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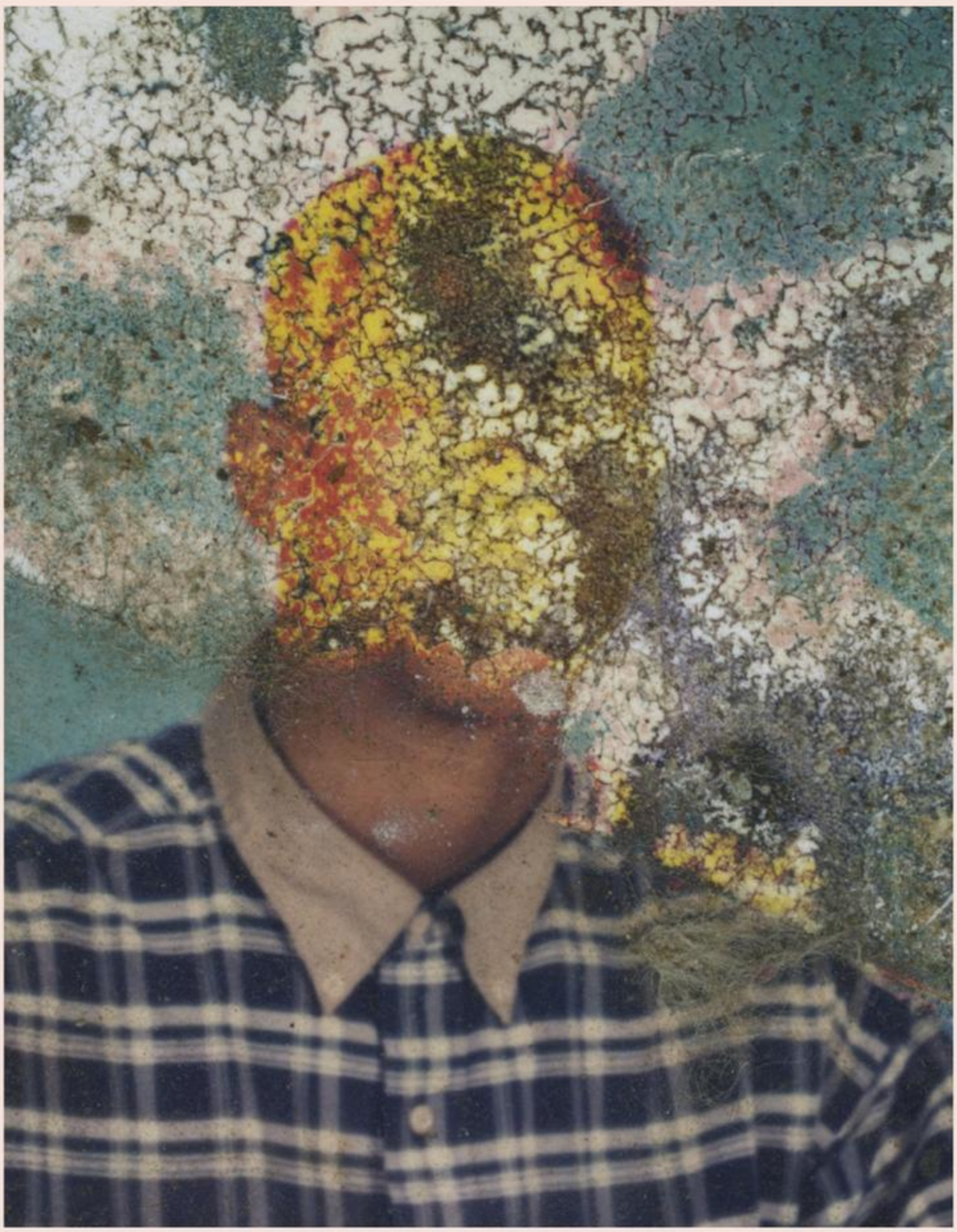
RETROSPECT

IDENTITY



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Edition of 1000

PROFESSOR ALVIN JACKSON

Head of School

Identity, and the complex layering of individual and collective identities, are central concerns of much scholarship and contemporary political thought. For most, looking to 2014 and beyond, notions of identity are directly connected with ongoing debates on the future of Scotland and of the United Kingdom.

This edition of Retrospect offers a particularly timely and wide-ranging analysis of this critical theme. It showcases an impressive spread of student talent: it also clearly demonstrates the chronological, geographical and thematic breadth of the intellectual enquiry pursued within the School.

The essays and features extend from Alexander the Great, and the appropriation of his perceived legacy, through the marketing measures of successive Roman emperors to the formation of contemporary German identity. In terms of Scottish history, they stretch from the Picts through to the architectural identity of modern Edinburgh. Archaeologists, classicists and modern historians all contribute to the journal: it thus captures within its pages the kind of cross-disciplinary dialogue that the School as a whole seeks to encourage. As Head of School I am delighted to see these synergies, but - even more than this - I'm delighted to see the talent and scholarship which underpin them. I want to congratulate all the contributors and the editorial team for producing a journal which is full of interest and stimulus - and which is a really good read.

AJ

WILL ELLIS

Editor

Welcome to the twelfth issue of Retrospect. The past six months have marked some hugely significant changes in the journal. We have become an independent society and broadened our focus to represent the entire school of History, Classics and Archaeology. In light of these changes, we felt that this year represented the perfect juncture at which to radically overhaul Retrospect's design. We owe a massive debt of gratitude to Rosa Nussbaum and Ursa Major for their elegant, content-focused design and meticulous production standards.

'Identity' is a pleasingly apt theme for this issue, and has proved a fertile, sometimes controversial, topic for our writers. The following pages explore the concept of 'identity' in diverse areas of the human past. This edition's articles include a preview of Dr Andrew Wells' forthcoming book on the construction of identity in the eighteenth century; a review of a Scandinavian short film about refugee children and a feature that asks what impact a 'yes' vote for independence might have on Scottish archaeology. I must pay tribute to the breadth of our contributors' imaginations; this issue makes for fascinating reading.

All credit must go to the students and staff who have poured time, effort and imagination into their work. I also thank the retrospect team for their energy, commitment to excellence and, at times, patience. This year's transitions have not been easy, nor always smooth, but I believe that we have emerged as a creative, vibrant journal, that is blessed with a bright future.

Now, read on.

WE

The next issue of Retrospect will be themed *Failure*. Anyone interested in contributing should contact the appropriate editorial team:

Feature	1000 words	features@retrospectjournal.co.uk
Academic	2000 words	academic@retrospectjournal.co.uk
Review	c. 400 words	reviews@retrospectjournal.co.uk

For any other queries: editor@retrospectjournal.co.uk

SOCIETIES

History Soc

Roberta Bradshaw

As always, the History Society's calendar began with a bang this year as we took a group of students to sample the delights of the 'supergun' Mons Meg and the historic Edinburgh Castle. Turnout far exceeded our expectations, and with over 100 visitors, we were slightly concerned that Historic Scotland wouldn't to let us in! Fortunately the staff were very welcoming and a good time exploring the Edinburgh stronghold was had by all. We were even able to put on another trip two weeks later for all those who had missed out.

© Christopher Brooks 2011

In addition to its vibrant social calendar, the History Society also offers a series of extra-curricular academic lectures, held most Tuesdays between 6pm and 7:30pm. Covering a wide range of topics from Slavery to Medieval Charisma and Irish Nationalism to the Churchill Government, these talks give students a chance to indulge their interests and hear from speakers that they wouldn't often get the opportunity to meet. Free for all and with a wine reception to follow; this year has so far been highly successful and we look forward to repeating it in the future.

The History Society doesn't just organise lectures and historical trips. We also offer a range of non-academic socials throughout the year designed to give budding historians a break from their studies. The highlight of our calendar is the annual History Society Winter Ball, which took place last year in The Jam House, where for the bargain price of £30 we guzzled champagne, enjoyed a three-course dinner and a spectacular ceilidh. This year's was held in Teviot on 22nd November. We also hold pub quizzes and bar crawls. Our first pub crawl of the semester was very popular; more than 40 people met the committee at Teviot, then moved off to The Pear Tree, Malones and finally onto Rush, before the inevitable happened and we all ended up dancing the night away in Hive.

History Society has even more to offer than drinking and intellectual stimulation - we're proud to announce that we now have a fabulous netball team too! They beat the Law Society team 25-2 in their opening match, suggesting that we can expect great things in the future!

Classics Soc

Rhian Haf Morgan

It has been a rather busy semester for Classics Soc. We began our year at the Fresher's Fair and among all the free Domino's pizza and lollipops, we met some of our soon to be new members. Our first social, in traditional fashion, was our Toga Pub Crawl, which saw us donning our finest bed sheets and hitting the town! It was lovely to get to know the new members and meet Classics enthusiasts of all ages and origins. Since then, we've had a great semester of socials, including our Hercules film night and an Olympics themed flat crawl.
We are especially proud of this term's production of Aristophanes' Lysistrata, which had a huge turnout and more innuendo than you can shake a stick at. If you know what I mean. Plans for

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Electra, a tragedy, are in the pipeline for next year's production, so get in touch if you would like to be involved!

We have a packed social calendar, but Classics Soc has a strong academic side too. This semester's society lectures have seen speakers from all over the globe, from St. Andrews to Japan, giving seminars on a range of subjects from Phrygian anarchy to Classics' place in the modern graphic novel. We have a lot more exciting plans coming, including our annual Christmas meal, and we expect next semester to be as busy and fun as this one has been! We look forward to seeing you all in the New Year!

Electra

Rebecca Bowen

'Self control has no meaning, rules of reverence do not apply. Evil is a pressure that shapes us to itself.'

Electra's mother has killed her father and she is mad with grief. A new man shares her mother's bed, her brother is gone, her sister is weak and Electra is utterly alone with her loss. How can a mind process mindless cruelty? Is revenge the only balm for a broken spirit? When you are dead but for the pump of your heart, spilling guilty blood is easier than grieving.

Next semester the Classics Society will be staging Electra, Sophocles' original human nightmare, in a bruising new adaptation by the critically acclaimed playwright Nick Payne. This is a not a tale of insanity, Electra has had ten years to go mad before the play opens, it is an exploration of the liminal borders between guilt and betrayal. Terrifying and inescapable *Electra* is a frightening psychoanalytic study of mind-bending grief; in a world where Justice has blood on her hands who will cast the last stone?

Auditions will be held at the beginning of next semester and we will also be organising a series of workshops and talks throughout the rehearsal process, exploring both the academic and theatrical aspects of the show. Please do not hesitate to get in touch with the Classics Society for more information or to get involved.

'Alone the whole poised force of my life is nothing.'

Second Semester Events Preview

Rhian Haf Morgan

Classics society are gearing up for another great semester in the new year. Beginning with a 'Refreshers' karaoke social (inspired by our Hercules antics) another flat crawl, and lots of other events to look forward to. Our lecture series shall also continue next semester, with more lecturers coming from across the world to speak on a variety of topics. Later in the year, we will be hosting activities across the school, both independently and with Archaeology and History, especially during Innovative Learning Week. We once again hope to run our celebrated student magazine 'Ecce Discipuli' during that week, with chances to get involved in editing, writing, illustration and other aspects of magazine production aided by some of the Retrospect team. Further events include drop in sessions with other students for those with questions about academic matters, and field trips to locations such as Hadrian's Wall. So, for those who don't disappear to the Alps, we have a lot in store for you!
See you in the new year.

Valete,

Classics Soc.

A Note From the ArchSoc President

Katie Roper

Edinburgh University's Archaeology Society (lovingly named ArchSoc) is open to all students, whether their interest in archaeology is passionate or passive. Although closely connected with the Archaeology department, our members include non-students and alumni – many of whom are employed in archaeology and students from other disciplines, from Biochemistry to History of Art. We host a lecture series each year, as well as skills and general interest workshops, advice on how and where to find fieldwork and the occasional fieldtrip. ArchSoc's collective archaeological experience is huge, and we therefore try to offer opportunities for members to meet others who have worked within, or at least express an interest in, a variety of locations, periods and cultures across the world. However, although we are primarily an academic society, there is a lot more to ArchSoc than textbooks, theories and trowels. We are a massively social bunch with our pub nights, tribe wars, pub crawls and pub quizzes, so much so that I can't remember the last time I was out in normal clothing.

Well, now that Time Team has been cancelled, we have to find something to do….

Archaeology Society Events Summary

Tom Gardner

The ArchSoc events schedule has undergone a radical series of changes this year, both academically and socially. We have angled our socials towards undergraduates and our academic events towards graduate employability and core practical skills in archaeology. So far the response has been positive, with attendance huge and people keen we seem to have struck the perfect balance, except that we are all now poor and eternally hung-over.

Our lecture series began in mid-October, with David Connolly (legendary archaeologist of BAJR fame) speaking on graduate employment through a running metaphor of a meteoric crash on a homemade cart, and necrophilia. Later in the month, John Collis delivered a slightly less disturbing lecture on Celtic controversies. Our first fieldtrip meanwhile went to the mysterious Gilmerton cove, where we managed to rescue a stray chicken and hit the pub for 7 hours. A trip enjoyed by all, especially the chicken. The lectures and fieldtrips will continue through the semester and into next year, accompanied by practical seminars and workshops.

Our social side began in September with our Caveman-themed pub crawl; over 50 people participated and proceeded to destroy the Hive in true archaeologist style. We have had various flat parties since, with themes such as Myths and Legends and Picts vs. Romans, plus many drinking games and Alex Wood's notorious double shots (two shot glasses taped together, genius). November saw a Zooarchaeology-themed pub crawl, which featured a hunky polar bear, a sexy zebra and an eternally suave leopard in a waistcoat.

Many ArchSoc members bared themselves in the name of charity at READ International's Naked Calendar photo shoot. It really wasn't pretty. You can all buy these calendars if you wish and then never want to see another naked archaeologist again.

We often have weekly pub nights at Malones, and are partial to wee ceilidh dance every now and again. If you feel like we are the society for you (we really are) then come along to one of these, like us on Facebook, or join our mailing list. It would be nice to meet you all and buy you some drinks.

