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CONTENTS

FOREWORD

Human "self" is defined by the ability to go within and look outward. By going inward people engage in self-reflection, whereas by looking beyond themselves humans as social beings express a fundamental need to participate in social interactions, belong and shape their identity.

Identity construction is determined by multiple factors – our actions, experiences, the environment, and, among others, the use of a language. Language is not merely a combination of sounds and words, but one of the principal methods of human communication through which individuals are linked to their family, nation, and culture. It is also the medium of literature, folklore (traditions, customs, and beliefs) and history, which are crucial for transmitting the accumulated wisdom from one generation to another and creating a sense of community. No culture can maintain its existence without a language, therefore language, in fact, is culture and identity. The choice of linguistic expressions and patterns may reveal the peculiarities of a speaker's social and cultural identity: one can detect diverse gender, class, occupation, dialect and education, power, religion attributes from people's discourse. Sociocultural phenomena and lingual-cultural influences shape our opinions and behaviours, expand our worldview on our own and others' cultures, thereby contributing to the construction of individual and collective identities. For centuries, nation-states have been consciously promoting a common language and culture (sometimes also religion) to construct a unified national identity. Throughout history, there have been many attempts to eradicate nations or ethnic groups by eliminating their cultures and languages. Considering pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods, as well as the impact of globalization and interconnectedness of the modern world on present-day society, the pasts are revisited to present the discourse of selfhood and reflect on the processes of identity transformations. Identity formation is being tied to individual and collective history: the link between temporal dimensions – past, present, and future – manifests itself in cultural memory, which is characterized as a dynamic and fluid phenomenon. Col-

lective experiences of the past embodied in texts, rituals, monuments, celebrations and other manifestations, serve for developing one's own image and identity. By increasing social connectedness and augmenting self-continuity, as well as by reconsidering memories, traumatic experiences, and nostalgic feelings, not only the history of the self is created, but recovery from trauma and self-identifications processes may take place, and the identities can be negotiated as well.

This edition of the "Journal of Comparative Studies" includes the research papers that by applying comparative research methodology address various aspects of culture within linguistics, sociolinguistics, literary studies, history, philosophy, political studies and sociology. The studies focus on dynamics of language and culture and contribute to the debate on the "identity challenge" in the framework of contemporary identity crisis. The majority of papers published in this issue were presented at the international academic conference "Human: Language, Society, Culture" organized by Daugavpils University in cooperation with the society "Cultural Artefact" in 2021.

In her paper "Loanwords and their Variation in Kurdish", Aveen Mohammed Hasan provides a comparison of two Kurdish dialects (Northern Kurmanji dialect and Middle Kurmanji dialect) and the loanwords used in their written texts. Considering the fact that borrowings reveal the interrelationships between languages and cultures, the author concludes that due to cross-dialectal differences, the usage frequency is mainly determined by a specific topic and donor language, whereas a linguistic category plays a less significant role. The development of dialects is the outcome of not only the interaction between cultural-historical and social factors, but also a speaker's intention to express one's own identity. Language as the means for expressing power, solidarity, and identity is likewise closely linked with gender, therefore gender and language, on the one hand, and gender and identity, on the other, are interdependent. This aspect is examined by Marjorie Ablanido Maido who focuses on the masculinities expressed by Filipino seafarers while they are on board and at home through linguistic discourses of gossip and spousal arguments. Gossip as a part of human cultural make-up and a socialization tool is analysed to depict gender as a dimension of identity and language of social identity function of the speakers and how the language and function vary according to the context. The research by Sylwia Janina Wojciechowska compares the novels "To the Lighthouse" by Virginia Woolf and "The Go-Between" by L. P. Hartley to discuss the notions of memory and reflective nostalgia

which can be considered the resource for the "self" in the complicated search for one's own identity, social belonging and cross-class interactions. The relationship between territoriality and identity construction in three contexts where encounters between colonial powers and local communities have taken place is investigated by Pedro Albuquerque in his article "A Comparative Insight into Encounters, Territorialities, Identities, and Violence: Phoenicians in Southwestern Iberia and Portuguese in Africa". As it is argued, identity discourse projects itself also in a territory, delimiting it and creating a sense of belonging and collective past. The analysis demonstrates that cultural change is more evident when there is a systematic destruction of territorial markers and construction of new ones. The destruction and construction of territories lead to the destruction or construction of identities as they are interrelated and dependent on each other. By employing imagological and cultural-historical approaches, the paper "The Soviet Image of the USA in Latvian Satirical Journalism of the 1960s: Textual and Visual Code" by Evita Badina, Žans Badins and Oksana Kovzele emphasizes the idea that political caricatures are "[…] a factor of national identity". Although humour and satire are important devices of social criticism that by depicting social contexts and ideology of a specific epoch also contribute to identity construction at times of political insecurity and cultural crisis, in the decades after WW2, when Iron Curtain policy was implemented between the Eastern and Western bloc countries, the biased image of the USA marked the crisis of national identity and was used as a tool of propaganda to *create* a supranational "Soviet people" and generate a uniform Soviet identity. In his paper "The Classical Message in a Bottle – Should 'Classical Wisdom' Determine our Identity and Future?", Ljuben Tevdovski offers a multidisciplinary perspective on the processes of re-evaluating our identities and values. He discusses the role played by historical heritage on the development of Western society and identity. Considering a complexity of ideas, traditions and experiences, the author emphasizes that his research "is neither suggesting a conclusive interpretation of the 'classical wisdom', nor providing recipe for its implementation in contemporary circumstances. Instead, its multi-layered intersection of elements of the past, and the contemporary approaches and methodologies of their reinterpretation and reimagination through the binoculars of different research focuses and disciplines are aiming towards multiplication of the levels of understanding and possibilities of utilisation of this valuable material."

Finally, "The Research on Culture, Youth and Knowledge Sharing in Latvia" reports the findings of the international project

"Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future" (CHIEF), funded from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme and led by Aston University (UK). The team of researchers from Daugavpils University – Anita Stašulāne, Ilze Kačāne, Alīna Romanovska, Irēna Saleniece – present the ways young people in Latvia acquire cultural literacy in its diverse forms and contexts (at educational institutions, in non-formal settings, in the family, among peers and in heritage institutions) and debates whether the acquired knowledge enhances youth participation in cultural activities, and contributes to the formation of inclusive identity.

Editors of the Journal:
Ilze Kačāne and Aveen Mohammed Hasan

LOANWORDS AND THEIR VARIATION IN KURDISH

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ABSTRACT

Loanwords are the words that are borrowed from other languages to be incorporated into a recipient language to be part of its linguistic system. Using loanwords is influenced by different factors and differs from one language or dialect to another. The current study compares the usage of loanwords in the written texts of two dialects of Kurdish, namely, Northern Kurmanji dialect (NK) and Middle Kurmanji dialect (MK) to identify which dialect uses loanwords more frequently. "Avro" and "Khabat", the two local dailies, are used representing NK and MK respectively. The content of some of their articles are analysed according to the topics, i.e. politics, economics, law, science, arts and sport and the loanwords of each topic are categorized according to the number of occurrence, donor language and part of speech.

The results reveal that MK dialect uses loanwords more frequently compared to NK. There are inter and intra-dialectal variation according to factors such as the topic and donor language while no differences have been noted according to the part of speech. Thus, the current study reveals that adopting and using loanwords are significantly influenced by different factors such as dialect, topic, linguistic category and donor language.

Keywords: loanwords, Kurdish, NK dialect, MK dialect, linguistic variations

INTRODUCTION

When languages come into contact, borrowing words between languages becomes very common (Nkoro 2016). In borrowing, one language gives words while the other takes. As a result of these two different roles, special names are used to denote the roles of languages in borrowing. The language that takes foreign words is called recipient language while the language that the words are taken from is known as donor language. Other terms are also used for both such as source language/borrowing language, and model language/replica language (Haspelmath 2009). In the current study, Kurdish is the recipient language. Likewise, a borrowed word is referred to with different terms by different linguists. Borrowed words are called loanwords and the term, loanwords, is originally translated item by item from German word Lehnwort (Kang 2013). However, borrowed words are not restricted merely to this term but rather different terms are used by linguists. Occasionally, loanwords can be replaced by some other terms like lexical borrowings or just borrowings (Kang 2013). Technically, the process is more than just borrowing because once words are borrowed, they are not returned but become part of the lexical system of the language (Bajzova 2009; Yule 2010). This study uses the term loanwords.

Loanwords are defined as new lexicons that entered a language from other languages and then went through modifications in phonemic shape, grammar, spelling or meaning according to the linguistic system of the recipient language (Bajzova 2009). Generally, they are entered into the vocabulary of another language at some point of its history because of borrowing (Haspelmath 2009). In other words, loanwords are those words that are taken from one language or dialect and then, whether words undergo some linguistic changes or not, are incorporated into another language. Loanwords are not only found in one language or the other, but almost in all languages as well. For example, forty-one languages were checked and on the basis of a cross linguistic survey of lexical borrowings, Haspelmath (2009) declares that the languages that have been checked were not devoid of loanwords, and further they estimate that there is no language in the world that is pure from loanwords (Kang 2013). As a result of this widespread existence, it is given a great deal of importance by linguists. Different factors affect borrowability such as morpheme type, parts of speech, lexical semantic field (Haspelmath

2008) and factors such as regional neighbourhood, commercial relationships, educational background (Mohammed 2018, 52) and bilingualism (Haspelmath 2008).

This study focuses on loanwords that are borrowed from other languages by the Kurdish language and compare them across two main dialects of Kurdish, namely Northern Kurmanji dialect (NK) represented by Bahdini subdialect and Middle Kurmanji dialect (MK) represented by Sorani subdialect. Kurdish belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. It is a member of the north-western subgroups of Iranian languages which are subdivisions of the Indo-Iranic branch of this largest family of languages in the world. The Kurdish speech area is divided among five neighbouring countries of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Russia. Kurdish is divided into a number of dialects, namely, Northern Kurdish dialects (NK), Middle Kurdish (MK), Southern Kurdish (SK), Dmili or Zaza and Hawrami (Hasan, Rasheed 2016).

A few studies have been conducted on the phenomenon of loanwords in Kurdish, and most of the research analysed them in only one dialect (in Bahdini such as Mosa 2016; Rasheed 2012 and in Sorani dialect such as Azeez and Awla 2016; Hasanpoor 1999). No studies have ever compared loanwords across two dialects of Kurdish.

This study compares the use of loanwords across the two sub-dialects of Kurdish, namely Sorani and Bahdini. Secondly, it aims to analyse the use of loanwords according to topics, donor language and linguistic categories within and across the two dialects. Thus, it is an attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. Is there any difference in the use of loanwords across the two Kurdish dialects?
2. What are the factors affecting the use of loanwords in these dialects?
3. What are the donor languages each dialect borrowed from?
4. Does the use of loanwords vary according to the subject matter?
5. What parts of speech of loanwords are used most commonly by each dialect?

The study is limited to the use of loanwords in written language only not the spoken one. Hopefully, the study is valuable to the students and teachers of language and linguistics as it sheds light on an important strategy of word formation and its purpose generally in Kurdish. Moreover, it helps to fill a gap in Kurdish linguistic studies and identify the extent of borrowing in Kurdish. Besides, it contributes to the loanwords typology by adding another language, i.e. Kurdish to those that are already studied.

This study is organised as follows: The second section presents a theoretical background and literature review of previous studies on loanwords in Kurdish. In the third section, the methodological issues used in the data collection and analysis are presented. The fourth section is devoted to the discussion of the results arrived at in the present study. The fifth section provides a summary of the main conclusions the present study arrived at.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

LANGUAGE BORROWING PROCESSES

Words are borrowed differently from one language to another. Sometimes borrowed words are partially or totally changed. However, in some cases, words may not undergo changes at all. Hockett (1958 cited in Hoffer 2005) identified different language borrowing processes: loanwords, loan-shifts, loan-translation and loan-blends. Accordingly, loanwords are considered as only one type. The different borrowing processes will be discussed in this section.

Loanwords are referred to by Pasali (2014) as phonetic borrowings which are those words that are taken with their meaning, pronunciation and spelling. In accordance with this expression, loanword, is restricted to terms in which not only the meanings of the borrowed words are taken but also the phonemic shape that belongs to them as well. However, sometimes the loanwords are adapted to the phonological system of the recipient language, for instance, the phonemes of the borrowed words may partially or completely be replaced by recipient language phonemes. So, it can be said that the phonemes are partially or totally substituted and occasionally they may not be substituted at all (Swe 2013). The following are some examples of English loanwords in Chinese:

1	Mai ke feng	(Microphone)	(from Tian and Backus 2013)
2	Shafa	(Sofa)	
3	Saobei	(Copy)	(from Chen 2000)

Loan-blends, in addition, are complex words that are made up of, at least, one native portion and one copied portion (Tian and Backus 2013). Thus, this happens only when a part of a word is imported and the other part is replaced by a native word (Chen 2000). In this case, words are imported and substituted, therefore, partial substitution and partial importation is found (Swe 2013). For

instance, the English word <ice-cream> is partially imported and partially substituted in the Chinese language to form the word <bingqilin>. The word <bing> is a native word of Chinese that replaces the English word <ice> while the word <qilin> is imported from <cream> (Chen 2000). Other examples of loan-blends include:

— English loanblends				
4	In Chinese:	Miniqun	(Mini-skirt)	
5	In Czech:	Sebekritika	(Self-criticism)	(from Chen 2000)
6	In German:	Bockabuch	(Pocketbook)	(from Haspelmath 2009)

Furthermore, in Loan-shifts words are substituted but are not imported and they are divided into two subtypes: loan translation and semantic loans (Swe 2013; Chen 2000). For better grasping the meaning of both subtypes, they will be explained separately.

Loan translation. It is also called calque, which is the direct translation of the words, and includes "rearranging words in the base language along a pattern provided by the other and thus create a new meaning" (Tian and Backus 2013). That is, foreign words are reorganized by the lexical units of the recipient language in accordance with the pattern that is given by the donor language; therefore, a new meaning comes to existence. Thus, two or more words of the receiving language, which are equivalent to the words of the source language, are joined together on the basis of the pattern of the source language (Tian and Backus 2013). In other words, translation loans are foreign words or expressions that are translated item by item with the equivalent words or expressions of the recipient language, that means, only the notion of the word is borrowed from a foreign language and not the word itself. Thus, this notion is expressed by the recipient language lexical items (Pasali 2014). Consider the following examples (adapted from Chen 2000 and Tian and Backus 2013).

— In Chinese			
7	Youtong	Post-box	English
8	Chaoren	Superman	English
9	Zuqiu	Football	English
— In English			
10	Adam's apple	Promme d' Adam	French
11	New wave	Nouvelle	French
12	Brainwashing	Xî nǎo	Chinese
13	Masterpiece	Meesterstuk	Dutch

Semantic loans. They are also known as free translation of words that are foreign. Therefore, it is not necessary to obey the model and arrangement of the original word but rather it is merely a procreation of the general meaning of the original one (Tian and Backus 2013). In semantic loans, only the new notions of the borrowed words are taken, and by native phonemes, new compounds are made (Chen 2000). For instance, the Chinese word <huo che> is freely translated from the English word, train, which literary means (fire vehicle) and because of not having a corresponding unit to the word train, this compound word is created to imply the object that is called, the train, in English. Moreover, semantic loans are slightly similar to semantic extension, which implies an indigenous (native) word of a language that does not have multiple meaning but makes an extension in its meaning by taking the meanings of a corresponding foreign word that has more than one meaning. Thus, the number of the meanings of the word, indigenous word, parallels to the number of the meanings of the equivalent foreign word (Tian and Backus 2013). For example, the Indian word <vidyut> which only meant lightening, is extended to mean electricity too. Consider also the following examples (from Tian and Backus 2013 and Haspelmath 2009).

— In Chinese				
14	bing du	(literal: Illness poison)	Virus	English
15	dian hua	(literal: Electronic conversation)	Telephone	English
16	huo che	(literal: Fire vehicle)	Train	English
— In German				
17	Um-welt	(literal: Around world)	Milieu (mid place)	French

REASONS FOR BORROWING

Borrowing is one of the major processes and the most prolific (fruitful) ways of enriching the vocabulary of a language to become more beautiful and more expressive. However, in the process of borrowing, several reasons are considered. According to Pasali (2014), there are two main reasons for borrowing which are: internal and external linguistic reasons. In addition, Mosa (2016) considers convenience as another reason for borrowing.

The internal linguistic reasons include the necessity of borrowing and finding a more accurate word.

With regards to the necessity of borrowing, when a language lacks to have words to refer to certain phenomenon, concepts and elements or objects, foreign words are borrowed to give a place to

the unavailable word or expression in the cognitive basis of language – receptor (Pasali 2014). These loans are called "loanwords by necessity" or "cultural borrowings" (Haspelmath 2009, 46). Thus, borrowing fills the gap existing in a language. The point that should always be taken into consideration is the new inventions, discovery and phenomenon by which new words and meanings come into existence to be referred to. Once they are available in a language, they can simply be borrowed by another language. For example, words like Google, Facebook, Youtube, Instagram, Viber, Whatsup, Telgram, selfie and many others have lately come into existence and then adopted by many languages.

As for finding a more accurate word, when an element in a language has a name to be referred to but is not precise enough and is more or less general, it needs a more specific name to be implied, that is why a foreign word or concept is adopted to call attention to that element more accurately. So, the meaning could be similar but the foreign word gives a specific name to the object while the native word becomes more general (Pasali 2014). These types of loans are called "core borrowings" (Haspelmath 2009, 48). In this case, the sense of the word being a borrowing from another language is totally lost or is not conceived in the recipient language.

The external linguistic reasons include the socio-psychological reason and strengthening the international relations.

The socio-psychological factor considers the prestige issue as the reason for borrowing, i.e. sometimes the recipient language adopts a foreign word because it is prestigious (Pasali 2014). The prestige issue implies those words that are thought to be the most correct and have a superior variety. For instance, the English word, cow flesh/ cow meat, are native terms but for creating the effect of prestige, the term, beef, is adopted from French word <boeuf>. The same is true with the word, pig flesh/pig meat, which has a prestigious word <pork> from the French term <porc>. The modish (stylish) words are always preferred from stylish foreign cultures by people for the purpose of engaging in the modern tendencies (Bajzova 2009).

Furthermore, borrowing can strengthen the international relations. In other words, a language may use those foreign words that are utilized by many other languages of the world for the purpose of internationalism and globalism (Pasali 2014).

Finally, Mosa (2016) points out another factor of borrowing which is convenience. It is argued that to adopt a word is much easier than to make up an original one from nothing. That is, coining a new word from nothing is harder compared to taking a word from

other languages. Thus, loanwords can be regarded as the easiest way for filling the gap of an unavailable word in a language.

PREVIOUS WORKS ON LOANWORDS IN KURDISH

The literature on Kurdish loanwords is limited both in scope and depth. A comprehensive study requires both diachronic and synchronic insights however the literature on the subject usually includes semantic and phonetic changes of loanwords. The majority of the Kurdish previous studies on loanwords analysed two subdialects, Bahdini (from NK) and Sorani (from MK), individually. No studies comparing the two dialects have been conducted.

For Sorani subdialect, different studies analysed loanwords from different perspectives. For example, Azeez and Awla (2016) surveyed lexical borrowings from English in Sorani. The investigation is based on a wordlist that consists of 358 English loanwords that were found in Sorani. The loanwords are categorized into three phonological-based patterns which are assimilated, partially assimilated and non-assimilated. The results show that Kurdish borrowed words from English are mostly assimilated because it takes the highest rate in their study i.e. 196 words are assimilated. While partially assimilated words are 128 and non-assimilated words are 34. Furthermore, Hasanpoor (1999) carried out an investigation on the dynamics of European, Persian and Arabic borrowed words in Sorani Kurdish. Also, his case study investigated borrowing as an aspect of language contact and linguistic change, and analysed the morphological and phonological aspects of loanwords. His study made a comparison between two distinctive periods of the Sorani Kurdish development. That is, adopting words from Persian, Turkish and Arabic was unproblematic in pre-modern times but it has become problematic in modern standard Sorani. His primary sources for data collection were the prose writings of Kurdish poet and essayist Hemin. The results this study arrived at showed that words were borrowed from other languages as needed by moderate purists and when there were no corresponding words in Kurdish. In his study, foreign words were borrowed with several strategies, like: coining, loan-shifting, loan-blending and dialect borrowing so that the vocabulary be modernized. Loanwords are also revealed to be gone through loan-blending, that involves compounding and derivational processes by suffixes. According to this study, loanwords show the intricacy of the Kurds linguistic lives classified by international borders, political movements, national-states, dialects, and the pressures of the dominant languages like, Arabic, Turkish and Persian. In addition, Sabir (2016) analysed

loanwords found in political programs on several Kurdish TV channels. The purpose was to identify the semantic classification and reasons behind utilizing English words in TV political programs in Sorani dialect. She distributed questionnaires to people who run political programs, like the editors, announcers and reporters. The results demonstrated that English words are used more frequently than Kurdish corresponding words regarding politics field. She also reported that English words had undergone phonological and morphological modifications. She documented five factors of borrowing: prestige, modernization, semantic flexibility of English loans, enriching, and showing off (cited in Mosa 2016).

As for the NK dialect, Rasheed (2012) conducted a sociolinguistic study on Arabic words in NK. She collected the data by using two sources, interviews and mass media, written texts only. Regarding the interview, she took age, gender and education factors into consideration, and she used *Payv*, a monthly magazine (1993–2012), as a written source for collecting data for the purpose of discovering the changes that the Kurdish language had experienced since Kurdistan became an independent region. The findings demonstrated that males use more loanwords than females and uneducated speakers use fewer loanwords than educated speakers. Regarding the age, the middle-aged speakers, who were educated in Arabic, took the highest rate of loanword types. Furthermore, she also pointed out that nouns were borrowed more than other linguistic categories like verbs and adjectives. In addition, the study revealed that school/work and culture/tradition display the highest percentage of loanwords. Also, the study drew a comparison between Arabic and English as to the loans of which language were more frequently used during the years 1997–2002. It was revealed that the number of Arabic loans decreased while that of the English loans increased in Kurdish within these years.

METHODOLOGY

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is based on the content analysis approach. Content analysis is a flexible research approach that is used with a wide variety of text sources. It is a research tool used to settle the existence of some specific words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. Moreover, this approach can be used with either quantitative or qualitative data. In addition, the way of using it can be deductive or inductive

(Elo and Kyngas 2007). This study involves written materials taken from newspapers on the basis of drawing a comparison across dialects of Kurdish. Furthermore, the comparison is associated with determining loanwords in selected texts of newspapers as to which one uses more loanwords in written materials than the other for the purpose of showing the dialectal variation of loanwords in Kurdish. For this reason, the study has made use of this approach.

THE STUDY DATA

The data of this study come from two different newspapers which are "Khabat" and "Avro". Moreover, each one of them is fundamentally used for a specific Kurdish dialect. "Avro" newspaper is specifically employed for analysing NK while "Khabat" newspaper is particularly used for MK. Furthermore, issue number 2244 of "Avro" and number 5404 for "Khabat" are used and both are in year 2017. These samples are randomly chosen. In addition, their articles are chosen and then analysed, for the purpose of determining loanwords in the articles, so that the two dialects can be compared.

PROCEDURE OF DATA ANALYSIS

The loanwords were picked from the newspaper articles which were related to different topics including: politics, economics, law, science, sport and arts. The part of speech of the selected loanwords, their donor language, number of occurrence as well as their meanings in English were also given. They were translated into English so that their meanings would be clear to the international readers. Furthermore, their parts of speech are given to identify what parts of speech of loanwords are used most commonly. Also, the donor languages have been indicated because loanwords have been adopted from several languages around the world so it is possible to tell from what donor language the words are mostly borrowed. More importantly, some loanwords have been used several times in the same text, so, their number was carefully recorded in the table. However, the real focus is on their number of occurrence as it is the one which shall draw a comparison within a dialect and across dialects. Table 1 shows the procedures of data analysis.

Table 1. Data analysis procedures

No	Topics	Article titles	Newspaper	Loanwords	No of occurrence	Meaning	Part of speech	Donor language
1	Politics	"Emrîka namek bû Qasim Silêman hinart"	(2017). "Avro" 2244	Retkir	1	Refuse	Verb	Arabic
2				Retkirin	1	Refuse	Noun	Arabic
3				Feylaq	1	Legion	Noun	Arabic
4				Syasî	1	Political	Adjective	Arabic
5				ḥeşid	1	Crowd	Noun	Arabic
6	Politics	"Şehîdbûn le pênawî nîştîmanda"	(2017). "Khabat" 5405	Şeref	1	honour	Noun	Arabic/ Turkish
7				Şehîd	8	martyr	Noun	Arabic
8				Şehidbû	9	martyred	Verb	Arabic
9				Şehîdbûn	3	martyring	Noun	Arabic
10				Dîmukrat	3	Democratic	Adjective	English

In the second stage of data analysis, comparisons are made. Firstly, the number of occurrences of loanwords in one dialect is compared with that in the other dialect. This will help to identify the dialectal differences in the use of loanwords. Secondly, the number of occurrences of loanwords in one topic is compared with that in the other topics within a dialect and across the dialects. This comparison will help to identify the effect of topic on the number of loanwords within and across dialects. Thirdly, the number of occurrences of a specific part of speech is compared to the number of other parts of speech within a dialect and across dialects. This will help to provide information about the effect of the part of speech on the number of the occurrences of loanword within and across dialects. Finally, the number of occurrences of loanwords from a specific donor language is compared with other languages within a dialect and across dialects. This gives information about the language from which Kurdish makes borrowing mostly. The investigation was carried out on twenty-five articles of "Avro" and "Khabat" newspapers and the total number of words of the articles is 9594 words.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

DIALECT

"Avro" newspaper for NK and "Khabat" for MK were examined with respect to the number of occurrence of loanwords. Twelve articles from "Avro" and thirteen from "Khabat" were analysed. The total number of words of the articles for "Avro" was 4938 and for "Khabat" 4656. The total number of loanwords in NK was 312 and in MK 346. Table 1 summarises the total number of loanwords for both dialects.

Table 2. Number of loanwords and their percentages in NK and MK

Dialect	Total number words examined	Total number of loanwords	Percentage
NK	4938	312	6.31%
MK	4656	346	7.43%
Total	9594	658	6.85%

The results show that there is a difference between the two dialects with regard to the number of the loanwords. MK uses loanwords more frequently than NK dialect. This could be due to the fact that MK has accorded more official status than NK as it has been the second official language of Iraq since its creation after World War I and recently the first in Iraqi Kurdistan Region (Thackston 2006). It is the language of media, education and literary activity. Thus, it is a more prestigious and widely used variety of Kurdish that is why it needs to enhance its linguistic system. Additionally, MK used borrowing (especially from prestigious donor languages: Arabic (as the first official language of Iraq and the language of the religion) and English (as a global language) as a way to enhance its prestigious status and gain more social superiority. Field (2002, 4) has stated that borrowing is a sign of social superiority and education especially when it is from prestigious donor languages. NK is still far from being a unified, normalised or standardised language as it has not been the written means of communication in the largest areas in which it is spoken. It is only recently that NK has accorded some official status as it is used in the education, media but only in the NK speaking area in the Iraqi Kurdistan region (Ibid).

TOPICS

This section presents the rate of using loanwords according to the subject matters or the topics. In both dialects, the words of the articles of six topics have been analysed; however, the frequent use of loanwords is different from one dialect to another and one topic to another. The number of loanwords of each topic in NK and MK is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. The rate of occurrence of loanwords according to the topics in NK and MK

No	Topics	NK			MK		
		Number of words analysed	Total number of loanwords	Percentage	Number of words analysed	Total number of loanwords	Percentage
1	Economics	1128	97	8.59%	638	46	7.21%
2	Science	814	78	9.58%	1277	91	7.12%
3	Politics	928	56	6.03%	1277	91	7.12%
4	Arts	890	43	4.83%	798	66	8.27%
5	Law	759	24	3.16%	450	47	10.44%
6	Sport	419	14	3.34%	520	19	3.65%
	Total	4938	312	6.31%	4656	346	7.43%

The table shows that in NK, science has got the highest percentage of loanwords followed by economics; whereas law got the lowest percentage of occurrences of loanwords. In contrast in MK, law has got the highest number of loanwords followed by arts and similar to NK, sport got the lowest number of occurrences. It seems that in comparison with other fields, NK lacks specialised vocabularies related to science and MK related to law that is why loanwords are more frequently used in these two subjects.

DONOR LANGUAGES

In terms of donor languages, the analysis revealed that loanwords in both dialects have been borrowed from several languages including English, Arabic, French, Persian and Turkish. Table 4 shows the main percentages of borrowing from each language identified in the study.

Table 4. The rate of occurrence of loanwords according to the donor languages in NK

No	Donor languages	Number of loanwords in NK	Percentage	Number of loanwords in MK	Percentage
1	Arabic	154	49.35%	154	44.50%
2	English	141	45.19%	164	47.39%
3	Persian	10	3.20%	3	0.86%
4	French	6	1.92%	17	4.91%
5	Turkish	1	0.32%	8	2.31%
	Total	312		346	

The table illustrates that in both dialects the majority of the loanwords of NK come from Arabic and English with some differences. In NK the highest percentage of borrowing comes from Arabic followed by English, while in MK the highest percentage comes from English followed by Arabic. This shows that English and Arabic have a big influence on the two dialects of Kurdish: Arabic as the second language of the Kurdish Region and English as the foreign language that is studied in the schools of the region. In both dialects the other languages, namely, Persian, French and Turkish got the lowest percentages which indicates that they had less impact on these dialects.

These results are similar to Sabir (2016) who also found out that English loanwords are used more frequently in MK Kurdish. However, her study analysed only politics subject matter.

PARTS OF SPEECH

This part will analyse some linguistic categories of loanwords, i.e. noun, verb, and adjective. The result shows that nouns are the mostly borrowed category of words in both dialects. Adjectives and verbs are the least borrowed categories of words in the Kurdish dialects. Table 5 presents the rate of occurrence of loanwords according to the part of speech.

Table 5. The rate of occurrence of loanwords according to the linguistic categories in NK and MK

No	Part of speech	Number of loanwords in NK	Percentage	Number of loanwords in MK	Percentage
1	Noun	276	88.46%	281	81.21%
2	Adjective	31	9.93%	40	11.56%
3	Verb	5	1.60%	25	7.22%
	Total	312		346	

This result is supported by the findings of Rasheed (2012) in her sociolinguistic study on loanwords in NK dialect. She also demonstrated that nouns are the mostly borrowed words compared to verbs and adjectives. This result is also widely acknowledged in other studies (Hapeslmath 2008; Matras 2009). The primary motivation for lexical borrowing is to extend the referential potential of a language and because reference is established through nouns, these categories are borrowed more easily than other parts of speech (van Hout and Muysken 1994). "[I]t is the most differentiated domain for labelling concepts and role" (Matras 2009, 168). Meanwhile, verbs are difficult to be borrowed because it is not easy to incorporate them into the language. In Kurdish it is observed that the borrowed verbs seem to be borrowed as nouns, then Kurdish employs its verb formation strategies to turn the borrowed forms into verbs before using them. For instance, the words <rat, şehid> (refusal, martyr) are nouns borrowed from Arabic but they are used as verbs by adding the verb formation suffixes <kirin and bun> to get the verbs <ratkirin, şehidbûn> (to refuse, to be martyred).

CONCLUSION

This study has analysed loanwords in Kurdish and the way they differ across the two widely used dialects of Kurdish: NK and MK. The study is based on the content analysis of the articles of two newspapers, which are "Khabat" representing MK and "Avro" newspaper representing NK. The loanwords have been analysed according to topic, their number of occurrences, donor language and part of speech within and across the dialects.

