changes which seem to accompany urbanisation (Cunningham 1992:33). The power relationship underlining the meeting of the two languages is basic to any understanding of the Ordnance Survey project and it problematizes the assumed egalitarianism of the humanities in general.⁹ The Ordnance Survey, along with other representations in literary, historical discourse and so on, serves to create a canon, constructing an Irish character, an Irish psyche and an Irish way of life. Behind these representations there is arguably a repression of these power relations, of the asymmetric relationship between the Irish language and the English language.

Edwin Ardener says interestingly that “every definition is a space” (Chapman 1989:149); in a cultural or social sense the definition becomes a space for meaning or a sounding board for further new meanings. The cartographic-ethnographic impulse is to delineate a space and define or inscribe it anew all at once and by a normative grammatical move to lenite the rough edges and eclipse the symbolic heart of the original or originary space. In translation process a cultural data is moved or dragged from the source language, interpreted by the translator who in turn creates a new text in a kind of “interlanguage” and finally institutes that text in what translation studies calls the target language. Notions, tropes, concepts and texts are appropriated by the target language—usually the dominant-hegemonic language—and made part of the repertoire of the target language. The translator becomes a mediator who transplants “the source text in a language different from its own, and in a linguistic and cultural habitat alien to its original environment” (Al-Shabab 1996:24). Much like cartography or ethnography, translation is a cultural and political practice, as Venuti (1995:18) says, “The aim of translation is to bring back the cultural other as the same, the recognisable, even the familiar; and this aim always risks a wholesale domestication of the foreign text.” In such a project as the Ordnance Survey the people and the land are brought back, but first they are made to look and sound familiar in English, the hegemonic language-culture. Edward O’Reily states in a letter in March 1830 regarding the presentation of Irish place-names in the Ordnance Survey, “The directors of the Survey of Ireland, now making by the Board of Ordnance, are desirous to have the Irish names of places mentioned in the Survey put into proper (i.e., English) orthography, and to have translations of those names into English with derivations etc.” (Ó Maolfabhail 1995:150). In this process of reduction or marginalization local or indigenous elements of culture are transformed or translated by the apparatus of knowledge in the receiving (or taking) culture which frames its representation on its own terms through a dialectics of exoticization-naturalization of the other (Jacquemond 1992:156). In this respect it was first Edward O’Reily and then John O’Donovan who was appointed as orthographer and etymologist to engage with the place-names, in terms of translation he filled the role of the translator as “cultural operator” who was “entrusted with monitoring, organising, or negotiating the comparative statuses of each system. The tensions that exist between them *can never be suppressed, only channelled or reconverted into various options*” (Hewson and Martin 1991:154). O’Donovan and his colleagues, however, were under the command of their military

superiors, which limited these options. O Maolfabhail (1989:51) remarks that O'Donovan's position on the staff was subordinate to the military personnel or precarious at least due to their ideology and politics. O'Donovan may have learned that his posting, as Atchinson (1990:13) points to in the case of Australia, was "within an empire whose heartbeat lay in some part of the British Isles, if not in London." In Australia a form of nostalgic ethnocentrism influenced the naming of places, "co-opting neutralising or sanitising the exotic 'unfriendly nowhere.' The officers who wrote the memoirs generally consulted only those whom their ideology considered to be of sound judgement and social status. O'Donovan had urged the authorities to use Irish speakers and consequently left the Ordnance Survey staff for a time following a disagreement with Thomas Larcom. He was aware of the cultural element in engaging with the names of places, "no person should be allowed to meddle with those names except one acquainted with the whole circle of Irish lore" (Cunningham 1992:27). The British officers experienced some difficulties in the field, as expressed by a Lieutenant Fenwick in Roscommon, "I am constantly at my men about these matters, but many of them are Presbyterians from the North who care not for Eremites and Friars, White, Black and Grey with all their trumpery" (Boyne 1984:107).

It has been said before that the ethnographer needs to watch his or her tongue so to speak and it is in this sense that translation theory is of service to ethnography, particularly in engaging with an elusive "Irish past" that may not be past at all, if only to create an awareness or a consciousness of language. There is a need for a nuancing of discursive practice, particularly where the Irish language is still a force where it is spoken and still an influence where it has died. There is a danger that the ethnographer may speak with the accent of the colonial administrator or traveller and in the conventions of Celticism, adding to the dominative or normative images of the past, translating into "the established discursive game of academia" (Niranjana 1992:84). Translation like cartography "fixes" the colonised culture while acting as a transparent presentation of something that already exists. Translation has provided a place in 'history' for colonised people world-wide. With the Ordnance Survey Ireland and the Irish had arrived in history, mapped and translated, defined and inscribed. As Niranjana (1992:124) said, "What is at stake here is the representation of the colonised, who need to be produced in such a manner as to justify colonial domination, and to beg for the English book by themselves." Illustrative of this last point the National Education Board, established in 1831, had included in

their book the much quoted lines of ArchBishop Whateley, "I thank the goodness and the grace, which on my birth have smiled, and made me in these Christian days, a happy English child" (Williams and Ní Mhuiríosa 1985:312).

Notes

1. See Seán Ó Tuama in *Cúirt, Tuath agus Bruachbhaile* for a discussion of this.
2. Much of this is taken from J.H. Andrew's recent *Shapes of Ireland*.
3. "A very significant proportion of Queensland localities are named after colonial worthies and, perhaps, not so worthy." see Atchison for this.
4. See Hamer for a useful discussion of these.
5. See Bausinger. I'm grateful to Diarmuid Ó Giolláin for this reference.
6. These surveys had "Suggestions of Enquiry" appended covering topics such as habitation, food, clothing, education, habits of industry, historical events, ancient buildings, the use of the English language, "whether general or how far increasing," etc., See McEvoy as cited.
7. I'm grateful to Mathew Edney for the article cited which is forthcoming.
8. Based on a limited view of language, culture and translation, J.H.Andrews has strongly defended the Ordnance Survey from what he has termed its "accusers." He sees "translation" for example as a gesture of respect, recognition and acknowledgement. For further reading on this provocative discussion see Andrews 1992 and 1993 and also Friel, Andrews and Barry 1983 as cited.
9. By this I mean the general disregard for Irish language sources and evidence.

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THE STORIES OF TIPPERARY: HISTORY, POLITICS AND CULTURE

TIPPERARY RURAL AND BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

Conference

1st—3rd September 2000 Thurles, Co. Tipperary

CALL FOR PAPERS

“Postmodernity, having privatized modern fears and the worry of coping with them,” writes Zygmunt Bauman, “had to become an age of *imagined communities*... Communities are *imagined*: belief in their presence is their only brick and mortar, and imputation of importance their only source of authority.”

The purpose of this conference is fourfold. Firstly, we invite people doing research in or on Tipperary to present their thoughts on any area of the county’s history, politics, and culture. Secondly, and associated with this, we are eager to stimulate discussion around the concept of community. Thirdly, we encourage papers on topics that have been continually neglected in academic discourse—local history, environmental studies, folklore and oral history. Finally, we want to reflect on the career trajectories of individuals who left Tipperary and became members of the Irish diaspora, and those who remained in Ireland but made a significant impact in their professional fields. We plan to bring all these themes together in a scholarly publication to mark the new millennium.

Papers should not be longer than 30 minutes. If you wish to contribute to the conference, please send an abstract of not more than 300 words to the conference organiser before January 3 1st, 2000.

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