National Museum of Scotland Tour

Heather Hilson

There can be no doubt that one of the most important institutions in Edinburgh for any aspiring student of Archaeology is the National Museum of Scotland. The first ArchSoc event of the year was a guided tour of the Early Peoples exhibition by the thoroughly charming and enthusiastic curator, Dr Martin Goldberg. The tour started with a look at the modern art

statues created by Sir Eduardo Paolozzi, which incorporate various artefacts from the Neolithic and later periods discovered from sites around Scotland. Dr Goldberg led the group through impressive displays of golden torques, Roman dishware, bone tools, and human remains and funerary objects. The entire exhibit is enhanced by the spectacular artwork of Andy Goldsworthy, which is designed to help visitors envision various aspects of life in Scotland's past. The tour was a great success and Dr Goldberg seemed genuinely pleased to have been able to interact with members of the society. Following the museum, everyone headed to the pub for a pint or two and some hardy archaeological discussion. The tour was what encouraged me to join the society, and I know that the same was the case for many new members. ArchSoc has continued to live up to and indeed surpass the expectations set by that first event, and I look forward to many more days of intellectually inspired fun with the brightest and most entertaining future archaeologists anywhere.

Retrospect Pub Quiz

Rhian Haf Morgan

This semester one of Retrospect's events was a highly successful pub quiz at Innis & Gunn on Potterrow. Teams from all over the department, and even some from outside took part. There was hot competition for first prize between two very competitive teams, fuelled by some of the Retrospect team's home baking. All in all it was a fun night of fundraising, doughnuts and dodgy team names.

24 Hour Magazines

Oliver Giles and Will Ellis

What is a 24-hour magazine? Well, we created the concept for a magazine, wrote all of the pieces, designed the pages, edited the copy, took the photos and drank all of the tea we could make in just twenty-four hours. Then we did it again.

That's right, this semester we put together two 24-hour magazine projects. Our first was the first attempt to create a magazine in twenty-four hours in Scotland. Themed 'Memory', it was an exploration of the concept of memory, the ways that memory can affect us and the nooks and crannies of the team's memories.

The second magazine was run in mid-November, with contributions from both students and professional journalists from publications such as The Guardian. Our second issue was themed 'Journey'. Several of our contributors were abroad and we received articles from France, Italy and Kenya. We were lucky enough to be able to feature several young British celebrities including Caggie Dunlop, Ruby Goe and Syron.

Both magazines may be found online at www.retrospectjournal.co.uk/ed24 and are free to read and download. We will be running more 24-hour magazines in 2013, so please get in touch on ed24@retrospectjournal.co.uk to subscribe or apply to get involved in the creative process behind the next issue.

Retrospect Band Night

Lydia Willgress

Retrospect's second fund-raiser of the year took the form of a band night in mid-November. Starting in Teviot (and ending, for some of us, in Hive) the night saw of good turnout of writers, members, friends and editors alike. The first band, Portrait of a Sinner, provided the packed room with a gentle acoustic set, with SOMA ending the night with a blues-jazz-rock compilation that got everyone dancing. A raffle was also held, with star prizes of a bottle of whiskey and a James Blunt CD. We raised just over £200 on the night, and put the money towards printing this issue, so thank you to all who supported us!

FEATURES

GERMAN NATIONAL IDENTITY AFTER 1990

ANITA KLINGLER

Since the end of the Second World War national identity, its character and the possibility of its continued existence in the aftermath of war and genocide, has been a contested issue in Germany. This debate was further complicated by the unification of Germany on 3rd October 1990. The main questions regarding national identity in the new Federal Republic are, on the one hand, which factors have made it difficult to forge a common identity and on the other hand, what shape a new and unified identity, if it has indeed been developed, has taken.

When the German Democratic Republic (GDR) collapsed in 1989-1990 and was incorporated into the Federal Republic, what was especially striking were the rapidity of the GDR's collapse and the completeness of its disappearance. Everything connected to the GDR, from its social structures to fundamental values to consumer products, was suddenly considered worthless and ready for the dustbin of History. Even the lives people had lived in the GDR for decades were made to appear inferior, as all of the certainties that the Socialist system had provided were fundamentally upset and former citizens of the GDR were suddenly expected to just turn around and become citizens of the new Federal Republic. This, as is often said, worked to create a feeling in East Germans of being second-class citizens, 'colonised' by the West. Furthermore, after initial rapid economic, material and infrastructural advances in the new *Länder*, by the mid-1990s the developments had slowed down massively. Unemployment figures were especially high in the East, and disappointment at the unfulfilled promises of reunification took hold. An opinion poll taken in the former East in 1993, while confirming overall support for unification, revealed this disillusionment, as only 58% felt they had personally gained from unification and 82% regretted the fact that nothing remained of the GDR's achievements. From this disillusionment has arisen what is known as *Ostalgie*, a nostalgic idealisation and romanticisation of the former GDR and the lost East German identity. The process of developing a unified identity has been further complicated by the fact that there seemed to be an abundance of prejudice on both sides, paired with a pronounced lack of knowledge about the 'Other Germans'. This has led to the reinforcement of negative images like the 'whiny *Ossi*' and the 'arrogant *Wessi*' and therewith to continued resentment on both sides.

Very serious debates over the success of reunification have continued to rage, including angry voices from the West which resent still having to pay the *Solidaritätszuschlag* (transfer payments to support the Eastern states), as well as resentment in the East over less opportunities, lower wages, higher unemployment and the continued dominance of the old FRG. While these problems still prove difficult to overcome, the overall success of reunification cannot be denied, and the recent rise of two East Germans to the most powerful positions in German politics, Chancellor Angel Merkel and President Joachim Gauck, may well serve as a symbol of unity and the end of the old FRG's dominance in public life.

It is perhaps unsurprising that after 40 years of separate existence and profoundly different experiences, East and West Germans should have found themselves in 1990 with little in common on which to build a shared identity. However, the unexpected return to a German nation-state made the question of finding a unified identity inescapable. A central aspect of this process has been played by the

Sibylle Bergemann, from *Das Denkmal* series, 1986

appropriation of history. On the one hand, this meant that the states of the former GDR since 1990 have had to accept their role as part of one of the successor states of the Third Reich and actively engage in dealing with the Nazi past; something which had been begun much earlier in the old Federal Republic while in the GDR, by definition an anti-fascist country, it had been largely ignored. On the other hand, it was the task of the new, unified Germany to find a way of appropriately dealing with the legacy of the GDR. A greater effort is discernable to do a better job at *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* than had been done when dealing with the legacies of the Third Reich, including trials, commemoration and making accessible the Stasi files. A major complication of this process, however, arose from the fact that while it has been recognised as a civic duty for all political parties and the national government to preserve the memory of the GDR and commemorate its victims, this has been done in a way that would still allow East Germans to remember their personal life-histories in the GDR positively. The balance between condemning an authoritarian regime while not making its former citizens feel worthless or inferior has proved difficult to strike at times.

In defining a new identity for a unified Germany, the debate has revolved around the question whether Germany has, after 1990, become a regular nation-state. Viewpoints have mainly been split between conservative ones, which see unification as a chance to escape the burdens of German history and espouse re-nationalisation, and progressive voices, which continue to emphasise historical guilt and responsibility and call for closer European integration. In this context, it has often been argued that the new identity of a unified Germany may be centered on the concept of anti-totalitarianism and the notion of *Verfassungspatriotismus*, a form of patriotism based on popular support for the liberal-democratic constitution of Germany. In light of the German past, this appears like a reasonable path to defining a new identity for all Germans, including young Germans who were born at the time of reunification and brought up with the natural assumption of only one Germany. In addition, as the process of European integration has continued, it has gradually become more difficult to distinguish 'German' from a wider European identity, giving rise to a more plural sense of what have been called 'post-national' identities and a 'European Germany'. **AK**

FOUNDATION LEGENDS OF ROME /

WHAT DO THEY TELL US ABOUT ROMAN IDENTITY?

MARK LOUGHRIDGE

If you were to pen the founding legend of a new city, what would you want to include? For many people, the ideals of Liberty, Justice and Equality would most likely form the backbone of any mythical story. We might, therefore, be forgiven for thinking it rather odd that Rome, one of the greatest cities ever known, chose to base its founding almost entirely on these two stories. The first is that of Aeneas, a wandering hero who abandoned his North African lover; leaving her to smoulder on a self-constructed funeral pyre and, as a result, unleashing one of the bloodiest wars in antiquity upon his people. The second is that of Romulus and Remus, twins rescued from impending doom and nurtured by a she-wolf and a woodpecker. But, what can these stories tell us about identity? Clearly any founding legend would want to encapsulate the values of a given society, and it is values that are surely most important to the constitution of one's identity.

Virgil started writing his famous account of the story of Aeneas in 29BC, a time of great upheaval in Rome, both social and political. The republican system of government, which had proudly served Rome for nearly 500 years, was in a state of complete ruin following a series of disastrous civil wars. Augustus, the soon-to-be emperor, wished to establish moral order within the city, something that he and many others believed had been lost in the first century BC when vast influxes of wealth from the Near East had rocked the very foundations of republican morality. The solution for Augustus was simple: the old traditions of civic duty, family, religion and an overall stoic approach to life were to be infused with new ideas, namely order, obedience and a desire for good, firm governance. Within this context, the *Aeneid* shows us how Romans identified themselves during this great period of transition. Aeneas exemplifies many of these republican values. He is devoted to his family, refusing to let his father and son burn in the ruins of Troy despite the obvious dangers surrounding him. He obeys the wishes of the mighty gods, even if it means abandoning Dido, the woman he loves, leading to her suicide and eventually the series of protracted wars against her people, the Carthaginians. The republican values of determination and responsibility are manifest, but Aeneas is guided by a higher power, not by his own sense of duty.

What does this tell us about Roman identity at this time? The word 'dependence' does not fit with the republican ideal, something that embodies self-determination and an innate sense of duty towards the state. Dependence on a higher power is an imperial ideal. The Roman people were now dependent on Augustus and the Julio-Claudian family, rather than being able to elect their own leaders and magistrates, and this is something that is undoubtedly highlighted in Aeneas' character, unmistakably indicative of a change in values and identity. The revival of republican morals and values by Augustus came at the cost of liberty, and consequently the identity of the Romans evolved with the new political realities. The foundation legend consequently shows us that, for the first time, the way Romans saw themselves – their very identity - was changing.

But, for a city like Rome one foundation myth was never going to be enough. The story of Romulus and Remus is well-known, possibly because of the irresistible allure of stories involving maternally-instinctive wolves and fratricide. The story, rich with benevolent woodpeckers and murderous grandfathers, seems strange to modern ears and we find it hard to understand why any Roman could identify with it. Nevertheless, scratch below the surface and the story has a lot to say about how the Romans perceived themselves. Yes, the twins have divine lineage through

both of their parents, but the most interesting part of the story must surely concern the she-wolf. The wolf is used as a device by which to illustrate the central theme of the story, that of coming from little to achieve greatness. The historian Livy noticed this too and stated in his analysis of the legend that 'Cities, as well as all other things, take their rise from the lowliest beginnings'. From these lowly beginnings, the innate resolve and sense of duty of the twins, with divine help, allows Romulus to achieve greatness by founding the city that would eventually rule over the known world. The story is therefore integral to our understanding of Roman identity.

At heart, the Romans refused to be second best at anything – the grizzly wars with Carthage perhaps being the greatest embodiment of this spirit. In an attempt to fill his newly-built city, Romulus decided to establish an asylum on the Capitoline Hill for those unwanted in other parts of Italy, namely fugitives and exiles. Livy states 'Thither fled, from the surrounding peoples, a miscellaneous rabble, without distinction of bond or free, eager for new conditions; and these constituted the first advance in power towards that greatness at which Romulus aimed'. Why would the Romans want to present themselves as descendants of criminals and runaways? The reasoning is twofold. Partly the answer again lies in the desire to be seen as having come from nothing to achieve universal dominance, a theme that is also seen in the modern world. For example, the subject of the bronze inscription on the Statue of Liberty is almost identical to that of Livy's: 'Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore.' But though the image is certainly powerful, exuding an almost effortless arrogance, what the story of the Capitoline asylum really tells us is about the ethnic identity of the Romans.

These were a people who were proud of their Italian and Greek roots, never ones to present themselves as an isolated people. The fact that Livy, writing hundreds of years after the Roman conquest of Italy, still considers this story worthy of mention shows how the Romans were still willing to identify themselves as a multi-ethnic people with humble origins. **ML**

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POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE ON SCOTTISH ARCHAEOLOGY

TOM GARDNER

In 2014 all Scots over sixteen are going to be asked whether Scotland should become independent. This will have wide social and ideological ramifications whatever the result, but this article will focus on the impacts which this change may have upon Scottish archaeology as a discipline. The chances for employment for graduates in archaeology are currently very poor; yet an independent Scotland, potentially released from the economic shackles and bias of Westminster in 2014 and benefitting from the vast potential of the Scottish tourist industry could improve this. Or, it could send Scotland into an economic crash that could cut all funding for archaeology for the next decade. A difficult decision; with safety and slow growth as a parochial part in 'Great' Britain's economy on one hand, and on the other a dangerous leap of faith which could bring massive funding, pride and potential for Scottish archaeology. Personally, I am finding it hard to make the decision of which way to vote in 2014, as I am stuck between the pride of the country I love, or the stability of the career I fervently want to pursue.

I have spoken to two archaeologists on the matter; Professor I. Ralston, Head of Archaeology at Edinburgh University and current Abercromby Professor of Pre-History, and Professor G. Thomas, also of Edinburgh University and school Undergraduate Director to gain a better understanding of the potential change. Discussed will be the possible impacts upon applied archaeology, community archaeology, cultural heritage and universities. First, we should briefly examine how Scottish archaeology is fairing currently before exploring its potential changes.

Since the modern push for independence began in Scotland the archaeological community has received mixed messages. The Culture and Heritage Department of the Scottish parliament, seems to give funding to a chain of flagship heritage schemes like Historic Scotland's Scottish 10 and Culloden with one hand, and take funding from the National Museum of Scotland with the other. Scotland's Culture minister has been changed so frequently that continuous heritage management policy seems impossible. On the applied archaeology side of things it looks slightly better. Although there have been few large developments, there are smaller schemes with the development of renewable energy and commercial companies such as Wessex Archaeology and CFA hiring new staff in Scotland. In community archaeology there has been a massive new interest as most grants from Historic Scotland and other funding areas now require some level of community involvement. Universities interestingly remain relatively unchanged. All of these facets give a complex backdrop to examine, but one that could be changed radically with an independent Scotland.