The study showed that adopting and using loanwords are significantly influenced by different factors such as dialect, topic, linguistic category and donor language. It is established that MK utilizes loanwords more frequently than NK dialect as a means to gain more prestige and social superiority. Concerning topics, In NK dialect, science takes the highest percentage and sport the lowest. While in MK law displays the highest rate of loanwords and similarly to NK, sport the lowest. Both dialects are influenced by Arabic and English and surprisingly less by the neighbouring languages such as Persian and Turkish. It seems that the two dialects are influenced by these two languages because they are in direct contact with them: Arabic as the official language of the country and the language of religion, and English as a foreign language studied in the schools of the region. Regarding the grammatical categories of words, noun loanwords

are mostly used in both NK and MK dialects and verb loanwords are the least used in both dialects. This result is widely supported by previous studies in other languages.

The study is important as it shows the rate of borrowing in two major dialects of Kurdish and how that rate varies according to factors such as dialects, topics, donor languages and word categories. It is necessary to investigate the rate of borrowing in other dialects as well.

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EXPLORING FILIPINO SEAFARERS' MASCULINITY ONBOARD AND AT HOME THROUGH LINGUISTIC DISCOURSES

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ABSTRACT

Drawing from Filipino seafarers' narratives regarding their firsthand experiences of gossip or gossiping onboard international ocean-going vessels, this paper analyzes the masculinities expressed by Filipino seafarers while they are on board and at home through linguistic discourses of gossip and spousal arguments or compromise. The data is supplemented by the interviews of seafarers' wives regarding masculinities while the seafarers are at home. The ship as a workplace dominated by men reinforces masculine traits and behavior where different masculinities are displayed and expressed. Gossip is prevalent among Filipino seafarers as part of their cultural make-up and is used both as a socialization tool and a strategy to accumulate onboard social capital. Onboard gossip exposes the seafarer's agentic flaws – his incompetence, unacceptable work attitudes, and work ethics. For Filipino seafarers, this topic stresses how they capitalize on their workplace reputation, which is crucial in the continuance of their careers. Also, onboard gossip exposes biases against management styles and targets queer seafarers. Masculinities at home are expressed through compromises and arguments on sustaining the "good provider/good father/good son" roles of the seafarer despite the temporary loss of income to reinstate the seafarer's relevance in the family.

Keywords: seafarer, gossip, compromise, argument, masculinity, Filipino

INTRODUCTION

The maritime industry has undergone changes brought about by its emphasis on the human element and its attempt to neutralize the workplace. However, despite the differences, seafaring remains a male-dominated industry. The occupational culture of seafaring often reflects masculine norms and values (Cars and Österman 2014; Kitada 2013). For Filipino seafarers who make up one-third of the global seafaring supply (Grøn and Richter 2013), and manning different international vessels, masculinity has been expressed and enacted through linguistic discourses onboard and at home through the more utilized forms of gossip and spousal arguments/ compromise.

A sailing ship is essentially a place of work, no different from any other workplace. Its labor force included those who manage – the ship officers and those who work – the ratings. Hence senior officers have additional training and certifications to comply with compared to the junior officers and ratings as their shipboard functions differ. There is a dearth of research exploring seamen's definition of their masculine identities and the impact of gendered divisions between men in the shipboard homosocial environment. A gendered approach to a maritime study consists of many key concepts: how power is culturally defined among ship officers and ratings, among the seafarers themselves, and how they understand themselves as workers and members of their larger society. Gender is a term that refers to social or cultural distinctions associated with being male or female. Gender identity is the extent to which one identifies as either masculine or feminine (Diamond 2002; Little 2016).

The ship as a workplace possesses structures that typically reflect or reinforce masculine discourses in complex ways. It has become a site for reproducing man's power and masculinities as seafaring has become a model of hegemonic masculinity. It leans toward heterosexual qualities – competitive, homosocial, and able to dominate women and other men. Drawing from the narratives and interviews of Filipino seafarers regarding their firsthand experiences of gossip or gossiping onboard international ocean-going vessels, this paper analyzes the masculinities expressed by Filipino seafarers while they are on board and at home through linguistic discourses of gossip and spousal arguments. These linguistic discourses often manifest Filipino cultural discourses reflected in certain traits

Filipino men consider valuable when they aim to maintain male-group solidarity and within the topics they typically gossiped on and argue about with their spouses. This paper reflects how these linguistic discourses as Filipino seafarers' subscribed strategies can become a forum where multiple masculinities of Filipino seafarers are expressed.

The role that gossips plays in an organization or workplace is under-researched. Noon and Delbridge (1993) explicitly state that gossip is a phenomenon worthy of serious studying and analysis as its pervasiveness and perpetuation are vital to the organization's life. Though negative gossip in the workplace has been discussed, it is usually focused on the individual (Gluckman 1968; Ellwardt et al. 2012) and organizational causes (Noon and Delbridge 1993) (Baumeister et al. 2004). In his study, Benwell (2001) claims that men's gossip seems to avoid topics that cover private and personal experiences; hence only issues that are of public knowledge are tackled; they invest no private or emotional energy in gossiping. It appears that alternative topics discussed by men are about men who 'do not fit' the desired mold of masculinity like gays and "new men".

This paper aims to contribute to the dearth of research that analyzes how masculinities are expressed in gossip perpetuated in organizations and workplaces. How do men use gossip to communicate and enforce their masculinities? Gossip and masculinity were studied by Cameron (1997). She discovered that men's gossip openly shows heterosexuality in stories where they discuss the body and appearance of the person subject of the gossip and how his appearance appears gay to them (Kiesling 2007). At the same time, Milne-Smith (2009) discussed men's involvement in gossiping as an acceptable regular activity of elite men of London. Gossiping is considered a ritual of privileged communication. She monitored elite men's experiences and placed them in their world: in gentlemen's clubs, as popular centers of men's gossip. In participating and sharing gossip inside the clubs, the members create and strengthen social and gender boundaries. By telling stories, the club members cooperate in fortifying the identity of selected men of London, both in their community and in general society. Gossip showed privilege to access information, stories and jokes that separate women from the middle class. When and where you shared those stories, confirm one's knowledge of gentlemanly behavior and discretion. Talking in a men's club clarifies how gender and identity are closely related (Milne-Smith 2009, 87).

SEAFARING AS AN EXAMPLE OF MASCULINITY

The Filipino men, in expressing their masculinity, take jobs that require strength like a builder or a laborer (Valledor-Lukey 2012). Seafaring is considered one of the most demanding and most dangerous jobs. In many instances, a seafarer represents what Connell (1995) describes as "exemplars of masculinity": hetero-sexual, competitive, homo-social and tend to dominate women and even other men. However, Connell (1987) argues that hegemonic masculinity is formed with three different forms of masculinity: complicit masculinity, which is derived from the general advantage of men from women; subordinate masculinity – the opposite of hegemonic heterosexual ideal – associated with homosexuality and femininity; and marginalized masculinity, representing differences based on race and class such as the masculinity of Blacks and working-class (McKay 2007, 619).

In seafaring, the Philippines can be considered one with the highest numbers of exportation of workers in the global maritime industry. The Philippines is a leading supplier of 'ratings' and comes in second as a ship officer supplier. Approximately one-third of the worldwide supply of seafarers is Filipinos. The seafaring profession is exposed to dangers and risks given that the ship is possessed with particular characteristics that are incomparable to typical land-based workplaces. It can be an isolating job, separating the seafarers from mainstream society as they work onboard for six to nine months before they go home to their families. The culture of onboard gossip has become a pastime, especially more prevalent in ships manned by a full-Filipino crew. It is interesting to explore how seafaring masculinity is reflected in onboard gossip and analyze the topics they usually dwell on while gossiping during work and recreation. Though there are more women seafarers than in previous years, seafaring remains dominated by seafaring men (Schuler 2020).

Due to the ship's inherent characteristics and seafarers' tendency to meet regularly in the crew mess hall or the recreation room, gossip circulates fast, and each person's actions are under their crewmates' scrutiny. Contrary to a regular workplace where gossip can result in employees' early resignation (De Gouveia et al. 2005) or conflict, the ship inhibits the seafarer to terminate his contract. As a workplace confined by its mobility and temporality, many considerations are assessed before one resigns or decides to terminate his contract. Though gossip is a normal social act, it remains under-

explored by academic researchers. With the negative connotations associated with gossip, no person wants to be labeled as a gossiper. However, gossip is inevitable, especially if two or more persons meet (Hartung and Renner 2013).

Acejo (2009) posits that the lack of other things to do besides work made onboard gossip inescapable. The limited activities and the repetitive nature of work triggered the need to alleviate boredom through participation in gossips. Topics ranged from unfair treatment at work to the particular lifestyle on the ship. Gossip functioned as a form of social control under the inevitable conditions of being subjected to acute attention to all sorts of working and non-working behavior on the ship. As to Tebbutt and Marchington (1997), gossip thrives in insecure workplaces. For Filipino seafarers, their job security remains fragile as they are not regularized by the companies they work for. Seafarers need to sign a contract every time they are deployed, which means they feel that their career is always in jeopardy.

UNDERSTANDING GOSSIP

Gossip is a natural part of social organizations, and that certain conditions can encourage socially redeeming gossip (Kniffin and Wilson 2010). In the broader domain of academic discourse, authors agree that gossip refers to a conversation that is done critically, whether positive or negative, about a person who is absent from the group (Hartung and Renner 2013). James C. Scott argues that gossip is a story with no recognized authors but with many retellers (Milne-Smith 2009). Traditionally associated with femininity, gossip in a broader interpretation strengthens group solidarity and serves as an unofficial channel of information. Gossip is a form of conversation where the participants create bonds while discovering similar normative analyses about relevant cultural domains on behavior and attitude. Gossip strengthens beliefs that the group agrees upon, which unites gossipers in an imagined community that fortifies social groups' solidarity (Benwell 2001).

Though with negative connotations, gossip plays a positive role in communication. It is a form of sharing and broadening of one's knowledge, gaining influence, venting resentment, enriching one's social circle, and critiquing others. Gossip can also be used for self-improvement, establishing, and protecting one's self. But it is also associated with malice, envy, and falsehood. Gossip is also often conjured as negative, judgmental, superficial speculative, and defamatory (Eckhaus and Ben-Hador 2019).

The term gossip or *tsismis* in Filipino has no indigenous or native term. The word *tsismis* (*chismes*) is of Spanish origin. Still, this etymology does not warrant a conclusion that the Filipino culture of gossiping was inherited from the Spanish people, notwithstanding the 333 years of being a former colony of Spain (Tan 2016).

The term *tsismis* can be interchanged with the following Filipino terms: *sitsit, satsat, yapyap, satsatan, salitaan, balita, bulungan, istorya, sali-salitaan, sabi-sabi, paninira, at alingasngas* (Brillon 2016, 28). Research on gossip was first recognized in its role to the individual and group regarding social comparison, identity, and reputation. Aside from its relation to other disciplines, gossip establishes a connection to some theoretical perspectives such as the theory of social exchange (Rosnow 2001), theory of attribution (Heider 1958), theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957), theory of uncertainty reduction (Berger and Calabrese 1975), and theory of established-outsiders (Elias and Scotson 1994) which could explain and establish why people engage in gossiping and why they participate in its internal conflict (Michelson et al. 2010).

Gossip is historically and stereotypically seen as a derogatory women's talk (Waddington and Michelson 2007); hence initial discourses often discuss women and gossip. Despite stereotypes, "there is little empirical evidence that women gossip more frequently than men," and if there be differences between the sexes, they are minimal (Foster 2004, 79). Robbins and Karan (2020) also dispel some existing stereotypes on gossip. Lakoff (1973) argues that the linguistic difference between men and women is due to women's subordinate position in society. Her work was recognized because of her attention to class, power, social justice, and gender difference. However, Tannen (1990) argues that the misunderstanding between men and women brought about by miscommunication is a by-product of cross-cultural communication since men and women are brought up and socialized in different subcultures (McHugh and Hambaugh 2010). The anthropologist and psychologist Robin Dunbar (1996) researched the origins of gossip as a mechanism of solidarity of social groups and became an instrument of social order and unity. As social groups grew bigger, language has inevitably evolved to maintain the alliance, and social grooming management has proved insufficient (Scalise-Sugiyama 2016).

Utilizing Pierre Bourdieu's terminologies and concepts, seafaring professional field is a field of power where seafarers compete for various capitals. Social actors positioned in a hierarchically structured field – the maritime field, with more or less power- resort to strategies to counter everyday struggles (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Their

strategies are heavily conditioned by the power and resources, consolidating existing positions and seeking future growth avenues. Subordinate actors, lesser players within fields, lacking the full complement of critical resources, pursue subversive strategies to undermine dominant actors' positions and actively create new positions within markets and fields (Harvey et al. 2020).

The struggle in a field is a struggle to impose a definition of legitimate recognition, in which victory leads to more or less monopolistic control of the meaning of the forms of legitimacy prevailing in the field. The history of the field is the history of the internal and external struggles that animate it, the history of the distribution of the specific capital, and its variation. The field is temporalized along with them (Hilgers and Mangez 2014).

MASCULINITY IN GOSSIP

Before the end of the twentieth century, linguists began to study how speakers use language to do social things such as expressing power, solidarity, and identity. Within this research, one of the most fruitful and contentious areas has been investigating how people utilize language to express gender, how a person's gender affects their choices in how they speak, and how their talk is received. Almost every language area is connected with gender, from the smallest segments of sound up to broadly characterized discourse strategies (Kiesling 2007, 653). Perpetrators have used gossip as a "tool" of workplace bullying and mobbing. Gossip is used in: 1) oppressing and social dominance; 2) expressing envy and social undermining; 3) humiliating subordinates, and 4) a psychological attempt to close or widen the power gap (Pheko 2018).

Connell (1995) paved the way in discussing masculinity in academic forums and broader society. Her concept of "hegemonic" masculinity is her most remarkable work. This concept promotes the current definition of being a nobleman. A normative stand presents masculinity standards, which outrightly positions women as subordinates (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Connell (1987, 1995) argues that each society has its concept of masculinity that is dominant, and this she refers to as hegemonic masculinity – the type of masculinity men desire. Hegemonic masculinity is an important term because it recognizes that there are multiple masculinities. Still, at the same time, it acknowledges that one, or a small subset of them, is dominant (Kiesling 2007). Hegemonic masculinity is a pattern of practice (things done, not just a set of role expectations or identity)

that allowed men's dominance over women to continue (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 832). As for Kiesling (2007), this term is difficult to use in understanding and explaining men's linguistic practices. As an alternative, he argues that there are "cultural discourses of masculinity" that comprise hegemonic masculinity in every society. These refer to cultural discourses that describe qualities and practices that people value, desire, and strive for, and it is the combination of these cultural discourses that yield hegemonic masculinity (657).

According to Kurland and Pelled (2000), organizational gossip is an informal and critical conversation in an organization, usually among a few individuals about a member who is not present in the said group (429). Noon and Delbridge (1993) discovered that gossip circulating in an organization is negative, but there is positive news. Noon and Delbridge agree with Gluckman (1968), who claims that gossip serves three collective functions: 1) to create group morale, establishing and vindicating group norms and values; 2) to exert social control over newcomers and dissidents, and 3) to regulate conflicts with rival groups. From this perspective, organizational gossip may be regarded as organizationally beneficial. Gossip can also help to reveal and alter existing power inequalities and help release emotional tensions. Further, it may well reduce uncertainty and facilitate sensemaking and problem solving (Van Iterson and Clegg 2008, 1120–1121). In Levin and Arluke (1985), the results of their study indicated that the gossip of men and women contained similarities and differences. Women spent more time gossiping than men, and the former were much more likely than the latter to gossip about close friends and family members. There were no significant sex differences regarding the derogatory tone of gossip, and men and women were found to gossip about many of the same topics.

METHODOLOGY

This research involved Filipino seafarers (see Table 1) who belong to the ethnic group called *Ilonggos* and speak the *Hiligaynon* language. Ilonggo people are inhabitants of the western Visayan islands in the Philippines' central part (Minahan 2012). Studies conducted about Filipino seafarers often cite *Ilonggo* seafarers in their research (Alimen et al. 2013; Swift 2011; Lamvik 2002). These seafarers have been working as international crew, assigned in various vessels, for more than five years. The interviews were conducted in the province of Iloilo. The researcher utilized narrative inquiry as the primary data

collection method and was complemented with semi-structured interviews with the seafarers' wives and online discussions with seafarers who are members of the LGBT community. Respondents were chosen through a convenience sampling and a snowball method. Out of the 25 Ilonggo seafarers interviewed, 13 are ship officers, while 12 are ratings; 17 are married while eight are single.

Table 1. Respondents' profile

Respondent seafarer's pseudonym	Age	Civil status (M-Married/ S-Single)	Position and category (R-Ratings/O-Officer)	Place and date of interview (P-Philippines/O-Online)
1. Nonoy	49	M	Bosun / R	P / November 21, 2019
2. Ramon	58	M	Captain / O	P / December 21, 2019
3. Joel	44	M	Helmsman / R	P / December 23, 2019
4. Roger	43	M	Electrician / O	P / January 3, 2020
5. Dan	50	M	Electrician / R	P / January 21, 2020
6. Rodel	36	M	Able-Bodied Seaman / R	P / January 28, 2020
7. Brad	43	M	Engine Repair-man / R	P / February 10, 2020
8. Niel	45	M	Cabin Steward / R	P / February 19, 2020
9. Matt	36	M	Second Engineer / O	P / February 20, 2020
10. Janus	52	M	Engine Fitter / R	P / February 21, 2020
11. Owen	57	M	Captain / O	P / March 13, 2020
12. Lando	38	M	Second Officer / O	P / May 21, 2020
13. Art	40	M	Second Engineer / O	P / June 1, 2020
14. Chad	27	S	Oiler / R	P / June 19, 2020
15. Jet	28	S	Oiler / R	P / July 22, 2020
16. Angga	32	M	Second Mate / O	P / July 24, 2020
17. Lee	37	S	Second Mate / O	P / July 24, 2020
18. Tisoy	29	S	Third Engineer / O	P / July 25, 2020
19. Dennis	53	M	Second Engineer / O	P / July 26, 2020
20. Rey	27	M	Oiler / R	P / July 27, 2020
21. Jerry	34	M	Oiler / R	P / July 27, 2020
22. Vicente	55	S	Captain / O	P / August 19, 2020
23. Manuel	27	S (LGBT)	Second Engineer / O	O / October 19, 2020
24. John	27	S (LGBT)	Third Officer / O	O / October 19,2020
25. Shamcey	27	S (LGBT)	Second Engineer / O	O / October 20, 2020

Seven women with seafaring husbands participated in the said study. Four of the seven respondents maintain a patrilocal residence, two in a matrilocal residence, and one in an ambilocal residence. Three of the respondents are working while four are full-time housekeepers; these women used to work before but gave up their careers to attend to the children; six of the respondents have kids; five of them with two kids, while one is with three kids. The interviews were conducted from November 2019 to October 2020.

DISCUSSION

From the narratives of twenty-five Filipino seafarers who have participated and have been subjected to onboard gossip, themes were tracked. Recurring themes of gossip among Filipino seafarers oscillate between work attitudes, work ethics, and competencies seafarers possess or lack, hierarchical structures and management style of ship officers, and sexual identities of fellow seafarers. When seafarers return home, masculinities are expressed through the linguistic discourse of compromise and arguments regarding the household or family decision-making.

Bourdieu states that linguistic exchanges can express relations of power; portrays everyday linguistic conversations as situated encounters between agents endowed with socially structured resources and competencies, in such a way that every linguistic interaction, however, personal and insignificant it may seem, bears the traces of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce (Bourdieu 1991).

The following sections discuss the empirical portion of this study and establish how gossip, compromise, and argument as linguistic discourses manifest and express Filipino seafarers' masculinities.

ONBOARD GOSSIP EXPOSES ONE'S (IN)COMPETENCE, WORK ATTITUDES AND WORK ETHICS

Generally, Filipino seafarers' responses suggest that gossip onboard usually thrive on topics of a seafarer's competence or incompetence, work attitude, and ethics, praising those with remarkable work skillset and undermining those who fail to live up to Filipino seafarers' expectations. For the Filipino mariners, to become a seafarer is to be committed to everything that comes with the profession. According to Ransley (2005), maritime activity has long been portrayed as a masculine endeavor, and seafaring requires physical strength,

endurance, adventure, and danger. The ocean is vast, unpredictable, and unforgiving; seafaring is coupled with risks and elements that challenge one's patience and determination.

One cultural discourse related to Filipino seafarers' masculinity is their skill or the ability they possess in doing their jobs. The respondents unanimously agree that their pride as Filipino seafarers relies on how they commit to their work. With the length and breadth of the Filipino maritime tradition, it is not surprising that they have become "desirable" compared to other nationalities in the global industry. And because of their reputation as seafarers, their skillset has become an example of their masculinity, and whoever deviates from this discourse will be treated differently and looked down on by fellow Filipino seafarers.

A seafarer who fails to possess standard competencies required for a regular seaman is most likely to be the subject of onboard gossip among Filipino seafarers. According to Kiesling (1997), power can come from institutional and structural hierarchy, body strength, wealth, knowledge, and skill. Men have tasks that allow them to be powerful and be masculine in so many ways. In underestimating a crewmate's ability, some men exude more power than other men. Gossip and reputation are intertwined with power and status. Gossip manifests subversive power, an attempt by the weak to use the power of knowledge independently of those who wield a more conventional power (Farley 2019).

Another frequent gossip topic is about work ethics, like trying to do the easy things while working in a group. This means there is an intention to deceive crewmates by deliberately 'disappearing' while work is ongoing. This often becomes a topic in the engine department. As a daily routine, before everyone starts working, the Chief Engineer, though sometimes delegated to the Second Engineer, conducts a toolbox meeting where tasks are laid down, analyzed as to posed dangers and risks, and assessed how these risks may be avoided. The Second Engineer may address his crew for suggestions and ends up subscribing to the most tenable one. This means to say, at the start of the day, everyone knows what would be his task and role to accomplish the goals for the day. It is a structured and a calculated daily routine for seafarers, mainly to avoid delays, accidents, and deaths. And if there is someone who fails to be in accord with the group's goal, he will irk his crewmates and become the subject of gossip after work. This angle of masculinity points to the discourses of male solidarity (Kiesling 2007) or having concern and fellowship and virtuosity, traits that Filipino men value (Valledor-Lukey 2012).

CAPITALIZING ON GOOD REPUTATION: THE FRAMEWORK OF CONTINUOUS WORK FOR FILIPINO SEAFARERS

In observing seafarers on board Danish ships, Grøn and Richter (2013) found out that Filipino seafarers are too concerned about their reputation and avoid being labeled a "bad seaman." The risk of the specific social sanctioning of getting a bad reputation is in play among crews – although increasing mobility and internationalization arguably weakens the effect (Grøn and Svendsen 2013). In cruise lines for example, where Filipino crews are dominant, industry insiders repeatedly cite and ideologically frame Filipino seafarers as docile and compliant yet industrious and inexpensive crew (Terry 2013). This perception is in contrast with how Filipino workers are labeled back home. In Paderon and O'Donnell (1995), Filipino workers in their home country are described as demotivated workers; contrary to the extant literature, they possess an excellent reputation as migrant workers. Be they nurses and doctors in the United States, teachers in Africa, engineers in the Middle East, and even as domestic helpers in Europe, Filipinos become model workers who are hard-working, industrious, frugal, savings-oriented, and highly sought by employers (Paderon and O'Donnell 1995, 135). As the authors suggest, this turnaround in the Filipinos' work behavior is influenced by the conditions of space, as Gallagher illustrates in his book, "The Power of Place: How Our Surroundings Shape Our Thoughts, Emotions, and Actions" (Gallagher 1993). The economic environment can be liberating to unleash productive energies and can be oppressive to stifle entrepreneurial initiatives (Paderon and O'Donnell 1995). These are some of what Filipino seafarers have to say with how they regard their reputation and quality:

> A Filipino seaman finishes his job, even if he has to extend his hours of work. He makes sure that his work boasts of quality workmanship. Everyone tries to preserve the integrity of a Filipino seafarer. I don't want to be called out by anybody that my work is poor. We know if a ship is taken care of by Filipinos or if it is manned by Chinese or Indians or other nationalities. There are a lot of physical signs. Most are dilapidated ships, those we refer to as ugly, like the ship is full of rust, not painted well, not swept well, we can tell that most of the crew of that ship are Chinese or Indians. People from different races do not really value their work, and their workplace. Filipinos try to give dignity to their work and to their place of work by taking care of it as if it is their home. Most of white people are conscious

of their time when they work. But for me and other Filipinos, we don't want to be embarrassed by peers and crew mates on how and the outcome of our work. I can say, based on my experience that Filipino seafarers are well-disciplined and display a remarkable work ethics when onboard seagoing vessels. I knew of a Filipino seafarer who took in a Russian as a mentee when this Russian obviously did not know how to do his job and strategize to learn the craft while he is under this Filipino mentor. As I have heard from crewmates, every payday, the Russian gives 100 USD to this Filipino seafarer as a payment for teaching him the trade. (Dan, 50, Electrician)

One thing about Filipino seafarers is that they are really hard-working. The officers like the Swedish and the Croatians usually delegate their tasks to the Filipino seafarers and the Pinoys often just accept the tasks even if these are not their designated tasks. (Brad, 43, Engine Repairman)

What is good about the Filipino seamen is that even though work is hard, they go ahead and do the job. And the moment you give them the job order, unlike the Westerners who complain a lot, Filipinos also complain but they perform the task. Although they are tired, they still manage to laugh. Most Westerners like working with Filipinos. First, they are hardworking, even if you order only one Filipino seafarer to do the job, he surely can do it. For other nationalities, they are likely to ask help, especially the Indians. What one Filipino can do; four Indians will do the same job. And of course, Filipino knows to strategize (diskarte). Filipinos are resourceful even those working on land. Like for jobs on higher places, Filipinos don't complain, they do the job swiftly... The Indians, they are more in talking. Onboard, the Filipinos work the most polished among different nationalities. (Angga, 32, Second Mate)

De Guzman and Teng-Calleja's (2018) survey results from The Boston Consulting Group state that employees are now emphasizing "softer" actors or intrinsic rewards and less on compensation. These soft factors include appreciation for work, the quality of workplace relationships, and work-life balance. Employees also maintain the relevance of tangible work attributes such as opportunities for learning and career development. Respondent seafarers suggest that it is essential to maintain good behavior on board as the ship's Captain and Chief Engineer regularly evaluate them. Upon their disembarkation, this evaluation report must be submitted to the manning agency to promote them to the next higher position. They need at least three

successive good evaluation reports for the principal to promote them. Bad evaluation translates to being dropped off by a manning agency as the written evaluation functions as a tool to exercise power over the seafarer's future. This emphasis on reputation silences the Filipino seafarers. They would rather not complain as the act of complaining might be construed as unpleasant by the ship officers and reflect it on their evaluation. Hence, they are less likely to risk their reputation by speaking up, demanding their rights, and contradicting their superiors (Grøn and Richter 2013). The dominant, discursive formation positions Filipinos as hardworking, loyal, friendly, and submissive workers (Terry 2013). Farley (2019) argues that gossip is a highly efficient and impactful mechanism by which reputations are created, maintained, and altered. Respondent seafarers narrated that upon returning to the home country, their first stop must be to report to their respective manning agencies, where they are interviewed about their onboard experience and the onboard relations with fellow Filipino seafarers. This interview becomes an avenue for the seafarers to report misbehaving fellow crewmates. Suppose a crew member's name is often reported as initiating conflict onboard or is not easy to be around with. In that case, the company will sanction him by not giving him a new contract right away or by totally dropping him off the company.

Even during their pre-departure orientation seminar (PDOS), facilitators advise seafarers to conduct themselves accordingly to bring pride and not shame to the home country and not tarnish the Filipino seafarers' good reputation. Attendance to PDOS is mandatory, and it is part of the process of applying for clearance to leave the Philippines as a migrant worker. The Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) administers PDOS for workers. As a "labor brokerage" state, the Philippine neocolonial state plays a vital role in producing Filipino labor (Rodriguez 2016), and with the $7 billion seafarer remittances in 2019, they have sustained the Philippine economy (Romulo 2020). The Philippines prides itself with a moniker "Home of the Great Filipino Worker," made by a neoliberal and market-driven state to emphasize the added value of their migrant workers (Guevarra 2016).

For the Filipino crew, as substantiated by Swift (2011), being submissive implies that they observe the hierarchies onboard in conformity with Filipino values, as respect for seniority and age and fictive kinship, and also avoidance of possible causes of onboard conflict. According to Acejo (2012), the Filipino concept of conformity is indicative of their level of sociability and the extent to which they could abide by norms and behavioral precepts while on the ship.

The Filipino seafarer had to show that he was worthy of inclusion (Acejo 2012). Respondent seafarers who entered their respective manning agencies through their "backers" are more pressured to prove to their kin who vouched for their character to display constant good behavior onboard otherwise they will not only be destroying their own reputation, but also that of their "backers." Their observance of good behavior onboard is a form of repayment to the "debt of goodwill" incurred as recipients of recommendations and referrals for their onboard experience.

In Zinko et al. (2017), gossip serves a more significant role in developing personal reputation than more formal methods of communication. Organizations and individuals attempt to develop and capitalize on the effects of individuals' reputations, and findings suggest that gossip contributes to organizational identity. It reinforces groups' social norms, and that gossip serves as an essential enabler of reputational development (Zinko et al. 2017).

ONBOARD GOSSIP DISCLOSES BIASES TO MANAGEMENT STYLES

Power may be the most prominent feature of masculinity, but a man does not feel powerful all the time (Kiesling 2007). This is true with gossip about seafarers who graduated from the Philippine Merchant Marine Academy (PMMA) and Maritime Academy of Asia and the Pacific (MAAP), leading maritime educational institutions in the Philippines. The PMMA is the pioneer institution which was originally named "Escuela Nautica de Manila," created by a Spanish Royal decree issued on January 1, 1820. It was initially located in Intramuros, Manila, until 1863. It was renamed the Philippine Nautical School (PNS) during the American occupation. It was converted to what it is now by Republic Act 3680, enacted in 1963 (Philippine Merchant Marine Academy 2020).

On the other hand, the MAAP was established by Capt. Gregorio Oca, the President of Associated Marine Officer's and Seamen's Union of the Philippines (AMOSUP), on January 14, 1998. It was designed to be a world-class maritime academy, equipped with state-of-the-art facilities in compliance with the requirements set forth by the Standards of Training, Certification, and Watchkeeping for Seafarers (STCW) (MAAP 2020). Graduates of both universities enter as scholars and are assured of employment aboard commercial ships and aim for the top positions in the onboard hierarchy. Due to their quasi-military or semi-regimented training experience, PMMA and MAAP ship officers are often perceived as rigid and meticulous in the way they expect job performance from their crew.

From their demanding attitudes, respondent seafarers suggest that they are often being gossiped about, perceived as working for the shipowners rather than with the crew. Viewed as overzealous superiors, the crew finds them unsympathetic and overbearing. Seafarers view PMMA and MAAP officers negatively as they set clear boundaries from those below the hierarchy. They lack concern for their fellow seafarers. They are *sipsip* (obsequious) towards ship owners or charterers; arrogant, and they are not interested in maintaining male solidarity onboard. These are just some of the negative characteristics of the gender-based behavior of Filipinos (Valledor-Lukey 2012). As suggested in Tebbutt and Marchington (1997), the higher the employer's expectations (herein represented by the ship officers), the more the employees are likely to feel that the trust has been betrayed.