Archaeology in cultural heritage is something we don't tend to think about, but organisations such as the NMS, RCAHMS and Historic Scotland employ many archaeologists and are heavily influenced by the Scottish parliament's culture heritage department. A few Scottish sites of national importance, such as Culloden and Bannockburn, have undergone large amounts of regeneration work with funding from Holyrood. If Scotland becomes independent, we may see more developments like this that could 'cement a Scottish cultural identity and provide a tourist boost focused on the struggle for Scottish independence', according to Professor Gordon Thomas. Sites such as these have been a success, with Culloden winning several awards and vastly increasing visitor footfall. Apart from these flagship schemes would we see widespread development and employment on behalf of the Scottish government? Professor Ian Ralston is not so sure: 'I don't see culture heritage changing.' The NMS has recently undergone a vastly beneficial re-haul, yet their archaeologist employment remains relatively low. If funding was increased by parliament, we could see the potential for more jobs created there, as it potentially assumes a similar role to the British Museum. The impacts we could see on the heritage sector due to Scottish independence may be cause for some small hope. If funding is extended past single flagship projects to the development of a range of cultural developments focused around archaeology there could be many new jobs created and an increase in public

interest in archaeology.

Applied archaeology depends more than any other facet on the financial situation of an independent Scotland, for if there were no money for development in the private sector, there would be no need for archaeologists to oversee construction. However, if there is a building boom in infrastructure, industry and tourism we will see a huge increase in the demand for Scottish archaeologists and more solely Scottish commercial contractors. This is an area which does not depend so much upon government policy, but which will employ many archaeologists. Professor Ralston can see the potential for a housing boom associated with immigration and government policy, and archaeologists being needed to support this. Similarly if there are any large independent schemes like the development of Glasgow University in 1974 then these could offer massive amounts of short-term work for Scottish commercial archaeologists. This all relies upon the funding and investment being there to support an increase in construction work.

Universities seem to be the most stable, as they are largely out-with the control of the government. With the increase in student fees in 2010 we could see a bias emerging in undergraduate intake towards a more wealthy background. How this would influence Scottish archaeology is unclear, but it may decrease the applications of archaeology students in favour of history or classics courses. Professor Gordon Thomas agreed that there would not be a huge immediate influence upon Scottish archaeology in universities, but in time, if Scotland gains a reputation as a nation proficient in archaeology, we could see an increase in applications.

The impact that Scottish independence could have upon Scottish archaeology depends on too many variables; the wealth of the country, the attitudes and policies of the Scottish government and the reputation we could gain if all goes well. I just hope that in a year and a half I worked out which way to vote. **TG**

Do you believe that Scottish Independence would have a positive or negative effect on Scottish Archaeology? Join the debate at www.retrospectjournal.co.uk/identity/indyref

SITTING ON THE FENCE

RORY McIVOR

We are all guilty of making minor adjustments to our accents depending on where we are or who we are with. Indeed, we nearly all have a 'phone voice' in which our annunciation crystallizes and, particularly when speaking to relatives near or distant, an unfamiliar and disconcertingly false tone of warmth envelops our speech. But for the Northern Irishman, the slightest changes in speech tend to reveal slightly more about to whom we are speaking, or rather more, the picture of ourselves that we intend to paint.

Firstly, and common to an overwhelming majority of Northern Irish people (a phrase one can rarely use in matters of identity), is the resoluteness with which we declare ourselves as anything but English. One doesn't have to delve too deeply into the history books to uncover the sources or expressions of this anti-English mentality. Irishmen still bellow out songs such as the 'Fields of Athenry' in which references to 'Trevelyan's Corn' and the sufferings of the Irish population in the face of English neglect throughout the potato famine convey a deep-seated resentment. This very clear standpoint raises the question as to why so many Northern Irishmen find it so easy to adopt a 'British Identity'. Anybody with any understanding of the seedlings of Unionism within Ireland will recognize why Protestants in Northern Ireland celebrate so vehemently their 'cultural heritage', which obviously celebrates the union with Great Britain. More interesting, however, is the more recent willingness of a Catholic Middle-Class to get on board with the surge of a 'Keep Calm and Carry On' culture.

It is with increasing frequency that young people in Northern Ireland are getting swept along with inherently 'British' crazes. Take the clothing label 'Jack Wills'. The brand unashamedly advertises themselves as 'outfitters to the gentry' and moreover, as 'Fabulously British', however, the extent to which this deters fourteen and fifteen year girls from Catholic backgrounds from tormenting their parents with demands for the £100 gilets is minimal. Furthermore, the mass hysteria surrounding the Royal Wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge undoubtedly extended to the homes of the Catholic middle-class in Northern Ireland. So do we care any more? Is it not now a case of jumping on whichever bandwagon puts us in the most advantageous position?

For Northern Irish unionists, excluding, of course of the small minority who remain somewhat lost in time, the Irish identity frequently weaves its way into their self-presentation. Even the proudest, when found in foreign lands come the 17th March, are likely to give in to the beckoning of a pint of Guinness at the local pub, all in the name of St. Pat! What's more, the Northern Irishman overseas is just as likely to adopt even more of a pivotal role in the celebrations; donning an Ireland rugby shirt and a Leprechaun's wig, they will take on the mantle of the 'token Irishman'…but shouldn't this be contrary to both their political and religious standpoints? At first glance, yes. This, however, is the essence of the both the Northern Irish confusion and also the unique nature of the Irish identity. Irishmen are welcomed the world over. Whether it be in a roadside diner in Oklahoma or the bustling streets of Tokyo; the stereotype of the jovial Irishman is one provides a fallback too comfortable for a Northern Irishman abroad.

So why is this expression of identity so important to the Northern Irish? Take the recent controversy surrounding Graeme McDowell and Rory McIlroy's representative choices for the forthcoming Olympics in Rio de Janeiro where golf will feature on the schedule for the first time since 1924. Whilst McIlroy comes from a Protestant background, growing up one of Northern Ireland's more Anglicised areas, McDowell comes from a mixed background; his father is Protestant and his mother a Catholic. This dilemma opens brings to the fore the very question of whether the Northern Irishman, with no driving political or religious inclinations is British or Irish at heart. McDowell said in an interview with The Telegraph: 'I come from a mixed-religion family. My mum's Catholic and my dad's Protestant. And my mum would probably like me to play for Ireland, and my dad might like me to play for Britain. But then I always kind of sit on the fence because that's exactly the only place I can sit. I'd play for whatever team would have me come 2016.' This idea of the Northern Irishman sitting on the fence is perhaps the most useful way to consider the identity dilemma. Sitting on the fence allows the Northern Irishman to swing his legs round to whichever side appears most appealing at any one time.

Ultimately, a place on the fence is one that ought to be cherished. Few countrymen can reap the benefits simultaneously of two great nations renowned for such varying qualities. The Northern Irishman is privileged in having his right to turn on the dulcet tones of the Irish romantic and remain so entitled to the works of Shakespeare. The fence upon which we sit is neither sharp nor jagged, rather the fence cushions our rather confused state of identity and effectively allows us to define ourselves any which way we please! **RM**

MATRYOSHKA DOLLS AND COMBAT VOLUNTEERS: VARYING REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN IN RUSSIA

ELLIE BYRNE

Like the delicately painted faces of the Matryoshka dolls Russian women have often been portrayed as strikingly stoic, invoking the very essence of traditionalism in Russian culture. Customarily, the Matryoshka dolls have five layers that are each smaller mirror images of the largest doll. However, whilst this metaphor of multiple layers may fit the descriptive identity of women, history has revealed an ever-changing embellishment and position of Russian women in society. Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, Stalin's 'Woman Question' and Hollywood's dominatrix villains all stereotypes that have been thrust on Russian women, but are any of these truly accurate?

Classic Russian novels of the nineteenth-century 'Golden Age' were instrumental in the creation of three types of stereotypical female characters. Firstly, the tolerant, ageing and traditional matriarch epitomizing Imperial Russian high society in thought, religion and feeling. Second, the beautifully innocent young affluent girl, overwrought with love and affection for a man of military standing, who is ultimately treated to a blissful ending. Finally, the spirited peasant girl, who had either been taken advantage of by her master or considered too ugly to be noticed and ends the novel the way in which she began: alone. Although authors constructed their characters differently, it is *Anna Karenina* that stands out to this day. Tolstoy's Anna was initially seen as 'breaking the rules'. Older, but still an unparalleled beauty, she seemed to be the idyllic Russian heroine. However, yet again, Anna's life was torn apart by her love affair with the younger Count Vronsky, for whose sake she suffered a fall from grace that left her unable to continue with life.

Nineteenth century Russian literature spread unequal ideas of suicide, which became another facet of culture and society in which men and women were regarded differently. A woman could not commit the noble and heroic suicide that a man could in a duel or as a sacrifice for the sake of one held dear. A woman would not be regarded as a martyr, but simply as a human who became overcome by feelings of unrequited or doomed love. Tolstoy follows the trend of female suicides, which suggest a weakness in character, stemming from their sex. Tolstoy's women are driven by their emotions into situations from which suicide seems to be the only escape. Anna's suicide is infamous in literary circles, but does the female weakness portrayed in the novel give an accurate representation? Gayle

THE CHANGING PROVENANCE OF ZIMBABWE'S STONE WALLS

SAM WILLIAMSON

Archaeology has been used as a tool in the construction of identity since the nineteenth century, a period during which important excavations were taking place across Europe and the Near East. In 1871 German explorer, Carl Mauch, announced the discovery of Ophir – the gold-rich biblical city associated with King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba – in the most unlikely of places: Mashonaland, in Zimbabwe. The extraordinary relationship between this country and its archaeological namesake has documented the ways the discipline is used and misrepresented for political purposes.

Mauch's 'discovery' was more a calculated treasure hunt than a chance find. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had usurped the Arabs as the primary traders on the southeast African coast. They recorded a vast empire to the west named Monomotapa and the rumour of an abandoned stone fortress that contained a tall stone tower and was situated close to gold-mines. Suggestions that this could be Ophir were raised in the seventeenth century.

The ruins, covering an area of about two hundred acres, lie in the east of the country, on a highly fertile plateau. Initial occupation reached back to the early African Iron Age in 300AD but the iconic mortarless stone walls constituted a fairly short time period in the overall chronology – from just 1250 to 1450AD. Chinese and Near Eastern goods testify to a far-reaching trade network and emphasise the importance of the city. At its zenith, it may have been home to over 18, 000 people, and as an over-strained economy has been posited as a reason for its abandonment.

Mauch was in fact directed to the ruins by the Karanga tribesmen, an ancestral group of the modern Shona people that still occupy the area, who were newcomers to the vicinity, and denied building the stone city. The Great Enclosure is the most significant and interesting complex in the vast site, with a large wall with chevron-patterned masonry surrounding a court-like structure and conical stone tower – reminiscent of the Portuguese records. Mauch identified this as the Queen of Sheba's palace and reported that the Karanga spoke of an ancient Caucasian race that had ruled over the area long ago. Whether this is fabrication or a misunderstanding on either Mauch or his Karangas guides' part is uncertain, but the words were taken literally and it set in motion one side of the argument that has since come to be known as the 'Zimbabwe Controversy'. Were the builders an indigenous black people, or foreign whites?

With the establishment of the British colony Rhodesia in 1895, closer investigations into the ruins began. The exotic origins theory was a good source of propaganda for colonialist ambition and inspired books like Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, which encouraged an ideology within the settler community of a legitimised land-retrieval. Cecil Rhodes – the colony's founder – came into possession of an artefact plundered from the ruins: a soapstone bird. Henceforth, the 'Zimbabwe bird' became an important emblem in both Rhodesia and Zimbabwe's state iconography. Although Rhodesian Ancient Ruins Ltd – an organisation given essentially legalised looting rights of all Zimbabwe's prehistoric sites – were denied access to Great Zimbabwe, an irreparable amount of destruction took place in the form of excavations by men like Theodore Bent and Richard Hall. Untrained in archaeological methods and motivated by greed, they ripped through metres of archaeologically significant stratigraphy – which they termed recent 'filth and decadence of the Kaffir occupation' – in their search for valuable artefacts and evidence to support the foreign origins theory. The Conical Tower was seen as a Phoenician shrine and the Great Enclosure a replica of King Solomon's Phoenician-designed

Green, author of *Women, Character and Society in Tolstoy's Anna Karenina* expresses her indignation 'I am not the first reader of Anna Karenina to react with outrage and indignation at Tolstoy's treatment of Anna, nor will I be the last.' Green concludes that Tolstoy's countless contradictions of Anna's strong character with her untimely death illustrate the inaccuracies of stereotypical Russian women.

The twentieth century brought a change and stratified the Matryoshka woman. With unprecedented conflict, famine and revolutions deviations from the traditional gender hierarchy erupted at the forefront of Russian society. The most interesting example of this would be the Women's Death Battalion. In the spring of 1917 a number of women began pressing the new Provisional Government to expand female participation in the war, and particularly to form combat units of women volunteers. These women, along high-ranking military backers, believed that female soldiers would add significant propaganda value, and their examples of bravery would revitalize the weary, dispirited men of the Russian army. It is easier to conclude that these women were simply propaganda tools for the government, as many did not see any actual combat. However, the real significance of groups like these is the stark contrast to the aforementioned 'society' women of just a century before.

The Stalinist era saw the identity of Russian women revert to old-fashioned gender roles. After a rather small part in the Stakhanovite movements of the Five Year Plans, the emphasis fell back onto family under Stalin's 'Great Retreat'. Again women were found themselves on the Soviet posters but this time the prevalence of female protagonists was closely connected with the promotion of the Stalin cult: women modelled the ideal attitude of 'love, honour, and obedience'. In this era the individual identity of Russian women was once again relegated in favour of wholeheartedly supporting their country and their leader. As the author of *Russian Women's Studies*, Tatyana Mamonova, argues that: 'Russian women were left to deal with their problems in private' and showing public weakness or unhappiness in Stalin's strong 'New Society' was not an option.

Yet again, it seems that stereotypes and historical accuracy do not always concur. Russian women have had a more central role in Russian society we are led to believe by literature and fictional stereotypes. A good example is provided by the diligence of Russian women in supporting the war effort in the First World War and their undaunted attitude during the harsh Stalinist era. **EB**

court. Hall proposed an ancient three-thousand year old Semitic origin for the ruins, his theories based on the small, shaky selection of paralleled architectural evidence and the foreign trade goods that had been wrangled from the mess he and his predecessors had created.

Trained archaeologists David MacIver and Gertrude Caton-Thomson later studied the ruins, the former in 1905, the latter in 1929. Both came to the conclusion that Great Zimbabwe was medieval in date, of indigenous origin, and not dissimilar in culture to the Karanga. Despite the convincing proof and the support of renowned archaeologists like Sir Arthur Evans, Hall dismissed MacIver's work with an argument based not on archaeological fact, but racial theory, claiming the ruins were beyond the local population's construction capabilities. Blindsided by racial prejudices that, whilst not unanimous, were definitely prevalent among European settlers in southern Africa, many Rhodesians agreed with Hall and saw the indigenous hypothesis as unfeasible and a Pro-African conspiracy. Rhodesian history would suffer for many years because of this rift between academic and emotional understandings of the past, despite a continued stream of supporting evidence for an African origin. Right up until independence in the 1980s, a small white minority fabricated, manipulated and censored the truth about the ruins in an effort to deny the indigenes a history, and by default, an identity and a claim to the land.

Rising Black Nationalism in the 1960s made use of the indigenous origins evidence at Great Zimbabwe to give a positive history to all of the country's African tribes. The ruins became a heritage. This reclamation in turn supported indigenous claims to land in the same way the foreign origins hypothesis had previously legitimised colonialism. Nationalists went a step beyond the truth however, twisting the archaeologically narrative to wrongly identify the Monomotapa Empire as a common ancestor to all African Zimbabweans in an effort to strengthen ideas of a shared identity. With independence, the country's new name of Zimbabwe was a poignant statement of an identity and past recovered.

Whilst Great Zimbabwe remains an important nationalising monument today, there is still a purveying air of mystery expressed over it by the general public. That it is of African origin is not longer questioned, but many misattribute its construction to the Rozvi tribe; a later people who also worked in stone, but only after Great Zimbabwe's collapse. At a more intimate level, quarrels over who has rights to the custodianship of the ruins are rife. The three local clans in the vicinity – Mugabe, Murinye and Nemamwa – vie for the title, emphasising the inextricable link between Great Zimbabwe and political power. This is also reflected on a national scale with the concern that the current ZANU PF side of the government is trying to manipulate the past to glorify just the modern Shona tribe, despite the fact that the Great Zimbabwe builders would have been very different to their modern successors. New legends regarding the fate of Zimbabwe have been tied to the archaeology, specifically that the country will not see peace and prosperity again until the final Zimbabwe bird, currently in Cecil Rhodes' home in South Africa, is returned. **SW**

ACADEMIC

Careless Talk Costs...Unity?

H
Sarah Moxey

'Red White and Blue
What does it mean to you?
Surely your proud
Shout it aloud'

These lines from a song of the Second World War seem innocent enough, referring to the flag of Great Britain, the Union Jack, and encouraging the British people to embrace patriotism. Wartime songs were certainly designed to encourage the public to stay strong and support the war effort. However, not all of the British public responded as expected, or experienced the surge of national pride it demanded. Why? Because the title of the song was *There will always be an England*.

What was even more irritating for the other three nations of Great Britain were the references within the song to the 'Britons' and 'Empire' that were British rather than English.

It is commonly believed that Britain was wholly united during the Second World War. However, this idea is one that within the last two decades historians have tried to deconstruct. The image of Britain 'all in it together' is one of the most enduring legacies of the war. The war years have been used time and again in recent years as an example to modern day Britain of how to battle through tough times. Recently historians have increasingly challenged the suggestion that British national identity has never been as strong as it was during the Second World War. In particular, Angus Calder has tried to create an alternative narrative to the events of 1940 in his work *The Myth of the Blitz*.

The first year of any war is a key time to convince the public that they should be in favour of the conflict. Generally, governments will focus on gaining as much public support as possible. What is interesting about the British government's attitude in 1940 is that they rather unwittingly irritated some of the Scottish people with careless Scottish policies. Furthermore, there was the all too common mistake of supplanting 'Britain' with the less linguistically inclusive 'England'. These two factors did not help to integrate the Scottish people into the idea of a wartime British identity but caused resentment and pushed them further towards relating to only a Scottish identity.

These slippages of the tongue were of course unintentional. Ministers were often at a loss to understand why the appeal to 'England' would be so badly received in Scotland. As historian Richard Weight has argued, the spirit of Englishness has over time been amalgamated into a British identity. Using the phrase 'England' instead of 'Britain' was in no way malicious. Nevertheless, there is no denying that Scottish people were upset and angered by it.

One of the most noticeable mistakes made by the government was in May 1940. Minister for Information, Duff Cooper, made a radio broadcast to dispel rumours about how badly the French campaign was progressing. During the broadcast he referred to the 'Soldiers of England and France.' Evidently, he meant to say the soldiers of Great Britain. Unfortunately, this time the verbal slip-up was more insulting to Scotland as there were many Scottish regiments situated in France. This speech should have been a key moment to rally British resolve and further consolidate national support for the war. However, he inadvertently belittled the key part played by Scotland in the French campaign.

In the *Glasgow Herald* the next day, a letter from an angry reader accused Mr Cooper of having a suburban London mind, and wondered how much longer Scotland was to be insulted by narrow minded Englishmen

This momentary lapse in judgement was not unusual in 1940. Countless

By British Government [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

other letters written to Scottish newspapers, such as the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Edinburgh Evening News*, articulated readers' hurt and disgust. These letters expressed the opinion that 'Westminster minds' did not consider that speeches that addressed the 'English nation' or praised the 'English armies' would irritate Scotland and the other nations of the United Kingdom. Duff Cooper is not the only government minister who was guilty of using the term 'England' instead of 'Britain'.

Even in 1941, speech misdemeanours clearly persisted as Prime minster Winston Churchill received a letter of complaint from Scottish Labour MPs on the mistaken use of 'England' for 'Britain'. The great unifier of the British people subsequently replied stating that he saw no further need for special direction to be given to ministers on this subject. Churchill was perhaps rather shortsighted in his approach, failing to realise that he may undermine his own appeals to national unity by not addressing an issue which was important to a proportion of the people.

Comments made by the editor of the *Edinburgh Evening News* in March 1940 gave an interesting summary on the position of some Scots. The editor stated that while Scotland was part of Britain and Westminster was in charge, Scotland still retained her sense of nationhood and identity. Furthermore, it was for Scotland that Scotsmen in the forces were fighting for, and that Scotland was not to be treated as England's largest province. Although the *Edinburgh Evening News* was a fairly radical newspaper during this period it was still a powerful assertion that Scotland was not about to be drawn entirely into a government promoted idea of Britain. An appeal for distinction was clearly emphasised by readers writing into Scottish newspapers and the newspapers editors. However, what is unclear is whether or not they were projecting the mood of the nation or merely reflecting their own ideas onto the Scottish people.

Scottish temperament was also roused in 1940 due to a change in government policy towards a physical symbol of their national identity, the kilt. The war office believed the kilt was not appropriate battle dress and instructed that it was not to be worn during fighting. Although the practicalities of this policy did in many ways make sense, it did not stop resentment bubbling under the surface in Scotland. The Highlands especially reacted badly, with many considering the policy an attack on their regional identity. Regional pride in the kilted highland regiments was not to be underestimated.

A letter written to the *Glasgow Herald* amid the controversy suggests that the kilt was seen as a rebellious symbol of Scottish national identity and was suspiciously viewed by the Westminster government. The author suggests that the government would prefer uniformity to ensure unity within the armed forces and that no dangerous sub-national undertones were being harboured. Although this letter is highly emotive and the writer was clearly upset with the government, it does give an indication that there was an undercurrent of resentment developing in wartime Scotland.

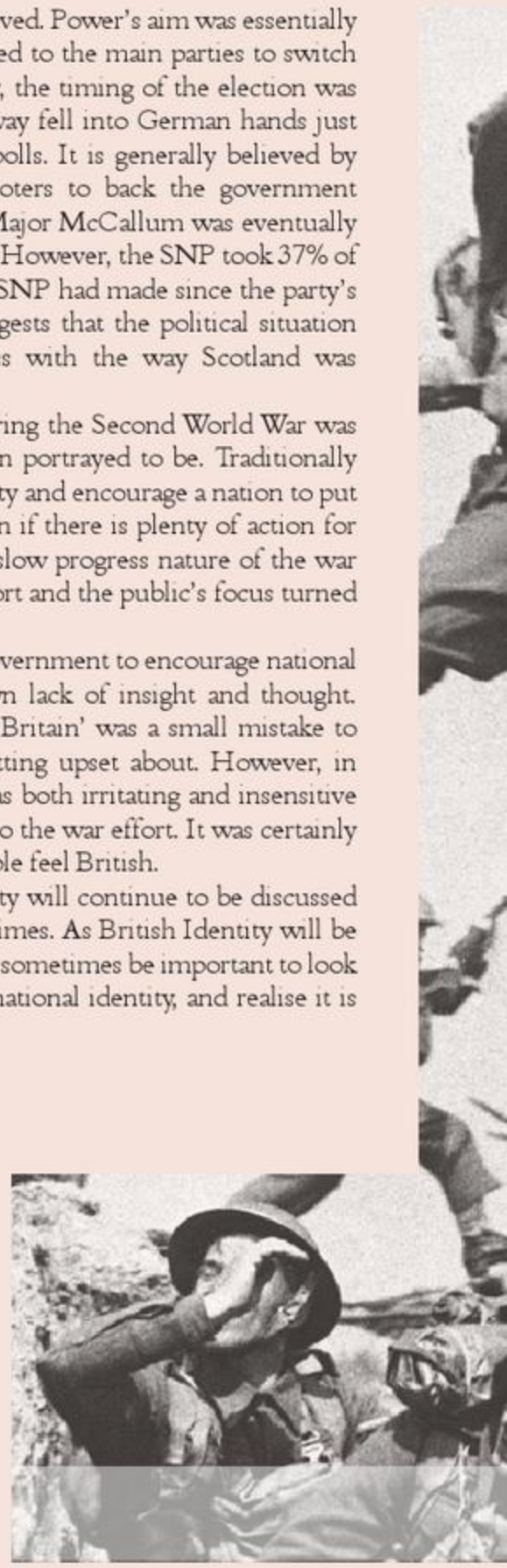
This idea of neglect of Scotland had roots in the depression of the 1930s when Scotland's main employers, the languishing heavy industries, were severely affected. Scots harboured a heavy disappointment at the lack of government assistance. The commencement of the Second World War hardly eroded Scottish bitterness towards Westminster. Indeed, gaffes such as the kilt controversy stirred up anger at the perceived neglect of Scottish sensibilities.

The clearest indication that this issue of Scotland's relationship with Britain was a cause for concern was in the Argyll by-election of 1940. By-elections provide an indication of the electorate's feelings on the government and their policy between general elections. This by-election caused the most controversy as the Scottish National Party (SNP) had decided to put in a candidate for election. The major parties had called an electoral truce during the war and the other main candidate for the seat was the resident occupier Major Duncan McCallum, a Conservative party member. The SNP candidate William Power was more interested in local issues, and tried to make this the centre of his campaign. He focused less on the war effort than his counterpart. Power tried to capitalise on some of the particularly Scottish issues of 1940 and claimed that the current MP was too involved in war issues to pay attention to his constituents' needs. He tried argued that only the SNP would give their grievances the attention they deserved. Power's aim was essentially to convince voters previously committed to the main parties to switch to the SNP as a protest vote. However, the timing of the election was rather unfortunate for Power, as Norway fell into German hands just three days before Argyll went to the polls. It is generally believed by political historians that this caused voters to back the government candidate in a time of national crisis. Major McCallum was eventually victorious with a majority of over 5000. However, the SNP took 37% of the vote. This was the biggest gain the SNP had made since the party's formation. This by-election result suggests that the political situation in Scotland reflected the unhappiness with the way Scotland was treated by Westminster.

Overall, British national identity during the Second World War was not quite the unifying force it has been portrayed to be. Traditionally wars are touted as events that foster unity and encourage a nation to put aside their differences. This can happen if there is plenty of action for the people to focus on. However, the slow progress nature of the war in 1940 made it difficult to retain support and the public's focus turned towards internal disagreements.

Some of the attempts made by the government to encourage national unity often backfired due to their own lack of insight and thought. Using the term 'England' in place of 'Britain' was a small mistake to the English it seems hardly worth getting upset about. However, in Scotland these phrases were regarded as both irritating and insensitive and neglected Scotland's contribution to the war effort. It was certainly not the ideal way to make Scottish people feel British.

The story of wartime national identity will continue to be discussed and re-shaped particularly in modern times. As British Identity will be scrutinised over the coming years it can sometimes be important to look back on the past formation of British national identity, and realise it is not always as simple as it seems. **SM**



Black Watch soldiers, 1940
via Wikimedia Commons

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'Generating Identity In C18th Britain'

Dr Andrew Wells
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'Identity' as a topic of general cultural and specific scholarly interest has exploded in the last quarter of a century. To take one crude measure, the contents of Raymond Williams's magisterial *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, did not even contain a separate entry for 'identity' when first published in 1976 or when revised in 1985. It has since appeared in the collection *New Keywords*, published in 2005. Of course, much as it can be argued that all history is contemporary/local/intellectual/social (etc.) history, the case can be made that 'identity' has been at the heart of historical scholarship since the inception of the discipline, and even earlier. David Hume's *History of England* (1754-61) was part of the Scottish effort to consolidate the Union, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (History of the Kings of Britain, c.1139) worked to establish a heroic lineage for the Welsh, and the establishment of a coherent identity for the Normans was one of the results of the monk Orderic Vitalis's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Ecclesiastical History, c.1114-41).

But scholarship of recent years has interrogated more closely and directly not merely specific identities (race, class, gender, sex, sexuality, nation, religion, and so on), but also the processes underlying identity formation, development, reproduction, and destruction. In so doing, a range of insights has been offered and these have been of immediate benefit to historians. Rather than 'essentialised' entities, an expression of the inner essence or nature of a person, identities are now understood as polymorphous things, sometimes working together, sometimes in tension, often imagined, always part of the interaction between an individual and their culture. They are therefore performative and related closely to what they are not: the Self requires an Other in order to be meaningful. But today the coherence of that 'Self', the repository of a range of identities we all bear, is being broken down by the currents of globalisation and by its digitisation into a range of electronic avatars that are both important components of our contemporary existence and their most vulnerable part. The growth of the web and email, Facebook and Twitter, and the reconfiguration of 'credit card fraud' into the altogether more disturbing 'identity theft' show the maelstrom into which our ideas of identity have been lately plunged.