In interviewing the respondents, they would instead work under a foreigner's command than with their nationals. Some Filipino traits affect the everyday interaction among Filipinos, and it is difficult to plot a general Filipino behavior, given the ethnic divisions in the Philippines. Nevertheless, the following traits seem to be present along different Filipino cultural boundaries and cause tensions between the officers and the crew. Filipinos are known to be *maramdamin* (sensitive), *sumpungin* (moody), *pikon* (with low tolerance to teasing), and *matigas ang ulo* (stubborn) (Church and Katigbak 2000). According to Cameron (1997, 58), this indicates that men are not pleased with an extreme form of hierarchy and competition.

PMMA and MAAP ship officers' frequent involvement as subjects of gossip is a form of charting consensus from crewmates whether they share the same impressions or observations about them. For individuals with the same perceptions, this is a collaboration system that fosters in-group dynamics (Cameron 1997). Those I interviewed coming from MAAP acknowledged the biases of fellow seafarers against them. Having started seafaring as a Cadet then, Manuel (27), a Second Engineer, intentionally did not disclose to his superiors then that he came from MAAP for this will be cited to humiliate him. True to his assumptions, when the Third Engineer he is working with at that time dug up his records and found out he is a product of MAAP, it was made a point of reference to ridicule him. This was what was said to him:

> Third Engineer: "Start the operation of the freshwater generator." (crewmate of respondent)
> Manuel: "Sir, I don't know how to do that yet. But I know that is a freshwater generator, but I do not know how to start that,

stop, operate, maintain, I still don't know, sir." (Manuel, 27, Second Engineer)
Third Engineer: "You don't know that, and you come from MAAP!" (crewmate of respondent)

Much is expected of Filipino mariners who came from PMMA and MAAP regarding their competencies and abilities. Manuel joined the gossipers, and he heard this as part of the subjects of gossip. He decided not to disclose his being a MAAP student though eventually it became known as the educational background is compounded in gossip about leadership and job performance. This gossip about PMMA and MAAP seafarers indicates that those who gossiped about them manifested their marginalized masculinity. They celebrate their abilities and experience and challenge the typical hegemonic masculinity, gained through formal education and knowledge from books (McKay 2007). Since PMMA and MAAP mariners underwent quasi-military or semi-regimental training (Ching 2017), they are encapsulated under hegemonic masculinity.

Gossiping about PMMA and MAAP seafarers meant that Filipino masculinity is expressed in a polarizing manner. In one way, they were disgusted by their leadership and management but simultaneously acknowledging their abilities and intelligence based on how the gossipers described these group of seafarers. Vicente (55), a Captain and a graduate of PMMA, who is very much aware of the gossip about the PMMAers' management style, explains that seafarers do not like their leadership as they do not like to be disciplined. They tend to give more respect and acknowledgement to foreign officers as Filipinos in general, look up to white people more than their fellowmen, evidence of a postcolonial mentality. This behavior further reflects the marginal position of Filipino seafarers in the world maritime market. Though they occupy significant numbers as ratings and officers, some still display their marginal masculinity.

ONBOARD GOSSIP TARGETS QUEER SEAFARERS

Though the Philippines is considered a gay-friendly country, the cultural and societal behavior towards the LGBTQIA community remains complicated, albeit there were signs of acceptance, especially from the youth (Mis 2014; Pew Research Center 2013). As gay men venturing into seafaring increasingly grows, they also become a favorite topic of crewmates, not only scrutinizing their work but even their relationships. Three of the seafarer respondents openly admitted they belong to the gay community. They narrated how their sexual orientation interested other people and how this was

enough to become a consistent topic of gossip onboard. Seafarers claim that work onboard is a man's domain. Hence, body strength is an issue enclosed in the cultural discourse of heterosexism. Kiesling (2007) considered it a significant cultural discourse in the United States, which other cultures may replicate, like the Philippines.

John (27), a Third Officer onboard a bulk container, sees that he will not be discredited for being a gay seafarer. He does not ask for preferential treatment and does what other seafarers do, just like a real man. Manuel, on his first onboard experience as an Engine Cadet, tried to hide his sexuality for three months to avoid being made fun of. However, a circumstance happened onboard where he admitted to his immediate superior, the Third Engineer, that he is gay. He was not only exposed to gossips and ridicule, but subjected to many kinds of teasing, insults, and harassment that he almost quit being a seaman. He cried when he remembered what made him survive the six-month-long contract with his crewmates, whom he refers to as "bullies." He remembers crying every night as he was ostracized by and was forced to eat in his cabin to avoid fellow seafarers' insults. Though still overwhelmed with tears, he thinks that he was made fun of because there was no internet onboard then and that the three-month-long voyage made the crew very bored and pushed them to create a nuisance or entertainment at his expense. Now, he is a Second Engineer and has been a seafarer for six years, making him knowledgeable on how to react to gossip.

Rodel (36), an Able-Bodied Seaman (AB) narrated how gay seafarers are often made gossip subjects. He did not hold back in verbalizing his disgust with the growing number of gay seafarers and how they destroy seafaring men's identity and reputation to other nationals. This kind of discourse is discussed by McKay (2007) and Ostreng (2001) where they affirm Filipino seafarers as weak, effeminate, neglectful, and irresponsible. "The Norwegians' view of the Filipinos was contradictory to the criteria of being 'a good sailor', stereotyped as being physically weak, feminine, negligent and irresponsible. The fact that Norwegians are bigger than Filipinos is for example regarded as a sign of better working abilities and a key to be a better seaman. This has also to do with masculinity, as Filipinos are regarded as feminine and quite often labelled as homosexual." (Ostreng 2001, 7; also cited in McKay 2007)

This research sees a similar pattern to that of Kiesling (2007) and Cameron (1997). A prominent display of heterosexuality is present in gossip about sexual relations with women on board and at the port and gossip about who sleeps with women crewmates.

Officers are often accused of having sexual relations with women seafarers since they possess more power and capital than the ratings. The officers' power is that they have a broader knowledge and occupy high workplace hierarchy positions (Kiesling 2007). In this kind of linguistic discourse, society's double standard of morality becomes manifest. For example, in extramarital relationships, the woman is often scorned and looked down on by her workmates, while the man seems to benefit from it and inflate his masculinity. When asked if they would allow or recommend their female peers or family members to seafaring, respondents answered negatively as women in ships are prone to be played with by seafaring men. These are some of what they said:

> "Women in ships are treated as sexual objects by men they work with." (Rodel, 36, Able-Bodied Seaman)

> "On their first time to board the ship, they all look so timid. A few months after, they are pregnant." (Joel, 44, Helmsman)

> "We just heard that she is in a relationship with the Captain." (Brad, 43, Engine Repairman)

Another example of open display of heterosexuality and gender difference is gossip that tackles or underestimates gay and women seafarers' physical capabilities. This type of gossip describes complicit masculinity, which refers to men's general superiority over women (Connell 1995). There are types of vessels that demand more physical labor than other ships, and men complain how women and gay crewmates become more of a burden than a help. It is in gossiping where men vent out their frustrations about having female and gay crew members. Since they can also feel that they become subjects of gossip, female and gay seafarers try hard to prove that they can do whatever others do and that they are willing to help the group achieve its daily tasks. John (27), a gay seafarer, has this to say: "Not all men are physically strong, so whatever they can do, I can do it also." Even the two other LGBT seafarers agree that they have proven that they can work alongside and as equals of men in their several years as seafarers.

From the different topics seafarers tend to gossip on board, it is clear that different kinds of masculinity in which hegemonic masculinity is embedded are manifested. The Filipino seafarers' masculinity is a complex feature. It denotes the existence of power and refers to the absence of power, which tends to challenge the ideal hegemonic masculinity.

COMPROMISES AND ARGUMENTS ARE WAYS TO BARGAIN AND REINSTATE MASCULINITIES AT HOME

Studies of migrant men suggest that migratory work can provide the material and cultural capital to enact exemplary forms of masculinity upon a migrant's return home through noticeable consumption, tales of adventure, and the ability to fulfill the social obligations of a high-status male. Filipino seafarers, when at home, asserts a "breadwinner masculinity" or perform a "good provider" role (McKay and Lucero-Prisno 2012). However, these roles are more emphasized when they are on board than when they are home as allotments are mandatorily sent back home.

Yabiku et al. (2010) discussed the separation of migrants from the family unit as posing profound implications for family organization and individual family members. They examined the relationship between men's labor migration and the decision-making autonomy of women who stay behind. Results showed that men's cumulative migration history and current migration status are positively associated with women's autonomy. These suggest that the impact of men's labor migration on women's autonomy may persist even after the man's return.

In dyadic interactions, compromise usually happens among a female-male dyad or between two females. In contrast, the tendency to compromise decreases in a male-male dyad. Males try to sustain their masculinity when among other men. Men try to dichotomize and avert from behaviors typical for females (Nikolova and Lamberton 2016). Dunbar's Dyadic Power Theory (DPT) acknowledges power and dominance as vital concepts in studying human relationships, particularly intimate romantic relationships. It governs the partners' dynamics and how they arrive at decisions. Dunbar and Abra (2010) affirm DPT's argument of a non-linear relationship between dominance and power. Their study shows that those who feel relatively equal to their partners display the most dominance. In Bevan's (2010) study, she contends that romantic and family relationships may be characterized more by positive, rather than negative, serial argument motivations. Rather than focusing on the power differences in their relationships, individuals in serial argument episodes may realize their interdependence means that causing harm to their partners via conflict strategy usage or pursuit of opposing goals would have implications for themselves as well.

Filipino seafarers spend six to nine months working on board and go home for vacation for three to four months; the family left behind had already adjusted to the seafarers' cyclical or circulatory

pattern of work and thus adopted a household routine and delegation of responsibilities among the members. Respondent seafarers' spouses shared that the seafarer's return may also mean disruption of the routine and tasks among the members of the family, and is especially true for wives who are also career women. The number one concern of the spouses is how the children are being disciplined and are being pampered with gifts when the father is at home. The father assumes the domestic chores at home when it is previously assigned to the children. This re-assumption of roles manifests that the father wants to reinstate his relevance and role as a "good father" even only through the mundane daily chores. The father tends to disrupt the children's daily schedule by bringing them to the grandparents' house during weekdays or by bringing them to the malls for short strolls. As guilty spoilers, once confronted by their spouses, the seafaring husbands agree to compromise in not disrupting children's school days. Although assuming the chores at home like cleaning the house, washing the dishes, doing the laundry, and other domestic chores tend to make everyone's lives easier, the children have had a rough time adjusting to the time the father returns to work again.

Respondent seafarers' spouses suggest that when it comes to spending or budgeting the finances, Ilonggo seafarers seldom argue with how the wives handle the family's finances. Most of the respondent seafarers trusted their wives when it comes to managing the finances than themselves. When at home, seafarers are tempted to drink with their buddies, participate in cockfighting derbies, treat their friends and family to restaurants, which means spending while they are not earning. Most of the respondent seafarers who spent more than ten years onboard have established small businesses. Most commonly established micro-businesses are small grocery stores, hardware stores, piggery, poultry businesses, animal clinics, boarding houses, or rental spaces to earn even while they are on vacation. Providership bolsters the seafarers' masculinity by combining the agency gained through the command of significant resources with a reaffirmation of men's patriarchal status (McKay and Lucero-Prisno 2012). The emergence of conflict between spouses arising from rearing or behaving towards children is in line with the results of Papp et al. (2009), where it shows that the couples deal with problems about children more frequently than disagreement with money.

Respondent spouses and their seafaring husbands also compromise when it comes to supporting the extended family or the seafarer's family of orientation. Ilonggo seafarers support their parents even in old age. Filipino families are bi-lineal, and there is a strong

tendency toward economic cooperation among both nuclear and extended family members. The generalized exchange of support – financial, instrumental, or otherwise – is a normative expectation among Filipino families (Blair 2014). Seafarers are also prone to economic abuse by their families, and somehow the spouses have to compromise up to what extent financial support should be given to the extended family. Financial abuse among Filipino migrant workers is public knowledge. While the researcher was attending mass last March 20, 2020, the priest's homily focused on how those who are left behind were distracted by material gains and forget the hardship of the migrant workers, especially that of the seafarers. The priest said that some of the seafarer's dependents behave rudely towards the seafarer. They would demand material things from the seafarer instead of praying for their safety (especially for those traversing Somalia and other pirate-infested waters). He mentioned that when allottees receive their allotment, they go directly to the malls and shop and that these hardworking seafarers yearn for care and concern from their loved ones, and instead of showing them love, those who are left behind are more likely to abuse them.

CONCLUSION

In contrast to the stereotype that gossip is a female activity, men like Filipino seafarers gossip more frequently when they are on board. Gossip among seafarers pervades for many reasons. It is a way to solicit information through an informal channel, especially needed by new entrants in the organization. Gossip served as a recreation activity to temporarily ease them from their boredom and worries while onboard and away from their families. Moreover, it is a way to establish solidarity among the crew. However, on the negative side, gossip also causes conflict among seafarers and can be a way for other mariners to feel like outsiders. Whatever result gossip may lead to is an essential aspect of life, especially in an organization or workplace.

Although confronted by the lack of academic literature, this paper referred to gossip as an ordinary task that is indicative of different types of masculinity, based on the cultural discourses of the Filipino seafarers. I considered the ship's specific characteristics as a workplace because its structure, like the hierarchy on board, strengthens seafarers' power and masculinity. I agree with McKay's position that being a seafarer is considered as an exemplar of masculinity because of specific characteristics seamen possess and enact

towards attaining hegemonic masculinity. As seafaring entails manual labor that requires physical strength, its nature as a masculine job persists; only those who are adventurous and fearless are fit for the job – characteristics that refer to hegemonic masculinity.

From Filipino seafarers' narratives, considering differences in age, gender, place of origin, position onboard, and ethnicity, gossip circulating onboard cover topics related to different types of masculinity as described by Connell in his book "Masculinities." From these discussions, character traits valued by Filipino men manifest. In gossip, the prevailing discourse points to men's expression of their power or dominance, which they have accessed through their superior knowledge, top positions in the onboard hierarchy, and having the skills desired by other men.

As a workplace, onboard gossip is usually about the skills seafarers possess or lack, work ethics or work attitudes, gender differences, and the implications of hierarchy surrounding the ship operation and management. Gossip can have a positive effect, such as strengthening solidarity among crew members, but it can also define boundaries with crewmates, especially those who became gossip subjects. Filipino seafarers' leadership and management style from the prestigious Philippine maritime academies created tensions between officers and crew. Gossip about them reflected the Filipino seafarers' complicated masculinities. Onboard gossip also enveloped the seafarers' sexual behavior, their sexual affairs with women on board, despite their marital status, reflecting how they see women as sexual objects.

Similarly, women were portrayed by seafaring men as lustful and disgusting. Seafarers who deviate from the masculine norm, such as the gay seafarers, were also made fun of, bullied, and ostracized. They not only challenged but resisted the ideal hegemonic masculinity.

On the other end, masculinity at home suggests that seafarers use compromise and argument with their spouses to reinstate or renegotiate their masculinities. Their masculinity has diminished visibility because of their cyclical absence brought about by their seafaring profession. In both compromise and argument, there is a manifestation to reestablish their masculine role as the family's provider, 'man of the house,' and perform the roles of "good son" and "good provider."

It would be interesting to have more in-depth studies about men's interaction, language, and masculinity. These are still underresearched, especially those on board ships that were not easily visible to ordinary men. It would have been more intensive research

if interactions onboard are observed, though the pandemic made the vessels more inaccessible than before. Hence, further research is encouraged. More valuable data would have gained if one could observe the exchange of talk among gossip participants. Their actions, facial expressions, tone while providing information or reacting to it are equally relevant with the verbal cues. A researcher can even note their varying positions while gossiping and identify spaces on board that serve as the gossip avenues.

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MEMORY AND *REFLECTIVE* NOSTALGIA IN "TO THE LIGHTHOUSE" BY VIRGINIA WOOLF AND "THE GO-BETWEEN" BY L. P. HARTLEY

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ABSTRACT

The mode of nostalgia for past happiness is central in contemporary accounts of earlier epochs, and it becomes particularly visible in British prose fiction set in the first half of the twentieth century. I argue that in such accounts memories and recollections are shaped by the mode of nostalgia. This paper focuses on the aspects of *reflective* nostalgia as recently theorized by Svetlana Boym. It opens with a short introduction into the history of nostalgia and the experience of war for generating a nostalgic longing for the past. It also elaborates on the etymological issues and implications suggested by concepts of *nostos* [the return] and *algos* [pain]. I would argue that memories featured in British twentieth-century prose fiction are influenced by the workings of nostalgia which may be either idealizing or imbued with pain and sorrow. Consequently, I claim that the focus placed on the act of *nostos* promotes the interplay of nostalgia and the pastoral mode; by contrast, the expression of *algos* rather selects the elegiac mode. Thus, the paper seeks to prove that the different foci of nostalgia influence the modality of the twentieth-century prose fiction, as exemplified in "To the Lighthouse" by Virginia Woolf and "The Go-Between" by L. P. Hartley.

Keywords: *reflective* nostalgia, *nostos, algos*, elegiac mode, pastoral mode

INTRODUCTION

The mode of a nostalgia for past happiness is central in contemporary accounts of earlier epochs. In contrast to the near past, easily accessible thanks to technological advances, the distant past has recently lost much of its historical objectivity (Lowenthal 2015, 14). However, the memories of distant past have acquired a temporal dimension which invites and accepts the application of an enhancing filter, namely that of nostalgia. The TV series, "Downton Abbey" (first aired in 2010), or the 2008 television adaptation of Evelyn Waugh's "Brideshead Revisited", both of which had high viewer numbers, may serve as convincing examples of a nostalgic revival of interest in the late-Victorian and Edwardian England.[1]

Though not free from nostalgic yearning, the first half of the twentieth century was more realistic about the Edwardians: despite their favourable rendition of the past (Edwards in Carle et al. 2018, 15–30), the inter-war recollections of Britain at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are not as ostentatiously nostalgic as recent productions. Obviously, the popular, idealized, literary image of king Edward's VII reign takes its origin in the historical and social changes; as a WWI pre-war period, it quite naturally assumed the quality of a time of peace and harmony in the accounts following WWI. Triggered by harsh living conditions in the WWI post-war world, as well as by the atrocities witnessed and memorized, the nostalgic structure of public rhetoric became a visible token of the longing for the Edwardian decade. Carle, Shaw, and Shaw argue that this period was generally envisaged as a version of a garden party (Carle et al. 2018, 3ff). Furthermore, in numerous texts written after WWI, the Edwardian era in Britain is recollected in an idealizing manner that features the time as a "mythicised version [...] of summer" (Edwards in Carle et al. 2018, 27).[2] However, although it sounds rather an oxymoron, their nostalgia does not preclude provocative

[1] See also Angela Piccini's "A Survey of Heritage Television Viewing Figures" referred to in: Lowenthal, D. (2015), 103. Consider the success of a posthumous work by Edith Holden, "The Country Diary of an Edwardian Lady", first published 1977.

[2] For an analysis of the trope of the summertime and the pastoral convention in modern prose fiction, see Wanitzek, L. (2014), in: Fludernik, M. and Nandi, M., 252–256.

and critical undertones. Consequently, an examination of the nature of nostalgia in selected twentieth-century literary accounts of Britain before WWI seems worthwhile. The aim of the article is to delineate and analyze the nostalgic interface in two novels memorizing a WWI pre-war period recalled as a time of peace and happiness, namely "To the Lighthouse" by Virginia Woolf and "The Go-Between" by L. P. Hartley. The former offers a re-consideration of late-Victorian and Edwardian childhood and adolescence, whereas the latter is a fictional account of a seemingly idyllic Edwardian childhood as remembered by the elderly protagonist. Similar at first glance, the accounts diverge in terms of their scopes and modes deployed: while Woolf's memories are focused on complex relations within the family, Hartley's view is broader as the recollected past serves as a commentary upon the issues of social belonging and cross-class interactions. Likewise, the nostalgic mode in "To the Lighthouse" and "The Go-Between" is idiosyncratic in both cases. While in the former nostalgia is devoid of Arcadian idyllicism and is centred around aspects of *algos* [pain], in the latter the nostalgic mode is enriched by pastoral nuances. Dissimilar as they are, both renditions actually debunk the myth of the golden era of WWI pre-war England. In the following sections I first explore the etymology of nostalgia as well as its application in the social context. Then, I identify the points of intersection between memories and nostalgia in the processes of remembering; in doing so, I particularly focus on the mode of *reflective* nostalgia as defined by Svetlana Boym. Finally, I apply the theoretical outline in my reading of "To the Lighthouse" and "The Go-Between", respectively. I argue that while in the former *reflective* nostalgia is deployed in its elegiac inflection, in the latter the concept of a *nostos* favours an intertwinement of the modes of *reflective* nostalgia and pastoral.

NOSTALGIA: ETYMOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

Linguistically, nostalgia is a quite recent phenomenon: it entered the European vocabularies no earlier than 1688, when a Swiss medical student, Johannes Hofer, coined a term which originally denoted a pathological phenomenon of *nostalgia.* In his "Dissertatio medica de nostalgia, oder Heimweh" (1688),[3] Hofer described an

[3] The year of Hofer's publication has caused confusion as some copies, including the one I have consulted, are dated to 1678 while the proper date of the original publication is 1688. More detail in: Dodman, T. (2018), 41–44.

extreme longing for one's home which he found a curable disease. A closer look at the original title page shows that the novelty of Hofer's research is marked by a curious mixture of Latin, Greek, and German in the manuscript. The introduction of a Greek concept, *nostalgia,* into a Latin title must have indicated a terminological shortage to describe a phenomenon which is still difficult to categorize (Shaw and Chase 1989, 2). To be more precise, Hofer, then a young student, availed himself of a German equivalent which he translated into Greek as a capitalized ΝΟΣΤΑΛΓΙΑ [*nostalgia*]. In the second chapter of the "Dissertatio", Hofer introduces the term as "composed of two sounds, the one of which is *Nostos,* return to the native land; the other, *Algos,* signifies suffering or grief" (Hofer in Illbruck 2012, 5).[4] To the physician dealing with a mysterious disease affecting the brain, nostalgia appeared a rare affliction of disordered imagination ["imagnatio laesa"] undermined by the mental projections of one's missing home.[5] In his recent examination of Hofer's original dissertation, Illbruck identifies four stages of the condition, among which, allegedly, it was only in the first stage that the pain [*algos*] was registered by the patient who created images of home in his/her mind; by contrast, the other stages were believed to induce exhaustion and apparent indifference to the stimuli to the real world, which was believed potentially fatal (Illbruck 2012, 63). Thus, the semantic charge of Hofer's linguistic compound, i.e. nostalgia, was merely descriptive of the first stage of the described phenomenon, which became a probable source of his doubts as to the formal legitimacy of the coined term.[6]

Although today nostalgia has become de-medicalized, Hofer's academic diligence in delineating its symptoms and explaining the etymology still attracts academic attention (Illbruck 2012, 5–30, 61–77; Dodman 2018, 16–43). Considered from a comparative literary

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[4] In the 1678 copy, which is stored in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, Poland, the fragment reads as follows: "[...] remque explicandam praecisius designans, quam Nostalgias vocabolum, origine graecum, & quidem duabus ex vocibus compositum, quorum alterum Nosos [sic] Reditum in Partiam, alterum algos dolorem aut tristiam significat" – italics and capitalization original; the Greek words are inserted in Greek characters; the comparative form suggests linguistic meticulousness. See Hofer, J. (1678) [sic], 5.

[5] J. Hofer formulates a hypothesis that the images of real objects are rendered in the brain in form of a motion of spirits, which he calls "spiritus animales" (Hofer 1678, 6).

[6] In his "Dissertatio", J. Hofer directly invites other physicians to term the phenomenon differently; he even suggests *Nosimania* and *Filopatridomania*, both inserted in Greek characters within a Latin text (Hofer 1678, 5).

angle, it seems plausible to assume that Hofer's search for a proper term was influenced by the works of ancient, canonical authors. As a matter of fact, the meaning of both early-modern constituents, that is *nostos* [the return] and *algos* [pain], is consistent with their classical, linguistic usage. Arguably, the first description of a soldier suffering from pangs of anxiety and a nostalgic longing for his abandoned homeland is to be found in the "Odyssey", in Book V: it opens with Athena's words of sympathy to Odysseus who, held captive on Calypso's island, bemoans his plight with much pain.[7] Even if the word *nostos* [the return] is not used in Athena's speech, it does appear later in Book V in an analogical description of the hero by the nymph, Calypso: she approaches Odysseus, who is sitting on the shore, lamenting the impossibility of his return. The Homeric "narrative of return" (Su 2005, 1) is perfectly consistent with the implied semantics of the modern coinage, i.e. *nost-algia.* Thus, the inferred, modern neologism stands in conformity with the classical, linguistic record of both the components. *Nostalgia* legitimately indicates psychosomatic disorders experienced in a distant corner of the world when the speaker acutely feels the absence from his/her home. However, as Svetlana Boym rightly argues, the semantic charge of Odysseus' *nostos* implied a mythical character insofar as its execution was a part of a mythical ritual (Boym 2001, 7–8); by contrast, modern nostalgia connotes the feeling of irrecoverable loss and the impossibility of a mythical return (Boym 2001, 8). By the beginning of the twentieth century, nostalgia had indeed become a modal tool to express a longing for a return to a destination that had become no longer approachable due to the radical changes in the conception of time and space brought by modernity.

NOSTALGIA: SOCIAL CONTEXT

From the historical perspective, the experience of war appears a major factor that proved conducive to the spread of nostalgic feelings in Europe. When describing the suffering of his patients in the late seventeenth century, Hofer did not initially emphasize the fact that they were soldiers sent to serve in the army far away from home. As some scholars argue (Dodman 2018, 41–42), the reasons might be personal: since he was concerned about the well-being of his fellow citizens, the doctor evaded any official reference to a military conflict

[7] Arguably, in order to emphasize the acuteness of pain, Homer uses the plural form of algos, i.e. algea.

in the area of Moulhousen, where he then lived. In addition, the reason for disregarding the potential imminence of war in his medical diagnosis seems to be the adopted angle of examination: as Illbruck puts it, "nostalgia, for Hofer, [was] an imaginative appetite which, lacking that which it desires, turns upon itself, seeking solace in the established supply of the brain's imagination only" (Illbruck 2012, 39). Unresponsive to reality, Hofer's patients were believed to concentrate exclusively on the individual images reproduced in their brains; in fact, Hofer described nostalgia as a symptom of an afflicted imagination, i.e. "symptoma imaginationis laesae" (Hofer 1678 [sic], 6), which did not involve an act of recall. It may be hypothesized that Hofer approached nostalgia as an expression of a temporary, individual anxiety that disregarded wider, cultural context.

However, it is a fact that a surge of nostalgia in Europe coincides with the advent of modernity; moreover, it appears a by-product of the exposure to the destructive, "total" warfare (Rousseau in Bouce 1998, 126f). Although scholars have recently questioned the idea of the alleged "totality" of revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (Rothenberg 1978), it still remains a fact that the period from 1792–1815 was a theatre of war in which the feeling of nostalgia played a substantial role. As Dodman convincingly argues, "neither a 'discovery' of the scientific revolution nor an abstract Enlightenment concept (let alone a Romantic 'mood'), nostalgia came into being upon the rapidly expanding and ever-more-gruesome battlefields of eighteenth-century Europe" (Dodman 2018, 45). A plausible inference is that nostalgia's origins depend upon conflict and are, in fact, "rooted in pathology and the experience of war" (Hemmings in Clewell 2013, 37). This premise holds true for the political turmoil of WWI: the nostalgic twentieth-century accounts are founded upon the recollections about the WWI pre-war period. By the twentieth century the dynamics of nostalgia had shifted from private and individual to public and national context; at the same time, the term had lost its scientific connotation and became a productive phenomenon emerging in the fields of literature, psychology, and cultural studies. However, while it is agreed that nostalgia has a reactionary nature sensitive to social, economic, and cultural tensions (Su 2005, 121) – particularly dramatic and profound in the twentieth century – the appraisal of the phenomenon remains an unsettled issue: today the negative connotation of nostalgia as emblematic of outdated and backward tendencies interfaces with a set of positive associations rooted in tradition, continuity and integrity (Lowenthal 2015, 31–54).

MEMORIES AND *REFLECTIVE* NOSTALGIA

In his comprehensive, recently revised study about memory, "The Past Is a Foreign Country" (2015), David Lowenthal states that "the awareness of things past comes less from fact finding than from feeling time's impact on traits and traces, words and deeds of both our precursors and ourselves" (Lowenthal 2015, 1). The present article is focused on the character of the awareness in its nostalgic inflection. However, although hypothetically nostalgia and memory seem similarly involved in the processes of remembering, cultural critics draw a distinct line of division between them and dismiss nostalgia as politicized and biased. As John Su observes, some critics argue that "nostalgia signifies inauthentic and commodified experiences inculcated by capitalist or nationalist interests" (Su 2005, 2). Such a dismissal, Su further argues, "occlude[s] crucial aspects of contemporary Anglophone literature" (Su 2005, 2). This article examines one of the aspects, namely the nostalgic inflection of childhood memories which cannot be dismissed as insubstantial or redundant. I wish to argue that nostalgia plays a significant role in both novels and their *reflective* character helps formulate a literary critique of the family and society on the cusp of a new era.

Since like nostalgia,[8] memories are not uniform in nature, my analysis merely addresses a certain sub-kind of nostalgic memories. According to Lowenthal, memories can be subdivided into several kinds, among which he lists habit, recall, memento, or reverie (2015, 305–310); obviously, not all of them are imbued with nostalgia. The scholar asserts that "memories occupy a hierarchy of habit, recall, and memento" (Lowenthal 2015, 306). He further explains that while habitual memory is focused on facts and past acts, recall centres around "past occurrences and states of being," and, finally, mementoes form a selection of "few reminders" (Lowenthal 2015, 306). The taxonomy does not include the final category discussed in this context, i.e. reverie, which Lowenthal classifies separately as a subdivision highlighting remembered feelings rather than facts. It seems that it is mainly in mementoes and reveries that nostalgia surfaces since, as Lowenthal puts it, "contemplative musing elicits explicit but hazily dreamlike bygone scenes" (2015, 307).

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[8] Consider S. Boym's differentiation between *reflective* and *restorative* nostalgia as described in "The Future of Nostalgia", 1–56. See also F. Davis's typology of First–Order, Second–Order, and Third–Order Nostalgia in "Yearning for Yesterday. A Sociology of Nostalgia", 17–29.

This paper concentrates on two novels whose narrative frames involve childhood recollections rendered from the vantage point of an adult speaker and modified through the mode of nostalgia. The point of convergence between the novels is the WWI pre-war setting and the post-war perspective of the protagonist.[9] Not only are both "To the Lighthouse" and "The Go-Between" framed as novels pivoted about a re-consideration of past bonds and emotions, but they may be received as examples of what Svetlana Boym termed *reflective* nostalgia (2001). The preliminary description of the phenomenon in *The Future of Nostalgia* reads as follows: "Reflective nostalgia is more concerned with historical and individual time, with the irrevocability of the past and human finitude. *Re-flection* suggests new flexibility, not the reestablishment of stasis. The focus here is not on recovery of what is perceived to be an absolute truth but on the meditation on history and passage of time" (Boym 2001, 49).

In the context of the present article, the issue of duration and the passage of time seems particularly significant as *reflective* nostalgia promotes a prolonged reflection on the past. This reflection either seems to involve, and indeed highlight, the speaker's heartstrings in literary texts which thematize pain [*algos*], or consists in a mental return [*nostos*] to a by-gone relation, place, or moment. Hence, in both novels the past is approached and recalled in a manner that invites contemplation, even though the contemplation might be painful and distressing. A closer analysis of "To the Lighthouse" and "The Go-Between" reveals that the nature of their nostalgic angle diverges in tone and mode. In the former it shapes the topography of personal recollections, whereas in the latter the memories of the protagonist are interwoven with images partaking in common memory. Thus, *reflective* nostalgia deployed in "The Go-Between" creates space for a critique which concerns the individual as well members of a community. This is possible because, as Boym states, *reflective* nostalgia may be deployed against "shared social frameworks of memory" which serve as "common landmarks of everyday life" against which personal recollections are fanned (Boym 2001, 52–53). While overlapping, both individual and collective memories incorporate voices of social critique which, unlike those preserved within national memory, are open to multiple lines of narration.

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[9] "To the Lighthouse" also includes passages written from the child's perspective, which is beyond the scope of this article. For an extensive analysis of the issue, please, consult the 2018 article of N. Salmose, entitled "'A Past That Has Never Been Present': The Literary Experience of Childhood and Nostalgia, *passim.*"

ALGOS AND *REFLECTIVE* NOSTALGIA IN "TO THE LIGHTHOUSE"

Woolf once admitted that "To the Lighthouse" was her most autobiographical novel, in which she re-examined the complicated relationship between her parents (Woolf 1985, 108). The novel thematises the loss of the mother as acutely experienced in a place of former happiness – a holiday house at the seaside where the family, together with their friends, enjoy the summer. The perspective that governs the discourse in Parts 2 and 3 in "To the Lighthouse" is that of a backward glance, with the recollections of order and routine in Part 1 accentuating the chaos and loss in the subsequent sections of the novel. Consequently, the feeling of acute longing, which generates *algos* [pain], is triggered by reminiscences of a certain place re-imagined at a certain moment in time.

I wish to argue that in "To the Lighthouse" the account of a summer holiday at the WWI pre-war English seaside, in fact, deploys Boym's *reflective* nostalgia in its elegiac inflection: the recalled childhood is devoid of pastoral traits, and instead the novel resonates with pain, i.e. *algos,* felt at the realization of past happiness. This kind of nostalgia is not idealistic; neither does it simplify past events. On the contrary, it formulates provocative questions about the condition of things past while highlighting the sense of loss. According to Boym, since the subdivision of nostalgia is not concentrated on the potentiality of a re-construction of the past, *reflective* nostalgia in this case "thrives in *algia,* the longing itself, and delays the homecoming – wistfully, ironically, desperately" (Boym 2001, XVIII; emphasis original). Focused on *algia,* "To the Lighthouse" exemplifies this kind of nostalgia discourse, which chimes in with the elegiac mode which shapes it.

The feeling of loss in "To the Lighthouse" is transmitted through both images and rhetoric. The portrait of a late-Victorian family on holiday – a premise which draws, at least formally, on the Victorian portraiture tradition[10] – inspired by the author's childhood recollections, is sketched both figuratively and literally: in the opening scenes, Mrs. Ramsay sits at the window as a model for a picture being painted

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[10] The interface of the arts and literature certainly deserves a detailed examination which is beyond the scope of the present article. More on the Victorian revival of interest in the art of literary portraits see: Iser, W. (2010), 6–14; 129–155. Cf. also a PhD dissertation entitled "The Ekphrastic Phantastic: Gazing at Magic Portraits in Victorian Fiction" by D. M. Manion.

by Lily Briscoe. The plot reveals numerous fractures in the portrait of the family and the relations between its members. By virtue of its mode, *reflective* nostalgia, it invites and skilfully employs literary forms and modes which trigger powerful emotions in the readers: pathos enhancing satirical derision, on the one hand, and melancholy accentuating elegiac mourning, on the other. Contradictory in mood, the satirical fragments dedicated to the father figure, Mr. Ramsay, do intertwine with melancholy evoked by the recollections of the beloved mother; the result is a convincing account of family life at the turn of the centuries.

Arguably, it comes as no surprise that nostalgia and irony intertwine in the novel which is pivoted around loss. It is worth noting that satirical irony in the fragments depicting the quick-tempered *pater familias* is more than a mere vehicle of criticism towards the long-standing patriarchal culture: it is a means of the neutralization of the nostalgic longing for the past (Lowenthal 2015, 141); as Lowenthal asserts, "neutralizing its relics tames the past" (2015, 140). Recalled in mementoes, the figure of the father in "To the Lighthouse" loses its lasting, overbearing potency due to the satirical mode with which these memories are imbued.

By contrast, the *mater familias,* Mrs. Ramsay, never becomes a butt for ridicule or mockery. The fragments centred on the mother assume a different mode: they represent nostalgia conflated with melancholy. With an emphasis on her beauty, in the first part of "To the Lighthouse", Mrs. Ramsay seems to personify the Greek idea of *kalokagathia*,[11] i.e. outward and inner beauty combined with wisdom and a noble character (Kulesza 1991, 320). Mrs. Ramsay is portrayed as the unappointed and yet the undisputed master, able to establish order within an otherwise unstable family. Part 1 of "To the Lighthouse" emphatically closes with the sentence "For she [Mrs. Ramsay] had triumphed again" (Woolf 2002, 89), which directly voices what formerly has been merely implied. The next two sections of the novel emphasize this line of argument by creating images of a dilapidated house and a family paralyzed by several deaths. Conducive

[11] *The Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* states that the adjective *kalos* [beautiful] was often combined with *agathos* [good] and formed the compound noun, *kalokagathos* [of a beautiful mind, body, and noble descent]. Cf. Pantelia, M., Berkowitz, L., Squitier, K. A. (eds.) [2001] "Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Online Canon of Greek Authors and Works." University of California. Web. 25. Jan. 2019. Aristotle writes about the notion of *kalokagathia* [the virtue consisting in a beautiful mind, body, and noble descent] in the "Eudemian Ethics" VIII (1248b).

to the feeling of nostalgia for the past, the war looms in the background: the shock induced by the experiences of the war is not conspicuous but may be inferred from a realization of lack and loss or, disconcertingly, of the presence of a scarf which used to be worn by a particular individual. If intended, nostalgia is a resultant reaction to the view of rooms and spaces once filled with life, or of objects once frequently used, by virtue of the symbolism of absence and negation.

As a prose elegy, "To the Lighthouse" repeatedly strikes a melancholy note since a sense of transience and the irreversible process of change feature in the narrative. This is seen first, in melancholy reflections on the march of time which "had become, she [Minta] knew, giving one last look at it over her shoulder, already the past" (Woolf 2002, 80), and second, as a consequence of intertextual references such as the nostalgic poem by Charles Elton, *Luriana Lurilee.* The abrupt break with the former life is also suggested by the unexpected shortness of Part 2 which stands in marked contrast to the extensive Part 1. Finally, loss and transience are suggested by means of symbolic objects such as an empty, decaying home or uninhabited rooms. As Lusty observes, the method of describing abandoned places and rooms characterizes Woolf's post-war fiction, in which she "mimics the use of interiors as repositories of communal memory" (Lusty 2018, 93). In "To the Lighthouse" it also activates individual memory. The past-bias is consistent with the nature of melancholic feelings which, according to Boym, while often overlapping with nostalgic emotions, remain fixated on the past and incapable of embracing the present. By contrast, nostalgia devoid of melancholy allows the individual to concentrate, even if indirectly, on progress and modernity (Boym 2001, 358). Focused on the past, the novel is centred on the psychological aspects of human relations – thus, melancholy evades references to the present moment. As a result, the backward glance, melancholic and reflective, becomes the leading mode in a narrative which is conceived as a prose elegy – an expression of lament for Mrs. Ramsay.

NOSTOS AND *REFLECTIVE* NOSTALGIA IN "THE GO-BETWEEN"

Set in the countryside at the threshold of the Edwardian era, "The Go-Between" features the major events in the summer of 1900 which involve relations between representatives of the upper and lower classes. The illicit, across-class love affair ends in the tragic death of

the protagonist's adult friend, Ted. On an individual level, Ted's death traumatizes a twelve-year-old boy, Leo,[12] whose development to maturity is stalled as a result. On the communal level, the suicide is a symbol of Ted's social failure in a community of rigid class division and, by extension, of the malfunctioning of an Edwardian social system on the cusp of weakening in the aftermath of WWI.

The structure of "The Go-Between" invites nostalgia: the novel is framed against memories recollected and critically assessed by an elderly protagonist, Lionel. In Chapter 2 he thus describes the process of a re-discovery of his repressed past:

> "To my mind's eyes, my buried memories of Bradham Hall are like effects of chiaroscuro, patches of light and dark: it is only with an effort that I can see them in terms of colour. There are things I know, though I don't know how I know them, and things that I remember. Certain things are established in my mind as facts, but no picture attaches to them; on the other hand, there are pictures unverified by any fact which recur obsessively, like the landscape of a dream." (Hartley 1953, 28)

The citation seems a literary application of Lowenthal's categories furnished above: habit, recall, memento, and reverie concur to deliver a coherent image of the past. While recalling the past, Lionel sets out on a trip to a country seat, Bradham Hall, in which he, as a matter of fact, spent the memorable summer of 1900. The physical movement to the place is accompanied by a simultaneous mental journey back to the beginning of the twentieth century, which sketches a "landscape of a dream" in his mind. Such a frame allows for both a critical reflection on the recollected, popular image of Britain at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as on Lionel's individual past. Thus, the act of a *nostos* [a return], performed in reality and also in one's mind, becomes the pivot around which the novel is set. I wish to argue that the *nostos* in "The Go-Between" favours an intertwinement of the modes of nostalgia and pastoral.

As indicated, in the novel the interface between nostalgia and pastoral becomes particularly visible in the portrait of Britain at the threshold of a new century. In the Prologue Lionel recalls a special atmosphere of 1900 that governed the public discourse: back in 1900 the British hoped for a great century yet to come. Immersed in his memories, Lionel also remembers himself impatiently waiting

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[12] For transparency, in the article I refer to the adolescent boy as Leo and to the elderly protagonist as Lionel.

on "the dawn of a Golden Age [i.e. 1900]" (Hartley 1953, 8), a phrase which reads pastoral and evokes idyllic connotations.[13] A famous pastoral theorist, Peter V. Marinelli observes that the myth of the Golden Age accommodates "the human creature's universal remembrance of a better time" (Marinelli 1971, 15), that is evokes a temporality registered as definitively lost. Since the famous literary accounts created by Hesiod or Ovid picture the Golden Age as a period of perfect happiness, harmony and balance, such a description of the 1900 connotes peace and prosperity. However, it is worthwhile to note that Hartley applies the topos of the Golden Age in an idiosyncratic way, as it appertains to both the past and the future. In "The Go-Between" the myth of the Golden Age is deployed in a double-edged manner: on the one hand, along the lines of the pastoral convention, it is pictured by the protagonist who retrieves its image from the realm of past experience; yet, on the other hand, it forms a part of anticipatory expectation of a hoped-for future, a future the British were looking forward to back then in 1900. Consequently, heavy with expectation, the recalled atmosphere of the turn of the centuries is shaped by unique, distinctly pastoral traits which, intensified by the weight of memories, are both nostalgic and pastoral in character.

If examined from the angle of the cultural anthropologist, the pastoral trope of a country seat visited during summer holiday[14] may partake of common national memory. According to Boym, national memory "tends to make a single teleological plot" (Boym 2001, 53), which in "The Go-Between" is encapsulated in the image of the Edwardian country estate. It is so because, Su argues, the country house has become "a central icon of British heritage in the post-war era because its presence belies the cultural turbulence" (Su 2005, 121); in "The Go-Between" the turbulence occurs both on the national level, since the protagonist has lived through WWI and WWII, and on the individual level as he was exposed to a traumatic experience

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[13] The myth of the ages of man originated with Hesiod's "Works and Days" which features five ages of humanity, the first being the Golden Age (vv. 109–201). No mention of summertime is given in the lines, although it may be inferred from the references to a benign nature and peace among the Olympians under Cronos. Ovid gives his description of the ages of man in "Metamorphoses". He only lists four ages believed to open with the Golden Age.

[14] A similar narrative frame is applied in "The Return of the Soldier" by R. West, "Brideshead Revisited" by E. W., or "A Month in the Country" by J. L. Carr.

during his stay in Bradham Hall. The initial, pastoral quality of Lionel's memories participates in the popular image of the Edwardian country estate cherished by the wider public: the portrayal of a country site, Bradham Hall, endorses the literary trope of the English country houses which form part of national heritage (Wanitzek in Fludernik and Nandi 2014, 269). As Leonie Wanitzek posits, in twentieth-century literature the topos of the English summer often converges with the pastoral topos of a country retreat recollected and pondered as a version of temporary haven (Wanitzek in Fludernik and Nandi 2014, 253–255). Certainly, "The Go-Between" utilizes the topos of a pastoral retreat which, clear in the opening chapters, is overruled in the final passages of the novel. I wish to argue that the rejection of the implied, idyllic quality of the English countryside at the turn of the centuries as featured in "The Go-Between" results from the *reflective* nature of the mode of nostalgia with which the pastoral is intertwined. While Lionel reflects on himself as a quasi-Arcadian youth re-imagined at the beginning of his stay in Bradham Hall, he rejects the presumed idyllic simplicity, with which the site seemed to have welcomed his arrival, as elusive and deceitful. Consequently, the inference is that the deception was bound to occur as the naivety of the adolescent boy clashed with the sophisticated duplicity of the adults belonging to the privileged class in 1900. The pastoral mode proves an effective tool to expose the impossibly of entering an open dialogue between the representatives of different social classes. The issue of class division generates the essential difference between both modes applied in "The Go-Between": while the pastoral presumes and promotes a possibility of cross-class, effective communication (Empson 1974, 3–27), class-related nostalgia often preserves and solidifies class antagonism. According to O'Brien, the antagonism becomes particularly visible when discussing the image of the British country house. The critic claims: "Often nostalgia and elitism imbue the concept of the country house, in both real life and literature: estates seemed to exemplify a golden age with better values and morals, and they belonged exclusively to a certain class of people" (O'Brien 2013, 19). *Reflective* nostalgia applied to "The Go-Between" questions the assumed golden-age quality of the Edwardian society and debunks the myth of their alleged high morals and values. While Lionel reflects on the past, he gradually strips the Edwardians of the presumed, high ethical and moral standards ascribed to them in the public discourse after WWII; moreover, I wish to argue, that the pastoral tropes such as that of a safe country retreat, presumed social equality, or the bliss of summertime help him expose the faults and

charges with a particular harshness. Thus, although the opening of the novel reads as an introduction into re-created pastoral space, the spell is utterly broken in the Epilogue. The Arcadian myth is exploded in a conversation with Marian, a young woman remembered as an Arcadian role-model; there the popular, idealizing image of the Edwardian past, as recalled by the protagonist, is debarred from having idyllic characteristics. In consequence, the mode of nostalgia in "The Go-Between" initially informed by the pastoral mode is questioned and rejected in the denouement. Characteristic of *reflective* nostalgia, the potential of a reflective insight is presented in a systematic critique of the idealized image of the Edwardian epoch.

As indicated above, in "The Go-Between" the pastoral interface shapes *reflective* nostalgia also on the individual level: Lionel conducts a *reflective* analysis of himself as remembered back in 1900. Also, in this case, the initial pastoralism, which often shapes the personal recollections of one's childhood, is finally dissipated. In "The Go-Between" the memories, which serve as a material of self-inquiry, are evoked with the help of an object, a diary from the year 1900. Thus, re-discovered after many decades, the diary becomes a symbolic trigger of memories and recollections. Together with other symbols such as the plant, *belladonna atropos*, or Leo's evocative nickname, *Mercury,* the diary is a tangible link to the past: the sight and feel of it releases (in)voluntary childhood memories just as the taste of a cake dipped in tea does in Proust's "Remembrance of Things Past". The act of re-entering the password of the secret diary of 1900 symbolically grants access to his childhood through a gate which, if opened, allows for a *nostos* to a crucial moment of the past. As far as the pastoral convention is concerned, Hartley's nostalgic vision initially features the protagonist as a pastoral hero who recollects his past experiences: poised on the edge between the present and the past, the nostalgic frame of the novel explores the boundaries of what Susan Snyder terms *temporal* pastoral, i.e. a past recalled as a period of lost happiness and wholeness (Snyder 1998, 17f and 187). This aspect puts "The Go-Between" and "To the Lighthouse" on a divergent footing: although both examine memories of one's childhood lived at the turn of the centuries, the former focuses on the interactions within a family as recollected episodes whereas the latter, by virtue of the deployment of *reflective* nostalgia, traces the effects of a disastrous event on a child's personality.

CONCLUSION

The act of remembering is a literary premise in the case of both "To the Lighthouse" and "The Go-Between", yet the novels diverge in their applications of nostalgia and uses of the concepts of *nostos* and *algos.* While Woolf is nostalgic about past relations, she is neither nostalgic nor idealizing about the recalled late-Victorian and Edwardian times; these she satirically portrays by emphasizing the fissures in the widely propagated, popular picture of the family. As nostalgia depends on its perspective, Woolf's nostalgia highlights *algos* which is felt by those who remember and cherish the memory of the dear deceased, even if they cast a critical eye to the far-from-ideal past. Preoccupied with *algos*, the mode of nostalgia converges with the elegy.

Unlike "To the Lighthouse", "The Go-Between" includes a social critique of the community. This is possible thanks to the pastoral inflection of its *reflective* nostalgia. Drawing heavily upon the collective image of Edwardian England, which is nostalgically idealized, the novelist gradually strips it of its glamour, mythical greatness and the sheen of the Golden Age. The picture is tinged with *reflective* nostalgia which "dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from contradictions of modernity" (Boym 2001, XVIII). Hartley is sensitive to the ambivalences; as Anne Mulkeen observes, "Hartley is an explorer of our own age, not a gentle fabler of the past" (Mulkeen 1974, 10).

Featuring social interaction, Hartley's perspective in "The Go-Between" is both wider than in "To the Lighthouse", as it outlines a social panorama, and yet narrower, as it features the arrested development of an adolescent boy. At the same time, Hartley also focuses on the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a period in which visible signs of progress and a readiness for modifications clash with regressive social norms. Like Woolf's, Hartley's nostalgia is *reflective*: it delineates and considers the relaxation of moral norms. Nonetheless, Hartley's deployment of the mode diverges from that of Woolf in its intense concentration on the act of *nostos;* even if portrayed as disastrous in the life of an individual, *algos* seems secondary in "The Go-Between". The reallocation of the main focus of nostalgia is accounted for by the divergent scopes of both novels, as well as by the modal affiliation: while "To the Lighthouse" is a prose elegy, "The Go-Between" endorses the tradition of the pastoral. Hartley's concentration on the literary viability of *nostos* constructs a different nostalgic frame to the plot. Although the novel also repre-

sents *reflective* nostalgia, its workings draw heavily on the pastoral legacy which, clashing with the facts, expose the dangers of idealization.

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A COMPARATIVE INSIGHT INTO ENCOUNTERS, TERRITORIALITIES, IDENTITIES, AND VIOLENCE: PHOENICIANS IN SOUTHWESTERN IBERIA AND PORTUGUESE IN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

By examining the relationship between territoriality and identity construction, this paper aims to provide a comparative analysis of three contexts where encounters between foreign colonial powers and local autochthonous communities took place. The comparison is thus focused on the interaction between Africans and Portuguese in two different contexts (São Jorge da Mina/ Elmina, Ghana between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and colonial Angola from the 1850's onwards), on the one hand, and on the encounters between Phoenicians and Autochthonous communities of Southwestern Iberia (Tartessos?) in the first half of the first Millennium BC. This study raises new questions about the role played by sanctuaries and violence in the deconstruction of indigenous territorial perceptions and the subsequent construction of colonial territories in the Iron Age of Southwestern Iberia. Also in examination are the relevance and usefulness of a comparative methodology in the analysis of encounters between diverse cultural actors as expressed in the archaeological record.

Keywords: Iron Age, Ancient Iberia, comparative history, cultural encounters, São Jorge da Mina, Angola, Phoenicians

INTRODUCTION[1]

This paper examines three different historical contexts, seen by the author as comparable case studies. Firstly, a focus is placed on the wealth of archaeological evidence relating to the Phoenician expansion along the Southwestern territories of the Iberian Peninsula and the issues it raises. After that, the focus shifts towards the Portuguese presence in the Ghanaian commercial trading post São Jorge da Mina and, subsequently, towards the Portuguese colonial project in Angola. This contribution aims at examining the impact of the Phoenician presence among the autochthonous communities in the Iberian Peninsula's Iron Age by reassessing the archaeological and the historical records in a comparative view.

The limits of comparison have been the subject of discussion since the earliest publications on the relationship between History and other Social Sciences at the end of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the comparative method helps to raise new questions and, hence, to validate hypothesis, to identify singularities and to define future research paths (Bloch, 1928; Bintliff, 1991; Kocka, 1999; cf. Werner, Zimmermann 2005), in this case on the Iberian Iron Age Archaeology.

This perspective focuses mainly on changing territorialities and identity discourses as consequences of encounters. The three historical contexts examined here are viewed as sharing substantial commonalities, crucial in the development of a comparative analytical methodology capable of reassessing the archaeological and the historical records in novel ways. The wealth of written sources, oral traditions and, to a lesser extent, the archaeological record found in the African contexts of the fifteenth – twentieth centuries can be used to gauge the impact of Near Eastern/Phoenician communities on the lives of indigenous populations of Iron Age Iberia from a comparative perspective, as well as the *etic* depiction of the pre-roman communities in written sources. The choice of case studies or comparison units is determined by what we wish to know about one of

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[15] The abbreviations of the "Greek-English Lexicon" (Liddell and Scott) and the "Oxford Latin Dictionary" were used. The author would like to thank Ms. Clareana Marques for the care taken in reviewing this text, as well as the reviewers for their thorough comments on the first version of this paper.

them. That is, by identifying some case studies in African contexts (e.g., the impact on indigenous territorialities), it is possible to raise new questions to the Phoenician presence.

The common denominator in all three situations is that they represent the establishment of a foreign presence in a previously occupied territory which paved the way for different kinds of interaction depending on the power relations. Such encounters between different lifeways, political organizations, and ideology and identity discourses often lead to the development of new hybrid realities. The examination of African cases for comparative purposes is then useful for questioning our perspectives about encounters, on the one hand, and about the written sources which depict other communities, on the other.

Then, this paper highlights the impact of such intercultural contacts in the material record and the reconstruction (or deconstruction) of identities. Territorial markers are especially relevant as they reflect territorial perception and, thus, are one of the clearest indicators of drastic changes or adaptations (Henriques 2004). The main issue in this discussion is, then, how to recognize in the archaeological record the response of indigenous communities to foreign input, which provides a complementary view that does not focus only on peaceful commercial contacts and political alliances between equals. A complementary and equally pertinent issue is how to recognize changes in the foreign response to indigenous inputs.

Within this scope, we consider that violence (both implicit and explicit) is present in these contacts, while also assessing the role of resident communities in the construction of colonial identities (Gosden 2008). The diversity of sources available (travel accounts, political documents, chronicles, iconography, etc.) allow us to identify some of these aspects and to discuss the image of pacific encounters between the Phoenicians and the autochthonous Iron Age communities of Southwestern Iberia between Cadiz (Spain) and Sagres (Portugal), both in inland and coastal territories. It is noteworthy that the scarcity of direct Phoenician sources is not balanced out by the existence of other Eastern, Greek, or Latin texts. These Phoenicians, as well as the Iberian Iron Age communities, are depicted from an *etic* point of view. Consequently, we consider that these sources do not constitute *per se* evidence for the examination of encounters in the Iberian Peninsula, but they provide information about territorialities and identity construction through territorial markers.

From the outset, we are dealing with aprioristic views of these encounters. The image of a fascinated indigenous (Moreno 2001)

that accepts the "progress" and emulates Near Eastern aesthetics and habits is often present in the historical and archaeological discourse. Conversely, explicit or implicit violence in these contacts has received limited attention from scholars. For example, the study of African cases reveals that strictly commercial contacts like the first centuries of São Jorge da Mina (1482 onwards) do not change drastically a community's cultural background (e.g., religious beliefs, mortuary practices). However, colonial encounters (far more violent) with hegemonic purposes in Angola from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards bring about significant changes in many aspects of populations' lifeways. The identification of these issues is then applied to the examination of the Indigenous-Phoenician encounters in Southwestern Iberia from an archaeological point of view, considering, e.g., the role of oriental-style sanctuaries built on strategic places.

Why this comparison matters? The statements presented here can shed some light on the so-called tartessic question. Tartessos is frequently perceived as a hybridization of Phoenician and indigenous communities or as a result of a "selective acculturation" of its elites within peaceful contacts (see a thorough discussion about these encounters in Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016, with different perspectives about this topic). By raising different questions on territoriality and identity constructs based on the African cases, an attempt is made to present a complementary view of these encounters. That is why it is useful to take a first look on two important concepts: territory and territoriality.

TERRITORY AND TERRITORIALITY AS KEY CONCEPTS FOR COMPARISON

"Territory" can be conceived from three points of view: physical/environmental, social, and thought/symbolic (Criado 1999, 6). "Territoriality" determines the relationship between a group and others by creating and maintaining borders (Castro and González 1989, 10ff.; cf. Henriques 2004, 20). We consider here that territorial perceptions reflect the sense of belonging of a collective personality, which differs from a "cartographic" way of depicting territories (Tilley 1994). So, as I. Castro Henriques argued, "The territory is the space needed for the installation of structures and communities invented by men, and is also indispensable for the creation, preservation and strengthening of identity" (Henriques 2004, 20, translated by the author).

This challenges us to "think outside the map" and to discuss the relevance of territorial markers as elements recognized by groups in the construction of collective identities. In other words, territorial markers embody a way of thinking. Hypothetically, the newcomers reshape the indigenous territories and can generate conflicts or even the destruction and desacralization of previous markers.

Territoriality and symbolic construction of landscape has received limited attention by Iberian Iron Age scholars. These issues are critical to understanding and characterising intercultural encounters and the impact of new social, political, and economic realities in spaces previously controlled by resident communities. Newcomers create foundation myths and accounts that invoke old frequentations of these spaces, e.g., the Tyrian expedition for the foundation of Gadir (related to Melqart-Hercules) as transmitted by Strabo (3.5.5; cf. Pi., *N.* 3.19–25). On the other hand, it is not difficult to find accounts describing the destruction of markers such as places of cult or necropolises associated with autochthonous communities. In ancient literature, the integration of these communities in a colonial system is then a major concern, particularly when considering the possible destruction of existing tangible symbols of collective memory and the construction of new ones in the context of the reorganization of landscape by the newcomers, as can be seen in African cases (Henriques 2004; Nordman 2005).

Let us take a couple of examples from ancient sources to illustrate these statements. Herodotus described sanctuaries as places that centralize and symbolize collective identities and political partnerships (Panionion: Hdt. 1.142–143; 148; Zeus Karios' sanctuary in Mylasa: Hdt. 1.171; see Saviano 2018; cf. Hdt. 8.144, and Albuquerque 2014, 80–92). On the other hand, the Old Testament (OT) also provides good examples of the relationship between territorial markers, identity, and collective memory (e.g., Wright 1961, 169ff.; Margueron 1984, 24; Glinister 1997, 62ff.; Marín 2010; Kim 2014, 276ff; see Ex. 19.9–13; Gn. 28.10–22; 35.6–8 and 13–15; Dt. 12.3; J. *A. J.* 8.318).

This association between territorial markers and identity is also cogent for the study of Phoenician colonization strategies in Southwestern Iberia, namely the construction of sanctuaries in areas of strategic access to raw materials and trade routes, particularly after the seventh century BC. Until then, this use of sanctuaries as territorial markers with associated political, religious, and economic roles was unknown to the indigenous communities. This is critical to question what the impact of these buildings in local lifeways was, but firstly it is useful to consider the two African cases discussed here to identify some issues of these encounters, as well as clues for its interpretation.

SÃO JORGE DA MINA AND ANGOLA

It must be stated that the two African cases were chosen because they represent two different kinds of interaction between resident communities and Portuguese groups in different moments. The first case was well studied from an archaeological perspective which was related to Portuguese documents and oral traditions. The second one was studied by I. Castro Henriques from a thought-provoking point of view (2004). The process of the destruction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of territorial perceptions in colonial Angola is also well documented and studied, which is a reason for choosing these cases for our comparative analysis.

São Jorge da Mina (SJM) was a fortified trading post founded in 1482 by the Portuguese on the *Costa do Ouro* (Gold Coast, West Africa). The Portuguese built this fortified settlement for commercial purposes with no ambition of conquering or exploiting adjacent territories by force or political alliances, what J. Alvar called a *non-hegemonic contact mode* (Alvar 2000). Its founders, attracted mainly by the region's gold wealth, sought to monopolize the trade and to protect it with a permanent settlement (Baalong 1993, 52ff; DeCorse 2001).

The first encounters between the foreign newcomers and the local resident communities reveal the interests of each of these parties (About the baptism of local leaders and their reluctance, see Baalong 1993, 60ss.; Barros, quoted in Brásio 1952, 24–26; DeCorse 2001, 179–180) and can be examined from the point of view of territoriality. After initial negotiations that brokered the acceptance of the newcomers by the neighbouring communities, confrontations between the former and the latter broke out due to the use of a sacred rock as a quarrying site (R. Pina, Ch. 2, *apud* Serra 1790, 16; cf. Barros, *apud* Brásio 1952, 27):

> Before he withdrew, the captain went with the craftsmen he had brought to lay the foundation of the fortress [with stone] which they took from the top of some high rocks which were sacred to the blacks and adored by them. [...] When the blacks saw so much damage being done to their sacred rocks, and their hopes of salvation destroyed, they reach very strongly and, burning with fury, took up their arms and treated the workmen so harshly that they could not resist and fled back to their boats. (Translated by M. Newitt 2010, 94)

The examination of this example is stimulating, as it exposes the existence of a natural marker not recognised as such by the

Portuguese. Even after an initially favourable reception by local elites, sources reveal that the Portuguese were not widely accepted in this new land and had to negotiate their position constantly (Baalong 1993, 60). Moreover, it seems that the hinterland trade routes were controlled by Africans (Ibid., 73). This means that the encounters between the latter and the Portuguese, though tense, were quite different from later colonial contacts in the nineteenth century, because there was no systematic destruction of local sacred places or buildings (DeCorse 2001, 180–181), or even control of trade routes.

The Portuguese were a minority in a territory controlled by local political powers, continually changing as they were integrated into the Atlantic trade. These changes affected mostly local economic systems, now responding to the new demands of gold and slaves from the settlers of SJM and the European merchants (DeCorse 2001, 175ff.). These changes lead to the abandonment of some regions, while previously peripheral territories stood out in the African new political contexts. In sum, the communities either integrated the new systems or protected themselves from it (MacIntosh 2001).

The Eurocentric image of the locals as passive receptors and emulators of European lifeways does not survive a rigorous analysis of the relevant written, oral, and archaeological sources. The integration of imported goods into existing African lifeways and the survival of indigenous ceremonies and religious beliefs reveal that commercial contacts did not have such a deep impact on the behaviours and the material culture (*latu sensu*) of both groups involved in these encounters. Also noteworthy is the fact that African food consumption habits, a most telling identity marker and social relationship indicator, did not change drastically with European presence, notwithstanding the acquisition of imported pottery by the resident communities (DeCorse 2001, 177–178).

However, colonial rule did prompt truly striking changes in the lifeways of indigenous population during the nineteenth century. As C. DeCorse (2001) argues:

> Even more telling is the gradual disuse and destruction of formerly sacred groves. Such transformations may be indicative of an increasing tempo in the changes that occurred in coastal Ghana. Yet, even so, such changes cannot be divorced from their distinctive local context and indigenously articulated expression. (DeCorse 2001, 191)

These phenomena can be linked directly to the increasing role of the Europeans in African affairs, and even with the domination and

knowledge of the hinterland, as can be seen in the colonial rule of Angola by the Portuguese.