Notwithstanding the state of permanent revolution into which our identities have been embroiled by the Internet, and the welter of remarkable scholarship that has emerged in recent years, our historical understanding of 'identity' itself (rather than its forms) can be somewhat limited. Take Dror Wahrman's superb *Making of the Modern Self* (2004), for example. This book seeks, with breathtaking ambition, to explain changes in sex, gender, race, and class (and the nature of the human/animal divide, to boot), all as a result of the American Revolution. More specifically, as a result of a reconfiguration of the notion of identity towards the 'modern self', which supposedly took place between 1780 and 1782. This remarkable thesis is deeply problematic for several reasons, the chief of which appears be a straightforward category mistake. Wahrman identifies changes across many – but by no means all – categories of identity, and then argues that 'identity' *itself* changes during the American war. This conclusion is not supported by the evidence, and it exposes assumptions that seem to beg more questions than they settle. For one thing, the argument assumes a 'trickle-down' change that Wahrman has nevertheless identified from the 'bottom up': by detecting a pattern of changes among categories of identity, he proceeds to argue that identity itself has altered and that this has produced a cascading change among its categories. This assumption is based on another: that there is a close and unmediated relationship between 'identity' as an abstract concept and identities as lived historical realities. The scholarship of recent years has moved away from such an essentialised model of identity towards one which is more performative and polymorphous, and which does not appear to be reflected in these assumptions.

My new book, *Generating Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, addresses some of these issues. It seeks to offer a history of certain identities – race and sex – and a special subcategory of identity to which they both belong: 'somatic' (or 'bodily') identity. It makes two basic arguments. First, it asserts that race and sex (by which is meant sexual difference) are two categories of identity that are fundamentally the same. They both based on or in the human body, which is 'read' to establish an individual's racial or sexual identity: skin colour, hair style, genital configuration, and other features are interpreted as a sign of racial or sexual identity. As such, an empiricist epistemology, which privileges the sensible world over supernatural or religious knowledge, is necessary for these identities to be detectable. And so, second, modern forms of race and sex only came to be when this empirical theory of knowledge came to the fore, over the course of the 'long' eighteenth century (roughly 1660 to 1840). It was only possible to imagine male and female as 'opposite' sexes, or that white and black peoples were of different races when Biblical stories of all people being created from a single couple, or of woman created from man's rib, ceased to hold sway.

Of course, the inhumanity of transatlantic slavery, apartheid and segregation, and the Holocaust have all demonstrated that race is a very dangerous fiction indeed, and it is easy to imagine that 'race' has been historically constructed, misusing the natural variety of the human species as a basis for manufacturing invidious distinctions. But what of sex? Sexual dimorphism appears to be an essential characteristic of the most complicated lifeforms, and thus 'sex' is arguably more 'real' than race ever was. Indeed, it is no more possible to argue for the non-existence of sexual differences than that humans do not have different hair or skin pigmentation. But it is possible to claim, as Judith Butler has done, that 'sex' is as fictional an abstraction as 'race'. In her argument, the performance that is part and parcel of 'gender' (which Joan Scott has aptly described as 'the social organisation of sexual difference') is ultimately materialised as 'sex': in other words, sex is gender made flesh. For example, female anatomy was progressively interpreted over the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century as specifically designed for producing children. The uterus became the quintessential female organ, and female-specific illnesses, such as hysteria, derived their name from it. These biological 'truths' became the basis for practices of social exclusion, justified by being grounded in 'nature'. As we can now see, any distinction between cultural 'gender' and biological 'sex' breaks down when we realise that our understanding of biology is inherently based on our culture, and the paramount place within it held by 'science' and 'nature'.

Generating Identity explores the development of 'race' and 'sex' in eighteenth-century British culture, and examines some of the key features of 'somatic identity', most notably its dependence on an empiricist theory of knowledge. The key mechanism by which race and sex are interrelated is sexual reproduction. Not merely are two distinct sexes required for

reproductive activity, meaning that study of reproduction in the period helped to define the two sexes, but procreation gives rise to new 'races' via processes of ethnogenesis, recently a topic of great interest for historians of the Atlantic world.

The book shows that reproduction was no minor topic of interest in the eighteenth century. Governments and scholars agreed that the fundamental measure of the prosperity and happiness of a society was the size of its population. Declining numbers were a serious worry, as there would be fewer hands to produce and consume goods, contribute to taxation, or fill the ranks of the army or navy. Britain's concern about its population was particularly pressing: its population of just over 6 million was dwarfed by that of its Catholic rivals France and Spain. So, encouraging the growth of Britain's population was particularly pressing. But how best to promote this end? Public health reforms were in their infancy, and immigration was just as divisive an issue then as now. Reproduction seemed to be the only uncontroversial solution, so various measures were promoted both to encourage procreation and to condemn unproductive sex.

This was also the case in Britain's growing empire, especially once the slave trade to British colonies and the US ended in 1808. Encouragements to reproduce were toyed with in the slave colonies of the Caribbean, but they foundered on the rocks of planter hostility. Christian monogamous matrimony was widely held to be the only relationship within which procreation could take place, and slaveowners were unwilling to compete with enslaved husbands for power over their wives, and they were equally averse to baptising – and hence, in Protestant confessions, to teaching basic literacy to – their slaves.

Moving beyond the realm of political economy and population engineering, the book argues that theories of reproduction themselves directly fused sex and race together. Scientists such as the Comte de Buffon (1707-88) argued that the chief mechanism for creating 'racial' differences between people – the climate – worked in tandem with sexual reproduction. Some speculated that whole races of albino people might be created by controlling the reproduction of people with albinism. Mixed race individuals were used to prove that males and females played an equal role in sexual reproduction, and their (in)fertility was used to argue for the fundamental unity or disunity of the human species.

Even if we accept that empirical methods and the human body were combined to create new 'somatic identities', what do these identities mean? What does it mean to be male or female, black or white? Such meanings are not intrinsic to the anatomical features used to identify someone's race or sex, so they must come from elsewhere. The book argues that older moral and social values not merely survived the emergence of these new forms of identity, but they actually provided these new identities with their content. It highlights examples from the eighteenth century where bodies were marked because of their moral or immoral behaviour. Much of this was nothing new – 'monstrous' births had been remarked upon since antiquity – but certain features were incorporated within new medical models at the same time as others were discarded in the process of creating new concepts of race and sex.

Racial theorists were also deeply interested in sex. Sexual reproduction was at the heart of *the* key definition of species used in the period, and species was a category that was endlessly chewed over by the attackers and defenders of racial difference. Theorists soon found that skin colour itself was an inadequate bodily marker of racial difference, so they began to move underneath the skin, but not before they paid exhaustive attention to breasts and genitals. These anatomical features, it was believed, were uniquely important in ascertaining racial identity, whether based on the length of the foreskin, or the size, shape, and rigidity of the female pudenda.

But empiricism did not solely depend upon sight: other senses were used as well. African slaves, for example, were believed to have a unique – and disagreeable – odour. The book examines the nature of empirical investigation by analysing two discourses which have become closely associated with the 'pseudoscience' of race: physiognomy and phrenology. Both of these discredited projects – and they were widely discredited at the time, not simply since – exemplify the range of features and models which racial and sexual theorists were prepared to use in outlining their ideas. Language, too, was a key component of racial theories: the sophistication of a language was used to place its speakers in the appropriate link of the 'Great Chain of Being'.

The book concludes with an explicit examination of processes of ethnogenesis underway in the British Caribbean. Through comparisons with India, North America, and the Pacific, chapter 7 demonstrates that slavery was the key motive force behind the creation of elaborate racial models in Britain's slave colonies. Slavery produced race both as a consequence of white sexual predation on the slave population (which produced people of colour) and in order to engineer a social order in which whiteness held a monopoly on power, facilitating tactics of divide and rule. However, the ambivalence and fundamental instability of racial categories is laid bare by the confusion of terms used in slave registration returns, a confusion not helped by the fact that *the* key racial identifier – 'negro' – was simultaneously a racial *and* an economic category. Notwithstanding this ambivalence and instability (which goes some way to demonstrating the fictionality of race), and the demise of the institution which helped to create it in the 1830s, race was, by the mid-nineteenth century, too useful for maintaining colonial rule to be dispensed with. **AW**

Race, Sex & The Body In Enlightenment Britain

This essay is a summary of the argument offered in my forthcoming book. Any reflections, questions, or comments would be gratefully received.

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WHOSE ALEXANDER IS IT ANYWAY?

Ancient Macedon, Alexander the Great and Modern Identity in the Balkans

Daniel Keller

Writing in the late nineteenth century, Ernst Renan commented that 'no nation traces its origins back to Alexander the Great's momentous adventure'. Whilst it would be fallacious to claim that Alexander's short-lived empire to the East of the Dardanelles sowed the seeds of any nation-states in Asia, his legacy has certainly given importance to the relatively small region from which he came. Indeed, the achievements of Philip II of Macedon and his son Alexander have handed such significance to their origins that these have become the *gravamina* of one of Europe's most hotly contested political disputes.

Greek concerns regarding both territory and identity have led them to confront the fledgling state of the Republic of Macedon (or FYROM) over the perceived appropriation of names and symbols that Greeks believe to be inherently Hellenistic. Put simply, the Greek position is that as a Macedonian, Alexander was undoubtedly Greek and so they have challenged the former Yugoslav Republic's right to call themselves 'Macedonian'. The government in Athens argues that ancient Macedon pertains solely to a wider Hellenistic legacy with no Slavic connection whatsoever. However, there is more than the question of identity at stake. Some Greeks fear that by surrendering this apparent keystone of their national identity, they will also be ceding claims to the large part of ancient Macedon that is currently within Greece's borders.

As Tziampiris has accurately observed, 'the identity of ancient Macedonians is thus not a quaint academic issue about antiquity but one that has been at the heart of contemporary disputes, often with very real consequences'. Keeping these greater ramifications in mind, it seems evident that history (the earlier, the better) is an integral facet when examining national identity in an inclusive sense. However, the role of ancient Macedon in these disputes does more than simply help to identify what is subsumed within national identity. Perhaps more importantly, it provides an insight into the position of national identity as potential tool in the external political sphere.

Although the topic will appear, I do not seek to argue if Alexander the Great should be understood as a Slavic-Macedonian or Greco-Macedonian hero. Rather, I will further explain the role played by ancient Macedon in the disputes between the two states before demonstrating what this role tells us about national identity, both inclusively and exclusively.

Greece acquired 'Aegean Macedonia' in 1913. Not only was this the largest part of the Balkans region known as Macedonia, it also contained fertile land and encompassed most of the ancient kingdom of Macedon as it was when Philip II came to power. Following the creation and subsequent breakup of Alexander's vast empire, the Antigonid kingdom of Macedon controlled a sizeable area of the Balkans (until its end on the battlefield at Pydna in 168 BC). This region probably covered much of the modern Republic of Macedon, parts of Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and a reasonably large section of northern Greece.

As aforementioned, the heartland of the ancient kingdom of Macedon lay in what is now the Greek province of Macedonia. As such, the use of the name Macedon or Macedonia in the former Yugoslav territory to the north is unacceptable to Greeks. At first glance, this seems to be a minor point of contention. What is in a name? In this case, Greece believe that by taking the name Macedon, their new neighbouring state may then proceed to lay claim to the rest of the eponymous region. As far as the government in Athens is concerned, the region is extremely ethnically mixed (ever since the Slavic influx of the sixth century AD) with no ethnic group identifiable as 'Macedonians'. Therefore, so the argument runs, they have no right to use a name which is not only a Greek territory, but also a central part of Hellenic history and identity. Ultimately, Greece is anxious that the use of the name 'Macedon' is not only a false claim to be the homeland of ancient Macedon but also a possible claim to the area of Macedon within Greece.

The Greeks have a chequered recent history with regard to territorial claims and ownership so possible oversensitivity on their part may not be unexpected. That said, the Republic of Macedon also has good reason to cling to the name. The state was born in a region in which competing territorial claims were nothing new. In order to shore up their new found autonomy, the Republic of Macedon needed to establish a distinguishable sense of identity. The notion of a 'Macedonian people' had been present since the end of the nineteenth century and the term was courted by Tito, the communist leader of Yugoslavia. If they did not claim a separate identity, the inhabitants of what is now the Republic of Macedonia risked being swallowed up by one of their better-established neighbours. Bulgaria, for instance, has claimed that the Slavic majority are all actually Bulgarians and thus the region should be annexed to Bulgaria. By arguing that they are established inhabitants of Macedonia the Republic of Macedon has to sought create a distinct national identity. Furthermore, the name is imbued with the history of ancient Macedon, thus providing an historical link to the region over which they have claimed territorial sovereignty.

Tied to the history of Macedonia however, is Alexander the Great. It is not just the use of the name 'Macedon' that has roused Greek ire. Many in Greece also feel that Alexander, possibly the most famous individual of antiquity, is a central aspect of their legacy and that by using his name and image, the Republic of Macedon are effectively stealing Greek history. Of course, the

Republic of Macedon contests such accusations. For the government in Skopje, Alexander was, admittedly, not a Slav, but neither was he Greek in the modern sense. By claiming that none of the region's current inhabitants have a direct claim to Alexander and the ancient Macedonians, the Republic of Macedonia argues that they have just as much right to his name and imagery as Greece.

In the face of this, Greek nationalist historians, as well as other scholars, have sought to prove Alexander's 'Greekness'. An example of this can be found in Worthington's *Philip II of Macedon*, in which he states that 'almost all of the literary sources and archaeological evidence spanning several centuries, point to the Macedonians speaking Greek, hence (importantly) being Greek'. The erroneous nature of such a sweeping generalisation is fairly clear and Worthington can be challenged on various points. Is identity solely defined by language? Did all Macedonians speak Greek? What did it even mean to be Greek, given the lack of genetic homogeneity at the time?

There are also Macedonian nationalist historians that claim the inhabitants of the Republic of Macedon are descended from Philip and Alexander. Given that the majority of the populace are either Albanian or ethnically Slavic and migrated to the region several hundred years after the demise of the Antigonid dynasty, this account also seems unlikely. As stated, I will not attempt to give an answer to this question regarding Alexander's ethnicity. Rather, by explaining his involvement in the current dispute, I seek to demonstrate both the importance of history within national identity and the manner in which it is often adapted and even distorted to suit or enhance a nation's identity.

For the Greeks, the importance of Alexander pertains to a strong sense that he is one of the central figures of the Hellenic 'golden age' that they are descended from. The Republic of Macedon meanwhile, is attempting to develop an identity around the idea of a state of Macedon. To omit Alexander would be akin to considering communist China without Mao; in the popular eye the two are inextricably linked. Alexander the Great was, and still is, an integral part of Macedon's history and as Macmillan has pointed out, 'history has become ever more necessary to provide legitimacy to claims of land as most other grounds … have fallen away'. Thus, it is clear why such importance is laid upon the argument over who can claim Alexander as part of their nation's history.