The common denominator in these historical contexts was the impact of colonization on the exploitation and organization of landscapes, which was always adapted exclusively to the interests of the Europeans. The colonial administrative reorganisation of an area was tantamount to significant changes in the resident communities. For the colonizer, the land was alienable, while for the Africans it was inhabited by forces of nature, by spirits and by ancestors (Henriques 2004).

Founding accounts, ceremonies, the daily life of populations, their economic activities or even production logistics, legitimized the construction of identity discourses both on the territorial perception and occupation (Henriques 2004, 14–22). In this context, territorial markers again were a significant part of the perpetuity of the *emic* perspective of collective identity and history. They were a useful reminder of an old episode (e.g., the founding of a village) and a vehicle for the consecration of space (Tilley 1994, 20–21).

Thus, the deconstruction of the preexisting structures and markers was a strategy to impose a new political and economic reality with European overtones. In other words, it proceeded to desacralize African territories, integrating them into the symbolic system of Western representation, which included the delimitation of properties, new borders, and the mapping of the colonized territory (Garcia and Santos 2000; Henriques 2004, 30ff., images 15–18). This process had four main phases. It started with a long tradition of commercial contacts with African leaders. Subsequently, a discreet foreign presence was established in a village or on its outskirts with outsiders separated from the local communities and dependent on their sovereigns. The convergence and reorganization of existing commercial spaces followed. And, finally, the Portuguese proceeded with the destruction of the African "commercial houses" and imposed their dominance (Henriques 2000, 77).

The latter coincided with the migration and subsequent rise of the White population. Consequently, there was a clash between territorial perceptions, organization and "civilizational logics". The colonizer was the one overturning "African systems of land occupation and management, replacing them with the violence of individual property and the logic of industrial production [...]" (Henriques 2004, 14–15, translated by the author).

The new mode of conceiving, organizing, and perceiving the human landscape led to a new social order determined and ruled by the White, which affected social and economic habits and traditions

(e.g., taxes and large-scaled production systems). Flags and churches stand out as new symbols of the presence, domination, and identity of the colonizers in a reorganized territory previously defined in the Berlin Conference in 1884 (Ibid., 30–37). Resident communities, faced with this new reality, proceeded with a readjustment aimed at maintaining some ancestral elements and guaranteeing their autonomy in contexts of evident loss of political power.

This imposition of a new reality would have been impossible without the help and connivance of local elites. Notwithstanding, it gave way to adaptation strategies aimed at maintaining identities in a context of changing economic and social relations. These communities sought to preserve their values and collective identities, even after being forced to accept the changes imposed by the Portuguese (Henriques 2004, 46). The appropriation of some elements associated with the colonizer (e.g., the house architecture) and the adaptation or Africanisation of others indicate that the resident communities were not passive agents but played a fundamental role in the configuration of new social realities (Ibid., images 28–30), even considering that these communities were somehow forced to change.

The study of these African cases is useful for examining the Phoenician presence in Iberia during the Iron Age and the interactions that took place. Furthermore, taking as an example the European ethnographic discourses about African communities and the invention of ethnic groups, it is possible to examine the *etic* depiction of the pre-Roman communities in Classical sources (Moret 2004). The analysis of the criteria used in ancient geography and ethnography allows us to identify depictions of communities that the transmitter is not acquainted with. As J. Horta pointed out, the observer and the transmitter are not always the same person (Horta 1995), a statement confirmed by the information acquired indirectly in the elaboration of ethnological maps and by the difficulties colonial scholars had in distinguishing and individualizing ethnic groups.

This was the main goal of the Portuguese *Censos* (surveys) in Angola. In these works, ethnologists tried to identify similar physical attributes, social organization, language and even material culture, but these criteria were insufficient to individualize communities (Mendes Correa, *apud* Estermann 1983, 18–19; Henriques 2004; 2020). E.g., a group could speak the same language as others without sharing a common identity, and material culture was often the same between communities that spoke different languages.

It can be said that ethnic affiliation can be forged by the colonizer and appropriated by resident communities (Amselle 1987; Amselle and M'Bokolo 1999; Henriques 2004; Moret 2004). Such

a phenomenon can be better understood by examining the modes by which these ethnonyms were transmitted on the written record. Firstly, there is the name that the group used to identify itself. Then, we have the name by which the neighbours knew that group. Sometimes that name was given by external observers (e.g., a merchant, a voyager, or a colonizer), who were not well-acquainted with the reality of those groups and, possibly, came to know these names only indirectly (Crowley 1993, 280–284). This is equally valid for the examination of the ethnonyms of the Iberian pre-Roman communities mentioned in ancient sources (see Moret 2004).

SOME NOTES ABOUT ANCIENT COLONIAL ENCOUNTERS

The topics exposed above set the stage for a reanalysis of the pre-Roman Iberian communities mentioned in Classical sources, as well as for the interpretation of the archaeological record of the Phoenician presence in the Iberian Peninsula. Similarities between the latter and the African examples must be studied, while having in mind the geographic, chronological, and cultural differences that distinguish them.

One of the clearest similarities is conceptual, namely the framework of colonization and colony, which is largely applied to ancient and modern contexts although it embodies the nineteenth and twentieth centuries colonialist ideology. This Eurocentric perspective has been dominating the interpretation of ancient encounters. This, however, does not mean that those communities in the past shared those very same ideas, concepts, or goals in their expansion process, as demonstrated in recent works (Sommer 2011; 2012; Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016, 125ss.).

Colonial encounters in the Iberian Peninsula during the Iron Age were recently re-examined through a postcolonial lens (Dietler and López-Ruiz, eds. 2009; Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016; Martín-Aguilera, ed. 2018, etc.). One of the premises of the Postcolonial view is the examination of the changes that occurred in both communities after the first contacts. In fact, the notion of "negotiated identities", expressed in terms such as "encounters, entanglements, and transformations" (Dietler, *apud* Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016, 127; Vives-Ferrándiz 2005), has prevailed upon the old-fashioned concept of *acculturation* in recent years, which means that Indigenous communities are no longer viewed as passive receptors of the "civilizing" action of the newcomers, but as important agents in the construction

of hybrid realities and confluences (Amselle 1990; Cruz Andreotti 2019).

This "decolonization of mind" must invariably note that there are always two opposite or complementary perspectives of such encounters. Literary narratives often present views about the "others", which are strongly conditioned by the cultural background of the observers and may not be reliable in the study of depicted communities or individuals (Hartog 1991; Horta 1995; Amselle 1996). This is particularly relevant for rethinking colonization, seeing as conventional perspectives often convey a benevolent view of intercultural contacts.

In addition, there are two polarized views of ancient colonization. On the one hand, there are those, like M. I. Finley, who believe that there were, within these processes, massive human displacements, land appropriation, subjugation, and political control, assuming the dominance of the colonizer groups and the inability of the indigenous to confront them (Finley 1976). On the other hand, Finley's statements have been criticized by scholars who defend a viewpoint that ancient colonization does "...not reflect foreign domination over local communities..." (Stein 2005, 10; Vives-Ferrándiz 2005, 27ss.; Gosden 2008, 13ff.) and that such a line of thought leads to a historical discourse in which indigenous groups do not have their own history (Henriques 2020).

Postcolonial views then focus on the role of the indigenous communities in these encounters without excluding implicit or explicit violence (Stein 2005; cf. Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016). Entanglement, on the other hand, was not always part of the agenda in these intercultural contacts (Henriques 2020). So, let it be clear that the study of violence is not necessarily incompatible with the enhancement of the role of the "colonized" in the processes of interaction (Moreno 1999; 2000; 2008; Wagner 2005, 178ss.; Henriques 2004, 14–15; Arruda 2010, 448; Albuquerque 2014, 82–84).

The literary evidence provides some examples of the destruction of territorial markers by the newcomers, which can be considered for the examination of territoriality in other contexts where literary evidence is lacking. Taking the example of the OT, the depiction of the religious reforms of Josiah in 2Kings 23.14–18 clearly reveals the importance of territoriality in the social and ideological shaping of collective memory and identity:

> He smashed the sacred pillars and cut down the sacred poles, filling the places where they had been with human bones. Josiah also tore down the altar that was in Bethel. That was the

> shrine made by Jeroboam, Nebat's son, who caused Israel to sin. Josiah tore down that altar and its shrine. He burned the shrine, grinding it into dust. Then he burned its sacred pole. When Josiah turned around, he noticed tombs up on the hillside. So, he ordered the bones to be taken out of the tombs. He then burned them on the altar, desecrating it. (This was in agreement with the word that the Lord announced by the man of God when Jeroboam stood by the altar at the festival.) Josiah then turned and saw the tomb of the man of God who had predicted these things. 'What's this gravestone I see?' Josiah asked. The people of the city replied, 'That tomb belongs to the man of God who came from Judah and announced what you would do to the altar of Bethel.' 'Let it be', Josiah said. 'No one should disturb his bones'. So they left his bones untouched, along with the bones of the prophet who came from Samaria. Moreover, Josiah removed all the shrines on the high hills that the Israelite kings had constructed throughout the cities of Samaria. (Translation in https://www.biblestudytools.com/ceb/2-kings/23.html, 13/11/2020)

This depiction is the subject of an interesting discussion about the historicity of King Josiah's reform, the role of 2Kings 23 in the Deuteronomistic historiography, and how archaeological data can explain the text (or *vice versa*; Lowery 1991, 190–209). This is not the place to discuss it, but it is noteworthy that the act itself can be recognized by the receptors as a common mode of imposing a new or renewed ideology.

In this case, the literary evidence seems to reflect the stages of the centralization of worship and the annihilation of foreigner cults in Judah after the downfall of the Assyrian Empire in the west. As R. H. Lowery concludes, "Josiah's Deuteronomic reformation was part of a comprehensive view of the world deeply rooted in the ancient traditions of Judah, tempered by the historical experience of foreign domination, and reflecting the changed reality of national independence" (Lowery 1991, 209).

This reshaping of the historical and theological discourse did not contradict Deuteronomist views about the relationship between the sons of Israel and other peoples, which also involved territoriality (see Dt. 12.1–3, from the fifth – fourth centuries BC). These examples do show that replacement and destruction of places of cult and/or burials is a common issue both in the ancient Near Eastern and Classical literature, as seen in the depiction of the "purification" of Delos (Hdt.1.64; Th.1.8), and many others (cf. Albuquerque 2014).

It then seems conceivable that the Phoenician cult places built in the Far West could also have had such a role in strengthening the identity of migrants and in the construction of territorial perceptions. The founding of Gadir and its temple and the fact that these are narrated in much later sources seem to exemplify an instance in which a place was clearly connected with the collective memory of a particular group (D.S. 5.20.1; Str. 3.5.5; Vell.1.2). In Strabo's account, the remote presence of Melqart in these territories seems to be a strategy for the revindication of a particular sense of belonging. Such a territorial marker was determinant for the worldview expressed in Greek Literature, for it marked the end of the known world and its conquest by ancestors like Melqart/ Hercules (Philostr., Vit. Ap. 5,1; Pi., N. 3.19–25; cf. Wagner 2008).

Conversely, earlier depictions of the Iberian Peninsula and its inhabitants are not useful in examining or trying to understand the cult buildings that appear in the Iberian Peninsula from the ninth century BC onward, nor even the ethnicity of its inhabitants during the first encounters (see discussion of these texts in Álvarez 2009; Albuquerque 2013; Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016). Archaeology, however, can shed some light on this question and break the silence of the written sources. As mentioned above, some perspectives about these contacts depict them as peaceful. Trade and wealth, for the *communis opinio*, lead to the empowerment of indigenous leaders, to the emulation of the colonizers' lifeways and to a selective acculturation. Looking at the systematic construction of territorial markers (like cult places) between the ninth and the sixth centuries BC in Iberia, one can postulate that they were crucial for the organization and control of trade routes and for the reorganization of previous social and economic structures, as well as material culture (*latu sensu*).

It then seems plausible that this organization followed the outsiders' interests and ways of thinking and does not reflect any kind of continuity from previous territorialities. Taking again the example of SJM, trade *per se* does not appear to have had an insurmountable impact in local groups. The site was obviously designed for Atlantic Trade and African communities were reorganized basically to provide the Europeans with the products they demanded. There were no dramatic changes in African lifeways, rituals or even architecture and hybridity was clearly not part of the agenda. Conversely, as stated before, the imposition of new territorialities and political/ economic organization in colonial encounters did lead to drastic changes in local lifeways, even considering the Africanization of the elements associated to the colonizer.

If we compare these African examples with the Iberian archaeological record, it seems evident that the new territorial markers could be a symptom of an unfriendly presence and not only of negotiations between equals. It is widely accepted that autochthonous communities acquired oriental goods, lifeways, and even rituals. So, from the point of view presented here, these changes can be a reaction to the deconstruction of previous territorialities or new identity manifestations of communities that came from other (abandoned) territories. To discuss this point of view, it could be useful to look into the construction of sanctuaries in Southwestern Iberia between c. ninth and sixth centuries BC.

ENCOUNTERS AND SANCTUARIES IN SOUTHWESTERN IBERIA DURING THE IRON AGE

From a strictly theoretical point of view, there is no clear evidence with regards as to what distinguishes the "indigenization" of oriental elements and the "orientalization" of the autochthonous background. Nevertheless, it is commonly assumed that Phoenicians lived in coastal sites, while the Indigenous occupied the hinterland. Furthermore, all that is not canonically Phoenician is usually interpreted as local responses to the Near Eastern stimulus. To solve these methodological problems, researchers still maintain, consciously or not, the polarization between the two entities and, concomitantly, assume that Tartessos was a result of hybridization.

Additionally, the assumption that Iberian Late Bronze Age is poorly known has created an aura of contradiction around this discussion. The possible existence of precolonial contacts without permanent settlements seems to be a suitable solution to explain the role of the newcomers on an indigenous *longue durée* historical process (Celestino et al. 2008; Celestino and López-Ruiz, 2016). Scholars proposed, in this context, that warrior stelae are "the single most important corpus of information that we have about Tartessic society before the colonial wave" (Ibid., 159), but its interpretation is problematic (see discussions in Moreno 1999; 2000; 2008; Celestino 2001; Wagner 2005; Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016: 148ff.). The famous Ría de Huelva hoard (Ibid., 158–159, with bibliography; Escacena 2018, 151–152) is also mentioned as a proof of these precolonial contacts and of the wealth of autochthonous society, even considering that the apparent lack of clear indicators of settlement

in the Low Guadalquivir prior to the Phoenician presence (Escacena 1995).

The lack of archaeological contexts for this corpus of information is an obstacle for the proper identification and characterization of mutual influences. Notwithstanding, little attention has been paid to the presence of weapons both in the stelae and in the hoard as a possible indicator of an escalating violence prior to the founding of permanent Phoenician settlements. In the last decades, some scholars postulated the existence of violence associated with the abandonment of settlements and the construction of defensive structures in search for protection (Moreno 1999, 164–165; *Od.* 1.398). This process can be compared with the early modern texts about the slave trade, as it is described, e.g. by the Flemish trader E. de la Fosse (1479–1480; see also McIntosh 2001 for the slave trade in Senegambia from an archaeological perspective):

> [...] they brought us women and children for sale, who we bought, and then we resold them in the same places or elsewhere. Mother and son cost us in this act a razor, and 3 or 4 large brass rings. Then, when we were already in the *Mina de Ouro*, we sold women and children for a good 12 or 14 *pesos* of gold, and each *peso* worth 3 *estrelinos* of gold. The profit was enormous. (Alvim 1992, 62, translated by the author)

The description provided by De la Fosse can illustrate the acquisition of prestige goods. This kind of trade had a significant impact on the populations and was crucial for the development of militarized communities and for the displacement of human groups. It, then, can be postulated that violence or even slave trade was (at least partially) in the agenda of the newcomers and their first contacts in the Iberian Peninsula. For the sake of this argument, it is also noteworthy that heroic tales, like the works of Heracles in the Far West, have more to do with an idea of violent conquest of the world ends than with peaceful relations with the "Other" (Wagner, 2008).

On the other hand, Warrior stelae, brilliantly compiled and examined by S. Celestino (2001) as manifestations of the precolonial (i.e., Tartessian) communities and of the acquisition of prestige goods, were then reinterpreted as a manifestation of slave capture expeditions in hinterland taking as examples the African cases (Moreno 1999; 2000; Wagner 2005) and a possible motive for the large voyages along the Mediterranean by the Phoenicians before the foundation of permanent settlements.

This led us to another topic also related with the identification of Indigenous communities, i.e., the interpretation of handmade

pottery in Iron Age sites. Some archaeologists, when finding materials that fit into Late Bronze Age (or non-Phoenician) typologies, tend to automatically postulate that the in-question site is autochthonous (e.g., Castro Marim: Oliveira 2012; Arruda et al. 2017; Tavira: Maia and Silva 2004). However, even considering the participation of local groups in oriental-style settlements (Wagner 2005, 184–185), there are no clear indicators of hybridization. The presence/ absence of handmade or wheel-made pottery does not necessarily prove that the ones who used it were locals or newcomers, except if it is considered that some of these goods are used for the negotiation or for the affirmation of individual identity (when related, e.g., with the consumption of a particular kind of food). Micro-scale archaeological analysis is then necessary to provide a new insight into these questions.

Notwithstanding, there are other features that can be used for the interpretation of these processes from the point of view of territoriality or settlement patterns. The cases exposed below allow us to state that cult buildings, let alone walled settlements, can be manifestations of tense or unequal relations between locals and newcomers based on the deconstruction of territorial perceptions. It must be noted that this does not necessarily exclude hybridization, entanglements, or complicities. It is not implausible that hostility and mistrust could be a common behaviour of these communities, particularly at the onset of contacts or even during the (re)organization of the territory by the foreign groups.

As mentioned above, the so-called Phoenician or oriental-style sanctuaries were erected in strategic places that allowed settlers to control the trade routes between the sea and the inland territories. So, the first Iron Age occupation of *Spal* (present-day Seville) in the ninth century BC (Escacena and García Fernández 2012) is believed to have been complemented by the Carambolo sanctuary, founded on the opposite riverbank of the Guadalquivir River. This site was found in 1958 by workers during the construction of a building for the *Sociedad de Tiro de Pichón* and was particularly relevant for the invention (not for the "discovery") of an archaeological image of Tartessos by scholars such as J. Maluquer de Motes and J. de Mata Carriazo. The former considered that indigenous or non-Phoenician material culture should be identified as Tartessian even before the findings of El Carambolo (cf. the papers collected in Bandera and Ferrer, eds., 2010, and the historiographic works of M. Álvarez Martí-Aguilar; Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016, 11–16). Before the twenty-first century's excavations carried out in this site, M. Belén and J. L. Escacena (1997; cf. Correa 2000) postulated that the placename

Spal has a Semitic origin and, consequently, that the present-day Seville was founded by the Phoenicians and that El Carambolo could be a Phoenician sanctuary. Recently, M. Torres Ortiz (2016) has argued that the site was first occupied by a Late Bronze Age community and, consequently, it would not have been a Phoenician foundation or even a sanctuary.

The role played by this hypothetical earlier (stable?) occupation in the context of the Guadalquivir River traffic is not well known, leaving the process without plausible and convincing explanation. Was there a continuity? Or a rupture? If the first supposition is accepted, why did this building follow a Near Eastern model? If, alternatively, there was a rupture, what was this building's meaning in indigenous territorial perceptions?

If the interpretation previously proposed in this article is accepted, this cult building can be seen as a dismantling of existing territorial perceptions and a strategy for imposing a new power and its ideology on a reorganized territory. A scenario of complicity cannot and should not be excluded, but traces of prior use may indicate that the El Carambolo sanctuary is a testimony to first contacts or, alternatively, that the place was sacred to the indigenous people (Fernández and Rodríguez 2010, 214ff. proposed that there is a possibility of a ritualistic use of this space by the previous settlers).

Also noteworthy is the fact that the sanctuary was built on a hilltop that stands out visibly in the landscape and that it seems to reproduce a Near Eastern way of thinking (see, e.g. the sacralization of hills in the OT: De Vaux 1992, 370–373; cf. Psalms 2.6 and 3.5, Isaiah 27; Ezekiel 20.40). Its architecture, construction materials, helioscopic orientation, shell floors and the altars of its subsequent phases suggest a reproduction of a foreign ideology and its possible imposition on the organization and control of the Guadalquivir's trade route (Escacena and Vázquez 2009, 57ff.; Fernández and Rodríguez 2010, 219–221; Escacena 2018, 143ff.; cf. Ezekiel 47.1; De Vaux 1992, 417; Gómez Peña 2017).

The settlement pattern also seems to reflect, as J. L. Escacena (2018) has recently suggested, a Phoenician trend which has been identified in other sites, namely *Onoba* (Huelva)-Aljaraque, and Ayamonte-Castro Marim. The city was built on the eastern side of a river, while the sanctuary was erected on the western side. However, it must be noted that Lisbon and Almaraz are urban enclaves that occupy both sides of the Tagus River, but no sanctuary has been found there.

Yet, according to Strabo's account, the founders of the first Phoenician colony in the Iberian Peninsula "[…] founded the temple

in the eastern part of the island, and the city in the west" (Str. 3.5.5, translated by Hamilton, Falconer 1857). Our knowledge of this temple has been dependent solely on the written sources and the findings of statuettes near Sancti-Petri (Cádiz) (Corzo 2005). More recently, however, archaeological work in the nearby Chiclana unearthed a fortified settlement founded in the ninth – eighth century BC (Bueno Serrano and Cerpa Niño, 2008), i. e. with the same chronology of Castillo de Doña Blanca (Escacena 2018, 148), and built following Near Eastern models, evidence which could hypothetically reinforce Escacena's (still unconfirmed) statements. This scholar adds that the (probably apotropaic) shell floors identified in the *Teatro Cómico* of Cádiz could be part of a cult place dedicated to Astarte (Ibid., 147–150), but these remains are essentially urban.

Back on the Baetis Valley, *Caura* (Coria del Río, Seville), Montemolín (Marchena) and *Carmo* (Carmona, Seville) are additional regional examples of cult places built on strategic trade route locales. As in other cases, these sites reflect a choice made by their builders to occupy a place of prominence in the surrounding landscape, a clear indicator of their importance as territorial markers.

Caura has been identified by M. Belén with the *Mons Cassius* mentioned by Avienus (fourth century AD), i.e. a possible sanctuary dedicated to Zeus Cassius or Baal-Saphon (Avienus *O.M.* 255–257; Belén 1993, 49; Escacena and Izquierdo 2001, 123–126; for the identification of the Mons Cassius, see Bonsor 1922, 27–28). Erected at the beginning of the eighth century BC and associated with a "Phoenician neighbourhood", the cult building sits on the San Juan hill and faces the *Cerro de Cantalobos,* an indigenous habitat located on the opposite elevation. These hills dominated the maritime landscape of *Lacus Ligustinus.* Some scholars admitted that *Caura* was previously occupied by an autochthonous community, basing their assumptions on the interpretation of this placename as Indo-European (Padilla 1993; on the issues raised using placenames as sources for the archaeologists, see Albuquerque, 2018, with previous bibliography). Notwithstanding, the oriental origin of this building and of its functionality are clearly demonstrated, for example, by its architecture during its five construction phases (eight – sixth centuries BC), by its open spaces and red floors, and by the possible use of the royal cubit of c. 55 cm (Escacena and Izquierdo 2001, 147; about the seventh century BC altar, see Gómez Peña 2010, 142; 2017).

Montemolín (Marchena) was located inland, near the Corbones river (tributary of the Guadalquivir). It occupies a prominent place in the surrounding landscape and is associated with the nearby Vico settlement, a clear indicator of its importance as a territorial marker

(Chaves and Bandera 1982). The occupational sequence of this sacrificial complex between the tenth and the sixth centuries BC reveals several overlaps between buildings with different architectural features, which seem to evidence a hybrid mode of visual communication. Wheel-made pottery was gradually introduced throughout the second half of the eighth century BC (phase II), together with a large building of stone, mud, and adobe (Bandera et al. 1993, 22–25). In the next phase (IIIA, end of the eighth century BC), an orthogonal building (B) coexisted with an oval-shaped structure (A), which overlapped the building of the previous phase. Both had red-painted floors, a feature which usually distinguishes oriental buildings. By the middle of the seventh century BC, the building C overlapped B, and a few years later, the D overlapped A. The last phase was the compartmentalisation of building C during the sixth century BC. The incomplete stratigraphy of the nearby settlement, Vico, can be useful for comparison with the evolution of Montemolín, as revealed by the substitution of the circular by the orthogonal plant, and the integration of new techniques and products from the end of 8th century BC onwards. The site was still inhabited after the abandonment of the sacrificial complex (Bandera and Ferrer 2002, 127–128; 144).

Not far from *Spal* – El Carambolo*, Carmo* is also interpreted as an indigenous settlement located in the vicinity of *Lacus Ligustinus* (for the attempts of defining its occupational sequence and indigenous origins, see the works of J. M. Carriazo – K. Raddatz, and Amores – Pellicer, quoted in Pellicer 2007, 235ff; Mederos 2008, 121–123). In this city, a sanctuary was built at the beginning of the seventh century BC on San Blas neighbourhood (Marqués del Saltillo Palace and Diego Navarro St., 20), a prominent location possibly previously used as a metallurgical workshop (Román and Belén 2007, 500–501). Given the archaeological data from other parts of *Carmo*, it is possible to state that the sanctuary was erected on an unoccupied locale in the same period as the Alcores' necropolises (Bonsor 1899 [1997]; Amores 1982; Jiménez 2002). The most interesting feature is the building's downfall in the middle of the sixth century BC. It was abruptly abandoned without traces of violence and all that was in use at that time was left behind. Some vessels contained remains of birds (wild pigeons, partridges, and chickens) and fish (sea bream and a ray) in anatomic position. The building was reoccupied in the fifth century BC, after a period of dereliction, and was not used again as a cult place.

The seventh century BC, therefore, seems a crucial period for the examination of territoriality processes in Southwestern Iberia.

As it was then that not only the maximum development of sanctuaries like El Carambolo occurred, but also the foundation of new ones along the Atlantic coast and inland. Sanctuaries such as those built in *Onoba* (Huelva), *Baesuris* (Castro Marim), *Balsa* (Tavira), Abul and *Beuipo* (Alcácer do Sal) were important territorial markers in the context of the fluvial and maritime trade routes and key for the control of access to raw materials. These, however, raise some noteworthy questions regarding the indigenous or exogenous roots of the places where they were built, which will be explored in the next paragraphs.

Following Escacena's settlement pattern hypothesis, Aljaraque (Huelva) may have also been a seventh – sixth century BC sanctuary that reproduced or was inspired by oriental models in its architecture, like its shell floor and the vessel associated with it (Escacena 2018). The apotropaic meaning of these floors, as proposed by this author in previous papers, can be compared to other Near Eastern examples and written sources (see the aforementioned comments on *Teatro Cómico* of Cádiz shell floor). The archaeologists who excavated this site in 1968 overlooked its possible ritualistic purposes (Blázquez et al. 1971).

Additionally, archaeologists have unearthed a building in Méndez Núñez Street (Huelva) that has been correctly interpreted as a cult place, judging by the materials found in it. This building was probably in use until the fifth century BC, even after a *tsunami* in the first quarter of the sixth century BC (Osuna et al. 2000; González de Canales et al. 2010). Underneath it, a deposit containing materials dated from c. 900–770 was found, but the circumstance of its remotion is an obstacle for a proper interpretation of the occupational sequence. Other scholars have associated present-day Saltés with the island consecrated to Herakles/Melqart, using as a reference Strabo's account of the second Tyrian expedition to the Far West in the search of the Pillars of this hero (Str. 3.5.5). The findings of a terracotta "Herakles' head" around 1925 and bronze statuettes, during underwater works, have been also used as arguments to postulate the existence of a sanctuary on this island (Mederos 2006, 170–171; Truszkowski et al. 2007).

The identification of the founders of the ancient *Onoba/Onuba* has too been debated, as has the role of this city as a symbol of the indigenist paradigm of Tartessos (see recent discussions of the identification of Huelva with Taršiš/Tartessos in Padilla 2016; Ferrer and Prados 2018). This city is commonly viewed as an autochthonous/precolonial foundation. Such an indigenous origin has yet to be

sufficiently proved, even despite the efforts of researchers to find and overestimate data that could fit these views.

The *Ría de Huelva* hoard, the hand-made pottery found in different parts of this settlement (particularly in *Cabezo de San Pedro* and *Cabezo de la Esperanza*), its toponym, and other findings that indicate the performance of metallurgical and agricultural activities, have all been considered indicators of an indigenous origin (Padilla 2016, 97–98; Escacena 2018, 151). In a very similar fashion, the extraordinary variety of ceramics present in Huelva's oldest phases has been used to suggest the existence of a multicultural community in that city (Padilla 2016, 100).

Both Castro Marim (*Baesuris*) and Tavira (*Balsa*) have comparable interpretation issues. The lack of clear archaeological indicators has, yet again, not prevented their widespread identification as sites founded by indigenous communities. The former was founded on an elevation of a peninsula in the vicinity of the right bank of the Guadiana River, and is barely mentioned in written sources (It. Ant. 425.6 and 431.4–8; Rav. 305.9; it is absent from Str. 3.1.9). This identification is based on legends of coins (cf. Arruda 1999– 2000, 36). Its most telling feature is its positioning which affords visual control over the Guadiana's mouth and provides great defensibility, both exceptionally relevant in the context of the terrestrial and fluvial trade routes (among many others, Arruda et al. 2009; 2017; Oliveira 2012). Other sources reveal that Castro Marim was still a Peninsula in the sixteenth century (cf. D'Armas 1510; Klein 2019). Inland, Mértola was a relevant port located at the end of the navigable section (Albuquerque and García Fernández 2017).

The first phase of this site is represented by a pit located on a peripheral area; the second by the construction of houses with an orthogonal plan on areas unoccupied during the seventh century BC. This may indicate a growth of the settlement during this period or, alternatively, an *ex-novo* occupation. This leaves us with a conundrum. If we accept the first hypothesis, then an integration of this site in the Mediterranean *koine* without clear signs of adaptation is to be assumed. If, in turn, we postulated that the site is an Iron Age foundation, the pit and the data found in it cannot be properly integrated in the analysis of a historical process, as we saw in Huelva's case. Whether Castro Marim's expansion was the result of internal changes, or the imposition of new models, is a question that remains unanswered. What seems clear, though, is that after the seventh century BC (phases II and III), the site followed strictly oriental models. Such a trend is particularly visible, during the phase III, in the construction

of a cult building with an altar and shell floor and in its surrounding urbanism (Arruda et al. 2007; 2009).

Less than 25 km away, towards the West, is the ancient site of *Balsa*, underneath what today is the city of Tavira. It too was interpreted as an autochthonous foundation, due to the findings of Late Bronze Age material culture. In this case, the previous occupation of this site seems to be more obvious or, at least, more visible than in Castro Marim, but the interpretation of this process is still challenging (Arruda 2014; Covaneiro and Cavaco 2017, 221–223).

This site is located on Santa Maria's hill, at the mouth of the Gilão river, and was first occupied at the end of the eighth century BC. This choice of location reveals that, from outset, its settlers were interested in the benefits of the contacts with the sea and the hinterland. In this period, there were people living and being buried in Ayamonte, at the right bank of the Guadiana's mouth (Marzoli and Teyssandier 2019), as well as in Castro Marim Iron Age seems a time of growth for this settlement, with an apparent intensification of nautical activities and a noticeable concern for defence. The building of a strong wall with casemates appears indicative of social environment in turmoil, from the end of the seventh century BC onwards. However, it is noteworthy that Castro Marim was not fortified during this period, even considering that the Gilão and Seco rivers were not navigable as the Guadiana (Maia, *apud* Pappa 2015, 12).

Excavations carried out at Tavira's Palácio da Galeria uncovered an assemblage associated with ritual pits (or *bothroi*). The partially published findings were recently re-examined by E. Pappa (2015) in a work that lent new credence to the interpretation of the building as a cult place. Previous research postulated the existence of a cult to Baal in *Balsa*, citing evidence that ranged from references in the placename to Baal-Shamen (Maia and Silva 2004; see discussion in Albuquerque 2018, 149) to possible depictions of religious symbols relating to Baal or Melqart on coins produced between 47 and 44 BC and laconic data from later Classical sources (cf. Albuquerque 2014, 202–204). Such speculation can neither prove the existence of a cult place in *Balsa*, nor can it relate the iconographic evidence to lost foundation accounts (Maia and Silva 2004). However, the available data does suggest that the interpretation of Palácio da Galeria as a Phoenician sanctuary can be accepted, even if it is as a necropolis later sacralised (Arruda et al. 2008, 148–149; Pappa 2015, 47). An indigenous origin for this settlement, its cult place or even the necropolis found in Convento da Graça cannot be categorically postulated (Arruda et al. 2008).

Located at the westernmost point of Portugal's southern coast, the Sagres Promontory, also known as *Hieron Akroterion* (the "Sacred Cape"), was considered to be the end of the inhabited world (Str. 3.1.4). References to the use of this natural territorial marker are far from conclusive as are the different interpretations of the textual tradition about a place that is archaeologically invisible (Albuquerque 2014, 206–208). Unsurprisingly, this type of geographical landmarks was often sacralized, especially due to their importance for seamen and their association with the aforementioned *bamot* (Marin 2010). Unfortunately, the lack of archaeological data prevents further discussion here.

Lastly, we would like to highlight the problematic case of Castro dos Ratinhos (Moura, Portugal), a fortified settlement located on a hilltop near an unnavigable section of the Guadiana River. Recent excavations on this site have unearthed a plausible early date sanctuary, apparently the end of the ninth century BC. The structure identified as a cult place displays an orthogonal plan. Further pointing to this being a Phoenician milieu, are a possible *ashera* and a betyl found in its interior. As around this unique building, houses kept their circular plant. In addition, iron or wheel-made pottery are absent. Scholars have been prone to postulate that Castro dos Ratinhos was a typical Late Bronze Age site in which a Phoenician or oriental-style sanctuary was raised only to be destroyed some 30 years later (Berrocal Rangel and Silva 2010).

It is tempting to see this process as an example of the construction of a new territorial marker associated with a foreign ideology that stood out in this settlement for c. three decades. Curiously, after the fire that destroyed the *temenos* and the sanctuary, a new building was raised with the "old" circular model. The examination of the short life of this sanctuary is problematic due to the excavation methodology, which compromised the stratigraphical and chronological interpretation of the site (Ibid., 51ff.), but it is clearly a case of an unsuccessful imposition of a new ideology, symbolized by a marker erected on a place that is far from discrete in the context of this settlement. Although this could be conjectural, let us take the example of 1 Kings 16.31–33, which describes the marriage between the king Achab and Jezebel, daughter of the Ethbaal of Sidon (cf. Briquel-chatonnet, 1998): the former built, in the context of this contract, an altar to Baal and an Asherah in the building founded by him in Samaria. Is it possible that Ratinhos' sanctuary was built within an unequal relationship or was part of a political treaty?

RETHINKING PHOENICIAN COLONIZATION FROM A COMPARATIVE POINT OF VIEW

These last lines will hopefully help outline some guidelines for a more complete understanding of the range of relations and dynamics that must have taken place in the encounters between Mediterranean and Indigenous communities in the Southwestern Iberia based on the comparison with African cases. Even though limited in number, the cases examined show that archaeological research is still dealing with interpretation issues when it comes to the before-after of these encounters. The interpretation of these processes must go beyond the identification of hand-made or wheel-made pottery with indigenous or foreign presence.

Scholars do often admit that indigenous communities had different local responses to external stimuli and postulate a diversity of "indigenizations" of the elements associated with the newcomers (an example in Cruz Andreotti 2019), but often overlook signs of violence, as well as the relationship between territoriality and identity discourses. This is especially relevant for the interpretation of the dissemination of cult buildings throughout Southwestern Iberia.

As stated above, territorial markers can be used as symbols of the ties between a community and the land, structuring identity discourses and the collective image of the past. Construction, as well as destruction, of cult buildings and necropolises can be a consequence of a new dominant ideology being imposed upon a territory. We must insist that territoriality embodies a way of thinking and conceiving collective identities and social relationships. It is, thus, essential to recognise that opportunistic collaboration and forced compliance do not necessarily mean that a group adopts the architectural models, territorialities, and lifeways of the newcomers without questioning them. It is naḭve to postulate that there were sites founded exclusively by newcomers without the help or participation of local communities, or that the foreign groups remained unaffected by indigenous presence. This topic is widely discussed by S. Celestino and C. López-Ruiz (2016).

Even admitting that previous cultural phases are poorly documented, it seems obvious that the establishment of sanctuaries in locations of strategic relevance for trade routes and that of necropolises in unused sites are novelties that can be associated with the arrival of the Phoenicians in Southwestern Iberia in the Iron Age. Equally quite telling, food and drink consumption and the imitation of ceramic wares point toward a hybridization of identities, lifeways, the so-

called "internal borders", and of the *habitus* during this time (Jones 1997; Pech et al. 2008; García Fernández and García Vargas 2014 for a later period). Food consumption is crucial for determining inclusion or exclusion in and from a group as a symbolic marker (for this concept, see Henriques 2004, 22ff.; cf. Hdt. 1.133, about the birthday parties among the Persians) and is a promising research avenue (Gómez Bellard et al. 2020 with a great number of contributions about the Phoenician – Punic food consumption).

In fact, Late Bronze Age settlement patterns evidence no signs of continuity into the Iron Age; on the contrary, a new orientation toward the occupation of places located near the navigable rivers or the sea becomes visible at the very end of the later period (i.e., during the transition to the Iron Age). The formation of these novel multicultural social contexts may have been a consequence of new economic and political strategies (e.g. the establishment of trading outposts). Thus, it would not be surprising to find in the new Iron Age settlements, some of which were probably established for commercial purposes in new strategic locations (like a river mouth), people of different origins, both autochthonous and foreign (cf. *supra* SJM, and the example of the Luso-African, examined by Horta 2009; Hdt. 7.90 also provides a telling example of the diversity among the Cypriots).

However, the most common feature in these sites is the use of the Near Eastern matrix, both in the architecture and cult. This may be a symptom of the type of opportunistic alliances and dependence relationships commonly found in the Ancient Near East (Ruiz and Wagner 2005), as well as of the (violent?) imposition of a new dominant ideology.

Still, territoriality is far more than settlement patterns, exploitation of natural resources, or defence of territories and its borders (cf. López Castro 2011). It is also an identity discourse that projects itself in a territory, delimiting it and creating a sense of belonging for a collective memory. Having this in mind, the reassessment of the written sources becomes clearly necessary to understand processes perhaps only accessible through the examination of archaeological evidence. Even considering that is not a direct source for the topic studied here, the literary depiction of Josiah's reform is especially interesting, as it shows how a reform can be both ideological and territorial.

By the end of seventh and the beginning of sixth century BC, an apparent expansionist project becomes archaeologically visible. It was marked by the fortification of several cities, the foundation of

new sanctuaries along the Atlantic coast and in the hinterland, the reformation of others previously founded, and the dissemination of Near Eastern architecture (orthogonal plant). In the following decades, more cult places were built in hinterland, especially in the Guadiana Valley, among them are Cancho Roano, La Mata del Campanario, Casas de Turuñuelo, and Cabeço Redondo to name a few (e.g., the outstanding works of the project *Construyendo Tarteso*; Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016, 208ff.). The dissemination of these buildings throughout those hinterland territories should be discussed from the point of view presented in this paper, namely analysing the nature of the relationship between local communities and possible newcomers. This, however, is a subject that must be addressed in future research endeavours.

CONCLUSION

The use of a comparative methodology in the analysis of ancient encounters, both from an archaeological and a literary point of view, provides some new research paths. The cases studied in this paper can be used as steppingstones in the selection of other subjects for comparison and, consequently, of new questions about the nature of encounters and entanglements throughout the Mediterranean Iron Age.

From a literary point of view, sanctuaries can be viewed as identity markers and symbols of alliances and conquests. Not surprisingly, they were centres where foundation discourses (Marín and Jiménez 2004; 1 Samuel 31.8; cf. the Samian account of Kolaios in Hdt. 4.152; Albuquerque 2014, 148ff.), solidarity networks and political links between cities (Ferrer 2019, 81ff.; Álvarez 2019, 113ff.) were forged and perpetuated. It is significant that traditions preserved in later periods focus on the antiquity of the city and the links with the motherland, more than on convivence, entanglements, or connivance with other communities, like the foundation account of Gadir (Ferrer 2019, 85–86; see Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016, 106–111, for the so-called Myth of Gargoris and Habis, with discussion about its indigenous or exogenous origin).

The reassessment of archaeological and literary data reveals that some questions raised by the former can help to shed some light on the issues of the latter. This does not mean that we postulate a reawakening of antiquated methodologies with dubious nationalistic underpinnings. As recent works on Historiography have revealed, some aprioristic views are still very much an important part of the

historic and archaeological discourse about Tartessos and the encounters between indigenous and foreign groups.

The diverse views about what Tartessos is (and is not) are particularly relevant in this analysis. Researchers, on the one hand, frequently use the terms "Tartessic" and "Tartessos" in reference to a historical entity, an archaeological culture, or a chronological concept (Ferrer and Prados 2018, 73–74; Celestino and López-Ruiz 2016). Classical sources, on the other hand, have described it throughout the centuries as a river, a city, or a territory, as well as a mythical place controlled by monsters or supernatural beings (cf. Albuquerque 2013).

As seen, the search for an autonomous history of local communities often leads to debate, confusion, and an exclusion of possible violent encounters or even violent/ forced entanglements (e.g., Hdt. 1.146.2–147.1). As seen in this paper, the recognition of this kind of phenomena can be another step toward the decolonization of historical and archaeological thought. However, we are still waiting for a methodology that will allow us to recognize archaeologically an "occidentalization" of features associated with the newcomers, or an "orientalization" of the local background. Given the lack of autochthonous written sources or clear archaeological indicators, this goal can be unrealistic. However, if it is admitted that a great part of archaeological data is associated with changes among Indigenous groups, especially in the funerary record, then we can hypothesize that there should have been a reinvention of Indigenous identity discourses or territorialities as a response to the new circumstances. We must insist that there are no similar manifestations prior to the oriental-style elements (e.g., sanctuaries or orthogonal architecture), so this assumption is based on the absence of similar Indigenous features, or even occupation, which indicates discontinuities.

In sum, we argue that a comparative analysis of the encounters between the Portuguese and the Africans in two different contexts (commercial and colonial) can be used to demonstrate that cultural change is more evident when there is a systematic destruction of territorial markers and construction of new ones. Having this in mind and taking the examples provided by Classical and Near Eastern literature, it is plausible that the encounters between the Phoenician and the indigenous communities of Iron Age SW Iberia could have been violent.

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THE SOVIET IMAGE OF THE USA IN LATVIAN SATIRICAL JOURNALISM OF THE 1960S: TEXTUAL AND VISUAL CODE

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ABSTRACT

Almost immediately after the end of the Second World War (WW II) and the declaration of the Iron Curtain policy, the Cold War broke out between the socialist and capitalist countries: the so-called opposition between the Eastern and Western bloc. The most acute confrontation between the USSR and the USA was manifested in such areas as the arms race, space exploration, struggle to expand spheres of influence. In 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis, the world was on the brink of nuclear war.

After the occupation in 1940, Latvia was part of the Soviet system, and therefore was exposed to the Soviet ideology and propaganda. Most of the inhabitants of Latvia (like of the whole USSR) had practically no opportunity either to visit the USA or to obtain reliable information. Periodicals of the USSR imposed on the Soviet reader their image of America and the Western world in general; a huge role in creating this image was assigned to satirical publications.

The article reveals the principles of representation of the USA image in the magazine "Dadzis" [The Thistle] and "Dadža kalendārs" [The Thistle Almanac] using imagological and cultural-historical approaches. The research focuses on the textual and visual representations of the phenomenon under study both in feuilletons and caricatures created by Latvian and foreign authors and published in the 1960s Latvian satire.

The study reveals that the static image of the USA consisting of a certain "set" of stereotypes was implanted in the Latvian society of the above-mentioned period and later.

Keywords: Soviet ideology, propaganda, satire, journalism, caricature, feuilleton

INTRODUCTION

Since its inception at the very end of 1922, the USSR has declared the division of the world into two camps: the camp of socialism and the camp of capitalism – an "exploiting" capitalist with colonialism, chauvinism, and social and ethnic inequalities and a "free" socialist one with mutual trust, peace and international cooperation and solidarity (Deklaracija...). The final division of the world into two camps was fixed by Stalin in the political report of the 14th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on December 18–31, 1925 (Stalin 1925).

The cooperation of the USSR with Great Britain, the United States, and other countries of the anti-Hitler coalition during WW II gave certain hopes for a change in the situation both in the country itself and in relations with Western countries. But these hopes were not destined to come true. Already in the famous Fulton speech delivered on March 5, 1946, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill outlined the main trends in the development of the post-war world. At the very beginning of his speech, Churchill stated that henceforth "the United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy" and warned of two giant marauders, "war and tyranny", opposing it (Churchill). The Soviet Union, in the opinion of the British Prime Minister, was becoming the main problem for the democratic world. The danger of communism was growing everywhere, "except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States" (Ibid). The concept of the "Iron Curtain", which marked the beginning of the Cold War, became a kind of barrier to the spread of communist ideology. From that moment on, a new round of open confrontation between the USSR and the West began in literally all spheres.

In the 1960s, this confrontation was most acute: the rivalry in the improvement of atomic weapons and the emergence of new types of weapons, the struggle for space, the struggle to expand the sphere of influence on all continents and, of course, ideological confrontation not only in politics but also in art and sports. During the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, the world was just around the corner from nuclear war.

Latvia was occupied by the USSR in 1940; as a result, Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic was formed. After the reoccupation in the end of WW II, the status of Latvia as one of the Soviet Union republics was restored. For several decades, the Soviet regime tended to dictate

the way Latvians had to live, to work, or even to think and feel – people had to adopt and accept a way of life, mentality, and culture modelled after the Soviet Union. "The party utilized several different means and operated through multifarious mediums to achieve this unification of social consciousness; some of these methods of transformation like propaganda or education guided under Communist values were directly implemented in social sectors to achieve immediate results [...]" (Savage 2011). As the Latvian professor Andris Veisbergs writes: "Ideologisation extended to all walks of life, starting with the renaming of streets, institutions, villages and towns, mandatory youth involvement in various communist organisations and even absurd demands in science and creative activities" (Veisbergs 2018, 80).

To propagate the socialist ideas all social and cultural activities were subordinated to Communist ideology and the control of the Communist Party. Local authorities followed the patterns and schemes and employed the methods and strategies which were approved by the regime officials in the metropolis of the USSR – Moscow. "To carry out a successful ideologization of Soviet people the regime ideologists actively exploited such ideologemes as the 'two worlds' and 'rotting West' to demonstrate all the advantages of living in the socialist system and disadvantages of existing in capitalism; especially it became relevant in the second half of the 1940s, after WW II, when the wartime allies of the Soviet Union – Brits and Americans – turned into irreconcilable opponents in terms of ideology and state politics" (Badina, Badins 2020, 169). These ideologemes were actively cultivated by means of sharp criticism of the socio-political and cultural situation in the countries of the Western Bloc. Socialist propaganda was the most efficient means to instil "proper" ideas and values in the society.

To make its message more powerful, widespread, and long-term Soviet propaganda actively exploited art and culture. For example, in the first year of the Soviet occupation (1940–1941) "Ideological literature constituted about a third of all publications: Marxist-Leninist literature, atheist literature and enthusiastic descriptions of the Soviet way of life were published in huge print runs and at low price" (Veisbergs 2018, 81). In the following decades, the authorities continued to pay close attention to the printed propaganda. In the monthly "Jaunās Grāmatas" [The New Books] – informative bibliographic bulletin printed from 1958 to 1989 – it was a usual practice to end an issue with a special thematic list of propagandistic books published by the Latvian State Publishing House. These lists varied by theme,

for example, in the March issue of 1964 the list titled "Palīgā ateistiskajai propagandai" [In Aid of Atheistic Propaganda], with an introductory reference to the Party guidelines, named a range of anti-religious works published in the time period from 1961 to 1963 both in Russian and Latvian (altogether these are 27 titles) (Palīgā... 1964, 49–50), in its turn in the June issue of the same 1964, the list called "Divas pasaules, divi dzīves veidi, divas ideoloģijas" [Two Worlds, Two Lifestyles, Two Ideologies] provides 33 titles of the relevant social and political books published from 1961 to 1964 including. Especially many books are from the year 1962 (the year of the Cuban Missile Crisis) – 14 titles (in 1961, these are 8 titles; in 1963 – 8; in the first half of 1964 – 3). Among these fourteen propagandistic editions of 1962 there are such telling titles as "Reportāža no Ņujorkas" [Report from New York] or "Kuba – jā!" [Cuba – Yes!] (Divas pasaules... 1964, 49–50).

"Cultural and public life, the press, radio and television were strictly censored, thus achieving full ideologization of public life, including the mass media, books and music. Everything became part of Soviet ideological propaganda. Popular means for propaganda organisers were posters and wall newspapers. Educational content at schools was subject to ideology, too, with schools trying to convince students of the democratic nature of the regime, the achievements of the state and its superiority over Western democracies" (Latvia under…).

Printed material of the USSR (dailies, magazines, brochures, posters, stamps, postcards) can be called ideological mouthpieces aimed at prising the socialist way of life and fighting the imperialist (capitalist) West. A special role in this struggle was assigned to humour and satirical publications.

The main satirical magazine of the Soviet Union was "Krokodil" [The Crocodile] founded already at the dawn of Soviet power in 1922 as an appendix to "Rabochaja Gazeta" [The Worker Paper]. Subsequently, the magazine became an independent edition, published three times a month (Stykalin and Kremenskaja[a]). It is symptomatic that similar satirical publications appeared in other Soviet bloc countries as well (Stykalin and Kremenskaja[b]): "Szpilki" [Pins] and "Karuzela" [Carousel] in Poland, "Urzica" [Nettle] in Romania, "Dikobraz" [Porcupine] in Czechoslovakia, "Jezh" [Hedgehog] in Yugoslavia and others.

Literally from their very first steps, Soviet satirical magazines exploited one specific theme – the creation of an image of the enemy (internal and external). During WW II, the work of "Kukryniksy"

(the name of a creative group of three Soviet artists) was very popular with their reference image of the enemy – Hitler and Nazi Germany. They became classics of Soviet political caricature, which was considered as a weapon in the struggle against a political enemy (Stykalin and Kremenskaja[a]). In the period of the Cold War, another image of political enemy was cultivated in satire – imperialist West represented mostly by the USA. "[...] the Soviet Cold War culture had produced and disseminated an array of patterns, tropes, images, and words, devised to wage rhetorical war" (Norris 2020, 519).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies in various aspects of propaganda and ideological influence are available in modern scientific and theoretical literature; some of them focus on the most common techniques for constructing satirical images.

In the Introduction to the volume "The Oxford Handbook of Propaganda Studies", its editors Jonathan Auerbach and Russ Castronovo note that "[a]s a cultural practice, propaganda concerns nothing less than the ways in which human beings communicate, particularly with respect to the creation and widespread dissemination of attitudes, images, and beliefs. In this way, the study of propaganda has tremendous relevance for art history, history, theology, communications, education, media studies, public relations, literary analysis, rhetoric, cultural theory, and political science" (Auerbach and Castronovo 2013, 2). The idea expressed by the authors is that propaganda can "be considered a field of study in its own right" and "can more neutrally be understood as a central means of organising and shaping thought and perception, a practice that has pervaded the twentieth century [...]" (Ibid).

As part of the present study, theoretical and empirical material on Soviet satire, namely, visual and textual propaganda aimed at representation of the two worlds – Socialist and Capitalist – was examined. This topic is little revealed and discussed yet, although in the last two decades several remarkable works devoted to the theme of Soviet satire during the Cold War period have appeared actualising the Soviet (communist) visual practices and reimagining them. Thus, the collective monograph "Drawing the Curtain: The Cold War in Cartoons" represents a story of Soviet and western relations during the Cold War, as told through caricatures and propa-

ganda art (Khrushchev et al. 2012); John Etty's "Graphic Satire in the Soviet Union: 'Krokodil's' Political Cartoons" explores the forms, production, consumption, and functions of the main Soviet satirical magazine, focusing on the period from 1954 to 1964 (Etty 2019); in her "Enemy Number One: The United States of America in Soviet Ideology and Propaganda, 1945–1959", Rósa Magnúsdóttir concentrates on the story of Soviet propaganda and ideology toward the United States during the early Cold War (Magnúsdóttir 2018).

"The Oxford Handbook of Communist Visual Cultures" (2020) must be mentioned as one of the latest book editions devoted to the topic under study. Written by an international team of scientists this thirty-two-chapter book examines the communist visual culture in a range of media (architecture, interior design, cartoons, computer games, fashion, photography, film, and television). The "Handbook", as one of the editors, Associate Professor of Film and Media Studies Aga Skrodzka, puts it, "proposes to look at how in communist party states, social and political change was facilitated by cultural influence, both formal and informal" (Skrodzka 2020, 4). In their writings the scholars "consider how communism uses aesthetics to articulate its value system, to implement its improvement project, to agitate, seduce, and play" (Ibid, 12). In his study one of the contributors of the volume, the American Professor of History Stephen M. Norris, also notes that the role of political caricatures, called by him "a key form of visual propaganda", has remained understudied within Soviet visual culture (Norris 2020, 520).

At the same time, it is regrettable that so far there have only been a few studies available on the comprehensive analysis of the content and visual component of Soviet satirical periodicals on the example of publications in the Baltics and especially in Latvia. In this respect, this collective study is innovative and relevant.

RESEARCH MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

Political caricature is a constant genre of political discourse. The specificity of its genre-forming features is due to the constructive interaction of the verbal and visual components of the message, as well as its belonging to different types of discourse (institutional and non-institutional). The main functions of political caricature, political feuilleton and political humour are satirical and emotive, which are closely related to other functions as well: regulatory, creative, illustrative, and cultural memory.

Basing on imagological and culture-historical approaches, this research is a call to examine the Soviet satire – both on verbal and non-verbal level – aimed at representation of the image of the USA in the 1960s – the years considered the most crucial period in the Cold War era. Referring to Manfred Beller who states that "[l]iterary – and, more particularly, comparatist – imagology studies the origin and function of characteristics of other countries and peoples, as expressed textually [...]" (Beller 2007, 7), in our article we concentrate on the propagandistic message implied in the constructing the image of the USA as represented in Latvian Soviet journalism. "One of the key concepts of imagology is the opposition 'own – other/foreign'" (Moiseenko 2020). In the USSR this opposition was expressed as irreconcilable confrontation between the Socialist and Capitalist bloc countries, between the two ideologies. Culture-historical study of the national stereotype of the USA cultivated in Soviet Latvia reveals what is claimed by M. Beller as "an issue of information" (Beller 2007, 5). Limited by cautiously and pre-convincedly selected characteristics, textually and visually codified representation of the USA generated a biased image of the country.

Paraphrasing Norris, whose study devoted to Soviet political caricature focuses on Boris Efimov's creative work (Norris 2020, 519–541), we use one of the main titles in Soviet Latvia satirical journalism as "a window" into a larger picture of Soviet propaganda. It is the satirical magazine "Dadzis" [The Thistle]. This magazine was printed from 1957 to 1995. Also, at the end of the year a special edition was published – "Dadža kalendārs" [The Thistle Almanac] (1962–1997). An interesting fact concerning the Soviet Latvia leading satirical title is that the name of the magazine was inherited from the times when Latvia was part of Russian Empire. In 1912, the magazine "Dadzis" identified as "a satirical magazine for life and art" (Satīrisks... 1912, 3) was published in Riga and contained funny pictures, humorous and satirical stories, epigrams presented both in Latvian and Russian. The Latvian writer and publicist Arvīds Deģis states that from 1957 to 1995 "Dadzis" was the most popular publication in Latvia and refers to the famous Danish cartoonist and illustrator Herluf Bidstrup who called "Dadzis" the best illustrated humour magazine in Europe at that time. Deģis notes that the popularity of the magazine was not only based on caricatures; satirical articles, humour stories and feuilletons on various social ills were also important (Deģis 2005, B7). A special place in the magazine was devoted to materials "reflecting" events in the life and ideals of the Western world.

Being part of the Soviet ideological text Latvian satirical journalism of the 1960s demonstrates the tendency highlighted by Norris when he writes that "Efimov's cartoons did not comment on factual truth; instead, they sought to foster an emotional truth [...], one where the key symbols would help viewers gain political consciousness about the new world and how to interpret it" (Norris 2020, 520). Considering a code as "a set of practices familiar to users of the medium operating within a broad cultural framework" (Chandler) we can observe that in Soviet-era Latvia satire this "emotional truth", encoded in aphorisms, jokes, funny short stories, but above all in feuilletons and caricatures, is put to the fore.

To carry out our research the issues of the magazine "Dadzis" and "Dadža kalendārs" published from 1960 to 1969 including were studied. In the named period 240 issues of the magazine "Dadzis" (published twice a month) and 7 issues of "Dadža kalendārs" (published once a year) appeared. Our main research field was the material presented in the magazine "Dadzis". In its turn the almanac served as an additional means because it represented the main tendencies in the satirical journalism of that time in a more concentrated and accumulative way. To quantify and analyse the presence, meanings and relationships of words, themes, and concepts referring to the image of the United States of America in satirical journalism of Soviet Latvia the content analysis was conducted. Approaches of search strategy and analysis and evaluation were applied: online Latvian Library resources and services were used, namely, National Digital Library of Latvia and Periodicals, for simultaneous searches of the main master catalogue and databases. For the analysis the following search units were set: the stem of the word "America/n" in Latvian – "amerik", the abbreviation "ASV" [the USA], and "dolārs" [dollar] filtered by the title ("Dadzis") and publication date (1960–1969). The search results were calculated and analysed: in the above-mentioned time period there are 205 cases of mentioning words containing the stem "amerik" (Amerika/Amerikas/amerikāņu/amerikāņi); 394 cases of mentioning the abbreviation "ASV"; 195 cases of mentioning "dolārs" [dollar]. Based on the collected data the qualitative research was carried out. Analysing the visual code in the period under study, 313 cartoons dedicated to the United States were identified, of which 16 were selected, in our opinion, the brightest examples, and described in more detail in the discussion part of the article.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

THE IMAGE OF THE USA IN LATVIAN SATIRICAL JOURNALISM OF THE 1960S: TEXTUAL CODE

In the Soviet Union satirical writings continued the tradition evolved in the nineteenth century Russian Empire where the development of satirical journalism led to the emergence of a new literary form – feuilleton. This name was borrowed from France, where feuilleton was used to denote a small journalistic form, typical of periodicals (newspapers, magazines) and characterized by topicality of themes, satirical acuteness, or humour. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, it was the feuilleton that became the arena of struggle between two literary camps in Russia: the everyday (bourgeois) and the socially accusatory one. It resulted in one of the most remarkable works – Maksim Gorky's feuilleton-pamphlet "In America" (1906) (Kokorev 1939, 689–694). In his article "Fel'eton i jesse" [Feuilleton and Essay] Vladimir Shklovskij states that a feuilleton shapes public opinion in a systematic and comprehensible way (Shklovskij 1927, 76–77). Both newspapers and journals published feuilletons; as a form of writing, the feuilleton spans the "high culture" of the thick journals and the "middle-brow" culture of the popular daily press (Dianina 2003, 192).

In the USSR, feuilleton was referred to as a "satirical and humorous genre of artistic journalism. To expose and denounce by ridiculing – such is its specificity and social effectiveness" (Varenik 1984). Feuilletons published in the 1960s in "Dadzis" undoubtedly continue the social-satirical, accusatory line. In her work "Fel'eton kak zhanr politicheskogo diskursa" [Feuilleton as a Genre of Political Discourse], the researcher Anna Istomina speaks about the features of a political feuilleton:

> Political feuilleton is at the intersection of three types of discourse: a) according to its basic intention, it is an atonal genre of political discourse; b) according to the communication channel, it refers to the media discourse, the influencing function of which is aimed at changing the mentality of society; c) according to the method of influence – exposure through ridicule – to comic discourse, which has a specific inventory of means of realizing laughter intentions. (Istomina 2008)

In a political feuilleton the satirical picture of the world is characterized by several features, the main one of which is relevance (topicality). An important political event is ideologized using political

clichés and stereotypes, carnivalized, exposed to grotesque. "The transformation of information from a news report into a feuilleton genre occurs through the recombination and carnivalization of discourse-forming concepts of political discourse" (Ibid.). The feuilletonists solve the problem by means of laughter, irony, and sarcasm. Starting from negative phenomena and facts, they subject social vices, imperfections, errors to satirical typification, comic-figurative, ironically humorous analysis.

Soviet-era Latvian satirical periodicals can be considered a "distorted mirror" of political events (Začа 2012, 54). They, albeit in a hyperbolized and sarcastic manner, reproduce the most important issues of society and political life, with the main emphasis on events, personalities, and their evaluation.

In the 1960s, the authors of the satirical publications most often focus on the relations between the two strongest players in the political arena at the time – the relationship peripeteia between the Soviet (communism, Kremlin, USSR, rouble) and the American (capitalism, Pentagon, USA, dollar), which affected life in Soviet Latvia as well. As many journalists did not allow themselves to make open assessments at the time, the format of satirical periodicals allowed them to do so without the threat of further punishment. At the same time, such seemingly innocent publications were also subject to censorship, and their content was largely dictated by the guidelines of Soviet ideological propaganda – praising the courage, resourcefulness, and scientific and technical progress of the Soviet people, while purposefully depicting Americans as naive and lazy people who constantly fail in family and public life, as well as in foreign and domestic politics. As an exception, there are some iconic figures in American art and literature (Louis Armstrong, Ernest Hemingway, Mark Twain, etc.), who are positively assessed in the satirical narrative of "Dadzis" in the 1960s (Tā esot… 1960, 14; Volfs 1966, 12). In general, in the Soviet space such "iconic figures" were very often claimed "progressive" – it was an umbrella term, one of the most favourite words when introducing personalities from the Capitalist bloc countries to the Soviet public.

During the Cold War era, it was America that became the embodiment of everything anti-Soviet, from political to everyday problems. In this respect the feuilleton "Jaunais ir klāt!" [The New One is Here!], published in "Dadža kalendārs" 1963, becomes indicative – the advantage of the Soviet system over the American is emphasized by the geographical position of the USSR. In this text, the Soviet Union, which crakes to get the leadership in all industries

(here we can recall the iconic example – "Russia is the homeland of elephants"), finds itself in a dominant position since its citizens are the first to celebrate the New Year, while the Americans do it last; according to the feuilleton this fact testifies to their cultural backwardness (Jaunais ir klāt! 1962, 80–82).

Many publications of the 1960s are devoted to the Cold War. "Dadzis" actualizes the myth of the "red danger" and the "communist bubble", which Americans are most afraid of, and for this very reason they create NATO and "other similar alliances" (Priedītis 1960[d], 13). According to the authors of the publications, the Americans fail to find out the secrets of the Communists, although various measures have been taken for this purpose: persuasion (Kas gan… 1960[a], 14), launching spy planes (Priedītis 1960[a], 12; Priedītis 1960[e], 13), threatening to use military force "regardless of the consequences" (Avīžu ziņa 1960, 16), etc.