The role of ancient Macedon in these disputes can tell us a great deal about national identity. When focussing solely on national identity as a stand-alone concept, the disputes between Greece and the Republic of Macedon serve to show the important role that a shared historical past plays in formulating a national identity. Upon considering the role of national identity in the context of the Balkan political climate, its use as a political tool is undeniable.

The Republic of Macedonia declared independence in 1991 and immediately sought to establish themselves as a state. A fundamental element of this required achieving legitimacy in both the eyes of the people, and the wider world. By examining states worldwide, it is clear that there is a global trend for states to assert legitimacy based upon a national identity that is rooted in 'collective memories' of the past. This isomorphism was duly bought into by the Republic of Macedon, imitating and responding to the common structures found within existing nation states.

For the Republic of Macedon, ancient Macedon not only lent gravitas because of its connotations and age, but also because it did not exclude any of the state's multiple religious and ethnic groups. Greece's argument that their neighbours have both taken Greek history and been selective in their appropriation poses two important questions regarding national identity. Firstly, can a state demarcate their supposed cultural heritage and prevent others from sharing in that heritage? True, a state's national identity helps to set it apart, but when cultures appear to transcend the boundaries of political entities, can a single state claim sole ownership to that legacy?

The second question regards Greek objections to the Macedonians' allegedly fabricated history. This criticism is in many ways hypocritical, given the constructed nature of Hellenism. Indeed, Herzfeld has asked the question, 'what past is not selectively reconstructed'? Following from Benedict Anderson's theory that nations are 'imagined political communities', they are also in need of an 'imagined' collective past in order to provide this shared identity. Thus, a coherent public narrative is constructed and promoted to establish and enhance this identity. History then, albeit often twisted and reconstructed, is an integral part of national identity, particularly the names and images that are associated with this past.

The dispute clearly demonstrates the importance that states attribute to national identity in the maintenance of their political status. So much so that they will vehemently denounce another state if they try to use any part of that identity themselves. As such, the dispute is a good example of the potential use of national identity as a political instrument.

By emulating the paradigm of the 'Westphalian state', the Republic of Macedon has sought to develop a national identity stemming from ancient Macedon. The political implications of this are incredibly important for the state. Following the breakup of Yugoslavia, the new Balkan countries were desperate to establish a degree of certainty regarding their frontiers and the size of the state. In order to stake a strong territorial claim and function as a viable democratic state it was essential for the Republic of Macedonia to try and forge a sense of solidarity. This is reflected in Brunnbauer's comment that historical research in 'Macedonia … is direct political action'. Indeed, both Macedonian and Greek historians have a tendency to operate within their own nation's political narratives, imbuing their work with a political element.

Claiming a heritage such as that of ancient Macedon has also provided the Republic of Macedon with the scope to potentially claim further territory. Greek fears had been somewhat allayed by official Macedonian insistence that they have no designs on Greek Macedonia. However, the recent secession of Kosovo from Serbia in 2008 and the irredentist demands of Macedonian 'ultra nationalists' have given Greece some reason to reconsider.

Thus, it is from Greek political concerns that the insistence on this territorial nature of cultures has emerged. The Greek position, that the legacy of ancient Macedon is undeniably Greek and in no way related to the Slavic people within the region, is in essence a political bulwark. What the dispute makes clear is that this political tool has been created via the interpretation of history within the framework of national identity.

The history of ancient Macedon is not just a key element in the dispute between the Republic of Macedon and Greece. History is at the heart of national identity, an imagined construct that provides a sense of belonging to the inhabitants of a state. Due to the constructed nature of this identity, history is often manipulated to provide a more coherent narrative. As explained with regard to the dispute in question, this reworking of history has also meant that national identity can be shaped and used to achieve broader political goals both within the state and in inter-state relations. **DK**

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The Great Gatsby: Vitality and corruption in America's Jazz Age

Bryn Roberts

The Great Gatsby arguably portrays the Jazz era as an age unrivalled to any other in American history. Fitzgerald highlights the entertainment and exuberance of the period through the brightness of colours, the landscape and the characters. However, the vivacity of the 1920s was underlaid by the corruption that emerged from an era of prohibition and a loosening of morals. It is these themes that question the accessibility of the American Dream during that decade, and whether hope can be drawn when these dreams remain just that.

A dancing girl whose eyes are bold
Lifts high a dress of silken gold.
In a whirling cabaret
Six long-headed jazzers play.

Undoubtedly Langston Hughes' words encompass what the Jazz Age in America was about – an age epitomised by the 'Flapper' girl and the emergence of Jazz culture. Hughes' representation of the decade is much like Fitzgerald's, where individuals show off their energy. A scene at one of Gatsby's parties has the same dynamism as Hughes's poem, with 'old men pushing young girls backward in eternal graceless circles' and 'a great number of single girls dancing individualistically'. Both writers exhibit the liveliness of the generation and make references to the famous fashion followed by women of the time, the Flapper, who would have exemplified the energy and vibrancy emerging throughout America at the start of the 1920s.

The Great Gatsby is a novel which can be seen to praise the 'Roaring Twenties', an era much loved by America. The eponymous Gatsby personifies this. He is the ultimate embodiment of the change in culture in the 1920s; in stark contrast to the traditional values of the West, associated with Nick Carraway's (the narrator) family. Gatsby's parents meanwhile, were 'shiftless and unsuccessful farm people'. Gatsby is not from a well-off background, but makes his own wealth, climbs through the class structure and thereby accomplishes the American Dream - how he does this, and its implications, are discussed later in the essay. This for many readers would have made Gatsby the exemplary manifestation of what being an American was about. Fitzgerald presents him at first in an almost perfect light, as an 'elegant young rough neck' with 'something gorgeous about him'. Gatsby makes an astounding change from James Gatz, who beat 'his way along the south shore of Lake Superior as a clam-digger', to 'The Great Gatsby'. He is a man who takes pride in his appearance and Fitzgerald dresses his character in the finest clothes that are sent over from England 'at the beginning of spring and fall'. The relevance of this is that many upper class Americans had a fascination with Europe and wanted an association with their

European heritage, which had previously given America its style and manner of living. Tom and Daisy Buchanan also illustrate this, as their house is 'a cheerful red-and-white Georgian Colonial mansion'. However, the Jazz era heralds a new and distinctly American culture. This vision of vitality and energy created by Americans is no more evident than in the 'gleaming, dazzling parties' that Gatsby holds at his mansion. These parties are for the upper class – the nouveau riche which Gatsby himself is part of.

The vibrancy of these parties is shown through the numerous amounts of colours that Fitzgerald uses. The 'blue gardens' contrast with the 'verandas…gaudy with primary colours', whilst the characters themselves radiate in the colours of their clothes – Nick Carraway 'dressed in white flannels' and two girls 'in twin yellow dresses'. As Kathleen Parkinson in *A Novel of Intricate Patterns* says, 'The sensuousness and opulence of the materials is matched by the richness of the colours'. I agree with Parkinson as the materials show Gatsby's riches, whilst the colours are used as a device to emphasise the liveliness of the era, which is truly shown in the shirts of 'apple-green and lavender and faint orange, with monograms of Indian blue' that Gatsby possesses. Fitzgerald uses fruits and flowers, along with colours to show the dynamism of an era, which would only last for a decade. This same dynamism is evident in Fitzgerald's, *Tender is the Night*, particularly through the Diver's parties and their guests. However, Fitzgerald also notes the corruption inherent of the decade. 'The sponsor of the story was a white-haired woman in full evening dress, obviously a relic of the previous evening'. The characterisation portrays the older 'white-haired' generation as perhaps archetypal of Fitzgerald's own words from 'The Crack Up'; 'By 1923 their oldies, tired of watching the carnival with ill-conceded envy, had discovered that young liquor will take the place of young blood, and with a whoop the orgy began'. Whilst the 'full-evening dress' hints at the glamour of the night before, the 'wilting orchid' on her shoulder can be observed as an apparent symbol of corruption and loss of morality. Therefore, vitality and corruption can be seen as symbiotic, as the vitality of the parties is fuelled by illegal alcohol.

Corruption was widespread in the 1920s for a number of reasons, though the main cause stemmed from the Prohibition of alcohol. The 18th Amendment in 1920 and the Volstead Act forbade the production and retail of alcohol by and to any person in America. As the manufacture and sale of alcohol was illegal, a new black market industry arose with notorious gangsters such as Al Capone smuggling and selling alcohol. It is through this theme that the reader learns that Jay Gatsby is in fact corrupt and is a bootlegger, as Tom alludes to in their final confrontation, where he says, 'I picked him for a bootlegger… and I was not far wrong'. Fitzgerald presents a cold and inimical character, in the shape of Meyer Wolfshiem, who, as Keath Fraser remarks 'serves to connect Gatsby with the underworld from which his riches are hatched'. Despite Gatsby's involvement with this industry, the reader never dislikes him for his profession. The reason for this may be the same reason that the reader dislikes Tom Buchanan – it is the way that Nick Carraway describes both, and presents Gatsby in an amicable light; that 'Gatsby turned out alright in the end'. Instead, the reader's animosity for the corruption is directed at Wolfshiem. Fitzgerald told Corey Ford that Wolfshiem was based on the famous gambler, Arnold Rothstein, due to the fact that both were claimed to have 'fixed the World Series back in 1919'. This gave the contemporary reader an insight into the type of person that Wolfshiem was. Moreover the name, Wolfshiem, has an animalistic quality – the first part of his name being 'wolf' which conjures up a picture of Wolfshiem being shady and dodgy. This image of a wolf is further emphasised by 'his tiny eyes in the half-darkness' and the way he eats, 'with ferocious delicacy'. Thus, Wolfshiem is a character fitting of the corrupt and illegal job that he carries out, and represents the distasteful category of gangsters and bootleggers that inhabited the major American cities during prohibition.

As has been mentioned, the liveliness of the Jazz age is clearly shown through materialistic goods that the wealthy parade. However, the descriptions of many of the characters, and their settings also capture the mood of period. Nick Carraway presents New York in an aesthetic light, as 'warm and soft, almost pastoral'. The narrator's awe of the city is further described in his own words, as the 'first wild promise of all the mystery and the beauty in the world'. Fitzgerald uses intimate language to describe a city, which he himself much loved. Indeed, Fitzgerald and his wife, Zelda, lived in Long Island, New York, across the bay from the wealthy families from the previous generation. The pastoral theme and importance of the rural landscape is shown also in Willa Cather's, *A Lost Lady*, where Cather creates an idyllic landscape, where 'the sky was burning with soft pink and silver of a cloudless summer'. For Captain Forrester, this landscape is his paradise, and is almost like a second Garden of Eden. In Steinbeck's, *Of Mice and Men*, the scene of nature is idyllic and pure, 'the yellow sands

in the sunlight and the 'golden foothill slopes'. By presenting New York in a pastoral setting, Fitzgerald uses it to act as a comforter and shows that the city is a new paradise for the inhabitants. However, in the same way that man corrupts the blissful landscapes in *Of Mice and Men* and *A Lost Lady*; so might it be seen that parts of New York are also ruined. Tony Tanner's states, 'Of what might have been a wonderland, we have made a wasteland'; the wasteland he alludes to can be seen as the Valley of Ashes.

The Valley of Ashes is significant in representing the antithesis of New York. Fitzgerald's description of the Valley of Ashes carries many similarities with T. S. Eliot's poem *The Waste Land* (1923). In *Waste Land – Myths and Symbols*, Letha Audhuy states, 'Both these lands (Fitzgerald's *Valley of Ashes* and Eliot's *Waste Land*) are emblematic of sterility and waste'. I agree with Audhuy, as Eliot's poem describes a 'dead land' scattered with 'stony rubbish' and 'dry bones' on an 'arid plain'. Fitzgerald's setting is also portrayed in a parched and arid manner, a 'desolate area of land…where ashes grow… into ridges and hills and grotesque gardens'. Ultimately, both writers show that these places are empty areas for 'hollow men' with little or no aspirations. Fitzgerald's George Wilson is the epitome of these 'hollow men' as his garage is 'unprosperous and bare', and he himself is described as a 'spiritless man' and 'anaemic'. These 'ash-grey men' in their 'grey cars' live in a 'grey land' – the colour grey reflecting the hopelessness suffered by those living in the valley of ashes. David Parker, in *Two Versions of the Hero,* argues that 'the waste land suggests a withdrawal of value and significance from the world of human affairs'. This is certainly true, as the 'ash-grey men' seem to show the futility of the American Dream, living in their 'solemn dumping ground' with old, rusted cars like Wilson's 'dust covered wreck of a Ford'.

The role of cars in *The Great Gatsby* encapsulates both the glamour and success of the era, but underline the violence as well. Gatsby's car exhibits this, as its' vitality is shown in the 'rich cream colour, bright with nickel', yet the violence appears through the 'monstrous length' and 'labyrinth of windshields'. Death, it seems, is antithetical with vitality, as vitality is the celebration of life, and death is the end. However, Fitzgerald gives both Myrtle and Gatsby deaths that are worthy of the exuberant era. The mechanic and impersonal 'death car' literally tears out Myrtle's vitality, symbolically rapes her, leaving the brutal image of her 'left breast swinging loose like a flap'. The death in the Valley of Ashes emphasises the loss of spirituality in America, where there is a rejection of divine command ethics, instead being replaced with an advertisement. The immorality is shown in the affair of Tom and Myrtle, and shows a corruption of the old wealth and traditional values where one would never deem it acceptable to commit adultery. Tom's immoral behaviour is also evident in the way he treats Myrtle, with a brutish and uncaring manner, and sometimes violently, when he 'broke her nose with his open hand'. The vices shown in the novel may be due to the lack of religion, where God is, in Wilson's eyes, an advertisement, who 'sees everything'. Thus, the question must be asked – what hope is left for those subjected to the immorality and corruption in America? Significantly, there is hope in many parts of the novel. Gatsby has the hope of winning his beloved Daisy; Myrtle has her dream of escaping her fraudulent husband and the garage where they have 'been living…for eleven years', stating that 'you can't live forever'. Even the Valley of Ashes has its hope in the 'red pumps' at the garage. These glimpses of vitality show that there is hope amongst the corruption. 'His style sings of hope, his message is of despair', states Cyril Connolly of Fitzgerald. Ultimately, this is true as the 'style of hope' is the vitality in Fitzgerald's language, whilst the despair is possibly the dishonesty of the age, clearly observed within the novel. The characters show their hope through their dreams and aspirations, even though they fail to achieve them.

Although Gatsby may symbolise the American Dream, and the rewards of wealth and vitality that arrive through being in the high class of society though achieved through corruption; he fails in his own dream of winning Daisy back. His downfall may represent the futility and agony of pursuing dreams. However, Gatsby's longing and perseverance to achieve his dream illustrates its beauty and irresistible lure. As Carraway states about our protagonist Gatsby - his story is a 'gift of hope' for the generation, who 'tomorrow… will run faster' and 'stretch out' their 'arms further'. It is this hope, which Fitzgerald uses to define the energy and vitality of the era amongst the corruption and decadence. **BR**

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Edinburgh's Mythic Identity

Mitch Barltrop

The city of Edinburgh has carved an identity famous for literary brilliance, philosophical thought, medical revolution and more recently, a festival spirit. The memories of Robert Louis Stevenson and J.K. Rowling have endured alongside the names of David Hume and Adam Smith, whilst millions of visitors each year descend upon the city for non-stop festivities against the backdrop of Edinburgh's castle. However, manufacturing, the spatial concentration of home and work, and industrial heritage, are memories consigned to the past with little identity in the present. Indeed, Edinburgh is not famous for the *Hunter* wellington or the *Goodyear* tyre; its identity is spearheaded by the Fringe Festival and Hogmanay celebrations.

Memory, as a concept, is intrinsically linked to people, space and a sense of place. It is a social construct, culturally defined over time by people and subsequently manifested in space. The distinction between memory and identity is therefore rooted in time. Memory itself *can* be fixed in time and is relational to a certain period and space in history. It is consequently a metaphorical entity, reminiscent of the past with the capacity to be reflected in the present. Yet memories are prone to interpretation by different 'agents of change', or better still agents of 'now' - whether an architect, town planner, council official or homeowner living in 1750 or 2011. Identity, however, is always fluid. It is under constant reconstruction, moulded to suit the needs and certainties of a specific time and place. It has the ability to both merge and dissolve links between the past and present: 'memory is the means to distinguish yesterday from today'.

The built environment is thus the canvass upon which identity is projected, where memories are either conjured or made redundant. As Rebecca Madgin argues, 'the built environment is an integral component of this psychological relationship between people and place as it has the ability to transmit powerful yet subconscious messages and provoke feelings'.

Historians are faced with two contrasting pictures of Edinburgh: the industrial city and the professional-come-festival city. The latter is crafted in the city's contemporary identity whilst the former is barely noticeable. As Richard Rodger (Edinburgh's eminent professor of urban history) identifies, the contemporary image of Edinburgh is one that has brought with it an impression of elitism, whereby the city's inhabitants have always embodied a higher caste. Indeed, it would be historically inaccurate to deny the existence of the professional class throughout Edinburgh's history. As Charles Munn attests, white-collar industry was abundant. In 1880, Edinburgh controlled 70.72% of Scotland's banking liabilities,

allowing joint-stock banking companies to thrive. The memory of Edinburgh as a financial centre is one that has persisted into the city's contemporary identity. The buildings lining St. Andrews Square, Charlotte Square and Rutland Square, prime real estate that flank the east and west of the New Town, are still dominated by white-collar businesses. For Hague and Jenkins, the New Town has become a 'metaphor for elegant and orderly development of international excellence'. But this memory has not been reserved in the definitive space of the New Town. Identity holds a transient existence in relation to place. The movement of the financial centre from James Craig's New Town to West Central Edinburgh has retained the memories of a commercial bourgeoisie, but crucially in a different space. Conference Square on Morrison Street sits in the midst of a conglomeration of white-collar industries, most notably Bank of Scotland, Standard Life and the Edinburgh International Conference Centre (EICC). As Derek Kerr notes, the Exchange that corners Lothian Road and Morrison Street is 'suggestive of that found in the New Town'. Its Georgian-esque curvature combined with sequentially uniformed windowpanes provokes memories previously rooted in the New Town space. The built environment thus has the capacity to reflect memories of people and space engaged in financial corporatism but root it in an entirely different, historically discontinuous place.

For the observer, then, Edinburgh's modern identity in association with an 'elite and high culture' appears congruous with the memories of the past. The image of the castle, the importance of which is reified by every tourist outlet in the city, is active in prioritising the memory of Edinburgh as the enlightened, even aristocratic capital of Scotland. The humdrum, grime and deprivation of the eighteenth and nineteenth century industrial city, typically characteristic of Manchester, Sheffield and Glasgow are, it seems, alien in Edinburgh's historic context.

However, beneath the facade of a veneered identity, Edinburgh has a developed yet forgotten history of industrialism. The identity of Fountainbridge, Dalry, Easter Road, Leith and indeed Edinburgh as one locality is now overwhelmingly white-collar and service sector industry, if not residential. Yet, in the mid-nineteenth century employment figures show that light and heavy industry and manufacturing dominated the city. In 1861 total industrial employment for males totalled 57.6 percent with a majority of 39 percent employed in manufacturing. This, compared with total workplace employment in 2007, manufacturing amounted to a mere 3.7 percent whilst the service sector (banking, insurance, finance etc.) totalled 91.9 percent. The memory of Edinburgh's industrial past holds little credence in the present, both numerically and physically.

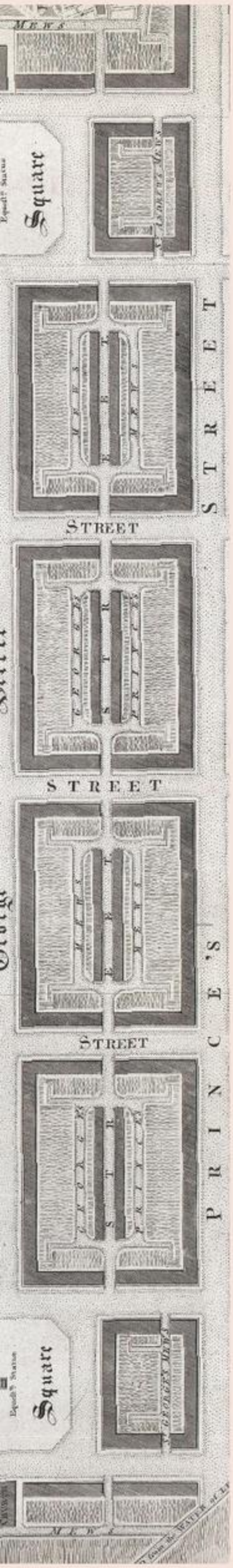
In the mid-nineteenth century, most made their livelihood from manufacturing: 'if one man in six…obtained a living by professional duties… then five in six did not'. The spatial distribution of Edinburgh's industrialism was identified in what is now the central business district outlined above. The establishment of the North British Rubber Company (1855), McEwans Brewery (1856) and Lorimer & Clarks Caledonian Brewery (1896) at Fountainbridge, combined with A.B. Fleming & Co.'s print works on the shores of the Forth at Granton (1872) and a new brewery and foundry complex at Abbeyhill amounted to the emergence of what Rodger terms an 'urban periphery'. Under the auspices of the 1856 Edinburgh Extension Act, the proliferation of heavy industry to the west and east of Edinburgh marked a transition in the city's nineteenth century identity, the memories of which are being quickly eroded today. As John Heiton protested, Edinburgh's identity as the 'modern Athens' is unsuitably apportioned to the 'faculty' and not the 'merchant Burghers'.

The social identity of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century city-space was actually mixed and interactive: the lower classes frequently ran manufacturing workshops from the basement of the high New Town tenements. Indeed, 'the built environment was saturated with micro-organisms of industrial and commercial life… [where] closes and wynds were conduits of communication and interaction'.

Whilst the function of place has not been historically linear, the memory of spatial dislocation, certainly in terms of work and residence, has been sustained in the city's modern identity. John Heiton in 1861 echoed the sentiments of how the 'very old men say they remember when our Old Town castes were so oiled with mutual respect [for the professional classes] that they wrought like the parts of a machine, every wheel contributing its quiet force to the general effect'. As Edinburgh has expanded to the 'urban periphery', the memories of integrative spatial identities, irrespective of class, have subsequently been erased. In what Simon Gunn terms the 'spatialisation of class', place identity has arguably become synonymous with social dislocation. Alongside the rise of the industrial estate, the birth of the housing estate has created a segmented urban identity. Whereas different classes occupied the same space in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, certainly prior to the development of the New Town, Edinburgh's present identity is defined by spatial and social separation. The peripheral locations of Pilrig, Stockbridge, Abbeyhill and Dalry marked the departure of the working class from the city's central space. Likewise, the development of workers' housing to meet the demands of growing industry in the west surrounding Fountainbridge led to the rise in tenement buildings lining Gilmore Place, the Lochrin Basin and the residential construction of Rosebank Cottages and Gardner's Crescent near Tollcross.

Miles Glendinning shows how the development of social housing, mainly a peripheral phenomenon but also a process of 'inner regeneration' promoted by Patrick Geddes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, was primarily initiated through local government intervention.

James Miller, a 23-year old private developer who built his first homes at Blackhall near Craigleith in 1927 and later founded Miller & Partners (the



antecedent to today's Miller Homes), became Lord Provost (1951-54) and Lord of Mayor of London in 1964. The agents in crafting urban identity from the memories of the past were therefore a mutual combination of the state, civil society and commercial interests. Indeed, Lord Provost Russell declared in the public enquiry to the 1893 Improvement Scheme, which dealt the state of Edinburgh's housing, that a public-private partnership was the best way to engage with urban re-development. The peripheral expansion of industry thus coincided with the territorialisation of housing and in turn the 'spatialisation' of social identity: a process involving multiple agents of change. Edinburgh's residents and workers alike no longer shared a collective spatial identity concentrated in Edinburgh's central area, but were instead spread across different parts of the city, confined to their own sense of place now often relative to their socio-economic status. As Madgin argues, 'the identity of the city is analogous with personal identity'. And with the fragmentation of space through industrial and residential expansion, place-identity has arguably become even more personal, because, in relation to residential space people no longer share the same built environment as before. The dislocation of industrial space initiated the trend of spatial seclusion. Place is conducive to the socio-economic identity of people, just as place was reflective of the industrial identity of space. In Gunn's words, 'concepts of space and place are intimately bound up with the constitution of social identities'.

The dissipation of concentrated urban identity, both industrial and residential, arguably left a vacuum in Edinburgh's central space. The rise of Edinburgh's identity as the 'festival city' is the product of the central vacuum left by peripheral development. Tourism has filled the gap that de-industrialisation left. As Gunn acknowledges, 'the post-1970 city was focused on eradicating its industrial past – planning framework was based on eradicating the unplanned, unhygienic industrial city in favour of a planned, rational and zoned city'. As Hague and Jenkins argue, 'identity becomes more complex and fragmented as places, and the everyday life that underpins them, are reconfigured and identity itself becomes commodified'. Edinburgh as a festival city is a commodity. The prioritisation of elitist memories is complicit in the process of forgetting the city's industrial past. Visitors to the People's Story Museum are dwarfed by those to the Castle. As Christine Boyer argues, the preservation of selective memories is all geared towards 'visual consumption'. Simply, anaesthetic industrial heritage does not sell. Similar to the way in which 'Hampton Court Palace and the Tower of London merge as Tudorbethan bastions of tragic queens and bloody axes', only the notional history of Edinburgh is reflected in the castle's memory of blood-spilled battles and the royal sagas of the Union, not to mention it's ameliorated architectural presence in the city's skyline that towers above the palimpsest of Edinburgh's rooftops. Despite this being a somewhat forced history, it is today's prime selling point. Thus, the transformation of former industrial areas into historically discontinuous spaces, like Fountainbridge and Dalry, is now legitimised through the fact that the memories of brewing, rubber production and printing are not conducive to Edinburgh's professional come party-going identity. In support of Lowenthal's polemic against the historical sincerity of 'heritage', 'the worth of heritage is…gauged not by critical tests but by current potency…heritage bends history in its creative commingling of fact with fiction'. Memories of industrialism are not worthy of remembering in Edinburgh's present identity. The commercialisation of history through tourism and white-collar industry drives change in time, in order to sustain the city's contemporary economic viability as an 'inspiring capital'.

The connection between memory and identity is potentially a strong one. Memories have the capacity to pervade their historical space in forming new identities rooted in a very contemporary sense of place. However, the notion of Edinburgh's forgotten industrialism proves how memories are weak in relation to what constitutes modern identity. Just as memory can be 'inextricably connected with the rediscovery of the past', as with the prioritisation of Edinburgh's elitist conceptions, memory can also be entirely redundant in the 'now'. With the rise of the 'urban periphery', memory of Edinburgh as a socially concentrated space containing the same sense of place identifiable by a range of social groups is relegated to history without regard for future heritage. 'Buildings are…ascribed value because they fulfil a contemporary need within which urban memories can be respected, the economy can flourish and society can function.' The social, cultural and economic forces that characterise modern identity run counter to Edinburgh's 'industrial dualism'. The built environment has been disrespectfully commoditised to enhance its identity as a festival city, and as a result such a commercialisation has legitimised the process of forgetting Edinburgh's once thriving industrial landscape. When you next walk down Viewforth to watch the latest blockbuster at Fountainbridge's Cineworld, think what used to lie beneath the façade of Edinburgh's now consumer-based economy. All is not what it seems. **MB**

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REVIEW

FILM

Anna Karenina: Wife, Mother or Lover?

Kerry Gilsenan

'I was eighteen when I got married, but it was not love.'

Tom Stoppard and Joe Wright's adaptation of Tolstoy's 1877 novel *Anna Karenina* depicts the oppressive nature of marriage for aristocratic women in nineteenth century Russia. Anna Karenina's tumultuous path to insanity, as portrayed by Keira Knightley, is essentially the result of her failed attempt to balance the roles of wife, mother and lover.

Anna's confusion and paranoia is embellished by the ever-changing frames of the Russian theatre setting, distinguishing Wright's concept from all other previous adaptations. When the preservation of her marriage to Alexei Karenin (Jude Law) – a cold and conventional government official - is threatened by the temptation of adultery, Anna abandons her identity as the model aristocratic society wife and is seduced by Count Vronksy (Aaron Taylor-Johnson). Law's unlikely role as the aging aristocrat emphasises the restrictive, unbending nature of social conduct surrounding the behaviour of women. Karenin's expectations of Anna's duty and obedience are severely compromised when he is forced to acknowledge that their bonds of matrimony no longer hold meaning for her; Anna's identity is by no means dictated by Karenin's pious outlook.