The Latvian authors emphasize that the myth of the massive armament of the United States is intensively cultivated in Western periodicals, thus collecting and spending huge sums of money (Priedītis 1960[f], 12–13). For example, Priedītis' publication "Dienesta pienākums" [Duty of Service] states that such activities are aimed at raising "the psychosis of war, imagining danger from the outside" and thus "emptying the pockets of Americans". In this context, ordinary people are offered fabulous statistics and facts that they want to believe: "[...] the profits in the aviation industry reach 100% and in some cases as much as 800% of the capital invested" (Priedītis 1960[c], 13).

The binary opposition to the purposefully constructed utopia of the Americans is strengthened by the fact that in the cosmonautics the USSR is significantly superior to them. It must be said that this circumstance also becomes an object of satire, bringing to the fore the personality of Gagarin and the theme of the *Vostok* spaceflight. Playing out this fact, one of the feuilletons states that it is the Russian cosmonauts who could deliver the USA flag to the Moon (Pentagonijā 1962, 3).

"Dadzis" depicts many prominent representatives of the USA political and military sphere in a satirical-parody manner: businessmen (Rockefeller), presidents (Eisenhower, Johnson, Kennedy, Nixon, Roosevelt, Truman), secretaries of defence (Gates, McNamara), etc. Significantly, the theme of the limited abilities and naivety of the American people is proposed in the context of various government structures, including the irony of New York police officers trying to prosecute criminals and, as a result, losing their vehicles driven away by thieves (Kas gan… 1960[b], 14). In their turn, the representa-

tives of the USSR authorities look more resourceful, courageous, and convincing in their views and actions if compared to American officials and public figures. An example is Nikita Khrushchev's trip to Los Angeles, during which, despite the propaganda of opponents of the USSR leader, the Americans did not buy black bandages to demonstrate their protest, as a result, local traders went bankrupt (Rodnijs 1960, 2).

Many publications of this kind mention the aspect of "trust" and "political correctness". For example, one of the feuilletons states that before being accepted as a civil servant, each candidate in the USA must "deny their affiliation with the Communist Party" and state that they "do not sympathize with communist ideas" (Kas gan… 1960[c], 14). Another publication tells that physicist Teller, who at one time desperately tried to invent a new nuclear weapon – the bomb, is suffering from "an attack of anti-communist hysteria" (Ģederts 1962, 13), etc.

Several publications are devoted to the peculiar understanding of freedom by Americans. Most often, journalists write about the American people's intolerance of Afro-Americans (Blūms 1963, 13; Moris 1964, 12), the large number of the unemployed in the country (Kas gan... 1963, 14; Kas gan... 1964, 14), as well as other topics.

In the writings of this kind the Statue of Liberty becomes a well-known symbol of "anti-freedom": "In America, freedom was buried, and a monument was erected – the 'Statue of Liberty'. A prisoner-of-war camp has been set up near it – apparently so that there are no two thoughts what this statue symbolizes" (Priedītis 1960[b], 10).

Indeed, "Dadzis" has relatively frequently satirised about USA colonization policies in Algeria, Angola, South Korea, South Vietnam, Latin America, the Congo, and elsewhere. Significantly, according to Latvian magazine publications, the Americans themselves justify their colonization policy with fears that "[...] the Russians want to conquer New York and establish a holiday home for the Communists in Miami Beach" (No žurnāla... 1962, 3), and, thus, they need to act urgently, "to prevent the establishment of one more communist state in the Western Hemisphere" (Kūms 1965, 13).

The quintessence of all that has been said referring to the topic under consideration is the feuilleton by Priedītis "Made in the USA" published in "Dadža kalendārs 1963". The feuilleton reports of the intentions of the Americans to organize exhibitions around the world (where the American military bases are located), promoting the main "achievements" of America. As a triumph of the American nuclear industry, photographs of the destroyed Japanese cities of Hiroshima

and Nagasaki are on display. American medical advances are exposed by reports of specially bred plague fleas and bedbugs that are sent to Korea. The main accomplishment of the American chemical industry is declared to be napalm, with the help of which the lands of Korea, Algeria and Angola and Vietnam are burned. The main attainment of the American education system is the school for training saboteurs for operations in Cuba and South Vietnam: "[…] the number of these American specialists in South Vietnam already exceeds five thousand. Photos and models show how they are burning villages in the jungle, shooting all those who are suspected, and beating women and children for upbringing" (Priedītis 1962, 188).

An insightful reader of the 1960s could easily understand the author's intention, because one of the most popular objects of the USSR at that time was the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy. Accordingly, the reader could compare the "true" Soviet victories and the "imaginary" (false) American ones.

THE IMAGE OF THE USA IN LATVIAN SATIRICAL JOURNALISM OF THE 1960S: VISUAL CODE

According to modern-day researchers, caricature is the genre that "[...] has already taken its remarkable place in the field of humour" (Zača 2012, 54), because in general there is a tendency when "the virtual [information] replaces the verbal" (Ibid.). Caricature is recognized as a complex genre based on "[...] a strong visual metaphor" (Ibid.), "[...] mediated and distanced communication" (Ibid, 59) and a caricaturist "[...] needs knowledge to create the caricature also for the viewer of caricature to understand them" (Ibid, 61).

The intelligibility of caricatures is mostly determined by the criterion of time – in later periods the nuances of meaning included in the visual message may remain unclear to the recipients. The national context is equally important – political caricatures are recognized as the "[...] most national type of humour" (Ibid, 64) and "[...] a factor of national identity" (Gailīte 2013, 170) and are used as "[...] authentic national art that is an effective means of disseminating ideas" (Gajlite 2011, 161). The latter factor contributes to the dominance of nationally marked images in caricatures of different periods (for example, Russian Bear, Mother Latvia, etc.), as it allows "[...] to draw symbolic boundaries between 'us' and 'them', produce and sustain ethnic stereotypes [...]" (Gailīte 2015, 146).

Few publications dedicated to Latvian caricatures have centred on their theme and context (actualized images, which often function in the form of allegories and symbols, cultural and historical back-

ground), less attention has been paid to the means used by caricaturists (composition, size, colour, tone, etc.). Research is mainly based on the content analysis of periodicals ("Gailis" [The Rooster], "Lietuvēns" [The Night-Hag], "Svari" [The Scales], "Vārdotājs" [The Charmer], "Vērotājs" [The Observer], "Zibens" [The Lightning], etc.) and data from quantitative surveys, with special emphasis on Latvian national codes, as well as on history of Latvian – Russian and Latvian – German relations, while in the practical part of the publications the diachronic approach is mainly employed (Gailīte 2013; Gajlite 2011; Začа 2012 et al.).

The analysis of available publications allowed us to conclude that so far the beginnings of the development of the Latvian caricature genre (second half of the nineteenth century) and the period until 1920, as well as the period after the restoration of national independence (1990s – today) have been studied the most. In contrast, the Soviet period has been examined in a rather fragmented way, although, as the scientists themselves point out, it has long deserved a separate detailed study (Gajlite 2011, 169). Also, the publications do not emphasize the contribution of the satirical magazine "Dadzis" in the development of Latvian caricature; the theme of the USA widely represented in the magazine is not revealed and in general the situation at certain stages of the Soviet regime (including the 1960s) is not examined in more detail.

The analysis carried out in the framework of this introductory study revealed that in the magazine "Dadzis" mostly combined caricatures are present when the visual message is supplemented by one or two sentences. Textual insertions should be understood as a short explanatory comment or a title for the information included in the image, for example, "Amerikāņu brīvības fasāde un aizmugure" [Facade and Back of American Freedom] or "Imperiālisma pāvam krīt spalvas" [The Imperialist Peacock Is Losing His Feathers]. According to researchers, this type of words, phrases and sentences play a secondary role in caricatures, as "[...] the main is picture" (Začа 2012, 58). The caricatures included in "Dadzis" of the 1960s are dominated by colour images that do not stand out in brightness or colour diversity (the (half)tones of grey, blue, black, yellow, and orange predominate, often playing on the colours of the USA flag). These pictures exploit the USA theme in various variations and mainly in a hyperbolized way – the principles of statehood, foreign and domestic policies and vices (hypocrisy, lies, bribery, capitalism, enslavement, intimidation, mass terror) are ridiculed. When naming themselves, the authors of these caricatures use both initials and full surnames (M. Dikovs, S. Gūtmanis, U. Mežavilks, E. Osis,

A. Stankevičs), as well as pseudonyms (Eskaro, Ha-ha), for the identification of which a separate study must be performed. The readers of "Dadzis" are mainly addressed by such caricatures through well-known allegories and symbols. Among the most characteristic are the dollar sign, the inscription "Made in USA", the national flag and the Statue of Liberty.

The dollar sign is depicted in the imperialist peacock's high-raised tail (Figure 1); it is significant that the feathers of that bird are actively falling out, as is the dollar price in another caricature, where its disfigured body is being weighed (Figure 2). The motive of the fall of both dollars and masks during Kennedy and Nixon's pre-election campaign is played out in the caricature which reveals the true essence of this event – the pursuit of power and profit (Figure 3). The dollar as a symbol of white enslavers is used in S. Gūtmanis' caricature, where the author integrated it into the American slave owner's hat (Figure 4).

The "Made in USA" sign is most often depicted in the context of war and rocket production (Figure 5). It is significant that in his caricature Gūtmanis equates it with the German swastika; respectively, in his opinion, both signs replace each other (Figure 6). This inscription is also used to describe the situation in the USA medicine of the 1960s. In one caricature the anonymous illustrator highlights the problem of bribery and depicts a doctor with an exaggeratedly long outstretched arm (Figure 7).

Figure 1. "The Imperialist Peacock Is Losing His Feathers" (Osis 1960, 12)

Figure 2. “Look, Colleague, Our Patient Has Lost Weight Again...” (Ha-ha 1961[b], 16)

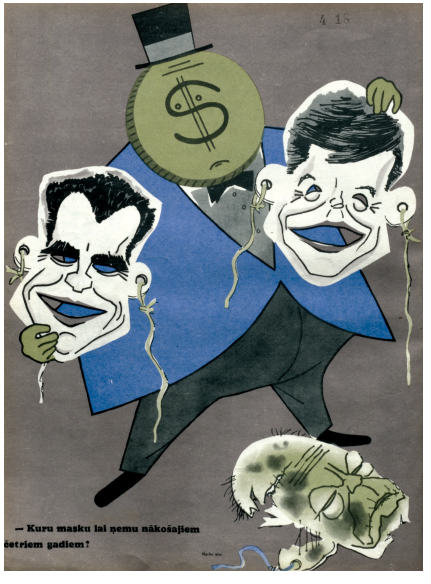

Figure 3. “– Which Mask to Take for the Next Four Years?” (Ha-ha 1960[c], 16)

Figure 4. “– Hello! I Think You Lost Something...” (Gūtmanis 1960, 16)

Figure 5. “Factory Brand” (Dikovs 1966, 14)

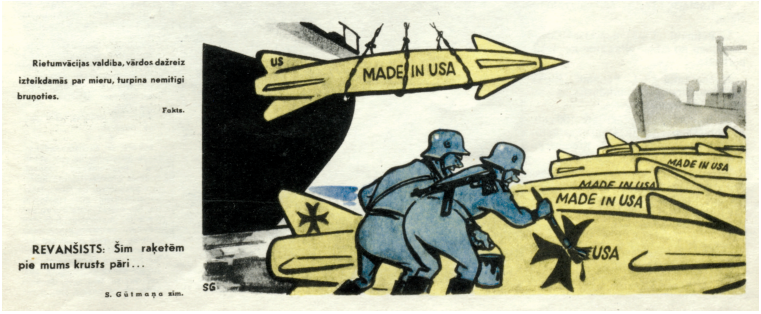

Figure 6. “Revanchist” (Gūtmanis 1961, 13)

Figure 7. “American Medical Mark” (Ha-ha 1960[a], 13)

In the analysed caricatures the American flag is most often placed on the hats of American characters. One example is the cartoon, where a stranger wearing such a hat is depicted as a puppeteer pulling up the strings with the hands of voters, thus guaranteeing himself the desired election result (Figure 8). The same strings are seen in the cartoon by Mežavilks depicting an old woman wearing a hat with the USA flag on it who is trying to enslave Cuban children (Figure 9). Inside one of such hats shown as a cage an Afro-American tortured by the American people is drawn (Figure 10). Another American in the USA hat is depicted with a huge syringe – he is going "to help" other countries (Figure 11). The flag-colour hat also appears on failed cartoon characters, such as a man sinking in the rice fields of South Vietnam (Figure 12).

Figure 8. "ANOnym" (Ha-ha 1960[b], 13)

Figure 9. "– Hey, Kids, Don't Look at That Bogey! It Will Put You in a Sack" (Mežavilks 1963, 13)

Figure 10. "All-inclusive Hat – from South Vietnam to Alabama" (Eskaro 1966, 14)

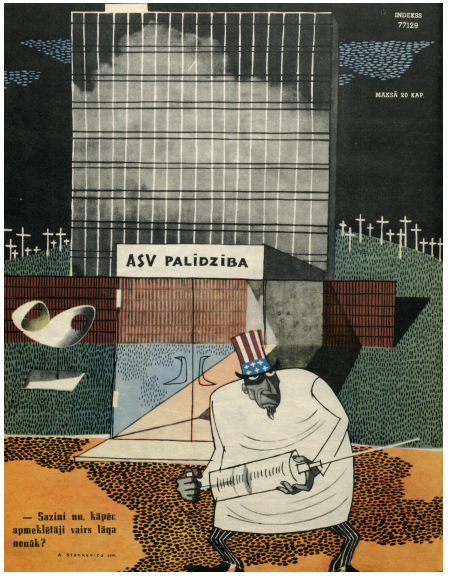

Figure 11. "USA Is Helping" (Stankevičs 1963, 16)

Figure 12. "South Vietnam" (Ha-ha 1964, 16)

Identical as it was in the feuilletons under study, the caricatures dedicated to the Statue of Liberty mostly reveal the ambivalent nature of this symbol – freedom is built on the foundations of slavery. This aspect is highlighted in the drawing, where the "second facade" of the monument depicts a policeman with a rubber weapon in his hand; the contours of the camp fence are visible at the bottom (Figure 13). Similar conclusions are drawn in a cartoon by an unknown author, where the Statue of Liberty turned its back on Afro-Americans who are demanding equal rights from the government (Figure 14). The same motif (Afro-Americans chained around the monument) is also used in a cartoon republished in "Dadzis" from Bulgarian satirical journalism (Figure 15).

In some cases, the hybrid use of the USA signs can be detected. For example, in the reprint from the Lithuanian satirical magazine "Šluota" [The Broom] the Statue of Liberty sinks in the "waters" of the USA flag (Figure 16).

Figure 13. "Facade and Back of American Freedom" (Ha-ha 1961[a], 16)

Figure 14. Anonymous author's caricature without a title (— 1963, 16)

Figure 15. Anonymous author's caricature "Without Words" (Bez vārdiem 1966, 14)

Figure 16. Anonymous author's caricature "SOS" (SOS 1968, 14)

CONCLUSIONS

In Soviet times, caricatures had a pronounced educational character; they were a tool for promoting the communist way of life, denouncing the capitalist structure of Western states "hostile" to the Soviet Union. Following their Russian colleagues, Latvian authors created verbal and non-verbal texts about the unfriendly grin of imperialism or the pernicious "thirst for capitalist profit".

The image of America turned out to be very schematic and stereotyped, in many ways repeating the political clichés broadcast by the mainstream media. Among such recurring clichés, one can single out the exploitation of the American working class (another variant – the exploitation of the black population of America), the arms race, imperialist aggression (the aggression against countries that chose the socialist path of development was especially acutely covered – in the 1960s, these were Cuba and Vietnam), social ills of the American society, turning inside out and debunking American achievements and ideals.

The authors of feuilletons and caricatures tried to use the most recognizable markers of American culture, such as the dollar sign,

the USA flag and the Statue of Liberty. An adequate understanding of political satire in the intercultural aspect can be achieved only if the plot of the work is based on the elements included in the universal cognitive base.

Without exceptions, all texts representing the image of America in "Dadzis" and "Dadža kalendārs" bore a pronounced ideological and propaganda tinge. Denying and exposing the American system of values, the authors of feuilletons and caricatures were called on the principle of contrast to create an idea of the superiority of the Soviet way of life and the system of values in the reader of Soviet Latvia. In the 1960s, the Soviet image of the USA as represented in satirical journalism is static, expressed by constant, repetitive signs and, hence, biased.

To illustrate the system and role of Soviet propaganda in constructing and representing the image of the USA in society comprehensively the further study should be carried out involving other means of cultural expression (theatre, cinema, literature, music, art) and comprising the whole period of the Soviet rule.

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THE CLASSICAL MESSAGE IN A BOTTLE – SHOULD "CLASSICAL WISDOM" DETERMINE OUR IDENTITY AND FUTURE?

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ABSTRACT

"No one finds it easy to live uncomplainingly and fearlessly with the thesis that human reality is constantly being made and unmade, and that anything like a stable essence is constantly under threat."

These were the words used by Edward Said in the late 1970's in the context of introduction of the new paradigms for the identity of the people, communities and societies in the East and the West, as well as the world as a whole. He was ahead of a wider decades-long process of re-evaluating and reimagining of our identities and values, leading to exposure of serious and numerous misconceptions and illusions in the perceptions and analyses of the self and the other.

The growing tendencies of scientific relativism and constant re-evaluation of the key paradigms, especially in social sciences and humanities, of the last decades, were further emphasized by the massive waves of globalisation, that have shaken societal traditions, norms, and principals all over the world. One of the key aspects of this transformative process in the West was the confrontation with the societal and scientific biases created by the Eurocentric views of the world and human history, connected to the dominant classicistic traditions in both society and academia.

This paper provides a novel multidisciplinary approach in thinking about our classical traditions and examines if the classical principals, ideals, and "wisdom" are still relevant in confronting contemporary challenges of the world and reimagining our own identity and our vision for the future.

Keywords: classical philosophy, globalization, classical tradition, Western civilization, identities

INTRODUCTION

> "What we may be witnessing is not just... the passing of a particular period..., but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government."
>
> Francis Fukuyama (1989)

At the end of the Cold War, and just before the end of a long millennium, when the great American political scientist and intellectual Francis Fukuyama optimistically and triumphantly declared the end of history, few believed that that "end" would look exactly like this.

During the 90's of the last century many people around the world shared Fukuyama's enthusiasm and embraced the notion that "the human won over history", and thus over its ephemerality. This new *übermenschlich* (Nietzschean superhuman) momentum prompted important questions in both science and society. Could history, our old teacher, remain in its post? Is its "classical wisdom" outdated? And is the historical heritage and the constantly emerging ancient material, like Menander's play "The Grouch" or the Dead Sea Scrolls, still relevant for our societies and relations?

Ancient authors were constantly cautioning us, like Menander with his playful ways, that "you don't know what changes [time] will bring," because "what he today gives, he'll not give tomorrow" (Bolchazy 2006, 107). And yet, once again, we wanted to believe that the "universal messages" do not apply to us and our new "glorious" epoch.

Today, many intellectuals, political and economic leaders, and ordinary citizens of the Western world, as well as those around the world who have embraced and share their ideas and ideals, look back with nostalgia at Fukuyama's vision. Just decades after its birth, the fast-paced historical transformations have turned it into a long-sunk modern Atlantis – utopia of a world that "all but" became that.

In a stark contrast to the vision's expectations, today's European elites, and many across the Atlantic, are astonished by the tendencies, profound changes and enormous challenges created or augmented by the growing extensity and intensity of the waves of economic and cultural globalization. This overwhelming process is threatening

not only our economic and political axioms, but also the moral imperatives of the civilization, as we understand it. Mass migration, demographic changes, weakening institutions and instability, as well as ideological transformations, often leaning towards radical ideas and movements, have shaken the basic structure of Western societies and they are increasingly reducing citizens' confidence in the sustainability and future of such a system.

It is in this predesigned scenography of uncertainty and fear that the pandemic of 2020 shocked the world, with its apocalyptic scenes of empty megacities and depersonalized mass burials. It "froze the blood" of many who fear the "punishment" for abandoning God's commandments and canons, the localisms and the traditions of our civilization, and even more of those who fear the "punishment" for abandoning its universal principles, humanistic values, scientific achievements and the idea of progress. Most of all, it represents a culmination of the wider accelerating alienation process, that stripped people of their shared values and believes, creating "more loneliness than any man could bear" (The Police, 1979). [1]

In an era of endemic distrust in traditional institutions, narratives and elites, numerous leaders from various political and ideological backgrounds have decided to react by "heroically" rescuing or bidding farewell to the Western civilization. The values and unique achievements of the Western civilization that just decades ago were professed to unite the world, are frequently mentioned today in the context of calls for their preservation or pathetic requiems dedicated to their departure. The growing radical voices frequently associate this "end of civilization" with the influx of "foreigners" or with the influx of a variety of ideological and religious systems. On the other hand, many would relate the overall deterioration of the contemporary Western civilization, and its values and traditions, with the decline of the ideals of democracy and the principles of individuality and human rights.

Despite the deep ideological and political fractions in numerous societies and among their leaders, it seems that all these diffused contemporary visions share a common feature – the eschatological dimensions of their narratives. Seen as a whole and with a dose of cynicism, such a modern discourse seems appropriate for the time and role of Fukuyama's "last men" (Fukuyama 1992).

This global cacophony, even without the added effects of the pandemic, resembles a swan song of the "last people" in a futuristic movie. As if the leaders of humanity have recovered from their own apathy only for a moment, in order to send, with the last breath of

our societies, a "message in a bottle" from ours to some future civilization, or from our to another universe.

In this context, this paper answers to the recent "heightened calls for academics to engage" as well, with their voice and "using their classical knowledge" in the global and local debates concerning the growing challenges of the humanity (Naoíse Mac Sweeney et al. 2019, 16). It takes the approach that academics should risk inevitably engaging in the global cacophony, unprecedented in human history, in order to recall the most valuable "messages in a bottle" that might be useful for the challenges of our civilization. And even if they are not useful enough, I propose that they would help writing a more valuable "message in a bottle" from our civilization to the next ones.

In his BBC article, from February 2019, "Are we on the road to civilisation collapse?", the researcher Luke Kemp, of the Centre for the Study of Existential Risk at the University of Cambridge, concludes: "We will only march into collapse if we advance blindly. We are only doomed if we are unwilling to listen to the past" (Kemp 2019). This paper makes an important revision, or at least clarification, to Kemp's bold statement, reminding our civilization that "we are doomed if we advance, blindly following our misunderstandings of the past". It scrutinizes our "classical wisdom", past and heritage, to the bone of its existence. Yet, it neither dismisses the importance of the "classical wisdom" in contemporary global challenges and debates, nor it aims primarily towards resolution of the decades long academic debates concerning the discipline of classics. In addition, instead of focusing on the most visible elements of the misuse of the classical narratives in the radicalized voices and rising cultural, racial, social, and interstate confrontations, the paper explores the wider impact of the "classical tradition" over modern intellectual history and epistemology. Creating a comparative and multidisciplinary context, by using the paradigms of the globalization and international relations theories, cultural studies and modern philosophy, it aims to create a novel, more value-neutral and integrative approach for understanding and utilizing the "classical wisdom" and narratives. Finally, this paper suggests that the profound exploration of the limitations and flaws of the classically programmed software of our academic and laymen minds represents an approach capable to unleash the wide spectrum of knowledge and wisdom accumulated through the great centuries that we traditionally cage in the term "classical antiquity".

WHAT IS THE CIVILIZATION WE ARE SAVING OR MOURNING?

> "The survival of the West depends on [...] reaffirming their Western identity and Westerners accepting their civilization as unique (and) not universal [...]."
>
> Samuel P. Huntington (1996, 21–22)

Just one year after Fukuyama's epochal work, full of idealism, his former teacher and prominent American political scientist Samuel Huntington decided to "teach him a lesson" in theory of international relations. When Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" was published in the prestigious Foreign Affairs, many saw this reaction as a "relapse of the old", another classical "Grouch" and a deeply conservative assessment of world's affairs.

However, the wider perspective over the "old" provided some privileges for the experienced scholar and long-term political adviser as well. Unlike his student Fukuyama, Huntington has also lived through another historical period filled with enthusiasm in the pre-Cold War era. As a Yale student, he certainly followed with interest the early optimism and idealism of the era born of the victory over fascism. His warnings that "[e]xpectations should not always be taken as reality; because you never know when you will be disappointed" sounded cynical in the context of the idealistic 1990s. However, in the light of today's "civilizational" challenges, many consider these, and his other thoughts, to be scientific empiricism, and some would even argue that they were prophetic.

In the years of the victory of the United States in the world's biggest competition, the Cold War, Huntington's visions of a multipolar and multicultural world were not very appealing, even to representatives of the "non-Western" elites. In addition, his notion that there is a need to defend and focus on the "survival of the West" sounded completely outdated to many people. For a moment, or "in a historical momentum", the impression was created that the idealists' traditions in theories of international relations were much more appropriate for the "new world", as well as more desirable in the context of the interests and visions of the Cold War victors, than those of the realists.

Today, in contrast, we have numerous easily measurable parameters to convince us that we are living in Huntington's realistic "world of different civilizations". Such divided global reality is

reflected through continuing misunderstandings of the leaders of the great powers, the regional instability and military conflicts, or the rise of ethnic and religious intolerance and fundamentalist ideas among people (Naoíse Mac Sweeney et al. 2019). Most importantly, it seems as if the major institutions and advocates of universalism and idealism have also capitulated in front of the ideology of an eternally divided world.

Thus, for example, at the dawn of the new millennium the United Nations (UN) and UNESCO have intensified their commitments and efforts for dialogue between "different civilizations". The proclamation of 2001, the first year of the new millennium, as the "Year of Dialogue among Civilizations" was a real milestone of this development. It was adopted with consensus of the United Nations' member states and incited great enthusiasm and support from various international organizations and groups, as well as important intergovernmental institutions and bodies (UN-GA 1998). The enthusiastic initiatives of individuals that started in the 1970s, in the new millennium led towards serious global movements that are also reflected in the spirit of the UN Millennium Declaration, in the Global Agenda for Dialogue among Civilizations and the UNESCO Medium-term Strategy (2002–2007). This multilateral process instigated as well numerous regional and global initiatives, such as the "Dialogue on Coexistence of Cultures and Civilizations" from 2000, the "Dialogue among Civilizations" from 2002, the "United Nations Alliance of Civilizations" from 2005, or the International "Ancient Civilizations Forum" from 2017 (Naoíse Mac Sweeney et al. 2019).

All these initiatives are based upon the ideas of tolerance, understanding of diversity and culture of peace as solutions to the many global, regional, and local challenges instigated or emphasized by the rapid pace at which today's intensely globalizing world lives and transforms.

However, this deep global commitment to "dialogue among different civilizations" (Salter 2002, 128–155), despite its firm determination to oppose Huntington's famous and, for many, controversial concept of "clash of civilizations" (Huntington 1996), basically strengthens, reaffirms, and promotes its basic principles. We can find a curious illustration for the promotion of the ideology of a divided world in the Convention on the Rights of the Child of the United Nations. The UN, through this convention, obliges all education systems in the world to encourage each child to have "respect for his or her identity [...] and for civilizations other than his or her own" (UN-GA 1989).

This and other documents and policies create an impression that today the UN and the most important international organizations and intergovernmental initiatives, do not dispute Huntington's views that, for example, "Arabs, Chinese and Westerners, however, are not part of any broader cultural entity", but instead they agree that "they constitute (substantially different) civilizations" (Huntington 1993, 22–49).

Viewed through the prism of Huntington's ideas and arguments, many of the global initiatives for "dialogue among different civilizations" that marked the first decades of the new millennium represent an essential scientific, cultural, and social capitulation of the concept of a single "human civilization" in the face of insurmountable, profound, and historically argued and perceived differences of the many cultural groups and subgroups in the world.

Finally, we may ask ourselves, what is the global dialogue among civilizations, if not an application of Huntington's theory that "the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations" (Huntington 1993, 22–49).

CIVILIZATION OR CIVILIZATIONS

> "Western belief in the universality of Western culture suffers three problems: it is false; it is immoral; and it is dangerous."
>
> Samuel P. Huntington (1996, 310)

Decades after their promotion, Fukuyama and Huntington's visions and ideas remain in the centre of major scientific, ideological, and political polarizations in the Western world and beyond. Yet, as part of the idealist and realist traditions in International Relations' theories, they represent only significant manifestations of the century-old debate between the two polarized tendencies, with substantial impact on the world's developments. Furthermore, despite their numerous and irreconcilable differences both visions are deeply and firmly embedded in the ideas, theories, and symbols of the identity of Western man, as part of the world-dominant "Western civilization". The only way to understand this subtle unity of the two opposed visions is to understand the origin and significance of the main conceptual basis from which they both derive – "the idea of the existence and the nature of Western civilization".

Western civilization, and the civilization in general, are so ubiquitous in political, social, and even scientific discourse that we

often accept them as timeless axioms of history and the world. In this context, Huntington would emphasize: "The broader reaches of human history have been the history of civilizations" (Huntington, 22–49).

Yet, despite the conscious or subconscious tendency to transcend civilizations across different epochs and contexts, we cannot trace them, or at least the history of the consciousness of their existence as such, before the nineteenth century.

On the contrary, when the neologism "civilization" was created in the world of the Bourbon kings of the 18th century, it existed only as a singular noun. As integral and useful element of the ideology of the Bourbon royal court, the "civilization" represented an expression of the level of total cultural, social, political, economic, and technological development of the world (Dıaz-Andreu 2007, 67; Reeves 2004, 15–16). It was perceived as an important omnipresent parameter of human history, that was constantly evolving under the leadership of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, Romans and, of course, "triumphed" in the era of the French Bourbons' global rule (Mulryne, 165; Rubin 1992, 28–32; Ng 2006, 297–298). [2]

This early definition for civilization is in direct collision with the parameters upon which it was defined by Huntington in the dawns of the new "multicivilizational millennium". Huntington's civilization, or rather civilizations, was not defined as a level of overall societal or human growth or development, but through its/their cultural characteristics. Thus, the new definition for civilization became rooted, and, accordingly, closely connected in contemporary usage and diverse contexts with another term – culture.

However, these terms and conceptions were not always compatible, and their different histories of development and transformations, especially in the last two centuries, are of a paramount importance for comprehending their contemporary nature, as well as their ideological impacts in wider analyses. Thus, the contemporary concept and dominant understanding of culture, and especially its implications on broader collective and global identities, represent products of the German intellectual traditions developed in the wider scope of nineteenth-century Europe, known as the "Spring of Nations". The German theoretical novelty, *Kultur*, initiated as an ideological counterweight to the French universalistic imperialism of Napoleon's era, have transformed into an entirely new and alternative understanding of the history of the world and the mankind (Reeves 2004, 16-25; Tevdovski, Ilievski 2015).

This new global ideology aspired to replace, once and for all, the centuries-long dominant position of France, as "the centre of

civilization", and consequently the political centre of Europe and the world (Dıaz-Andreu 2007; Dietler 1994). The new, "German" idea of the world, has freed the "different cultures" from the obligation to civilize themselves and to engage in the global competition for absorption and further development of the heritage of the universal human civilization (Trigger 2006, 61).

Thus, Ferguson's eighteenth-century definition of civilization as antipode of primitivism (Ferguson 1966, 1) was in direct collision with the "culture", defined by German Romantic thinkers as a celebration of the natural and the primitive. [3] The new "German culture", followed by other European and non-European "cultures", defined themselves as being different, authentic and, most importantly, "pure". In this context, the civilizational waves that were coming to Europe from the Middle East, through the Mediterranean, for millennia, eagerly grasped by earlier European elites, and mastered by the Bourbons, were suddenly transformed by the new "pure" Germans into corrupting and un-European oriental or barbarian influences (Reeves 2004, 21–22; Guthenke 2008).