Daringly, Anna rejects her identity under the Russian patriarchal system enabling Vronsky to provide her with the passion and esteem she has long desired; she is no longer valued as simply fulfilling the duties of wife and mother. Her freedom outside of social customs is seemingly short-lived when a public appearance at an opera house reveals the reality of her exile from the world of the aristocrats. The brutal hypocrisy of the attitudes of nineteenth century Tsarist Russia is revealed in the comparable adultery of Anna's brother, Oblonsky (Matthew Macfadyen). With Macfayden's playful smile and lively humour, all misdemeanours are forgiven and Anna is simply able to talk his wife out of a divorce; unfortunately Anna's identity becomes tainted with dishonour.

Whilst her transgressions are somewhat bold and admirable in her desperate attempts to secure her own happiness, Anna's subsequent misfortunes appear self inflicted. The contrasting domestic and pastoral harmony of Levin and Kitty's eventual marriage – as depicted by Domhnall Gleeson and Alicia Vikander - is hardly presented as disagreeable, and yet it fits comfortably inside the boundaries of the conventional and the expected. Anna's impossible simultaneous cravings for love and forgiveness falter her character's strengths with a foolish passion. **KG**

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIG

Unlocking an Arcadian Past: The Green Farm Dig

A *Heather Hilson*

For the past five years archaeological excavation has been undertaken by the British Excavation Volunteers and Archaeological Research Society on the remote isle of Eday in the north of the Orkney Islands. The dig itself is located on Green Farm in the south of the island and focuses on a Neolithic settlement established approximately 5000 years ago. According to current excavation plans, the settlement consists of three structures: two living structures and one animal pen. According to GIS survey results of the site, approximately 20% of the total settlement area is currently exposed.

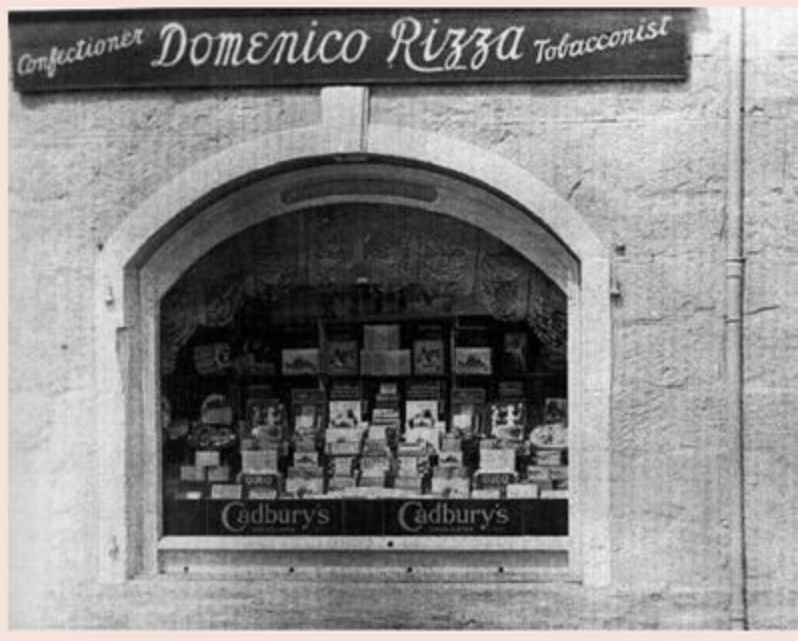
For any aspiring student of archaeology the experience of excavating along the majestic Orkney coastline under the friendly direction of Mick Miles is a must. Mick, an independent archaeologist based out of London, founded the Society as a way to involve novice volunteers from around the world in archaeological work at Eday. Volunteers are lodged at the local Eday Youth Hostel with the potential to see archaeologically important sites around the island such as the Setter Stone. The atmosphere of the dig itself is open and stress-free with a true sense of camaraderie that allows all participants to easily identify with one another. Every volunteer shares a love of archaeology and excavation that is positively infectious. Special attention is focused on any students of archaeology at the dig, and the basic techniques of excavation and finds processing are taught in-depth through mentorship and practical experience. Every volunteer has the opportunity to work with different aspects of excavation work; from actual trowelling and subsequent sieving to processing finds in the finds shed. By the end of the excavation, volunteers are sure to be able to confidently see themselves as future archaeologists. The nature of the dig is very thorough and meticulous, which encourages volunteers to be careful observers and excavators. This attention to detail has yielded a surprising array of finds which predominately consist of beautifully worked flints and Skaill knives but also more intriguing artefacts such as a large pecked stone illustrating distinctively enigmatic 'eyebrow' motifs distinct to Neolithic Orcadian art.

As to who built the site and why it was ultimately abandoned, we may never know beyond reasoned speculation. Perhaps future excavation will help shed light on the identity of Eday's ancient inhabitants, but for now they remain shrouded in a thick fog of ambiguity. Looking out to the North Sea across the site, it is just possible to imagine what the land may have looked like 5000 years ago. Yet the question remains: who were they and how did they come to live in this inhospitable, isolated place? It is up to future enthusiasts of archaeology to unearth the answer. **ST**

INTERVIEW

Experiencing War as the 'Enemy Other'

Rhian Morgan interviews Dr. Wendy Ugolini



Italo-Scots Research Archive

In her latest work *Experiencing War as the 'Enemy Other'* Dr. Wendy Ugolini explores the experiences of Italians living in Scotland during the Second World War. Having married an Italian-Scot, Dr. Ugolini not only has academic, but also personal connections to Italy. However, she explains that the reason this particular group in society was so interesting to her is due to their struggle through the years, and especially the community and individual experiences with the phenomenon of 'dual-identity'. 'Dual-identity', Ugolini explains, is a situation many second generation Italo-Scots found themselves in at the outbreak of the Second World War. Having been born and raised in Scotland but with Italian parents, many young men and women felt that their loyalties were split, especially as people began to take sides during the conflict.

On May 22nd 1939, Mussolini and Hitler joined together in the 'Pact of Steel'. As of the 10th June 1940, Italy was now at war with Britain. This had a large effect on the Italian community in Scotland, with many facing internment, deportation, social discrimination, and even violence. In her work, Dr. Ugolini notes that previous scholarship may gloss over this period; an assumed move from being proud Italians to denying their heritage is a widely accepted view. However, during her research, she found that people's sense of identity is not so easily explained. Of the Italians that enlisted, many were sent to fight on the continent; they found themselves fighting in Italian provinces, against Italians. Interestingly, it seems that rather than having a deterring effect, this experience actually heightened many soldier's sense of Italian identity, bringing a new dimension to their unique situation.

Dr. Ugolini explains how, as a social historian, she uses a variety of sources including newspapers, letters, police reports and even MI5 documents. However, her most intriguing source is the collection of oral testimonies that she has collected over a period of five years. Forty-four interviews were conducted, yielding some thought-provoking results. During the conversations, Ugolini notes that the prevalent self-description of the Italians doesn't seem Italian or British, but, enigmatically, 'different'. Facing prejudice from their communities in the form of riots, the interviewees explained how they now accepted their identities as more complex, but preferred to just 'keep their heads down'. They did not deny their identity, but it was repressed.

Using oral history enables Dr. Ugolini to step away from 'elitist' material, and to highlight what are often marginalised accounts. It must be noted that this was a pain-staking procedure. Many people were very guarded in their willingness to recount their experiences, which shows the extraordinary impact of the events. When they did open up, they often related their memories to more recent events; many compared it to the effects of the Bosnian struggles. However, Dr. Ugolini makes it clear that this is one of the more interesting aspects of her research. As time passes, memory and later experience may perhaps alter our own impressions of past events and their effects upon our sense of self. By its very nature, the memory of identity changes as we grow; but she looks for the minutia in the accounts and searches for telling details rather than opinion. It is clear from her work that identity is a complex and difficult theme to deal with, but one that yields some of the most stimulating results.

In her next work, she hopes to concentrate on Anglo-Welsh identity during WW2, looking specifically at the hybridity and especially cross-fertilisation of identities in these liminal and diasporic communities. Ultimately, through all her work, Dr. Ugolini's aim appears to be to inform and complicate our impression of what it means to be who we think we are. **RHM**

CLASSICS SOCIETY PLAY

Aristophane's *Lysistrata*

© *Oliver Giles*

The 'lioness on a cheese grater position' has to be one of the more inventive sexual references in this year's Classics play *Lysistrata*.

This sexually explicit, hilarious and creative piece of student theatre remains true to Aristophanes' original text whilst also managing to successfully add the odd contemporary reference.

Lysistrata is a comic battle between the sexes, brought about through one woman's brave attempt to end the wasteful Peloponnesian War. To stop their husbands throwing away state money, a group of women occupy the Acropolis and Lysistrata manages to persuade them to withhold sex from their husbands until they agree to make peace.

The play splits the characters into gender camps, which clearly reveals stereotypical ideas of masculine and feminine identity. Although it is hidden behind a barrage of sexually explicit jokes, comic staging and farcical fights, *Lysistrata* is also a successful exploration of male and female relations.

The first half of the play sets the scene for this hilarious clash of the sexes. The oath of abstinence the women swear is one of the highlights of the play. It is then when the female characters bemoan abstaining from the 'lioness on a cheese-grater position'. However, it is the second half which really allows these student actors to shine.

After five days of forced abstinence, all the male characters return to the stage nursing what the original text refers to as a 'bundle'; an ancient euphemism for an erection. This being a student production, everything is taken to comical extremes, and the male actors proudly return wearing strap-ons, barely hidden beneath their kilts. Although this is momentarily distracting, it leads to some of the best back-and-forth quips between the actors; many of the jokes are timed to perfection.

Farcical scenes between the male and female chorus members keep the energy up and the audience constantly entertained. Lysistrata, played by Elsa Van der Wal, and the magistrate, Thom Louis, shine throughout the play; however it is the scene between Cinesias, Chris Helwig, and his teasing wife Myrrhine, Amelia Sutcliffe, that has the audience roaring with laughter.

The creative mix of ancient and contemporary allusions makes this production really stand out. Somehow the use of songs such as LMFAO's 'Sexy and I Know It' and Beyonce's 'Run the World (Girls)' does not feel out of place in this classical production. Maybe this battle between the sexes is more ongoing that people would like to admit. **OG**

via Wikimedia Commons

National Museum of Scotland

FILM

Mother of Mine
Klaus Härö

Victor M. Cazares

In revealing the heart-breaking story of Eero, director Klaus Härö fictionalises the experiences of seven thousand Finnish children evacuated to peaceful Sweden during World War II. In *Mother of Mine*, Härö unfolds Eero's battles to survive in his unwanted new home as a way of unearthing the internal, silent war faced by children under skies free of bombs.

The film opens with a 9-year-old Eero seeking his mother in a misty forest in Finland, whilst we listen to an adult Eero questioning his mother, Kristi, about her wartime memories. This conversation, shot in black and white, marks the present, whereas the past is presented in full colour. The death of his father marks the beginning of Eero's ordeal. Alone and desolate, an indifferent Kristi decides to send Eero to Sweden. Upon his arrival, Eero meets a friendly foster father and an unsympathetic foster mother, Signe, who is secretly tackling with an unbearable past. Slowly and painfully, Eero and Signe learn to overcome their losses and discover a new type of emotional satisfaction in their relationship; their commitment further grows when both discover that Kristi does not want Eero to return. In a sudden turn, Kristi reclaims her son, tearing down Signe and Eero's illusions. Eero is uprooted once again and sent back to his biological mother who has become a stranger. Downhearted and saddened, Eero accepts his fate and endures by repressing his burdensome past. Many years later he is invited to Signe's funeral, from whence he starts a journey into his childhood memories in a final attempt to reconstruct his past.

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Härö's fictionalisation of children's experiences and the lasting consequences itinerancy has for identity parallels Mark Jonathan Harris' documentary *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport,* which presents strikingly similar and real stories of Jewish children sent to English families. Harris documents, for example, instances of people ending up happily with two mothers, or sadly, with none. Härö's film is also a commentary on the drawbacks of the Swedish aid project featuring Eero's story as embodying some unexpected effects underlying the cold bureaucratisation of sincere act of good will. *Mother of Mine* is as well a reminder of the indelible wounds wars leave upon our sense of identity. **VMC**

EXHIBITION

An Icon Amongst Icons: Catherine the Great

Jordan Baker

The treasures imported from Russia to furnish the National Museum of Scotland's spectacular exhibition *Catherine the Great: An Enlightened Empress* are without a doubt a sight to behold. Telling the story of one of Russia's greatest rulers this display of Imperial decadence leads a dance through the life of Catherine, affording her the rich praise she so deserves.

Born as the minor German Princess Sophie, the list of accolades due to this formidable woman is expansive. Catherine, as she became known, was able not only to stage an impressive coup against her husband but acquired the title of Empress of all Russia. The term 'enlightened' is often used too liberally but there is certainly no other way in which to describe Catherine. An advocate of Diderot and Voltaire, by the end of her life she had acquired both their complete libraries. Her artistic taste was just as fine and exemplified by her improvements to the Winter Palace, including the addition of the Small Hermitage, the court theatre and the Great Hermitage. In time these great buildings would come to house works by Rubens and Lorraine to name but two that feature in the exhibition, as well as many other artefacts gracing Scotland's National Museum.

Catherine's pride in her country is also evident in the pieces on display and demonstrates her energetic encouragement of Russia as a national power not just politically, but culturally too. She was keen to showcase Russia's technical expertise as well as favouring foreign craftsmanship. The quality of each piece fortifies her development of Imperial industries including those of textiles, porcelain and glassworks, a development that also bolstered the economy.

However, one must not disregard her as an individual. Beneath her regalia was a vibrant lifestyle. Her boldness peeks out through the folds of the magnificent clothing on display and shines in the polished metal of her hunting guns. The impressive Carnival Sledge, a highlight of the exhibition, characterises the Grand Carousel, an event favoured by Catherine and much admired by the foreign stage.

It is hard to doubt the majesty of an individual for whom the concepts of woman and ruler are synonymous. *Catherine the Great: An Enlightened Empress* demonstrates the incredible impact an inconsequential Princess from Germany can have upon a country often tarnished with an unfavourable brush. Catherine is one defined by many as enlightened and throughout this exhibition is undoubtedly proved to be so. **JB**