According to the new theories of the scientists and intellectuals of the German romanticism, the "cultures" represented broad "natural" entities of people, substantially different from each other that existed for a long period, or eternally through history. They were defined as communities that share authentic traditions, language, symbols and philosophical beliefs through centuries and millennia. The theory permits that such entities have interacted with others in their development and transformation, yet, insists that they always keep certain characteristics that make them unique (Zammito 2002).

These conserved capsules that travel through time, unique, instead of universal, newly conceived in the nineteenth century, represent the real prototypes of Huntington's civilizations. Yet, in the ideological and scientific milieu of nineteenth-century Germany and beyond, they were not called civilizations, but only cultures. During the nineteenth century, when the "Concert of Europe" convincingly defeated the French imperialistic ideal in Europe and in the world, cultures, as conceived in Germany, became the key component of an increasingly accepted and universalized view of the history of mankind. It initiated a global transformation with large scientific and societal impacts, in which the different episodes and aspects of the development of the human civilization, had to be transformed and reorganized into separated groups of events, people and ideas owned by the different "invented" eternal entities and communities, called cultures, ethnicities, nations, or races.

Finally, the transformation of human civilization into its new plural identity, and the usage of the plural form of the term – "civilizations", still dominant in world relations today, is a product of the global socio-political transformations of the first half of the twentieth century.

In 1905, the first generation of the family of the American political scientist Francis Fukuyama settled in the United States. They left Japan during the military conflict with Russia and headed East in order to get to know the West. In the very same year, Japan won the war with the great Russian Empire, and Europe and the West were obliged to reinvent their understandings and get to know the East in the entirely new light (Reeves 2004, 27–29).

In the new global context, the European colonial powers and "civilizers" of the world had to reluctantly give way in international relations to non-European actors, which, until then, they had described as "less civilized" or simply "savage". The American intellectual and religious leader Gerrit Gong, whose ancestors, like those of Fukuyama, met the West going East, illustrates this process with the following words: the new "practice of bothering at all to create international legal agreements with 'uncivilized' countries was justified as necessary to maintain law and order in the 'civilized' international society" (Gong 1984, 58).

It was this necessity and "diplomatic outwitting" regarding the admission of non-European countries, especially those from East Asia and South America, to the "Club of the civilized", that strengthened the new understanding of the world as a conglomeration of civilizations.

Thus, in the new European version of civilization, full of the cultural features of the romantic nineteenth century, but also of the imperial traditions and racial stereotypes, created in recent centuries as well, there was no place for the former "savages" and "barbarians" (Marchand 2009a). Therefore, if relations with them were to be regulated within the frames of what was civilized, then the only solution was to recognize them as being another, alluding to a less valuable, civilization.

THE CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION

> "It is necessary, then, to accept as a principle and point of departure the fact that there is a hierarchy of races and civilizations, and that we belong to the superior race and civilization, still recognizing that, while superiority confers rights, it imposes strict obligations in return. The basic legitimation of conquest over native peoples is the conviction of our superiority, not merely our mechanical, economic, and military superiority, but our moral superiority. Our dignity rests on that quality, and it underlies our right to direct the rest of humanity."
>
> François Jules Harmand (Said 1994, 17)
> Early twentieth century European intellectual,
> scientist and colonial administrator in Asia

The idea of dividing the world into different civilizations, where the members of the "West", and especially the "Concert of Europe", were to maintain their dominant role in world relations, created the need for the existence of the concept of "classical civilization". It aimed to define and preserve the ideals and principles "by which non-European societies might be judged (by the self-appointed European arbiters) sufficiently "civilized" to be accepted as members of the European-dominated international system" (Huntington 1996, 41–42).

Such a new, separate, "European civilization", following the example of the German *Kultur* concept, was to have its own ideas, values, symbols, and achievements throughout history, which are timeless, and, as such, to maintain the piety of a dominant civilization, which "rules and ennobles" the rest for millennia. This view, predominant in the intellectual circles of the West during the twentieth century, is illustrated by the British theorist of international relations Gilbert Murray in his honest and deeply personal words. He says: "To the men of my youth Western [...] civilization was simply the right road of human progress: other civilizations, if one could call them civilizations at all, were just false roads or mistakes" (Reeves 2004, 31).

In this sense, Fukuyama's idea of the end of history, in which the brilliance of the "classical" West is universalized as a value and it unites the world, is far from being new. On the contrary, it is a logical consequence and an expected result of the ideas upon which the world order at the beginning of the twentieth century was founded (Gong 1984).

Even more, Fukuyama's and numerous other contemporary visions for the global affairs, while striving to answer the contemporary challenges of the world, are still deeply entrenched in the paradigms of the European intellectual and scientific thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Their universalistic ideals are systematically undermined by the subtle intellectual influence of the asymmetric vision of global history, developed by the European elites in the nineteenth century, for the needs of their self-identification and validation of their global aspirations. For the needs of their time and their endeavours, and through their understanding of the self and other, the romantic Western thinkers of the previous centuries created a vision of the whole human history, seen through the eyes of their invented "classical" progenitors.

In this context, the two critical points through which the globalizing ancient civilization of the Middle East, through the Mediterranean, approached the "unique" European soil, were transformed by European researchers and enthusiasts of the previous centuries into fetishized symbols of the ancient "authentic" traditions of the West (Dıaz-Andreu 2007, 12).

They were declared as the starting points and defining elements of the European civilization, built upon the particularistic principles of the German *Kultur* concept. Like the nineteenth-century Germans, they did not have to prove their technological achievements and traditions in comparison to other "ancient civilizations". Instead, they were declared "morally superior" to others, and, thus, predisposed to world domination (Dietler 1998, 296–98; Traina 2005; Guthenke 2008; Hall 2011).

The main fabric of the historical narrative that built and legitimized the new modern ideology of the "authentic European culture in antiquity", were the writings of the late-republican Roman authors. These local elite of one city in antiquity, much like certain western elites of today, was fearlessly defending itself from the overwhelming waves of diverse influences of the ancient globalization. The particularistic values and principles, through which they were trying to justify the survival of their local system of social relations and privileges, was no match for the global models that inevitably overwhelmed them. More importantly, the localist and anti-globalist tendencies remained peripheral even in their heyday and died out, even in Rome, in the next centuries. The models of rule and understanding of global relations developed in the Middle East many millennia ago, and spread across the Mediterranean to Europe, overtaking Rome, and dominating globally up to modernity (Grafton et al. 2010;

Pieterse 2001; Whitmarsh 2010; Stockhammer 2013; Pitts and Versluys 2015; Tevdovski 2020).

However, the screams or the dying republican system in the city of Rome, though peripheral in the course of development of the global and even European history, became the key milestone of the new-emerging identity and view on history of modern Europeans. Combined with its ideal, the "Athenian democracy" of the Periclean Golden Age, and further reinforced by elements of the narratives of late-medieval propaganda of the Roman Popes, who tried to emancipate themselves from the influence of Constantinople, it transformed into the historical foundation of the newly "imagined" entity. It became the crucial historical prove for the unique identity of the newly imagined eternal entity – the "Western civilization".

The anti-royal and anti-oriental tones, of these patched up voices from different historical periods, represented the bone of the new narrative about Europe and the West. It suited, perfectly, the sentiment of the new European elites emerging form the antiroyalist movement widely popular after the French Revolution and the racist and anti-oriental ideas of European imperialists and German romantic thinkers of the nineteenth century. (Diaz-Andreu 2007; Marchand 2009a; McGrath 2013) Thus, the globally dominant modern Europeans, although already significantly divided into "different" nations and cultures, were to gain through the "classical civilization" their shared and, in Huntington's words, "widest identification" (Huntington 1996, 41–44, 57–58), which explained their naturally dominant place in world's affairs.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Periclean Athens, and late-republican Rome, two local realities whose ideas and social relations represented an almost negligible irregularity in the principles and directions of the millennial social and cultural development of Europe from antiquity to modernity, were transformed by European elites in timeless capsules and ultimate symbols of the "Western identity". As such, from peripheral stops of the millennial development of the human civilization in the "Old World", they were transformed in the imagination of the European intelligentsia into historical and geographical centres of the newly "imagined" morally and effectively dominant Western civilization and culture (McGrath 2013, 190; Diaz-Andreu 2007, 100–102, Roessel 2002).

This civilization, although younger than the civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and parts of East Asia, represented, in the European imagination and self-representation through the past, a higher degree, another quality of man and interhuman relations. The word classical was also used in that very context. It naturally stemmed

from the Latin adjective *classicus*, which was used in republican Rome in reference to "high (social) class" and later for "high" literature, or literature of a higher quality than the rest. The other "civilizations" in antiquity with its millennial traditions and numerous achievements, were reduced to the terminology "early civilizations", as if they came early by mistake and just waited for the glorious "European" Classical epoch to happen (Martindale, 2007; Tevdovski 2019; 2020). [4]

The "classical civilization" has become an alter-ego of the modern Western world through the educational process, public commemorations and architecture, museums, scientific institutions, and popular culture (Highet 1985; Dyson 2006; Martindale 2007; Marchand 2009a). According to Huntington, the classical tradition is a core value of the Western civilization, and through its re-invigoration and the further promotion of its political and philosophical concepts, the West will recognize its uniqueness, distinguish itself from other civilizations and, thus, survive (Huntington 1996, 21–22). For Fukuyama, on the other hand, these "classical" messages of democracy, freedom, individualism, and entrepreneurship, which are the ideological foundation and historical verification of the success of Western liberal democracy, are so morally superior, in other words "classical", that it is normal to universalize them, and that they would govern and recreate the modern world.

THE CLASSIC MESSAGE IN A BOTTLE

> "You who have had to endure a rather heavy burden,
> a god will grant an end to this, too.
> Perhaps one day it will be pleasant
> to recall even this hardship."
>
> Vergil, "Aeneid", Book 1 (Bolchazy 2006, 91)

As opposed to the dominance of the classical civilization in the Western narrative, French universalistic traditions, the restored and reimagined Orientalism, and the post-colonial tendencies of the second half of the twentieth century, have disputed its significance and emphasized the burden of the "classical traditions" for decades (Wood 2012, 163–173; Tevdovski, Masalkovski 2021).

However, if we think that the contemporary scientific development and the social and cultural transformations and challenges of recent decades, incited by the strong globalization waves, have pushed classical traditions and narratives from the centre of the

contemporary political and social discourse, we will probably only deceive ourselves once again. It is enough to think for just a moment of the numerous European politicians in Brussels and across the continent who defend democracy as a unique tradition of Europe and the West, thereby necessarily referring to Roman republicanism and Athenian democracy (Naoíse Mac Sweeney et al. 2019). Or should we look at the growing popularity of the radical right? Shouting slogans about the "Oriental invasion" and the protection of our "traditional values" in the squares and on social media, these radicals often unknowingly paraphrase the propagandist slogans of late-republican and Augustan Rome. After all, it is not difficult for many connoisseurs of the classical era to recognize elements of startling plagiarism of the works of Cicero or Tacitus, in the expressive disgust of many American intellectuals, and some of today's most brilliant minds, from the policies and style of President Trump (Naoíse Mac Sweeney et al. 2019).

This cacophony of classical allusions and illusions in contemporary discourse in far from naive. It makes one think of the teachings of the prominent classical philosopher Parmenides of Elea, who supposedly argued that even if we have convinced ourselves of something unreal, that lie had already created a new reality. In this regard, the words of Huntington and Fukuyama, who agree that the Western civilization is founded upon the Classical traditions and Christianity, need not be analysed as a historical truth (Fukuyama 1992, 55–57; Huntington 1996, 69– 71). It is not even important that they represent a direct transfer from the concepts of the German nineteenth century, when the early classicist and royal tutor Ernst Curtius urged for Germans to make the reconciliation of Christianity and *Hellenentum* their mission, in order to create or strengthen the Western world (Marchand 2009b, 37).

What is most important to remember, instead, and deal with, is that this imaginary duality represents a persistent dominant perception that creates a reality of a particular geography or even globally in the present. That is why we are obliged, again and again, to seek parallels to the contemporary global challenges and their solutions in the "mythologized" classical epoch, or at least to look for the "messages in a bottle" left for us by "ancient people" living in common circumstances.

Did these "idealized" ancestors of ours really face problems similar to those we face today? Or, it is just our centuries-old commitment to imitate their ideas and solutions that has connected us to them in both benefits and challenges. Such questions, I am sure, will remain in the centre of the academic debate for the decades to

come. Yet, a brief experiment of examining prominent messages from classical antiquity, developed in historical circumstances and episodes that resemble our contemporary challenges and dilemmas might be useful for our wider understanding of both the past and the future. After all, this "classical wisdom" represents, according to Huntington and many other Western thinkers, the original philosophical foundation of the Western civilization. As such, its considerations, even if critical or contrary to our contemporary understandings, might be more acceptable for us, just because they are "truly ours" – Western.

In this context, one of the most recognizable figures which provides a linkage between the Classical philosophy and Christianity, the two elements considered by Huntington and Fukuyama as the main markers of our Western Civilization, is Augustine of Hippo. Like so many other important ancient symbols of the West, he is not originating from Europe. Yet, writing in Latin in Rome at the very end of the Classical Era, and linking classical philosophy with Christian theology, transforms Augustine into a symbol of the unique "Western identity", built in the classical world through which we have reimagined ourselves again and again for centuries.

After all, some of Augustine's numerous works represent a true classical "message in a bottle" for future civilizations that he prophetically foretells. A telling example is one of his famous works "The City of God". Written in the decades following the "fall of the city of Rome", it is a true manifesto of the future. The fall of the "eternal Rome" in 410 under the attacks of the "barbarians", according to many Western historians marked the end of the "classical world", and the fall of this city also had a symbolic significance in antiquity. Rome, in Augustine times, was a city that was slowly, but surely, turning from a centre into a periphery of the empire for more than a century. Yet, the symbolic of its name continued to live with the empire for another millennium, as a theoretical concept of ruling the world until the fall of Constantinople, and beyond.

Augustine's "message", written in ancient Rome, is very different from the expected pathos of the elites of the old and once dominant capital, who being robbed, assaulted, and disenfranchised looked with horror at the time to come. Thus, Augustine comforts his fellow citizens with deep moral lessons, but he is also stern in his assessment that if the "city of people", Rome, and the civilization they knew, was to fall, they should not grieve but rejoice at the "city of God", as a world and a government in which people are not connected through traditional affiliation to a political or cultural entity, but through universal values and truths and shared goodwill.

Reviewing this "message in a bottle", dating in one of the monumental "ends" and "falls" of the Western civilization, we definitely, as Huntington's says, "reaffirm and preserve" the uniqueness of our civilization (Huntington 1996, 21–22). However, the classical doctrine of Augustine of Hippo does not, it seems, direct us to protect "our civilization" from various other civilizations, but to make it resistant to challenges by discovering the most universal and shared values which it carries within itself. Such values and approach, Augustine suggests, have the capacity to outlive and renew the traditional institutions, and even the morals of a society faced with any challenge. It seems that the Christian aspect of Huntington's "authentic Western traditions", in Augustine's messages before the "end of the civilization" is transformed into a typical idealism. It does not mourn the old, but instead finds optimism, energy, and shared values in the present and the past with which to step into the new and the unknown.

Moreover, the Christian element is not the only one in Augustine teaching that calls for universal and shared values. The deep knowledge of classical philosophy of this philosopher, who in his maturity accepted faith, led him to a profound analysis and evaluation of the "fundamental philosophical values" that constitute the "classical", and, thus, the Western world. However, Augustine does not refer us to the Athenian Golden Age, the glorified nucleus of the classical civilization, with its sophists, and their "rationalism", evoked by Huntington, and the Periclean "democracy," that evolved into the most suitable western value for Fukuyama's universalization (Huntington 1996, 69–70; Fukuyama 1992, 112–113). Instead, Augustine, as many others, points towards the most obvious tradition, that many contemporary researchers, especially in the West, are not able to recognize as dominant, because of their "culture-boundness" (Fukuyama 1992, 69). He reconnects to one of the ideological developments of the classical antiquity, with a continuous, documented, and undisputable ideological impact in the East and the West through millennia, the moral traditions of the philosophy of Socrates and Plato.

This classical philosophical tradition that he leans upon, is another conveniently illustrative classic "message in a bottle". The birth of these proud intellectual traditions is directly connected to another dramatic "end of the civilization". At the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century BC Athens was finally defeated by Persia, through its allies in the Aegean, and its "small Aegean world" disintegrated economically, socially, and politically. It was a dramatic time of decadence of the society, the epidemic of the

"Plague of Athens", the growing power of the external factors and the attempts and internal support to abolish "democracy". The words of the famous classical historian Thucydides illustrate vividly this scenery of the "classical apocalypse":

> Never had so many cities been taken and laid desolate, here by the barbarians, here by the parties contending (the old inhabitants being sometimes removed to make room for others); never was there so much banishing and blood-shedding, now on the field of battle, now in the strife of faction. Old stories of occurrences handed down by tradition, but scantily confirmed by experience, suddenly ceased to be incredible; there were earthquakes of unparalleled extent and violence; ... there were great droughts in sundry places and consequent famines, and that most calamitous and awfully fatal visitation, the plague. (Thucydides 2004, 10–11; Clark 2013, 16–17)

For those of us who would dare to avoid parallels with the "ancient end of civilization," on the pretext of "contemporary end" being of different nature, related to morals, standards, institutions and law in our Western democratic societies, the famous historian has a secondary element in the lecture. Being there, "among them", not as a historian, but almost like a contemporary fieldwork anthropologist, Thucydides, who survived the plague, discusses as well the institutional, ideological, and moral rapid deterioration of the cultural micro-system that we call today "classical Athens". He argues:

> Men who had hitherto concealed what they took pleasure in, now grew bolder. For, seeing the sudden change – how the rich died in a moment, and those who had nothing immediately inherited their property – they reflected that life and riches were alike transitory, and they resolved to enjoy themselves while they could, and to think only of pleasure. Who would be willing to sacrifice himself to the law of honour when he knew not whether he would ever live to be held in honour? The pleasure of the moment and any sort of thing which conduced to it took the place both of honour and of expediency. No fear of Gods or law of man deterred a criminal." (Thucydides 2.53: 2004, 90–91; Clark 2013, 91–92)

All these factors brought the end of the few "glorious" decades of the history of the classical poleis, and the end of a tiny world, that would be gloriously reimagined in distant future, and transformed into a pattern of developing of the globally dominant western society

in the last centuries. Nevertheless, the philosophical revolution that this crisis brought, has created the united world of antiquity, which we still admire and call "classical".

Thus, while the "classical" city of men, Rome, was falling dramatically, Augustine saw that the universal "purpose and plan of God [...] is shown to fulfill itself within a Platonic universe...", born from the ashes of another falling "classical" city of men, Athens (Burleigh 1944, 188).

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

> "... symbols intervene between our experience and ourselves."
>
> William H. "Poteat" (1993)

Decades before Fukuyama and Huntington, and their prominent debate, in the South of the United States, the doctor, novelist and philosopher, Walker Percy, tried to provide answers for the important problems and confronting tendencies of contemporary humanity. His approach was much more personal and philosophical. Yet, it also confronted the duality of the "western tradition", and the identity of the modern Westerner torn between the irrational aspects of spirituality, values, and traditions, on one hand, and the rationality and pragmatism of modernity on the other.

In his collection of essays "Message in a Bottle", Percy attempts to solve the philosophical problem through a metaphor of sending messages in bottles to a shipwreck survivor with amnesia that recedes on an island. One of the important elements of his analysis is that a human being, with no clear knowledge of her or his past, needs to understand three important aspects of the "messages in the bottles" in order to be able to use them in creating a new life for himself. Two of them are important elements, traditionally well-known and applied by researchers of the past: the trustworthiness of the source and the rationality of the information in the message. Yet, the third aspect that Percy emphasizes is, in my understanding, equally important for our research of the past: the importance and applicability of the message for our present dilemmas and challenges.

Bearing this methodology in mind, we are enabled to approach the "classical wisdom" with fresh perspective. In addition, most of us today are convinced that the "classical culture" as well as the "cultures", and the identities, symbols and narratives related to them, of the antique, medieval or modern societies in the East, West, North

or South are not static, but "[...] emergent, always alive and in process [...]" (Bruner 1994, 407).

Therefore, it is up to us, and our challenges and ideas for their solution, to hand pick the elements of "classical" or other wisdom. This time consciously. Should we get inspired by the unique "western" tradition of classical Athens and its sophists, who saw their role as "sellers of the skills of dialogue" among people, in order for them to impose their truth and their values above those of others? Or do we prefer the ideas of Socrates and Plato, who broke away from these "unique" traditions? In contrast to the sophists, in the same classical city, Socrates' moral revolution elevated the new "sophists" above the positions of local artisans. Instead, he turned them into ideologues of the society in search of the general truth and common good, or as we know them today – the philosophers.

Ancient Athenians in the face of decline and inevitable fall of their small Aegean world, decided to trial and kill Socrates for corrupting the minds of their youth with ideas that were undermining both their values and their institutions. The ideas he was promoting extrainstitutionally were clearly undermining the core values and institutions of the Athenian "classical civilization", the democratic government and institutions (the assembly) and the xenophobic isolation of the polis'/poleis' citizens from the barbarians (Brown 2000, 74-80).

One might question if our contemporary daily intellectual crucifixions of those intellectuals that question the values of the liberal democracy and the treatment of the foreigners and non-citizens in western societies are elements of the proud classical tradition or the endemic signs of societal crisis. Yet, more important than the reaction, it seems, is the "message in the bottle" sent by the wise classical men. Thus, Socrates' ideas for openness towards foreigners, as well as their "wisdom", values, and societies, might be a sign of the weakness of the small world of the classical Hellenes, and it might have really undermined their traditions and institutions (Brown 2000, 74–80). However, this openness to the globalization waves provided new avenues for the survival and transformation of the traditions and ideas born or at least partly developed in the classical Greek poleis. While, less than a century after Socrates death, the whole military, social and political system of the Greek poleis was dismantled and they were integrated in the global empires of the Macedonians, many of their cultural traditions survived. The ideas, materials, forms, and people of the small Greek world due to the new traditions of openness initiated by Socrates, were much more prepared for the global competition and amalgamation with the great cultural contri-

butions of the developed societies of Africa and Asia. It was this presence in the hubs of the ancient globalization, like Alexandria, Seleucia, or Antioch, that help them survive and made them eternal.

Plutarch, who lived in the Roman Empire at the turn of the second century, illustrated the ideals of this new classical, and at the same time truly global, world through the ideas of a philosopher, who represents an ideological continuum with the early ideas of Socrates. Zeno, an Asian and non-citizen, as founder of the most dominant philosophical school in Athens and the antiquity, the Stoics, only a century after the departure of Socrates was among the most influential philosophers and people in Athens. His relations with the royal court of Pela, as well as those of other philosophers of his era, might have further undermined the traditions of democracy and independence of the classical Greece, but certainly promoted and developed further the image of Athens and Greece as important hubs of the philosophical and intellectual thought. According to Plutarch, this intellectual leader of Athens, professed an ideology that resonates closely, and certainly inspired, the later messages of Augustine of Hippo and many religious leaders as well. In Zeno's vision:

> [...] our arrangement for habitations should not be based on cities or peoples, each one distinguished by its own special system of justice, but we should regard all men as citizens and members of the (one) populace, and there should be one way of life and order, like that of the herd grazing together and nurtured by a common law/pasturing. (Lavan et al. 2016, 144)

His messages, associated with the era of the much-emphasized "European domination of the world in antiquity", are not words of particularism, and even less of "Western domination". They seem to represent a vision of a truly globalized world, prepared to face the dilemmas and problems it shares. These and similar messages were the dominant voice of the globalizing "classical world", and, as such, they are interesting lessons, or at least pointers, for the challenges of the contemporary globalizing realities as well.

Yet, even with the presented clear continuum of these important messages from the classical antiquity and their ideas, this paper is neither suggesting a conclusive interpretation of the "classical wisdom", nor providing recipe for its implementation in contemporary circumstances. Instead, its multi-layered intersection of elements of the past, and the contemporary approaches and methodologies of their reinterpretation and reimagination through the binoculars of different research focuses and disciplines are aiming towards multiplication

of the levels of understanding and possibilities of utilisation of this valuable material.

Finally, all those convinced that the extensively presented elements of the intellectual tradition labelled as classical in this paper might be conclusive and provide clear directions, must be warned that this is one of the most common mistakes of the analyses of the classical traditions. We should always bear in mind the great complexity of ideas, traditions and experiences enclosed in this theoretical construct, additionally blurred by its connections to our identities and intellectual traditions and misconceptions.

Thus, although many of these ancient messages illuminate the less known united world of ancient globalization, there are also many other that emphasise the differences. One of them is certainly the critical note of the "western" Diodorus Siculus, which might also underline the historical foundations of the capitalist ideas as important instigator of global processes even from antiquity. He analyses that "the barbarians, by sticking to the same things always, keep a firm hold on every detail, while the Greeks, on the other hand, aiming at the profit to be made out of the business, keep founding new schools and, wrangling with each other over the most important matters of speculation, bring it about that their pupils hold conflicting views, and that their minds, vacillating throughout their lives and unable to believe at all with firm conviction, simply wander in confusion" (Clark 2013, viii).

The "classical period" has left us with numerous and quite diverse "messages," as well as "bottles" in different sizes and shapes. Therefore, the decision whether we will choose the most universal or the most profitable ones, and which of them we will declare as the most reasonable, remains with us.

NOTES

[1] The song "Message in a Bottle" from the music group "The Police" was released as the lead single from their second studio album, "Reggatta de Blanc" (1979):
"Just a castaway, an island lost at sea, oh
Another lonely day, with no one here but me, oh
More loneliness than any man could bear
Rescue me before I fall into despair, oh
I'll send an S.O.S to the world
I'll send an S.O.S to the world
I hope that someone gets my

I hope that someone gets my
I hope that someone gets my
Message in a bottle…"

[2] On the concept of the four/five global empires, its birth and transmission and transformations from antiquity, see: (Sharon 2020; Strootman 2014; Mendels 1981; Swain 1940; Rowley 1935).

[3] In the 1767 "Essay on the History of Civil Society", Ferguson emphasized the important conceptual unity between the development of the personal and the collective, arguing that "[n]ot only the individual advances from infancy to manhood, but the species itself from rudeness to civilization".

[4] For wider analyses on the alleged "European" identity of the Classical World, see: Tevdovski "The Beauty of the Oikumene Has Two Edges: Nurturing Roman Imperialism in the 'Glocalizing' Traditions of the East", and Tevdovski "On the Identities of Hellenistic Globalization – The Unified World of Diversity".

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THE RESEARCH ON CULTURE, YOUTH AND KNOWLEDGE SHARING IN LATVIA

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INTRODUCTION

Under the European Union's framework programme for Research and Innovation "Horizon 2020", Daugavpils University (Latvia) participated in the project "Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future" (CHIEF) coordinated by Aston University (UK). The project was implemented in nine countries: Georgia, Croatia, India, the UK, Latvia, Slovakia, Spain, Turkey and Germany.

The main research question was how young people acquire knowledge of cultural heritage in all its diverse forms and contexts (at educational institutions, in non-formal settings, in the family, among peers and in heritage institutions) and whether the acquired knowledge enhances youth participation in cultural activities.

Researchers involved in the project were experts from different backgrounds: sociology, youth studies, cultural anthropology, political science and religious studies. This provided an opportunity to compile an extensive overview of young people's understanding of culture and their engagement in cultural activities in six EU and three Asian countries where qualitative and quantitative data were collected and ethnographic case studies were carried out. In the CHIEF project countries, more than 10 thousand young people have been surveyed, 540 students and 80 teachers, as well as 234 family members representing different generations have been interviewed and ethnographic case studies have been carried out in 18 museums and 36 formal and non-formal youth groups.

WHAT DID WE INVESTIGATE WHEN INTERVIEWING YOUNG PEOPLE AT SCHOOLS?

Modern schools have to meet new requirements, which involve laying the foundations for a future society in which people would be ready to adapt to changing labour market conditions, would be socially and civically active, responsible, as well as able to boost competitiveness of their country. To achieve this, wide-ranging reforms directly affecting cultural education are ongoing in the Latvian education system at all levels.

Young people acquire knowledge of cultural heritage both during lessons as a regular part of the curriculum and during extra-curricular activities, which they particularly appreciate, pointing out that visits to museums and excursions equip them with new cultural skills and competences. During interviews with students and teachers conducted at schools in Riga, Daugavpils and Daugavpils district, it was observed that young people are open to traditions of other cultures. However, they confessed that they are sometimes prejudiced against certain ethnic or social groups, e.g. the Roma and immigrants.

The sense of young people's belonging, the formation of which was prioritised in policy documents of different levels and education standards, was one of the most pressing research topics of the project. Despite effects of globalisation, it is important for young people to preserve the local, ethnic and national culture, to which their sense of belonging is stronger than that of belonging to Europe.

Youth cultural literacy in the capital city of Riga is different from that in other parts of Latvia. Programmes similar to the "Latvian School Bag" would therefore need to be introduced. They would help to prevent the socially determined inequalities hindering access to cultural products and would put all young people on an equal footing in terms of participation. Support should be given, in particular, to music and art schools, interest clubs and youth organisations, since they offer alternative options of cultural education and recreation, thus reducing the potential adverse effects of a degraded social environment, as well as enhance development of young people's talents and creativity.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY IN SHAPING YOUTH CULTURAL IDENTITY?

The family as a social institution is a pillar that shapes and regulates a person's sense of belonging, socialisation experience, cultural norms and spiritual values. Intergenerational qualitative research carried out in families was aimed at identifying mechanisms of inheriting traditions and behavioural patterns, as well as at identifying the factors that encourage families to gain knowledge of cultural heritage and discourage them from doing so.

Universal and Christian values, experience of the traditional culture inherited from ancestors, including the virtue of work, care for relatives and responsibility for the next generations, are important

for families in Latvia. Deteriorating quality of life, emigration and difficulties to reconcile work and family life widen the gap between generations and reduce opportunities of young people to inherit values and virtues, as well as to take over traditions and acquire new cultural skills.

To ensure the preservation of cultural heritage, social sustainability of families needs to be protected. The experience gained through interaction between generations fosters involvement in regional, national and international social processes, as well as reduces fragmentation of values and ensures the formation of an inclusive identity in the long term.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PROCESS OF ACQUIRING KNOWLEDGE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE?

The young people interviewed in museums highlighted that their view of cultural heritage is different from that of the older generation and its aesthetic criteria, e.g. young people in Daugavpils were excited about the contemporary art objects located in the city, whereas older city dwellers took a dislike to them. For historical reasons, parents of today's youth are unprepared for perceptions of contemporary art, and their knowledge of the 20th century Latvian cultural history is poor. However, it is parents who have been the first ones to stimulate young people's interest in culture by encouraging them to join creative groups. Although young people try to dissociate themselves from the older generation, they acknowledged that cultural events, exploration of the kin's history, participation in the kin's gatherings and trips serve as a uniting factor.

To strengthen integrity of the Latvian society and ensure transmission of cultural traditions, interaction opportunities between generations in the field of culture should be expanded. Consideration should be given to the introduction of a new national programme, e.g. "Family Holidays", which could support the engagement of families in investigating the history of Latvia and acquiring knowledge of cultural heritage.

WHERE ARE THE PROJECT RESULTS AVAILABLE?

The research results are available to education experts and those of cultural heritage preservation, policy makers and youth professionals to facilitate the formation of inclusive cultural heritage and cultural identity in Europe and elsewhere in the world. Following the analysis and comparison of data obtained in nine countries, researchers published reports on the website of the CHIEF project: http://chiefprojecteu.com/

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